THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMAINES, COMPARED TOGETHER BY THAT GRAVE LEARNED PHILOSOPHER AND HISTORIOGRAPHER, *Plutarke of Chæronea.*

Translated out of Greeke into French by IAMES AMIOT (*Abbot of Bellozane, Bishop of Auxerre, one of the Kings priuie Counsell,* and great Amner of France. VVith the liues of HANNIBAL and of SCIPIO AFRICAN: translated out of Latine into French by CHARLES de l'ESCLVSE, and out of French into English, *By Sir Thomas North Knight.*

Hereunto are also added the liues of Epaminondas, *of* Philip *of Macedon*, *of* Dionysius *the elder, tyrant of Sicilia*, *of* Augustus Cæsar, *of* Plutarke, *and of* Seneca: *with the liues of nine other excellent Chiefetaines of warre: collected out of* Æmylius Probus, *by* S. G. S. *and Englished by the aforesaid Translator.*

Plutarch.
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BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE ELIZABETH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, *FRANCE, AND IRELAND QVEENE, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.*

NDER hope of your Highneſſe gracious and accuſtomed fauour, I haue preſumed to preſent here vnto your Maieſtie, Plutarkes liues tranſlated, as a booke fit to be protected by your Highneſſe, and meete to be ſet forth in Engliſh. For who is fitter to giue countenance to ſo manie great ſtates, then ſuch an high and mightie Princeſſe? who is fitter to reuiue the dead memorie of their fame, then ſhe that beareth the liuely image of their vertues? who is fitter to authorize a worke of ſo great learning and wiſedome, then ſhe whom all do honour as the Muſe of the world? Therefore I humbly beſeech your Maieſtie, to ſuffer the ſimpleneſſe of my tranſlation, to be couered vnder the ampleneſſe of your Highneſſe protection. For, moſt gracious Soueraigne, though this booke be no booke for your Maieſties ſelfe, who are meeter to be the chiefe ſtorie, then a ſtudent therein, and can better vnderſtand it in Greeke, then any man can make it Engliſh: yet I hope the common ſort of your ſubiects, ſhall not onely profit themſelues hereby, but alſo be animated to the better ſeruice of your Maieſtie. For among all the prophane bookes that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your Highnes beſt knowes) that teacheth ſo much honor, loue, obedience, reuerence, zeale, and deuotion to Princes, as theſe liues of Plutarke do. How many examples ſhall your ſubiects reade here, of ſeuerall perſons, and whole armies, of noble and baſe, of yong and old, that both by ſea and land, at home and abroade, haue ſtrained their wits, not regarding their ſtates, ventured their perſons, caſt away their liues, not onely for the honour and ſafetie, but alſo for the pleaſure of their Princes?

Then well may the Readers thinke, if they haue done this for heathen Kings, what ſhould we do for Chriſtian Princes? If they haue done this for glorie, what ſhould we do for Religion? If they haue done this without hope of heauen, what

ſhould we do that looke for immortalitie? And ſo adding the incouragement of theſe examples, to the forwardneſſe of their owne diſpoſitions: what ſeruice is there in warre, what honour in peace, which they will not be readie to do, for their worthie Queene?

And therefore that your Highneſſe may giue grace to the booke, and the booke may do his ſeruice to your Maieſtie: I haue tranſlated it out of French, and do here moſt humbly preſent the ſame vnto your Highneſſe, beſeeching your Maieſtie with all humilitie, not to reiect the good meaning, but to pardon the errours of your moſt humble and obedient ſubiect and ſeruant, who prayeth God long to multiplie all graces and bleſſings vpon your Maieſtie. VVritten the ſixteenth day of Ianuarie. 1579.

Your Maieſties moſt humble and obedient ſeruant,

Thomas North.

To the Reader.

THE profit of ſtories, and the praiſe of the Author, are ſufficiently declared by *Amiot*, in his Epiſtle to the Reader: ſo that I ſhall not need to make manie words thereof. And indeed if you will ſupplie the defects of this tranſlation, with your owne diligence and good vnderſtanding: you ſhall not need to truſt him, you may proue your ſelues, that there is no prophane ſtudie better then *Plutarke*. All other learning is priuate, fitter for Vniuerſities then Cities, fuller of contemplation then experience, more commendable in ſtudents themſelues, then profitable vnto others. Whereas ſtories are fit for euerie place, reach to all perſons, ſerue for all times, teach the liuing, reuiue the dead, ſo farre excelling all other bookes, as it is better to ſee learning in Noblemens liues, then to reade it in Philoſophers writings. Now for the Author, I will not denie but loue may deceiue me, for I muſt needs loue him with whom I haue taken ſo much paine: but I beleeue I might be bold to affirme, that he hath written the profitableſt ſtorie of all Authors. For all other were faine to take their matter, as the fortune of the countries whereof they wrote fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath choſen the ſpeciall acts of the beſt perſons, of the famouſeſt nations of the world. But I will leaue the iudgement to your ſelues. My onely purpoſe is to deſire you to excuſe the faults of my tranſlation, with your owne gentleneſſe, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent. And ſo I wiſh you all the profit of the booke. Fare ye well. The foure and twentieth day of Ianuarie. 1579.

THOMAS NORTH.

Amiot to the Readers.

THE reading of bookes which bring but a vaine and vnprofitable pleasure to the Reader, is iustly misliked of wise and graue men. Againe, the reading of such as do but onely bring profit, and make the Reader to be in loue therewith, and do not ease the paine of the reading by some pleasantnesse in the same: do seeme somewhat harsh to diuers delicate wits, that cannot tarie long vpon them. But such bookes as yeeld pleasure and profit, and do both delight and teach, haue all that a man can desire why they should be vniuersally liked and allowed of all sorts of men, according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth winne the prize in euerie point aright.

Either of these yeeld his effect the better, by reason the one runneth with the other, profiting the more because of the delight, and delighting the more because of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to haue pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wise arme in arme, hath more allowance then any other kind of writing or inuention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably auowed, that men are more beholding to such good wits, as by their graue and wise writing haue deserued the name of Historiographers, then they are to any other kind of writers: because an historie is an orderly register of notable things said, done, or happened in times past, to maintaine the continuall remembrance of them, and to serue for the instruction of them to come.

And like as memorie is as a store-house of mens conceits and deuises, without the which the actions of the other two parts should be vnperfect, and well-neare vnprofitable: so may it also be said, that an historie is the verie treasurie of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wonderfull aduentures and strange cases, (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserued from the death of forgetfulnesse. Hereupon it riseth that Plato the wise saith, that the name of historie was giuen to this recording of matters, to stay the fleeting of our memorie, which otherwise would be soone lost, and retaine litle. And we may well perceiue how greatly we be beholding vnto it, if we do no more but consider in how horrible darknesse, and in how beastly and pestilent a quagmire of ignorance we should be plunged: if the remembrance of all the things that haue bene done, and haue happened before we were borne, were vtterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will ouerpasse the excellencie and worthinesse of the thing it selfe, forasmuch as it is not onely of more antiquitie then anie other kind of writing that euer was in the world, but also was vsed among men, before there was anie vse of letters at all: because that men in those dayes deliuered in their life times the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songs, which they caused their children to learne by heart, from hand to hand, as is to be seene yet in our dayes by the example of the barbarous people that inhabite the new-found lands in the West, who without any records of writings, haue had the knowledge of things past, wel-neare eight hundred yeares afore. Likewise I leaue to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leaue of their doings in this world, to consecrate their names to immortalitie. For there is neither picture, nor image of marble, nor arch of triumph, nor pillar, nor sumptuous sepulcher, that can match the durablenesse of an eloquent historie, furnished with the properties which it ought to haue. Againe, I mind not to stand much vpon this, that it hath a certaine troth in it, in that it alwayes professeth to speake truth, and for that the proper ground thereof is to treate of the greatest and highest things that are done in the world: insomuch that (to my seeming) the great profit thereof is as Horace saith, that it is commonly called the mother of troth and vprightnesse, which commendeth it so greatly, as it needeth not elsewhere to seeke any authoritie, or ornament of dignitie, but of her verie selfe. For it is a certaine rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth vs to iudge of things present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know what to like of, and what to follow: what to mislike, and what to eschue. It is a picture, which (as it were in a table) setteth before our eyes the things worthie of remembrance that haue bene done in old time by mightie nations, noble Kings and Princes, wise Gouernours, valiant Captaines, and persons renowmed for some notable qualitie, representing vnto vs the manners of strange nations, the lawes and customes of old time, the particular affaires of men,

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their conſultations and enterpriſes, the meanes that they haue vſed to compaſſe them withall, and their demeaning of themſelues when they were come to the higheſt, or throwne downe to the loweſt degree of ſtate. So as it is not poſsible for any caſe to riſe either in peace or warre, in publike or priuate affaires, but that the perſon which ſhall haue diligently read, well conceiued, and throughly remembred hiſtories, ſhall find matter in them whereat to take delight, and counſell whereby to reſolue himſelfe to take a part, or to giue aduice vnto others, how to chooſe in doubtfull and dangerous caſes that which may be for their moſt profit, and in time to find out to what point the matter will come if it be well handled: and how to moderate himſelfe in proſperitie, and how to cheare vp and beare himſelfe in aduerſitie. Theſe things it doth with much greater grace, efficacie, and ſpeed, then the bookes of morall Philoſophie do: foraſmuch as examples are of more force to moue and inſtruct, then are the arguments and proofes of reaſon, or their preciſe precepts, becauſe examples be the verie formes of our deedes, and accompanied with all circumſtances. Whereas reaſons and demonſtrations are generall, and tend to the proofe of things, and to the beating of them into vnderſtanding: and examples tend to the ſhewing of them in practiſe and execution, becauſe they do not onely declare what is to be done, but alſo worke a deſire to do it, as well in reſpect of a certaine naturall inclination which all men haue to follow examples, as alſo for the beautie of vertue, which is of ſuch power, that whereſoeuer ſhe is ſeene, ſhe maketh her ſelfe to be loued and liked. Againe, it doth things with greater weight and grauitie, then the inuentions and deuiſes of the Poets: becauſe it helpeth not it ſelfe with anie other thing then with the plaine truth, whereas Poetrie doth commonly inrich things by commending them aboue the ſtarres and their deſeruing, becauſe the chiefe intent thereof is to delight. Moreouer, it doth things with more grace and modeſtie then the ciuill lawes and ordinances do: becauſe it is more grace for a man to teach and inſtruct, then to chaſtiſe or puniſh. And yet for all this, an hiſtorie alſo hath his manner of puniſhing the wicked, by the reproch of euerlaſting infamie, wherewith it defaceth their remembrance, which is a great meane to withdraw them from vice, who otherwiſe would be leudly and wickedly diſpoſed. Likewiſe on the contrarie part, the immortall praiſe and glorie wherewith it rewardeth wel-doers, is a verie liuely and ſharpe ſpurre for men of noble courage and gentleman-like nature, to cauſe them to aduenture vpon all manner of noble and great things. For bookes are full of examples of men of high courage and wiſedome, who for deſire to continue the remembrance of their name by the ſure and certaine record of hiſtories, haue willingly yeelded their liues to the ſeruice of the common-weale, ſpent their goods, ſuſtained infinite paines both of bodie and mind in defence of the oppreſſed, in making common buildings, in eſtabliſhing of lawes and gouernements, and in the finding out of arts and ſciences neceſſarie for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithfull regiſtring whereof, the thanke is due to hiſtories. And although true vertue ſeeke no reward of her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her ſelfe with the conſcience of her well doing: yet notwithſtanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meete to draw men by all meanes to good doing, and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honour of their vertuous deedes, ſeeing that honour doth naturally accompanie vertue, as the ſhadow doth the bodie. For we commonly ſee, that not to feele the ſparkes of deſire of honour, is an infallible ſigne of a baſe, vile, and cloiniſh nature: and that ſuch as account it an vnneceſſarie, needleſſe, or vnſeemely thing to be praiſed, are likewiſe no doers of any things worthie of praiſe, but are commonly men of faint courage, whoſe thoughts extend no further then to their liues, whereof alſo they haue no further remembrance, then is before their eyes. But if the counſell of old men be to be greatly eſteemed, becauſe they muſt needes haue ſeene much by reaſon of their long life: and if they that haue trauelled long in ſtrange countries, and haue had the managing of manie affaires, and haue gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for ſage, and worthie to haue the reynes of great gouernements put into their hands: how greatly is the reading of hiſtories to be eſteemed, which is able to furniſh vs with more examples in one day, then the whole courſe of the longeſt life of any man is able to do? Inſomuch that they which exerciſe themſelues in reading as they ought to do, although they be but young, become ſuch in reſpect of vnderſtanding of the affaires of this world, as if they were old and gray headed, and of long experience. Yea though they neuer haue remoued out of their houſes, yet are they nduertiſed, informed, and ſatisfied of all things in the world, as well as they that haue ſhortned their liues by innumerable trauels and infinite daungers, in running ouer the whole earth that is inhabited: whereas on the contrarie part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and come to paſſe before they were borne, continue ſtill as children, though they be neuer ſo aged, and are but as ſtrangers in their owne natiue countries. To be ſhort,

it may be truly ſaid, that the reading of hiſtories is the ſchoole of wiſedome, to faſhion mens vnderſtanding, by conſidering aduiſedly the ſtate of the world that is paſt, and by marking diligently by what lawes, manners, and diſcipline, Empires, Kingdomes, and dominions, haue in old time bene ſtabliſhed, and afterward maintained and increaſed: or contrariwiſe chaunged, diminiſhed, and ouerthrowne. Alſo we reade, that whenſoeuer the right ſage and vertuous Emperour of Rome, Alexander Seuerus, *was to conſult of anie matter of great importance, whether it concerned warres or gouernement: he alwayes called ſuch to counſell, as were reported to be well ſeene in hiſtories. Notwithſtanding I know there are that will ſtand againſt me in this point, and vphold that the reading of hiſtories can ſerue to ſmall purpoſe, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: becauſe skill conſiſteth in action, and is ingendred by the verie experience and practiſe of things, when a man doth well marke and throughly beare away the things that he hath ſeene with his eyes, and found true by proofe, according to the ſaying of the auncient Poet* Afranius:

My name is Skill, my Syre Experience hight,
And Memorie bred and brought me foorth to light.

Which thing was meant likewiſe by the Philoſopher that ſaid, that the hand is the inſtrument of skill. By reaſon whereof it commeth to paſſe (ſay they) that ſuch as ſpeake of mattters of gouernement and ſtate, but ſpecially of matters of warre by the booke, ſpeake but as booke-knights, as the French prouerbe termeth them, after the manner of the Grecians, who call him a booke Pilot, which hath not the ſure and certaine knowledge of the things that he ſpeakes of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to truſt to the vnderſtanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that conſiſt in the deed doing, where the hand is to be ſet to the worke: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reaſon of painting, or the diſputing vpon colours, without taking of the penſill in hand, can ſtand a man in anie ſtead at all to make him a good painter. But on the contrarie part, manie haue proued wiſe men and good Captaines, which could neither write nor reade. Beſides this, they alleage further, that in matters of warre, all things alter from yeare to yeare: by meanes whereof the ſleights and pollicies that are to be learned out of bookes, will ſerue the turne no more then mines that are blowne vp. According whereunto Cambyſes *telleth his ſonne* Cyrus *in* Xenophon, *that like as in Muſicke the neweſt ſongs are commonly beſt liked of for once, becauſe they were neuer heard afore: So in the warres, thoſe pollicies that neuer were practiſed afore, are thoſe that take beſt ſucceſſe, and commonly haue the beſt effect, becauſe the enemies do leaſt doubt of them. Neuertheleſſe I am not he that will maintaine that a wiſe Gouernour of a common-weale, or a great Captaine can be made of ſuch a perſon, as hath neuer trauelled out of his ſtudie, and from his bookes: howbeit that which* Cicero *writeth of* Lucius Lucullus, *is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captaine generall and Lieutenant of the Romaines, to make warre againſt King* Mithridates, *he had no experience at all of the warres, and yet afterward he beſtowed ſo great diligence in the reading of hiſtories, and in conferring vpon euerie point with the old Captaines and men of long experience whom he caried with him, that by the time of his comming into Aſia, where he was indeed to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a verie ſufficient Captaine, as appeared by his deedes: inſomuch that by thoſe wayes, cleane contrarie to the common order of warre, he diſcomfited two of the moſt puiſſant and greateſt Princes that were at that time in the Eaſt. For his vnderſtanding was ſo quicke, his care ſo vigilant, and his courage ſo great, that he needed no long training, nor groſſe inſtruction by experience. And although I graunt there haue bene diuerſe Gouernours and Captaines, which by the onely force of nature (furthered by long continued experience) haue done goodly and great exploites: yet can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the gifts of nature with the knowledge of learning, and the reading of hiſtories, they might haue done much greater things, and they might haue become much more perfect. For like as in euerie other cunning and skill wherein a man intendeth to excell: ſo alſo to become a perfect and ſufficient perſon to gouerne in peace and warre, there*

Three things neceſſarie for a Magiſtrate, or Captaine.

are three things of neceſſitie required, namely, nature, art, and practiſe. Nature (in the caſe we treate of) muſt furniſh vs with a good mother wit, with a bodie well diſpoſed to endure all manner of trauell, and with a good will to aduance our ſelues: Art muſt giue vs iudgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wiſe diſcourſes that we haue read and double read in good hiſtories: and Practiſe will get vs readineſſe, aſſuredneſſe, and the eaſe how to put things in execution. For though Skill be the ruler of doing the deede, yet it is a vertue of the mind which teacheth a man the meane point betweene the two faultie extremities of too much and too litle, wherein the commendation of all doings conſiſteth. And whoſoeuer he is that goeth about to attaine to it by the onely triall of experience,

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and had rather learne it at his owne coſt, then at another mans: he may well be of the number of thoſe that are touched by this auncient Prouerbe, which ſaith, Experience is the ſchoole-miſtris of fooles: becauſe mans life is ſo ſhort, and experience ſo hard and dangerous, ſpecially in matters of warre, wherein (according to the ſaying of Tamachus the Athenian Captaine) a man cannot fault twice, becauſe the faults are ſo great that moſt commonly they bring with them the ouerthrow of the ſtate, or loſſe of the liues of thoſe that do them. Therefore we muſt not tarie for this wit that is wonne by experience, which coſteth ſo deare, and is ſo long in comming, that a man is oft times dead in the ſeeking of it before he haue attained it, ſo as he had need of a ſecond life to employ it in, becauſe of the ouerlate comming by it. But we muſt make ſpeed by our diligent and continuall reading of hiſtories both old and new, that we may enioy this happineſſe which the Poet ſpeaketh of:

A happie wight is he that by miſhaps
Of others, doth beware of afterclaps.

By the way, as concerning thoſe that ſay that paper will beare all things: if there be anie that vnworthily take vpon them the name of Hiſtoriographers, and do deface the dignitie of the ſtorie for hatred or fauour, by mingling anie vntruth with it: that is not the fault of the hiſtorie, but of the men that are partiall, who do abuſe that name vnworthily, to couer and cloake their owne paſſions withall, which thing ſhall neuer come to paſſe, if the writer of the ſtorie haue the properties that are neceſſarily required in a ſtorie-writer, as theſe: That he ſet aſide all affection, be voide of enuie, hatred, and flatterie: that he be a man experienced in the affaires of the world, of good vtterance and iudgement, to diſcerne what is to be ſayd and what to be left vnſayd, and what would do more harme to haue it declared, then do good to haue it reprooued or condemned: foraſmuch as his chiefe drift ought to be to ſerue the common-weale, and that he is but as a regiſter to ſet downe the iudgements and definitiue ſentences of Gods Court, whereof ſome are giuen according to the ordinarie courſe and capacitie of our weake naturall reaſon, and other ſome go according to Gods infinite power and incomprehenſible wiſedome, aboue and againſt all diſcourſe of mans vnderſtanding, who being vnable to reach the bottome of his iudgements, and to find out the firſt motions and grounds thereof, do impute the cauſe of them to a certaine fortune, which is nought elſe but a fained deuiſe of mans wit, dazeled at the beholding of ſuch brightneſſe, and confounded at the gazing of ſo bottomleſſe a deepe: howbeit, nothing commeth to paſſe nor is done without the leaue of him that is the verie right and truth it ſelfe, with whom nothing is paſt or to come, who knoweth and vnderſtandeth the verie originall cauſes of all neceſſitie. The conſideration whereof teacheth men to humble themſelues vnder his mightie hand by acknowledging that there is one firſt cauſe which ouerruleth nature, whereof it commeth, that neither hardineſſe is alwayes happie, nor wiſedome alwayes ſure of good ſucceſſe. Theſe ſo notable commodities are euerie where accompanied with ſingular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of diuerſitie and noueltie wherein our nature delighteth, and is greatly deſirous of: becauſe we hauing an earneſt inclination towards our beſt proſperitie and aduancement, it goeth on ſtill, ſeeking in it euerie thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But foraſmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content it ſelfe vnder the cope of heauen, it is ſoone wearie of the things that it had earneſtly deſired before, and ſo goeth on wandering in the vnskilfulneſſe of her likings, whereof ſhe neuer ceaſeth to make a continuall changing vntill ſhe haue fully ſatisfied her deſires, by attaining to the laſt end, which is to be knit to her chiefe felicitie, where is the full perfection of all goodlineſſe and goodneſſe. This liking of varietie cannot be better releeued, then by that which is the finder out and the preſeruer of time, the father of all noueltie, and meſſenger of antiquitie: For if we find a certaine ſingular pleaſure, in hearkening to ſuch as be returned from ſome long voyage, and do report things which they haue ſeene in ſtrange countries, as the manners of people, the natures of places, and the faſhions of liues, differing from ours: and if we be ſometime ſo rauiſhed with delight and pleaſure at the hearing of the talke of ſome wiſe, diſcreete, and well ſpoken old man, from whoſe mouth there floweth a ſtreame of ſpeech ſwecter then honie, in rehearſing the aduentures which he hath had in his greene and youthfull yeares, the paines that he hath endured, and the perils that he hath ouerpaſſed, ſo as we perceiue not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we to be rauiſhed with delight and wondering, to behold the ſtate of mankind, and the true ſucceſſe of things, which antiquitie hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world, as the ſetting vp of Empires, the ouerthrow of Monarchies, the riſing and falling of Kingdomes, and all things elſe worthie admiration, and the ſame liuely ſet forth in the faire, rich, and true table of Eloquence? And that ſo liuely, as in the verie reading of them we ſee our minds to be ſo touched by them, not as

though the things were alreadie done and past, but as though they were euen then presently in doing, and we find our selues caried away with gladnesse and griefe through feare or hope, well neare as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithstanding we be not in anie paine or daunger, but onely conceiue in our minds the aduersities that other folkes haue endured, our selues sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to those verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease
Vpon the land, and safely for to see
How other folkes are tossed on the seas,
That with the blustring winds turmoiled be.
Not that the sight of others miseries
Doth any way the honest heart delight,
But for because it liketh well our eies,
To see harmes free that on our selues might light.

Also it is seene that the reading of histories doth so hold and allure good wits, that diuers times it not onely maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serueth verie fitly to turne away their griefes, and sometimes also to remedie their diseases. As for example, we find it written of Alphonsus King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wisedome and goodnesse, that being sore sicke in the citie of Capua, when his Phisitions had spent all the cunning that they had to recouer him his health, and he saw that nothing preuailed: he determined with himselfe to take no moe medicines, but for his recreation caused the storie of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deeds of Alexander the great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he tooke so wonderfull pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and ouercame the waywardnesse of his disease. Whereupon, hauing soone recouered his health, he discharged his Phisitions with such wordes as these: Feast me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, sith they can no skill to helpe me to recouer my health: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recouer my health. Now if the reading and knowledge of histories be delightfull and profitable to all other kind of folke: I say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, because they haue to do with charges of greatest weight and difficultie, to be best stored with giftes and knowledge for the discharge of their duties: seeing the ground of stories is, to treate of all manner of high matters of state, as warres, battels, cities, countries, treaties of peace and alliances, and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, then for anie other kind of degrees of men: because they being bred and brought vp tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons (as meete is for so great states to haue) they take not so great paines in their youth for the learning of things as behoueth those to take which will learne the noble auncient languages, and the painefull doctrine comprehended in Philosophie. Againe, when they come to mans state, their charge calleth them to deale in great affaires, so as there remaineth no exercise of wit more conuenient for them, then the reading of histories in their owne tongue, which without paine is able to teach them euen with great pleasure and ease, whatsoeuer the painefull workes of the Philosophers concerning the gouernement of common-wealths can shew them, to make them skilfull in the well ruling and gouerning of the people and countries that God hath put vnder their subiection. But the worst is, that they euer (or for the most part) haue such manner of persons about them as seeke nothing else but to please them by all the wayes they can, and there are verie few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: whereas on the contrarie part, an historie flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes the faults and vices of such as were like them in greatnesse of degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerius (a man renowmed aswell for his skill in the good gouernement of a common-weale, as for his excellent knowledge otherwise) counselled Ptolomie, first King of Ægypt after the death of Alexander the great, that he should often and diligently reade the bookes that treated of the gouernement of Kingdomes, because (sayd he) thou shalt find manie things there, which thy seruants and familiar friends dare not tell thee. Moreouer this is another thing, that such great personages cannot easily trauell out of the bounds of their dominions, to go view strange countries as priuate persons do: because the iealousie of their estate, and the regard of their dignitie, requires that they should neuer be in place where another man might commaund them. And oftentimes for want of hauing seene the countries, and knowne the people and Princes that are their neighbours, they haue aduentured vpon attempts without good ground: to auoide the which, the instruction they may haue by the reading of histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause then onely this last, surely it ought to induce

Princes

Princes to the often and diligent reading of histories, wherein are written the heroicall deedes of wise and valiant men, specially of Kings that haue bene before them, the consideration whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of stately and noble courage: because the seedes of Princely vertues that are bred with themselues, do then quicken them vp with an emulation towards those that haue bene or are equall in degree with them, aswell in respect of noblenesse of bloud, as of greatnesse of state, so as they be loth to giue place to anie person, and much lesse can find in their hearts to be out-gone in glorie of vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alleaged, if the thing were not so well knowne of it selfe, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needfull to prooue it. Therefore a man may truly conclude, that an historie is the schoole-mistris of Princes, at whose hand they may without paine, in way of pastime, and with singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belong to their office. Now, according to the diuersitie of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of writing that it vseth, it hath sundrie names giuen vnto it: But yet among the rest there are two chiefe kinds. The one, which setteth downe mens doings and aduentures at length, is called by the common name of an historie: the other, which declareth their natures, sayings, and manners, is properly named their liues. And although the ground of them both do close verie neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the things, and the other the persons: the one is more common, and the other more priuate: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceed from within: the one the euents, the other the consultations: betweene the which there is oftentimes great oddes, according to this answer of the Persian Siramnes, *to such as maruelled how it came to passe, that his deuises being so politicke had so vnhappie successe: It is (quoth he) because my deuises are wholly from my owne inuention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of fortune and the King. And surely among all those that euer haue taken vpon them to write the names of famous men, the chiefe prerogatiue, by the iudgement of such as are cleerest sighted, is iustly giuen to the Greeke Philosopher* Plutarke, *borne in the citie of Chæronea in the countrey of Bœotia, a nobleman, perfect in all rare knowledge, as his workes may well put men out of doubt, if they list to reade them through, who all his life long, euen to his old age, had to deale in affaires of the common-weale, as he himselfe witnesseth in diuers places, specially in the treatise which he intituled,* Whether an old man ought to meddle with the gouernement of a common-weale or not: *and who had the hap and honour to be schoole-maister to the Emperour* Traian, *as is commonly beleeued, and as is expresly pretended in a certaine Epistle set before the Latine translation of his matters of state, (which to say the truth) seemeth in my iudgement to be somewhat suspitious, because I find it not among his workes in Greeke, besides that it speaketh as though the booke were dedicated to* Traian, *which thing is manifestly disprooued by the beginning of the booke, and by diuers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding because me thinkes it is sagely and grauely written, and well beseeming him: I haue set it downe here in this place,* Plutarke *vnto* Traian *sendeth greeting. I know well that the modestie of your nature was not desirous of Soueraignetie, though you haue alwayes indeuoured to deserue it by your honourable conuersation: by reason whereof you haue bene thought so much the worthier of it, as you haue bene found the further off from all ambition. And therefore I do now reioyce in your vertue and my fortune, if it be so great as to cause you to administer that thing with iustice, which you haue obtained by desert. For otherwise I am sure you haue put your selfe in hazard of great daungers, and me in perill of slaunderous tongues, because that Rome cannot away with a wicked Emperour, and the common voice of the people is alwayes wont to cast the faults of the schollers in the teeth of their schoole-maisters: as for example: Seneca is railed vpon by slaunderous tongues, for the faults of his scholler* Nero: *the scapes of* Quintilians *young schollers are imputed to* Quintilian *himselfe: and* Socrates *is blamed for being too mild to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall do all things well enough, so you keepe you as you are. If you first set your selfe in order, and then dispose all other things according to vertue, all things shall fall out according to your desire. I haue set you downe the meanes in writing, which you must obserue for the well gouerning of your common-weale, and haue shewed vnto you of how great force your behauiour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow those things, you haue* Plutarke *for the director and guider of your life: if not, I protest vnto you by this Epistle, that your falling into daunger to the ouerthrow of the Empire, is not by the doctrine of* Plutarke. *This Epistle witnesseth plainely that he was the schoole-maister of* Traian, *which thing seemeth to be auowed by this writing of* Suidas: Plutarke *being borne in the citie of Chæronea in Bœotia, was in the time of the Emperour* Traian, *and somewhat before. But* Traian *honoured him with the dignitie of Consulship, and*

commaunded the officers and magiſtrates that were throughout all the countrey of Illyria, that they ſhould not do anie thing without his counſell and authoritie. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Traian being ſo wiſe an Emperour, would neuer haue done him ſo great honour, if he had not thought himſelfe greatly beholding to him for ſome ſpeciall cauſe. But the thing that maketh me moſt to beleeue it true, is, that the ſame goodneſſe and iuſtice appeared to be naturally imprinted in moſt of Traians ſayings and doings, whereof the patterne and mould (as a man might terme it) is caſt and ſet downe in Plutarkes Morals, ſo as men may perceiue expreſly, that the one could well skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wiſely. For Dion writeth, that among other honours which the Senate of Rome gaue by decree vnto Traian, they gaue him the title of the Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth that euen vnto his time, when a new Emperour came to be receiued of the Senate, among the cries of good handſell, and the wiſhes of good lucke that were made vnto him, one was: Happier be thou then Auguſtus, and better then Traian. Howſoeuer the caſe ſtood, it is verie certaine that Plutarke dedicated the collection of his Apothegmes vnto him. But when he had liued a long time at Rome, and was come home againe to his owne houſe, he fell to writing of this excellent worke of Liues, which he calleth Parallelon, as much to ſay, as a coupling or matching together, becauſe he matcheth a Grecian with a Romaine, ſetting downe their liues each after other, and comparing them together, as he found anie likeneſſe of nature, conditions, or aduentures betwixt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worſer, greater or leſſer then the other: which things he doth with ſo goodly and graue diſcourſe euerie where, taken out of the deepeſt and moſt hidden ſecrets of morall and naturall Philoſophie, with ſo ſage precepts and fruitfull inſtructions, with ſo effectuall commendation of vertue, and deteſtation of vice, with ſo manie goodly allegations of other authors, with ſo manie fit compariſons, and with ſo manie high inuentions: that the booke may better be called by the name of the Treaſurie of all rare and perfect learning, then by anie other name. Alſo it is ſaid, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of ſingular learning, and a worthie of the auncient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which ſaw him ſo earneſtly giuen to his ſtudie that he forgot all other things) what author he had leuereſt to chooſe, if he were at that point that he muſt needes chooſe ſome one to hold him to alone, did anſwer, that he would chooſe Plutarke: becauſe that if they were all put together, there was no one both ſo profitable, and ſo pleaſant to reade, as he. Soſſius Senecio to whom he dedicateth his worke, was a Senatour of Rome, as witneſſeth Dion, who writeth that the three perſons whom Traian moſt loued and honoured, were Soſſius, Parma, and Celſus, inſomuch that he cauſed images of them to be ſet vp. True it is that he wrote the liues of manie other men, which the ſpitefulneſſe of the time hath bereft vs of, among which he himſelfe maketh mention of the liues of Scipio Africanus, and Metellus Numidicus. And I haue read a litle Epiſtle of a ſonne of his, whoſe name is not expreſſed, copied out of an old copie in the Librarie of S. Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a regiſter of all the bookes that his father made: and there among the couples of liues, he ſetteth downe the liues of Scipio and Epaminondas, and laſtly the liues of Auguſtus Cæſar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But hauing vſed all the diligence that I could in ſearching the chiefe Libraries of Venice and Rome, I could neuer find them out. Onely I drew out certaine diuerſities of readings, and manie corrections, by conferring the old written copies with the printed bookes: which haue ſtood me in great ſtead to the vnderſtanding of manie hard places: and there are a great number of them which I haue reſtored by coniecture, by the iudgement and helpe of ſuch men of this age, as are of greateſt knowledge in humane learning. Yet for all this, there remaine ſome places vnamended, howbeit verie few, becauſe ſome lines were wanting in the originall copies, whereof (to my ſeeming) it was better for me to witneſſe the want by marking it with ſome ſtarre, then to gueſſe at it with all aduenture, or to adde anie thing to it. Now finally, if I haue ouerſhot my ſelfe in anie thing, as it is verie eaſie to do in ſo hard and long a worke, ſpecially to a man of ſo ſmall abilitie as I am: I beſeech the Readers, to vouchſafe for my diſcharge, to admit the excuſe which the Poet Horace giueth me, where he ſaith:

A man may well be ouerſeene
In workes that long and tedious beene.

Specially ſith that of ſo manie good men, and men of skill, as haue heretofore ſet hand to the tranſlating of it, there was neuer yet anie one found that went through with it in anie language, at leaſtwiſe that I haue ſeene or heard of: and that ſuch as haue enterpriſed to tranſlate it, ſpecially into Latine, haue euidently witneſſed the hardneſſe thereof, as they may eaſily perceiue which liſt to

conferre

conferre their tranſlations with mine. Neuertheleſſe if it ſo fortune that men find not the ſpeech of this tranſlation ſo flowing, as they haue found ſome other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beſeech the readers to conſider, that the office of a fit tranſlator, conſiſteth not onely in the faithfull expreſsing of his authors meaning, but alſo in a certaine reſembling and ſhadowing out of the forme of his ſtile, and the maner of his ſpeaking: vnleſſe he will commit the error of ſome painters, who hauing taken vpon them to draw a man liuely, do paint him long where he ſhould be ſhort, and groſſe where he ſhould be ſlender, and yet ſet out the reſemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harſh or rude ſoeuer my ſpeech be, yet am I ſure that my tranſlation will be much eaſier to my countrimen, then the Greeke copy is, euen to ſuch as are beſt practiſed in the Greeke tongue, by reaſon of Plutarchs *peculiar maner of inditing, which is rather ſharpe, learned, and ſhort, then plaine, poliſhed, and eaſie. At the hardeſt, although I haue not compaſſed my matters ſo happily as ye could haue wiſhed and deſired: yet do I hope that your Lordſhips in reading it will hold the parties good will excuſed, which hath taken ſuch paines in doing of it to profite you. And if my labour be ſo happy, as to content you: God be praiſed for it, which hath giuen me the grace to finiſh it.*

THE TABLE OF THE NOBLE GRECIANS AND ROMAINES COMPARED BY PLVTARCH *of Chæronea.*

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Agis & Cleomenes. p. 799. } compa-
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THE

THE LIVES OF THE NOBLE GREEKES AND ROMAINES, THE

MOST OF THEM COMPARED TOGETHER

by that graue learned Philoſopher and Hiſtoriographer

PLVTARCH *of Chæronea.*

Theſeus.

LIKE as the hiſtoriographers which do ſet forth the deſcription of the earth in figure (my friend *Soſsius Senecio*) are wont to place in the lowermoſt part of their mappes, the farre diſtant regions vnknowne vnto them, and to marke in the margent ſuch like notes and reaſons as theſe: beyond theſe countries are nothing but deepe dry ſands without water, full of fowle ill fauoured venimous beaſts, or much mudde vnnauigable, or SCYTHIA forſaken for cold, or elſe the ſea froſen with Iſe. Euen ſo in this my hiſtorie, I could ſpeake of ſtrange things, and more ancient, and further off from mens memorie. But herein I haue compared the liues of ſome noble men, the one with the other, hauing followed all thoſe times, whereof the monuments remaine yet ſo whole, that men may ſpeake of verie great likelihood, or rather write a verie troth. What hath bene written before, is but of ſtrange faynings, and full of monſtrous fables, imagined and deuiſed by Poets, which are altogether vncertaine, and moſt vntrue. Howbeit hauing heretofore ſet forth the liues of *Lycurgus* (which eſtabliſhed the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and of king *Numa Pompilius*, me thought I might with reaſon alſo aſcend vnto the time of *Romulus*, ſithens I was come ſo neare vnto his time. Wherefore hauing long debated with my ſelfe what *Æſchilus* the Poet ſaid:

Soſsius Senecio a Senatour of Rome.

What champion may with ſuch a man compare?
or who (thinke I) ſhall be againſt him ſet?
Who is ſo bold? or who is he that dare
defend his force, in ſuch encounter met?

In the end I reſolued, to compare him which did ſet vp the noble and famous citie of ATHENS, vnto him which founded the glorious and inuincible citie of ROME. Wherein I would haue wiſhed, that the fables of her antiquity had bene ſet out ſo in our writings, that we might yet haue graced them with ſome apparance of hiſtoricall narration. But if by chance in ſome places they range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limites of true apparance, and haue no maner of conformity with any credibleneſſe of matter: the readers in curteſie muſt needs hold me excuſed, accepting in good part that which may be written, and reported, of things ſo extreamely old and ancient. Now ſurely me thinkes, that *Theſeus* in many things was much like vnto *Romulus*. For being both begotten by ſtealth, and out of lawfull matrimony, they were both bruted to be borne of the ſeede of gods.

Theſeus and Romulus very like.

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know.

Both were very wiſe, and ſtrong beſides of body. The one of them built ROME, and the other the citie of ATHENS, two of the moſt noble cities of the world. The one and the other were rauiſhers of women: and neither the one nor the other could auoide the miſchiefe of quarell and contention with their friends, and to defile themſelues with the bloud of their neareſt kinſemen. Moreouer, they ſay that both the one and the other in the end, did get the hate and ill will of their citizens. At the leaſt if we beleeue thoſe things which are left written, and carry greateſt ſhow of troth, *Theſeus* of his fathers ſide, was deſcended of the right linage of *Erichtheus* the great, and of the firſt inhabitants which occupied the countrey of ATTICA, the which ſince were called AVTOCTHONES, as much to ſay, as borne of themſelues. For there is no memory, or other mention made, that they came out of any other countrey then that. And of his mothers ſide he came of *Pelops*, who was in his time the mightieſt king of all the countrey of PELOPONNESVS, not ſo much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his daughters which were many in number, he beſtowed them on the greateſt Lords of all the countrey: his ſonnes alſo, which likewiſe were many, he diſperſed into euery city and free towne, finding meanes to make them gouernours and heads of the ſame. *Pitheus*, grandfather to *Theſeus* on the mother ſide, was one that founded the little city of TROEZEN, and was reputed to be one of the beſt learned and wiſeſt men of his time. But the knowledge and wiſedome, which only caried eſtimation at that time, conſiſted altogether in graue ſentences & morall ſayings. As thoſe are, which wan the Poet *Heſiodus* ſuch fame for his booke intituled, The workes and daies: in the which is read euen at this preſent, this goodly ſentence, which they father vpon *Pitheus*:

The linage of Theſeus.

Pelops King of Peloponneſus.

Pitheus, the grandfather of Theſeus.

The wiſedome of Pitheus.

Thou ſhalt performe, thy promiſe and thy pay
to hired men, and that without delay.

And this doth *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher himſelfe teſtifie: and the Poet *Euripides* alſo, calling *Hippolitus* the ſcholler of the holy *Pitheus*, doth ſufficiently declare of what eſtimation he was. But *AEgeus* deſiring (as they ſay) to know how he might haue children, went vnto the city of DELPHES to the Oracle of *Apollo*: where, by a Nunne of the temple, this notable prophecie was giuen him for an anſwer. The which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, vntill he was returned againe to ATHENS. And becauſe the words of this prophecy were ſomewhat darke, and hard, he returned by the city of TROEZEN, to tell it vnder *Pitheus*. The words of the prophecy were theſe:

AEgeus the father of Theſeus.

O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace,
plucke not the tappe out of thy truſty tunne:
Before thou do, returne vnto thy place
in Athens towne, from whence thy race doth runne.

Pitheus vnderſtanding the meaning, perſwaded him, or rather cunningly by ſome deuice deceiued him, in ſuch ſort, that he made him to lye with his daughter called *AEthra*. *AEgeus*, after he had accompanied with her, knowing that ſhe was *Pitheus* daughter with whom he had lyen, and doubting that he had gotten her with child: left her a ſword and a paire of ſhoes, the which he hid vnder a great hollow ſtone, the hollowneſſe whereof ſerued iuſt to receiue thoſe things which he layd vnder it, and made no liuing creature priuie to it but her alone, ſtraightly charging

AEthra the daughter of king Pitheus, and the mother of Theſeus.

charging her, that if she happened to haue a sonne, when he were come to mans estate, and of strength to remoue the stone, and to take those things from vnder it which he left there: that she should then send him vnto him by those tokens, as secretly as she could, that no body else might know of it. For he did greatly feare the children of one called *Pallas*, the which lay in waite and spiall by all the meanes they could to kill him, onely of despight because he had no children, they being fifty brethren, and all begotten of one father. This done, he departed from her. And *AEthra* within few moneths after was deliuered of a goodly sonne, the which from that time was called *Theseus*: and as some say, so called, because of the tokens of knowledge his father had layed vnder the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwards at ATHENS when his father knew him, and auowed him for his sonne. But in the meane time, during his infancie and childhood, he was brought vp in the house of his grandfather *Pitheus*, vnder the gouernement and teaching of one called *Connidas*, his schoolemaister: in honour of whom the ATHENIANS to this day do sacrifice a weather, the day before the great feast of *Theseus*, hauing more reason to honour the memory of this gouernour, then of a *Silanion* and of a *Parrhasius*, to whom they do honour also, because they painted and cast moulds of the images of *Theseus*. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the young men after their infancie and growth to mans state, went vnto the city of DELPHES, to offer part of their haires in the temple of *Apollo*. *Theseus* also went thither as other did: and some say that the place where the ceremony of this offering was made, hath euer since kept the old name (and yet continueth) *Theseia*. Howbeit he did not shaue his head but before onely, as *Homer* saith, like the fashion of the ABANTES in old time: and this manner of shauing of haires, was called for his sake, *Theseida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in troth they were the very first that shaued themselues after this fashion: neuertheless they learned it not of the ARABIANS, as it was thought of some, neither did they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS. But because they were warlike and valiant men, which did ioyne neere vnto their enemie in battell, and aboue all men of the world were skilfullest in fight hand to hand, and would keepe their ground: as the Poet *Archilochus* witnesseth in these verses:

The Pallantides.

Pallas had fifty sonnes.

Why Theseus was so called.

Connidas Theseus schoolemaister.

A custome to offer haires at Delphes.

Theseia.

Theseus manner of shauing.

The Abantes.

They vse no slings in foughten fields to haue,
nor bended bowes: but swords and trenchant blades.
For when fierce Mars beginneth for to raue
in bloudy field: then euery man inuades
His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand,
then do they deedes, right cruell to recompt.
For in this wise, the braue and warlike band
do shew their force which come from Negrepont.

The cause why they were thus shauen before, was, for that their enemies should not haue the vauntage to take them by the haires of the head while they were fighting. And for this selfe same consideration, *Alexander* the great commaunded his captaines to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shaue their beards: because it is the easiest hold (and readiest for the hand) a man can haue of his enemie in fighting, to hold him fast by the same. But to returne to *Theseus*. *AEthra* his mother had euer vnto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true father. And *Pitheus* also had giuen it out abroad, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, because the TROEZENIANS haue this god in great veneration, and do worship him as patron and protectour of their city, making offerings to him of their first fruites: and they haue for the marke and stampe of their money, the three piked mace, which is the signe of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was come to the prime and lustinesse of his youth, and that with the strength of his body he shewed a great courage, ioyned with a naturall wisdome, and staiednesse of wit: then his mother brought him to the place where this great hollow stone lay, and telling him truly the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, and gaue him counsell to go by sea to ATHENS vnto him. *Theseus* easily lift vp the stone, and tooke his fathers tokens from vnder it: Howbeit he aunswered plainely, that he would not go by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deale the safer way, and that his mother and grandfather both had instantly intreated him, because the way by land from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very daungerous, all the wayes being beset by robbers and murderers. For the world at that time brought foorth men, which for strongnesse in their armes, for swiftnesse of

The cause of shauing their haires before.

Alexander Magnus made the Macedonians shaue their beards.

Theseus sayd to be Neptunes sonne.

The Troezenians coyne stamped with Neptunes three piked mace.

Theseus youth.

Great robbing in Theseus time. Thucid. lib. 1.

feete, and for a generall ſtrength of the whole body, did farre paſſe the common force of others, and were neuer weary for any labour or trauell they tooke in hand. But for all this, they neuer employed theſe gifts of nature to any honeſt or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanouſly to hurt and wrong others: as if all the fruite and profite of their extraordinary ſtrength had conſiſted in cruelty, and violence onely, and to be able to keepe others vnder and in ſubiection, and to force, deſtroy, and ſpoyle all that came to their hands. Thinking that the more part of thoſe which thinke it a ſhame to do ill, and commend iuſtice, equity, and humanity, do it of faint cowardly hearts, becauſe they dare not wrong others, for feare they ſhould receiue wrong themſelues: and therefore, that they which by might could haue vantage ouer others, had nothing to do with ſuch quiet qualities. Now *Hercules*, trauelling abroad in the world, draue away many of thoſe wicked theeuiſh murderers, and ſome of them he ſlue and put to death, other as he paſſed through thoſe places where they kept, did hide themſelues for feare of him, and gaue place: in ſo much as *Hercules*, perceiuing they were well tamed and brought low, made no further reckoning to purſue them any more. But after that by fortune he had ſlaine *Iphitus* with his owne hands, and that he was paſſed ouer the ſeas into the country of Lydia, where he ſerued Queene *Omphale* a long time, condemning himſelfe vnto that voluntary paine, for the murther he had committed. All the Realme of Lydia during his abode there, remained in great peace and ſecurity from ſuch kind of people. Howbeit in Greece, and all thereabouts, theſe old miſchiefes began againe to renew, growing hotter and violenter then before: becauſe there was no man that puniſhed them, nor that durſt take vpon him to deſtroy them. By which occaſion, the way to go from Peloponnesvs to Athens by land was very perillous. And therefore *Pitheus* declaring vnto *Theſeus*, what manner of theeues there were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villanies they did to all trauellers and wayfaring men, ſought the rather to perſwade him thereby to take his voyage along the ſeas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glory of *Hercules* noble deedes, had long before ſecretly ſet his heart on fire, ſo that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and louingly harkened vnto thoſe which would ſeeme to deſcribe him what manner of man he was, but chiefly vnto thoſe which had ſeene him, and bene in his company, when he had ſayd or done any thing worthy of memory. For then he did manifeſtly open himſelfe, and he felt the like paſſion in his heart, which *Themiſtocles* long time afterwards endured, when he ſayd: that the victory and triumph of *Miltiades* would not let him ſleepe. For euen ſo, the wonderfull admiration which *Theſeus* had of *Hercules* courage, made him in the night that he neuer dreamed but of his noble actes and doings, and in the day time, pricked forwards with emulation and enuie of his glory, he determined with himſelfe one day to do the like, and the rather, becauſe they were neere kinſemen, being coſins remooued by the mothers ſide. For *AEthra* was the daughter of *Pitheus*, and *Alcmena* (the mother of *Hercules*) was the daughter of *Lyſidices*, the which was halfe ſiſter to *Pitheus*, both children of *Pelops* and of his wife *Hippodamia*. So he thought he ſhould be vtterly ſhamed and diſgraced, that *Hercules* trauelling through the world in that ſort, did ſeeke out thoſe wicked theeues to rid both ſea and land of them: and that he, farre otherwiſe, ſhould flye occaſion that might be offered him, to fight with them that he ſhould meete on his way. Moreouer, he was of opinion, he ſhould greatly ſhame and diſhonour him, whom fame and common bruite of people reported to be his father: if in ſhunning occaſion to fight, he ſhould conuey himſelfe by ſea, and ſhould carry to his true father alſo a paire of ſhooes, (to make him knowne of him) and a ſword not yet bathed in bloud. Where he ſhould rather ſeeke cauſe, by manifeſt token of his worthy deedes, to make knowne to the world, of what noble bloud he came, and from whence he was deſcended. With this determination, *Theſeus* holdeth on his purpoſed iourney, with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himſelfe, and to be reuenged of thoſe which would take vpon them to aſſault him. The firſt therefore whom he ſlue within the territories of the city of Epidavrvm, was a robber called *Periphetes*. This robber vſed for his ordinarie weapon to carry a clubbe, and for that cauſe he was commonly ſurnamed *Corynetes*, that is to ſay, a clubbe carier. So he firſt ſtrake at *Theſeus* to make him ſtand: but *Theſeus* fought ſo luſtily with him, that he killed him. Whereof he was ſo glad, and chiefly for that he had won his club, that euer after he caried it himſelfe about with him, as *Hercules* did the Lyons skinne. And like as this ſpoyle of the Lyon did witneſſe the greatneſſe of the beaſt which *Hercules* had ſlaine: euen ſo *Theſeus* went all about, ſhewing that this club which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his owne hands inuincible.

Hercules a deſtroyer of theeues.

Hercules ſerueth Omphale.

Theſeus followeth Hercules.

Deſire of fame pricketh men forward to great enterpriſes.

Theſeus and Hercules neere kinſmen.

Periphetes Corinetes, a famous robber, ſlaine of Theſeus.

Theſeus caried the club he wan of Periphetes, as Hercules did the Lyons skinne.

intuincible. And ſo going on further, in the ſtreights of PELOPONNESVS he killed another, called *Sinnis* ſurnamed *Pityocamtes*, that is to ſay, a wreather or bower of pine apple-trees: whom he put to death in that ſelfe cruell manner that *Sinnis* had ſlaine many other trauellers before. Not that he had experience thereof, by any former practiſe or exerciſe: but onely to ſhew, that cleane ſtrength could do more, then either art or exerciſe. This *Sinnis* had a goodly faire daughter called *Perigouna*, which fled away, when ſhe ſaw her father ſlaine: whom he followed and ſought all about. But ſhe had hidden her ſelfe in a groue full of certaine kinds of wild pricking ruſhes called *Stæbe*, and wild ſparage, which ſhe ſimply like a child intreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had ſenſe to vnderſtand her: promiſing them with an oath, that if they ſaued her from being found, ſhe would neuer cut them downe, nor burne them. But *Theſeus* finding her, called her, and ſware by his faith he would vſe her gently, and do her no hurt, nor diſpleaſure at all. Vpon which promiſe ſhe came out of the buſh, and lay with him, by whom ſhe was conceiued of a goodly boy, which was called *Menalippus*. Afterwards *Theſeus* maried her vnto one *Deioneus*, the ſonne of *Euritus* the *Oechalian*. Of this *Menalippus*, the ſonne of *Theſeus*, came *Ioxus*: the which with *Ornytus* brought men into the Countrie of CARIA, where he built the Citie of IOXIDES. And hereof commeth that old auncient ceremony, obſerued yet vnto this day by thoſe of IOXIDES, neuer to burne the briers of wild ſparage, nor the *Stæbe*, but they haue them in ſome honour and reuerence. Touching the wild ſauage Sowe of *Crommyon*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Phæa*, that is to ſay, ouergrowne with age: ſhe was not a beaſt to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. *Theſeus* notwithſtanding taryed for her, and killed her in his iourney, to the end it ſhould not appeare to the world, that all the valiant deedes he did, were done by compulſion, and of neceſſity: adding thereto his opinion alſo, that a valiant man ſhould not onely fight with men, to defend himſelfe from the wicked: but that he ſhould be the firſt, to aſſault and ſlay wild hurtfull beaſtes. Neuertheleſſe others haue written, that this *Phæa* was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her body, which ſpoyled thoſe that paſſed by the place called CROMMYONIA, where ſhe dwelt: and that ſhe was ſurnamed a Sow, for her beaſtly brutiſh behauiour, and wicked life, for the which in the end ſhe was alſo ſlaine by *Theſeus*. After her he killed *Sciron*, entring into the territories of MEGARA, becauſe he robbed all trauellers by the way, as the common report goeth: or as others ſay, for that of a cruell, wicked, and ſauage pleaſure, he put foorth his feete to thoſe that paſſed by the ſea ſide, and compelled them to waſh them. And then when they thought to ſtowpe to do it, he ſtill ſpurned them with his feete, till he truſt them headlong into the ſea: ſo *Theſeus* threw him headlong downe the rockes. Howbeit the writers of MEGARA impugning this common report, & deſirous (as *Simonides* ſaith) to ouerthrow it that had continued by preſcription of time: did maintaine that this *Sciron* was neuer any robber, nor wicked perſon, but rather a purſuer and puniſher of the wicked, & a friend and a kinſman of the moſt honeſt, & iuſteſt men of GREECE. For there is no man but will confeſſe, that *Æacus* was the moſt vertuous man among the GRECIANS in his time, and that *Cychreus* the SALAMANIAN is honoured and reuerenced as a god at ATHENS: and there is no man alſo but knoweth, that *Peleus* & *Telamon* were men of a ſingular vertue. Now it is certaine, that this *Sciron* was the ſonne in law of *Cychreus*, father in law of *Æacus*, and grandfather to *Peleus* & of *Telamon*, the which two were the children of *Endeida*, the daughter of the ſayd *Sciron*, and of his wife *Chariclo*. Alſo it is not very likely, that ſo many good men would haue had affinitie with ſo naughtie and wicked a man: in taking of him, and giuing him that, which men loue beſt of all things in the world. And therefore the Hiſtoriographers ſay, that it was not the firſt time, when *Theſeus* went vnto ATHENS, that he killed *Sciron*: but that it was many dayes after, when he tooke the city of ELEVSIN, which the MEGARIANS held at that time, where he deceiued the gouernour of the city called *Diocles*, and there he ſlue *Sciron*. And theſe be the obiections the MEGARIANS alledged touching this matter. He ſlue alſo *Cercyon* the ARCADIAN, in the city of ELEVSIN, wreſtling with him. And going a little further, he ſlue *Damaſtes*, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Procruſtes*, in the city of HERMIONIA: and that by ſtretching of him out, to make him euen with the length and meaſure of his beds, as he was wont to do vnto ſtrangers that paſſed by. *Theſeus* did that after the imitation of *Hercules*, who puniſhed tyrants with the ſelfe ſame paine and torment, which they had made others ſuffer. For euen ſo did *Hercules* ſacrifice *Buſiris*. So he ſtifled *Antheus* in wreſtling. So he put *Cycrus* to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake *Termerus* head, from whom this prouerbe of *Termerus* euill came,

Sinnis Pityocamtes, a cruell murtherer ſlaine.

Perigouna Sinnis daughter.

Theſeus begat Menalippus of Perigouna.

Ioxus, Menalippus ſonne.

Ioxides.

Phæa the wild ſowe of Crommyon ſlaine.

Phæa a woman theefe.

Sciron a notable robber, throwne downe the rockes by Theſeus.

Æacus.

Cychreus.

Cercyon the Arcadian ſlaine of Theſeus by wreſtling.

Damaſtes.

Procuſtes a cruell murtherer, ſlaine of Theſeus.

Hercules doings.

Termerus euill.

which continueth yet vnto this day: for this *Termerus* did vse to put them to death in this sort whom he met: to iolle his head against theirs. Thus proceeded *Theseus* after this selfe manner, punishing the wicked in like sort, iustly compelling them to abide the same paine and torments, which they before had vniustly made others abide. And so he held on his iourney vntill he came to the riuer of CEPHISVS, where certaine persons of the house of the *Phytalides* were the first which went to meete him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him according to the ceremonies vsed at that time: and afterwards hauing made a sacrifice of propitiation vnto their gods, they made him great cheare in their houses: and this was the first notable entertainement he found in all his iourney. It is supposed he arriued in the city of ATHENS, the eight day of the moneth of Iune, which then they called *Cronius*. He found the common-wealth turmoiled with seditions, factions, and diuisions, and particularly the house of *AEgeus* in very ill tearmes also, because that *Medea* (being banished out of the City of CORINTH) was come to dwell in ATHENS, and remained with *AEgeus*, whom she had promised by vertue of certaine medicines to make him to get children. But when she heard tell that *Theseus* was come, before that the good king *AEgeus* (who was now become old, suspitious, and affraid of sedition, by reason of the great factions within the city at that time) knew what he was, she perswaded him to poyson him at a feast which they would make him as a stranger that passed by. *Theseus* failed not to go to this prepared feast whereunto he was bidden, but yet thought it not good to disclose himselfe. And the rather to giue *AEgeus* occasion and meane to know him: when they brought the meate to the boord, he drew out his sword, as though he wold haue cut withall, & shewed it vnto him. *AEgeus* seeing it, knew it straight, & forthwith ouerthrew the cup with poyson which was prepared for him: & after he had enquired of him, and asked things, he embraced him as his son. Afterwards in the common assembly of the inhabitants of the city, he declared, how he auowed him for his son. Then all the people receiued him with exceeding ioy, for the renowne of his valiantnesse and manhood. And some say, that when *AEgeus* ouerthrew the cup, the poyson which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this present a certaine compasse inclosed all about within the temple, which is called *Delphinium*. For euen there in that place, in the old time, stood the house of *AEgeus*: in witnes wherof, they cal yet at this present time the image of *Mercury* (which is on the side of the temple looking towards the rising of the sunne) the *Mercury* gate of *AEgeus*. But the PALLANTIDES, which before stood alwayes in hope to recouer the Realme of ATHENS, at the least after *AEgeus* death, because he had no children: when they saw that *Theseus* was knowne, & openly declared for his son and heire, & successor to the Realme, they were not able any longer to beare it, seeing that not only *AEgeus* (who was but the adopted sonne of *Pandion*, and nothing at all of the bloud royall of the *Erictheides*) had vsurped the kingdom ouer thē, but that *Theseus* also should enioy it after his death. Whereupon they determined to make warre with them both, & deuiding themselues into two parts, the one came openly in armes with their father, marching directly towards the city: the other lay close in ambush in the village GARGETTVS, meaning to giue charge vpon them in two places at one instant. Now they brought with them an Herauld borne in the towne of AGNVS, called *Leos*, who bewrayed vnto *Theseus* the secret & deuice of all their enterprise. *Theseus* vpon this intelligence went forth, & did set on those that lay in ambush, & put them all to the sword. The other which were in *Pallas* company vnderstanding thereof, did breake and disperse themselues incontinently. And this is the cause (as some say, why those of *Pallena* do neuer make affinity nor mariage with those of AGNVS at this day. And that in their towne when any proclamation is made, they neuer speake these words which are cried euery where else through out the whole countrey of ATTICA, *Acouete Leos*, (which is as much to say, as Harken, ô people) they do so extreamely hate this word *Leos*, for that it was the Heraulds name which wrought them that treason. This done, *Theseus* who would not liue idly at home and do nothing, but desirous therewithall to gratifie the people, went his way to fight with the bull of *Marathon*, the which did great mischiefes to the inhabitants of the countrey of TETRAPOLIS. And hauing taken him aliue, brought him through the city of ATHENS to be seene of all the inhabitants. Afterwards he did sacrifice him vnto *Apollo Delphias*. Now concerning *Hecale*, who was reported to haue lodged him, and to haue giuen him good entertainement, it is not altogether vntrue. For in the old time, those townes and villages thereabouts did assemble together, and made a common sacrifice which they called *Hecalesion*, in the honour of *Iupiter Hecalian*, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminutiue name, *Hecalena*:

Cephisus, a riuer of Bœotia.
The Phytalides the first men that feasted Theseus in their houses.
This sacrifice Plutarch called Milichia.
Medea perswaded AEgeus to poyson Theseus.
AEgeus acknowledgeth Theseus for his sonne.
The Pallantides take armes against AEgeus and Theseus.
Leos an Herald bewrayeth their treason to Theseus.
Theseus killeth the Pallantides.
The bull of Marathon taken aliue by Theseus.
Apollo Delphias.
Iupiter Hecalian.

Hecalena: becauſe that when ſhe receiued *Theſeus* into her houſe, being then but very yong, ſhe made much of him, and called him by many pretie made names, as old folkes are wont to call yong children. And foraſmuch as ſhe had made a vow to *Iupiter* to make him a ſolemne ſacrifice, if *Theſeus* returned ſafe from the enterpriſe he went about, and that ſhe died before his returne: in recompence of the good cheare ſhe had made him, ſhe had that honor done vnto her by *Theſeus* commandement, as *Philochorus* hath written of it. Shortly after this exploite, there came certaine of King *Minos* ambaſſadours out of CRETA, to aske attribute, being now the third time it was demaunded, which the ATHENIANS payed for this cauſe. *Androgeus*, the eldeſt ſonne of King *Minos*, was ſlaine by treaſon within the countrey of ATTICA: for which cauſe *Minos* purſuing the reuenge of his death, made very hote and ſharpe warres vpon the ATHENIANS, and did them great hurt. But beſides all this, the goddes did ſharpely puniſh and ſcourge all the country, aſwell with barrenneſſe and famine, as alſo with plague & other miſchiefes, euen to the drying vp of their riuers. The ATHENIANS perceiuing theſe ſore troubles and plagues, ranne to the oracle of *Apollo*, who anſwered them that they ſhould appeaſe *Minos*, and when they had made their peace with him, that then the wrath of the goddes would ceaſe againſt them, and their troubles ſhould haue an end. Whereupon the ATHENIANS ſent immediatly vnto him, and intreated him for peace: which he graunted them, with condition that they ſhould be bound to ſend him yearely into CRETA, ſeuen yong boyes, and as many yong girles. Now thus farre, all the Hiſtoriographers do very well agree: but in the reſt not. And they which ſeeme furtheſt off frō the troth, do declare, that when theſe yong boyes were deliuered in CRETA, they cauſed them to be deuoured by the *Minotaure* within the *Labyrinth*: or elſe that they were ſhut within this *Labyrinth*, wandring vp and downe, and could find no place to get out, vntill ſuch time as they died, euen famiſhed for hunger. And this *Minotaure*, as *Euripides* the Poet ſayth, was

The Athenians payed tribute to Minos king of Creta, for the death of Androgeus his ſon.

The manner of the tribute conditioned.

The Minotaure what it was.

A corps combin'd, which monſtrous might be deem'd:
A Boy, a Bull, both man and beaſt it ſeem'd.

But *Philochorus* writeth, that the CRETANS do not confeſſe that, but ſay that this *Labyrinth* was a gaile or priſon, in the which they had no other hurt, ſauing that they which were kept there vnder lock and key, could not flie nor ſtart away: and that *Minos* had in the memorie of his ſonne *Androgeus*, inſtituted games and playes of priſe, where he gaue vnto them that wan the victorie, thoſe yong children of ATHENS, the which in the meane time notwithſtanding were carefully kept and looked vnto in the priſon of the *Labyrinth*: and that at the firſt games that were kept, one of the Kings captaines called *Taurus*, who was in beſt credite with his maiſter, wanne the priſe. This *Taurus* was a churliſh, and naughtie natured man of condition, and very hard and cruell to theſe children of ATHENS. And to verifie the ſame, the Philoſopher *Ariſtotle* himſelf, ſpeaking of the common wealth of the BOTTIEIANS, declareth very well, that he neuer thought that *Minos* did at any time cauſe the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but ſayth, that they poorely toyled in CRETA, euen to crooked age, earning their liuing by true and paineful ſeruice. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to ſatisfie an old vow of theirs which they had made of ancient time) ſent ſometime the firſt borne of their children vnto *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES: and that amongeſt them they alſo mingled thoſe which were deſcended of the ancient priſoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But becauſe they could not liue there, they directed their iourney firſt into ITALIE, where for a time they remained in the realme of PVGLIA, and afterwards from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTIEIANS. In memorie wherof, the daughters of the BOTTIEIANS in a ſolemne ſacrifice they make, do vſe to ſing the foote of this ſong: Let vs to ATHENS go. But therby we may ſee how perillous a thing it is, to fall in diſpleaſure and enmity with a citie, which can ſpeake well, & where learning & eloquence doth floriſh. For euer ſince that time, *Minos* was alwaies blaſed & diſgraced throghout all the Theaters of ATHENS. The teſtimonie of *Heſiodus*, who calleth him the moſt worthy King, doth nothing helpe him at all, nor the praiſe of *Homer*, who nameth him *Iupiters* familiar friend: becauſe the tragical Poets got the vpper hand in diſgracing him, notwithſtāding all theſe. And vpon their ſtages where all the Tragedies were plaid, they ſtill gaue forth many ill fauoured words, & foule ſpeeches of him: as againſt a mā that had bin moſt cruel & vnnatural. Yet moſt mē think, that *Minos* was the King which eſtabliſhed the laws: & *Radamanthus* the iudge & preſeruer of them, who cauſed the ſame alſo to be kept and obſerued. The time now being come about for paiment of the third tribute, when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet

Taurus one of Minoes captaines.

Of the Bottieians. Plin. lib. 4 cap. 2.

King Minos defaced by the Poets in the Theaters at Athens.

Radamanthus.

The third time of payment of the tribute.

maried, to giue them to be put forth to take their chance and lot: the citizens of ATHENS began to murmur against *AEgeus*, alledging for their grieues, that he who onely was the cause of all this euill, was only alone exempted from this griefe. And that to bring the gouernement of the Realme, to fall into the hands of a stranger his bastard, he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were vnnaturally compelled to leaue and forsake them. These iust sorrowes and complaints of the fathers, whose children were taken from them, did pierce the heart of *Theseus*, who willing to yeeld to reason, and to runne the selfe same fortune as the citizens did: willingly offered himselfe to be sent thither, without regard taking to his happe or aduenture. For which, the citizens greatly esteemed of his courage and honourable disposition, and dearly loued him for the good affection he seemed to beare vnto the communalty. But *AEgeus* hauing vsed many reasons and perswasions to cause him to turne, and stay from his purpose, and perceiuing in the end there was no remedie but he would go: he then drew lots for the children which should go with him. *Hellanicus* notwithstanding doth write, that they were not those of the citie which drew lots for the children they should send, but that *Minos* himselfe went thither in person and did chuse them, as he chose *Theseus* the first, vpon conditions agreed betweene them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS should furnish them with a ship, and that the children should shippe and imbarke with him, carying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the *Minotaure*, this tribute should cease. Now before that time, there was neuer any hope of returne, nor of safety of their children, therefore the ATHENIANS alwayes sent a ship to conuey their children with a blacke saile, in token of assured losse. Neuertheless *Theseus* putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good courage, and promising boldly that he would set vpon this *Minotaure*: *AEgeus* gaue vnto the maister of the ship a white saile, commanding him that at his returne he should put out the white saile if his sonne had escaped, if not, that then he should set vp the blacke saile, to shew him a farre off his vnluckie and vnfortunate chaunce. *Simonides* notwithstanding doth say, that this saile which *AEgeus* gaue to the maister, was not white, but red, died in graine, and of the colour of Scarlet: and that he gaue it him to signifie a farre off, their deliuery and safety. This maister was called *Phereclus Amarsiadas*, as *Simonides* sayth. But *Philocorus* writeth, that *Sirus* the SALAMANIAN gaue to *Theseus* a maister called *Nausitheus*, and another marriner to tackle the sayles, who was called *Phæas*: because the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practised to the sea. And this did *Scirus*, for that one of the children on whom the lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the chappels do testifie, which *Theseus* built afterwards in honour of *Nausitheus*, and of *Phæas*, in the village of *Phalerus*, ioyning to the temple of *Scirus*. And it is said moreouer, that the feast which they call *Cybernesia*, that is to say, the feast of Patrons of the shippes, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the lots were drawne, *Theseus* taking with him the children allotted for the tribute, went from the pallace to the temple called *Delphinion*, to offer vp to *Apollo* for him and for them, an offering of supplication which they call *Hiceteria*: which was an oliue bough hallowed, wreathed about with white wolle. After he had made his prayer, he went downe to the sea side to imbarke, the sixt day of the moneth of March: on which day at this present time they do send their young girles to the same temple of *Delphinion*, there to make their prayers and petitions to the goddes. But some say, that the oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES had answered him, that he should take *Venus* for his guide, and that he should call vppon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he did sacrifice a goate vnto her vpon the sea side, which was found suddenly turned into a ramme, and that therefore they surnamed this goddesse *Epitragia*, as one would say, the goddesse of the ramme. Furthermore, after he was arriued in CRETA, he slue there the *Minotaure* (as the most part of auncient authours do write) by the meanes and helpe of *Ariadne*: who being fallen in fansie with him, did giue him a clue of threed, by the helpe whereof she taught him, how he might easily wind out of the turnings and crancks of the *Labyrinth*. And they say, that hauing killed this *Minotaure*, he returned backe againe the same way he went, bringing with him those other young children of ATHENS, whom with *Ariadne* also he carried afterwards away. *Pherecides* sayth moreouer, that he brake the keeles or bottomes of all the shippes of CRETA, because they should not so dainely set out after them. And *Demon* writeth, that *Taurus* (the captaine of *Minos*) was killed in a fight by *Theseus*, euen in the very hauen mouth as they were ready to shippe away, and hoise vp saile. Yet *Philochorus* reporteth, that king *Minos* hauing set vp the games, as he was wont to doe yearely

The Athenians are grieued to depart with their children.

Theseus offereth to go with the children into Creta.

Lots drawne for the children that should go.

The Athenians sent their children into Creta in a ship with a blacke saile.

AEgeus giueth the maister of the shippe a white saile, to signifie the safe returne of Theseus.

Cybern sia games.

Hiceteria offering.

Theseus taketh ship with the tribute children, the sixt of March, and sayleth into Creta.

Venus Epitragia.

Theseus slue the Minotaure by meanes of Ariadne, king Minoes daughter.

Theseus return out of Creta.

Taurus ouercome of Theseus, was a man.

do yearely in the honour and memorie of his sonne, euery one began to enuy captaine *Taurus*, because they euer looked that he should carrie away the game and victorie, as he had done other yeares before: ouer and aboue that, his authoritie got him much ill will and enuy, because he was proud and stately, and had in suspition that he was great with Queene *Pasiphaë*. Wherfore when *Theseus* required he might encounter with *Taurus*, *Minos* easily granted it. And being a solemne custome in CRETA, that the women should be present, to see these open sports and fights, *Ariadne* being at these games amongst the rest, fell further in loue with *Theseus*, seeing him so goodly a person, so strong, and inuincible in wrestling, that he farre exceeded all that wrestled there that day. King *Minos* was so glad that he had taken away the honor from captaine *Taurus*, that he sent him home franke & free into his country, rendring to him al the other prisoners of ATHENS: and for his sake, clearely released and forgaue the citie of ATHENS the tribute, which they should haue payed him yearely. Howbeit *Clidemus* searching out the beginning of these things to the vtmost, reciteth them very particularly, and after another sort. For he sayth, about that time there was a generall restaint throughout all GREECE, restraining all manner of people to beare sayle in any vessell or bottome, wherein there were aboue fiue persons, except onely *Iason*, who was chosen captaine of the great shippe *Argus*, and had commission to sayle euery where, to chase and driue away rouers and pyrates, and to scoure the seas throughout. About this time, *Dædalus* being fled from CRETA to ATHENS in a little Barke, *Minos* contrarie to this restraint, would needes follow him with a fleete of diuerse vesselles with owers, who being by force of weather driuen with the coast of SICILE, fortuned to die there. Afterwardes his sonne *Deucalion*, being maruellously offended with the ATHENIANS, sent to summon them to deliuer *Dædalus* vnto him, or else he would put the children to death, which were deliuered to his father for hostages. But *Theseus* excused himselfe, and sayd he could not forsake *Dædalus*, considering he was his neare kinsman, being his cousin-germaine, for he was the sonne of *Merope*, the daughter of *Erichthens*. Howbeit by and by he caused many vesselles secretly to be made, part of them within ATTICA selfe in the village of *Thymetades*, farre from any high wayes: and part of them in the citie of TROEZEN, by the sufferance of *Pitheus* his grandfather, to the end his purpose should be kept the secretlier. Afterwardes when all his shippes were readie, and rigged out, he tooke sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: in so much as when they saw them a farre off, they did take them for the barkes of their friendes. *Theseus* landed without resistance, and tooke the hauen. Then hauing *Dædalus*, and other banished CRETANS for guides, he entred the city selfe of GNOSVS, where he slue *Deucalion* in a fight before the gates of the *Labyrinth*, with all his guard and officers about him. By this meanes the kingdome of CRETA fell by inheritance into the hands of his sister *Ariadne*. *Theseus* made league with her, and carried away the young children of ATHENS which were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amitie betweene the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS: who promised, and sware, they would neuer make warres against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of *Ariadne*: but there is no troth nor certaintie in it. For some say, that *Ariadne* hung her selfe for sorrow, when she saw that *Theseus* had cast her off. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of NAXOS, where she was married vnto *OEnarus*, the priest of *Bacchus*: and they thinke that *Theseus* left her, because he was in loue with another, as by these verses should appeare:

Taurus suspected with Pasiphaë, king Minoes wife.

How Ariadne fell in loue with Theseus.

Minos findeth Theseus home with his prisoners, and releaseth the Athenians of their tribute.

A marine law.

Dædalus flight

King Minos died in Sicile.

Deucalion king Minoes sonne sent to Athens to demaund *Dædalus*.

Theseus sayled into Creta, and wanne the citie of Gnosus, and slue Deucalion.

Diuers opinions of Ariadne.

AEgles the Nymph, was loued of Theseus,
Who was the daughter of Panopeus.

Hereas the MEGARIAN sayth, that these two verses in olde time were among the verses of the Poet *Hesiodus*, howbeit *Pisistratus* tooke them away: as he did in like manner adde these other heere in the description of the helles in *Homer*, to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

Bold Theseus, and Pirithous stout,
Descended both, from gods immortall race,
Triumphing still, this weary world about
In feates of armes, and many a comely grace.

Other hold opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theseus*: the one of them was named *OEnopion*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongst others the Poet *Ion* writeth it, who was

OEnopion, and Staphylus, Theseus sonnes.

borne in the Ile of Chio, and ſpeaking of this city, he ſayth thus:

O Enopion which was the ſonne of worthy Theſeus,
did cauſe men build this ſtately towne, which now triumpheth thus.

Now what things are found ſeemely in Poets fables, there is none but doth in manner ſing them. But one *Paenon* borne in the city of Amathvnta, reciteth this cleane after another ſort, and contrary to all other: ſaying, that *Theſeus* by tempeſt was driuen with the Ile of Cyprvs, hauing with him *Ariadne*, which was great with child, and ſo ſore ſea ſicke, that ſhe was not able to abide it. In ſo much as he was forced to put her a land, and himſelfe afterwards returning abourd hoping to ſaue his ſhip againſt the ſtorme, was forthwith compelled to looſe into the ſea. The women of the country did curteouſly receiue and intreate *Ariadne*: and to cõfort her againe (for ſhe was maruellouſly out of hart, to ſee ſhe was thus forſaken) they counterfeited letters, as if *Theſeus* had written them to her. And when her groning time was come, and ſhe to be layed, they did their beſt by all poſſible meanes to ſaue her: but ſhe died notwithſtanding in labour, & could neuer be deliuered. So ſhe was honorably buried by the Ladies of Cyprvs. *Theſeus* not long after returned thither againe, who tooke her death maruellous heauily, and left money with the inhabitants of the country, to ſacrifice vnto her yearly: and for memory of her, he cauſed two little Images to be molten, the one of copper, & the other of ſiluer, which he dedicated vnto her. This ſacrifice is done the ſecond day of Septẽber, on which they do yet obſerue this ceremony: they do lay a young child vpon a bed, which pitifully crieth and lamenteth, as women trauelling with child. They ſay alſo, that the Amathvsians do yet call the groue where her Tombe is ſet vp, the wood of *Venus Ariadne*. And yet there are of the Naxians, that report this otherwiſe: ſaying, there were two *Minoes*, and two *Ariadnees*, whereof the one was maried to *Bacchus* in the Ile of Naxos, of whom *Staphylus* was borne: and the other the yongeſt, was rauiſhed and caried away by *Theſeus*, who afterwards forſooke her, & ſhe came into the Ile of Naxos with her nurce, called *Corcyna*, whoſe graue they do ſhew yet to this day. The ſecond *Ariadne* died there alſo, but ſhe had no ſuch honour done to her after her death, as to the firſt was giuen. For they celebrate the feaſt of the firſt with all ioy and mirth: where the ſacrifices done in memory of the ſecond, be mingled with mourning and ſorrow. *Theſeus* then departing from the Ile of Creta, arriued in the Ile of Delos, where he did ſacrifice in the temple of *Apollo*, and gaue there a litle Image of *Venus*, the which he had gotten of *Ariadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had deliuered, he danced a kind of daunce, which the Delians keepe to this day, as they ſay: in which there are many turnes and returnes, much after the turnings of the *Labyrinth*. And the Delians call this manner of daunce, the crane, as *Dicaearcus* ſayth. And *Theſeus* daunced it firſt about the altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to ſay, horne-ſtaffe: becauſe it is made and builded of hornes only, all on the left hand well and curiouſly ſet together without any other binding. It is ſayd alſo, that he made a game in this Ile of Delos, in which at the firſt was giuen to him that ouercame, a braunch of palme for reward of victorie. But when they drew neare the coaſt of Attica, they were ſo ioyfull, he and his maiſter, that they forgate to ſet vp their white ſaile, by which they ſhould haue giuen knowledge of their health and ſafety vnto *AEgeus*. Who ſeeing the blacke ſaile a farre off, being out of all hope euer more to ſee his ſonne againe, tooke ſuch a griefe at his heart, that he threw himſelfe headlong from the toppe of a clyffe, and killed himſelfe. So ſoone as *Theſeus* was arriued at the port named *Phalerus*, he performed the ſacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure: and ſent an Herauld of his before vnto the citie, to carry newes of his ſafe arriuall. The Herauld found many of the city mourning the death of King *AEgeus*. Many other receiued him with great ioy, as may be ſuppoſed. They wold haue crowned him alſo with a garland of flowers, for that he had brought ſo good tidings, that the children of the city were returned in ſafety. The Herauld was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wiſe put it on his head, but did wind it about his Heraulds rod he bare in his hand, and ſo returneth forthwith to the ſea, where *Theſeus* made his ſacrifices. Who perceiuing they were not yet done, did refuſe to enter into the temple, and ſtayed without for troubling of the ſacrifices. Afterwards all ceremonies finiſhed, he went in and told him the newes of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for ſorrow, haſted with ſpeed towards the city. And this is the cauſe, why to this day, at the feaſt called *Oſcophoria* (as who would ſay the feaſt of boughes) the Herauld hath not his head but his rod only crowned with flowers, and why the aſſiſtants alſo after the ſacrifice done, do make ſuch cries and exclamations: *Ele, leuſ, iou,*

Theſeus leaueth Ariadne in Cyprus.

Ariadne dieth with child in Cyprus.

The ceremony of the ſacrifice done to Ariadne in Cyprus.

Venus Ariadne.

Two Minoes and two Ariadnes.

Corcyna Ariadnes nurce.

Theſeus returneth out of Creta into the Ile of Delos.

Theſeus daunce called the Crane.

Palme a token of victorie.

Theſeus maſter of his ſhip forgat to ſet out the white ſaile.

AEgeus death.

Theſeus arriueth ſafe with the tribute children in the hauen of Phalerus.

The Herauld bare a rodde in his hand.

The feaſt Oſcophoria.

iou, iou: whereof the first, is the cry and voyce they commonly vse one to another to make haste, or else it is the foote of some song of triumph: and the other is the cry and voyce of men as it were in feare and trouble. After he had ended the obsequies and funerals for his father, he performed also his sacrifices vnto *Apollo*, which he had vowed the seuenth day of the moneth of October, on which they arriued at their returne into the city of ATHENS. Euen so the custome which they vse at this day to seeth all manner of pulse, commeth of this: that those which then returned with *Theseus*, did seeth in a great brasse pot all the remaine of their prouision, and therewith made good cheere together. Euen in such sort as this, came vp the custome to carry a branch of oliue, wreathed about with wooll, which they call *Iresione*: because at that time they caried boughes of supplication, as we haue told ye before. About which they hang all sorts of fruites: for then barrennesse did ceasse, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

October called Pyanepsion, in the Attican tongue.

Herod of Iresione in the life of Homer, and Suidas.

Bring him good bread, that is of savry taste,
with pleasant figges, and drops of dulcet mell,
Then sowple oyle, his body for to baste,
and pure good wine, to make him sleepe full well.

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the *Heraclides*, that is to say, those that descended from *Hercules*: which flying for their safety and succour vnto the ATHENIANS, were entertained and much made of by them for a time. But the most part hold opinion, they were made vpon the occasion aforesayd. The vessell in which *Theseus* went and returned, was a galliot of thirty owers, which the ATHENIANS kept vntill the time of *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, alwayes taking away the old peeces of wood that were rotten, and euer renewing them with new in their places. So that euer since, in the disputations of the Philosophers, touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remaine alwaies one, or else they be made others: this galliot was alwayes brought in for example of doubt. For some maintained, that it was still one vessell: others to the contrary defended it was not so. And they hold opinion also, that the feast of boughes which is celebrated at ATHENS at this time, was then first of all instituted by *Theseus*. It is sayd moreouer, that he did not carry all the wenches vpon whom the lots did fall, but those two faire young boyes, whose faces were sweete and delicate as maidens be, that otherwise were hardie, and quicke spirited. But he made them so oft bathe themselues in hote bathes, and keepe them in from the heate of the Sunne, and so many times to wash, annoint, and rub themselues with oyles, which serue to supple and smooth their skins, to keepe fresh and faire their colour, to make yellow and bright their haires: and withall did teach them so to counterfeit the speech, countenance and fashion of young maides, that they seemed to be like them, rather then yong boyes. For there was no maner of difference to be perceiued outwardly, and he mingled them with the girles, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he and the other young boyes were apparelled then, as they be now, which carry boughes on the day of the feast in their hands. They carry them in the honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that is told of them: or rather because they returned home iust at the time and season, when they gather the fruit of those trees. There are women which they call *Deipnophores*, that is to say, supper cariers, which are assistants to the sacrifice done that day, in representing the mothers of those, vpon whom the lots did fall, because they in like sort brought them both meate and drinke. There they tell tales, for so did their mothers tattle to their children, to comfort and encourage them. All these particularities were written by *Demon* the historiographer. There was moreouer a place chosen out, to build him a temple in: and he himselfe ordained, that those houses which had payed tribute before vnto the king of CRETA, should now yearely thenceforth become contributories towards the charges of a solemne sacrifice, which should be done in the honor of him: and he did assigne the order and administration of the same, vnto the house of the *Phytalides*, in recompence of the curtesie which they shewed him when he arriued. Furthermore, after the death of his father *AEgeus*, he vndertooke a maruellous great enterprise. For he brought all the inhabitants of the whole prouince of ATTICA, to be within the citie of ATHENS, and made them all one corporation, which were before dispersed into diuerse villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any order concerning the common state. Many times also they were at variance together, and by the eares, making warres one vpon another. But *Theseus* tooke the paines to go from village to village, and from familie to familie,

Theseus went into Creta with the tribute children, in the galliot of 30. owers.

Disputation about increase.

The galliot alledged for a doubt.

Theseus thankfulnesse to the Phytalides who were the first that feasted him in their houses.

Theseus brought the inhabitants of the countrey of Attica into one citie.

to let them vnderſtand the reaſons why they ſhould conſent vnto it. So he found the poore people and priuate men, readie to obey and follow his will, but the rich, and ſuch as had authoritie in euery village, all againſt it. Neuertheleſſe he wanne them, promiſing that it ſhould be a common wealth, and not ſubiect to the power of any ſole prince, but rather a popular ſtate. In which he would onely reſerue to himſelfe the charge of the warres, and the preſeruation of the lawes: for the reſt, he was content that euery citizen in all and for all ſhould beare a like ſway and authoritie. So there were ſome that willingly graunted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yeelded notwithſtanding for feare of his diſpleaſure and power which then was very great. So they thought it better to conſent with good will, vnto that he required: then to tarry his forcible compulſion. Then he cauſed all the places where iuſtice was miniſtred, and all their halles of aſſembly to be ouerthrowne and pulled downe. He remoued ſtraight all iudges and officers, and built a towne houſe, and a counſaile hall, in the place where the citie now ſtandeth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY, but he called the whole corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwards he inſtituted the great feaſt and common ſacrifice for all of the countrey of ATTICA, which they call *Panathenæa*. Then he ordained another feaſt alſo vpon the ſixteenth day of the moneth of Iune, for all ſtrangers which ſhould come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called *Metœcia*, and is kept euen to this day. That done, he gaue ouer his regall power according to his promiſe, and began to ſet vp an eſtate or pollicie of a common wealth, beginning firſt with the ſeruice of the gods. To know the good ſucceſſe of his enterpriſe, he ſent at the verie beginning to the oracle of *Apollo* in DELPHES, to enquire of the fortune of this citie: frō whence this anſwer was brought vnto him.

Aſty, the towne houſe of the Athenians.

The feaſts Panathenæa, and Metœcia.

Theſeus reſigneth his kingdome, and maketh Athens a common-wealth.

The Oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

O thou which art, the ſonne of AEgeus,
Begot by him, on Pitheus daughter deare.
The mightie Ioue, my father glorious,
By his decree, hath ſaid there ſhall appeare
A fatall end, of euery citie here.
Which end he will, ſhall alſo come adowne,
Within the walles, of this thy ſtately towne.
Therefore ſhew thou, a valiant conſtant mind,
And let no care, nor carke thy heart diſpleaſe.
For like vnto a bladder blowne with wind
Thou ſhalt be toſt, vpon the ſurging ſeas.
Yet let no dint, of dolours thee diſeaſe.
For why? thou ſhalt, nor periſh nor decay,
Nor be orecome, nor yet be caſt away.

It is found written alſo, that *Sibylla* afterwardes gaue out ſuch a like oracle ouer the citie of ATHENS.

The bladder blowne may fleete vpon the fludde,
But cannot ſinke, nor ſticke in filthie mudde.

Moreouer, becauſe he would further yet augment his people, and enlarge his citie, he entiſed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the ſelfe ſame freedome and priuiledges, which the naturall borne citizens had. So that many iudge, that theſe words which are in vſe at this day in ATHENS, when any open proclamation is made, All people, Come ye hither: be the ſelfe ſame which *Theſeus* then cauſed to be proclaimed, when he in that ſort did gather a people together of all nations. Yet for all that, he ſuffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without diſtinction of degrees and orders. For he firſt deuided the Noblemen, from husbandmen and artificers, appointing the Noblemen as Iudges and Magiſtrates to iudge vpon matters of Religion, and touching the ſeruice of the gods: and of them alſo he did chuſe rulers, to beare ciuill office in the common-weale, to determine the law, and to tell all holy and diuine things. By this meanes he made the Noblemen and the two other eſtates equall in voyce. And as the Noblemen did paſſe the other in honour: euen ſo the artificers exceeded them in number, and the husbandmen them in profit. Now that *Theſeus* was the firſt who of all others yeelded to haue a common-weale or popular eſtate (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) and did giue ouer his regall power: *Homer* ſelfe ſeemeth to teſtifie it, in numbring the ſhips which were in the GRÆCIANS army before the citie of TROIA. For amongeſt all the GRÆCIANS, he onely calleth the ATHENIANS people. Moreouer *Theſeus* coyned money, which he marked with the ſtampe of

Theſeus maketh difference of ſtates and degrees in his commonweale.

Theſeus the firſt that gaue ouer regall power & framed a popular ſtate.

An oxe ſtamped in Theſeus coine.

of an oxe, in memory of the Bull of *Marathon*, or of *Taurus*, the captaine of *Minos*, or elſe to prouoke his citizens to giue themſelues to labour. They ſay alſo that of this money they were ſince called *Hecatombæon*, and *Decabœon*, which ſignifieth worth a hundred oxen, and worth ten oxen. Furthermore hauing ioyned all the territorie of the city of MEGARA, vnto the countrey of ATTICA, he cauſed that notable foure ſquare pillar to be ſet vp for their confines within the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, and engraued thereupon this ſuperſcription, that declareth the ſeparation of both the countries which confine there together. The ſuperſcription is this:

Hecatombæon, Decabœon.

Where Titan doth begin, his beames for to diſplay,
euen that way ſtands Ionia, in fertile wiſe alway:
And where againe he goeth, adowne to take his reſt,
there ſtands Peloponneſus land, for there I compt it weſt.

It was he alſo which made the games called *Isthmia*, after the imitation of *Hercules*, to the end that as the GRECIANS did celebrate the feaſt of games called *Olympia*, in the honour of *Iupiter*, by *Hercules* ordinance; ſo, that they ſhould alſo celebrate the games called *Iſthmia*, by his order and inſtitution, in the honor of *Neptune*. For thoſe that were done in the ſtraights in the honour of *Melicerta*, were done in the night, and had rather forme of ſacrifice or of a myſterie, then of games and open feaſt. Yet ſome will ſay, that theſe games of *Iſthmia* were inſtituted in the honor and memory of *Sciron*, and that *Theſeus* ordained them in ſatisfaction of his death: becauſe he was his coſin germaine, being the ſonne of *Canethus*, and of *Heniocha* the daughter of *Pitheus*. Other ſay that it was *Sinnis* and not *Sciron*, and that for him *Theſeus* made theſe games, and not for the memory of the other. Howſoeuer it was, he eſpecially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they ſhould giue vnto thoſe that came from ATHENS to ſee their games of *Iſthmia*, ſo much place to ſit downe before them (in the moſt honorable part of the feaſt place) as the ſaile of their ſhippe ſhould couer, in the which they came from ATHENS: thus do *Hellanicus* and *Andron Halicarnaſſeus* write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the ſea Maior, *Philochorus*, and ſome other hold opinion, that he went thither with *Hercules* againſt the AMAZONES: and that to honour his valiantneſſe, *Hercules* gaue him *Antiopa* the AMAZONE. But the more part of the other Hiſtoriographers, namely *Hellanicus*, *Pherecides*, & *Herodotus*, do write, that *Theſeus* went thither alone, after *Hercules* voyage, & that he tooke this AMAZONE priſoner, which is likelieſt to be true. For we do not find that any other who went this iourney with him, had taken any AMAZONE priſoner beſides himſelf. *Bion* alſo the Hiſtoriographer, this notwithſtanding ſaith, that he brought her away by deceit and ſtealth. For the AMAZONES (ſaith he) naturally louing men, did not flie at all when they ſaw them land in their countrey, but ſent them preſents, and that *Theſeus* entiſed her to come into his ſhip, who brought him a preſent: and ſo ſoone as ſhe was aboord, he hoyſed his ſaile, and ſo caried her away. Another Hiſtoriographer *Menecrates*, who wrote the hiſtory of the city of NICEA, in the country of BYTHINIA, ſaith: that *Theſeus* hauing this AMAZONE *Antiopa* with him, remained a certaine time vpon thoſe coaſts, & that amongſt other he had in his company three yonger brethren of ATHENS, *Euneus*, *Thoas*, & *Solois*. This laſt, *Solois*, was maruellouſly in loue with *Antiopa*, and neuer bewrayed it to any of his other companions, ſauing vnto one with whom he was moſt familiar, and whom he truſted beſt: ſo that he reported this matter vnto *Antiopa*. But ſhe vtterly reiected his ſute, though otherwiſe ſhe handled it wiſely and curteouſly, and did not complaine to *Theſeus* of him. Howbeit the yong man deſpairing to enioy his loue, tooke it ſo inwardly, that deſperatly he leapt into the riuer, and drowned himſelfe. Which when *Theſeus* vnderſtood, and the cauſe alſo that brought him to this deſperation and end, he was very ſory, and angry alſo. Whereupon he remembred a certaine Oracle of *Pythia*, by whom he was commanded to build a city in that place in a ſtraunge countrey, where he ſhould be moſt ſory, and that he ſhould leaue ſome that were about him at that time, to gouerne the ſame. For this cauſe therefore he built a city in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, becauſe he had built it onely by the commaundement of the *Nunne Pythia*. He called the riuer in the which the young man was drowned, *Solois*, in memorie of him: and left his two brethren for his deputies and as gouernours of this new city, with another gentleman of ATHENS, called *Hermus*. Hereof it commeth, that at this day the PYTHOPOLITANS call a certaine place of their city, *Hermus* houſe. But they faile in the accent, by putting it vpon the laſt ſyllable: for in pronouncing it ſo, *Hermus* ſignifieth *Mercury*. By this meanes they do transferre the honour

Olympia.

Theſeus inſtituted the games Iſthmia, in the honour of Neptune.

Theſeus iorney into mare maior.

Antiopa the Amazone raviſhed by Theſeus.

Solois fell in loue with Antiopa.

Solois drowned himſelfe for loue.

Pythopolis built by Theſeus.

Solois ſi.

The cauſe of the warres of the Amazones againſt the Athenians.

due to the memorie of *Hermus*, vnto the god *Mercurie*. Now heare what was the occaſion of the warres of the AMAZONES, which me thinkes was not a matter of ſmall moment, nor an enterpriſe of a woman. For they had not placed their campe within the very city of ATHENS, nor had not fought in the very place it ſelfe (called PNYCE) adioyning to the temple of the *Muſes*, if they had not firſt conquered or ſubdued all the country thereabouts: neither had they all come at the firſt, ſo valiantly to aſſaile the city of ATHENS. Now, whether they came by land from ſo farre a country, or that they paſſed ouer an arme of the ſea, which is called *Boſphorus Cimmericus*, being froſen as *Hellanicus* ſaith: it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very city it ſelfe, the names of the places which continue yet to this preſent day do witneſſe it, and the graues alſo of the women which died there. But ſo it is, that both armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length *Theſeus* hauing firſt made ſacrifice vnto *Feare* the goddeſſe, according to the counſell of a prophecy he had receiued, he gaue them battel in the moneth of Auguſt, on the ſame day, in the which the ATHENIANS do euen at this preſent ſolemniſe the feaſt, which they call *Boedromia*. But *Clidemus* the Hiſtoriographer, deſirous particularly to write all the circumſtances of this encounter, ſaith that the left point of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right point marched by the ſide of CHRYSA, euen to the place which is called PNYCE, vpon which, the ATHENIANS comming towards the temple of the *Muſes*, did firſt giue their charge. And for proofe that this is true, the graues of the women which died in the firſt encounter, are found yet in the great ſtreete, which goeth towards the gate Piraica, neere vnto the chappell of the litle god *Chalcodus*. And the ATHENIANS (ſaith he) were in this place repulſed by the AMAZONES, euen to the place where the images of *Eumenides* are, that is to ſay of the furies. But on the other ſide alſo, the ATHENIANS comming towards the quarters of *Palladium*, *Ardettus*, and *Lucium*, draue backe their right point euen to within their campe, and ſlue a great number of them. Afterwards, at the end of foure moneths, peace was taken betweene them by meanes of one of the women called *Hyppolita*. For this Hiſtoriographer calleth the AMAZONE which *Theſeus* maried, *Hyppolita*, and not *Antiopa*. Neuertheleſſe, ſome ſay that ſhe was ſlaine (fighting on *Theſeus* ſide) with a dart, by another called *Molpadia*. In memory whereof, the pillar which is ioyned to the temple of the *Olympian* ground, was ſet vp in her honour. We are not to maruell, if the hiſtory of things ſo auncient, be found ſo diuerſely written. For there are alſo that write, that Queene *Antiopa* ſent thoſe ſecretly which were hurt then into the city of CALCIDE, where ſome of them recouered, and were healed: and others alſo died, which were buried neare to the place called AMAZONION. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt certaine that this warre was ended by agreement. For a place adioyning to the temple of *Theſeus*, doth beare record of it, being called *Orcomoſium*: becauſe the peace was there by ſolemne oath concluded. And the ſacrifice alſo doth truly verifie it, which they haue made to the AMAZONES, before the feaſt of *Theſeus*, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA alſo do ſhew a tombe of the AMAZONES in their city, which is as they go from the market place, to the place they call Rhus: where they find an auncient tombe, cut in faſhion and forme of a loſenge. They ſay that there died other of the AMAZONES alſo, neere vnto the city of CHÆRONEA, which were buried all alongſt the litle broke paſſing by the ſame, which in the old time (in mine opinion) was called *Thermodon*, and is now named *Hæmon*, as we haue other places written in the life of *Demoſthenes*. And it ſeemeth alſo, that they did not paſſe through THESSALY, without fighting: for there are ſeene yet of their tombes all about the city of SCOTVSA, hard by the rockes, which be called the dogs head. And this is that which is worthy memory (in mine opinion) touching the warres of theſe AMAZONES. How the Poet telleth that the AMAZONES made warres with *Theſeus* to reuenge the iniury he did to their Queene *Antiopa*, refuſing her, to marry with *Phædra*: and for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* did, that me thinkes is altogether but deuice of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiopa*, *Theſeus* maried *Phædra*, hauing had before of *Antiopa* a ſonne called *Hyppolytus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Hiſtoriographers do not in any thing ſpeake againſt the tragicall Poets, in that which concerneth the ill happe that chaunced to him, in the perſons of this his wife and of his ſonne: we muſt needes take it to be ſo, as we find it written in the Tragedies. And yet we find many other reports touching the mariages of *Theſeus*, whoſe beginnings had no great good honeſt ground, neither fell out their ends very fortunate: and yet for all that they haue made no Tragedies of them, neither

Boſphorus Cimmericus, an arme of the ſea.

Theſeus fighteth a battell with the Amazones.

The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace concluded at foure moneths end by the meanes of Hyppolita.

Orcomoſion the name of a place.

Ancient tombs of loſenge faſhion.

Thermodon, now called Hæmon fl.

Hyppolytus Theſeus ſonne by Antiopa.

Phædra Theſeus wife and Minos daughter king of Creta.

Theſeus mariages.

neither haue they bene played in the Theaters. For we reade that he tooke away *Anax o*, the TROEZENIAN, and that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he tooke their daughters perforce: and that he did also marry *Peribæa* the mother of *Aiax*, and afterwards *Pherebæa*, and *Ioppa* the daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much also, for that he so lighty forsooke his wife *Ariadne*, for the loue of *AEgles* the daughter of *Panopæus*, as we haue recited before. Lastly, he tooke away *Hellen*: which rauishment filled all the Realme of ATTICA with wars, & finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his country, & brought him at the length to his end, as we wil tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other Princes of GRECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the wars, yet *Herodotus* is of opinion, that *Theseus* was neuer in any one of them: saying that he was at the battell of the *Lapithæ* against the *Centauri*. Others say to the contrary, that he was at the iourney of *Cholchide* with *Iason*, and that he did helpe *Meleager* to kill the wild Bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they say) this Prouerbe came: *Not without Theseus*. Meaning that such a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certaine that *Theseus* selfe did many famous acts, without aide of any man, and that for his valiantnesse this Prouerbe came in vse, which is spoken: *This is another Theseus*. Also he did helpe *Adrastus* king of the ARGIVES, to recouer the bodies of those that were slaine in the battell, before the city of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the Poet *Euripides* sayth, by force of armes, after he had ouercome the THEBANS in battell: but it was by composition. And thus the greatest number of the most auncient writers do declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* writeth, that this was the first treaty that euer was made to recouer the dead bodies slaine in battell: neuertheless we do reade in the histories and gestes of *Hercules*, that he was the first that euer suffered his enemies to carry way their dead bodies, after they had bene put to the sword. But whosoeuer he was, at this day in the village of ELEVTHERES, they do show the place where the people were buried, and where Princes tombes are seene about the city of ELEVSIN, which he made at the request of *Adrastus*. And for testimony hereof, the tragedy *Æschilus* made of the ELEVSINIANS, where he causeth it to be spokē euen thus to *Theseus* himselfe, doth clearely ouerthrow the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendship betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is sayd it began thus. The renowne of his valiancy was maruellously blowne abroad through all GRECE, & *Pirithous* desirous to know it by experience, went euen of purpose to inuade his country, and brought away a certaine booty of oxen of his taken out of the country of MARATHON. *Theseus* being aduertised thereof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. *Pirithous* hearing of his cōming, fled not at all, but returned backe suddenly to meet him. And so soone as they came to see one another, they both wondred at each others beauty & courage, and so had they no desire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hand first to *Theseus*, said vnto him; I make your selfe iudge of the damage you haue sustained by my inuasion, and with all my hart I will make such satisfaction, as it shall please you to assesse it at. *Theseus* then did not only release him, of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he wold become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were presently sworne brethren in the field: after which oath betwixt them, *Pirithous* maried *Deidamia*, & sent to pray *Theseus* to come to his mariage, to visite his country, and to make mery with the *Lapithæ*. He had bidden also the *Centauri* to the feast: who being drunke, committed many lewd parts, euen to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapithæ* chastised them so well, that they slue some of them presently in the place, & draue the rest forwards out of the country by the helpe of *Theseus*, who armed himselfe, and fought on their side. Yet *Herodotus* writeth the matter somewhat contrary, saying that *Theseus* went not at all vntill the war was well begun: and that it was the first time that he saw *Hercules*, and spake with him neere vnto the city of TRACHINA, when he was then quiet, hauing ended all his farre voyages, and greatest troubles. They report that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnesse, and honorable entertainement betweene them, and great curtesie was offered to each other. Neuertheless me thinkes we should giue better credite to those writers that say they met many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and receiued into the brotherhood of the mysteries of ELEVSIN, by the meanes of the countenance and fauour which *Theseus* showed vnto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessitie of all his ill deedes and cruelties, before he could enter into the company of those holy mysteries. Furthermore, *Theseus* was fiftie yeares old when he tooke away *Hellen* and rauished her, which was very young, and not of age to be maried, as *Hellanicus* sayth. By reason whereof, some seeking to hide the rauishment of her as a haynous fact, do report it

Theseus battels.

Prouerbe. Not without Theseus.

Prouerbe. This is another Theseus.

Theseus valiantnesse the cause of Pirithous friendship with him.

Pirithous and Theseus sworne brethren in the field.

Pirithous maried Deidamia.

The Lapithæ ouercome the Centauri.

Theseus and Hercules met at Trachine.

Theseus fiftie yeare old when he rauished Hellen.

was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lynceus* that caried her away, who left her in his cuſtodie and keeping: and that *Theſeus* would haue kept her from them, and would not haue deliuered her to her brethren *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which afterwards did demaund her againe of him. Others againe ſay it was her owne father *Tyndarus*, who gaue her him to keepe, for that he was affraide of *Enarſphorus* the ſonne of *Hippocoon*, who would haue had her away by force. But that which commeth neareſt to the troth in this caſe, and which indeede by many authors is teſtified, was in this ſort. *Theſeus* and *Pirithous* went together to the citie of LACEDÆMON, where they took away *Hellen* (being yet very yong) euen as ſhe was dauncing in the temple of *Diana* ſurnamed *Orthia*: and they fled for life. They of LACEDÆMON ſent after her, but thoſe that followed went no further then the citie of TEGEA. Now when they were eſcaped out of the country of PELOPONNESVS, they agreed to draw lots together, which of them two ſhould haue her, with condition that whoſe lot it were to haue her, he ſhould take her to his wife, and ſhould be bound alſo to help his companion to get him another. It was *Theſeus* hap to light vpon her, who caried her to the citie of APHIDNES, becauſe ſhe was yet too yong to be maried. Whither he cauſed his mother to come to bring her vp, & gaue his friend called *Aphidnus* the charge of them both, recommēding her to his good care, & to keep it ſo ſecretly, that no body ſhould know what was become of her. Becauſe he would do the like for *Pirithous* (according to the agreement made betwixt them) he went into EPIRVS with him to ſteale the daughter of *Aidoneus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, who had ſurnamed his wife *Proſerpina*, his daughter *Proſerpina*, and his dogge *Cerberus*, with whom he made them fight which came to aske his daughter in mariage, promiſing to giue her to him that ſhould ouercome his *Cerberus*. But the king vnderſtanding that *Pirithous* was come, not to requeſt his daughter in mariage, but to ſteale her away, he tooke him priſoner with *Theſeus*: and as for *Pirithous*, he cauſed him preſently to be torne in peeces with his dogge, and ſhut *Theſeus* vp in cloſe priſon. In this meane time there was one at ATHENS called *Meneſtheus*, the ſonne of *Peteus*: which *Peteus* was the ſonne of *Orneus*, and *Orneus* was the ſonne of *Erictheus*. This *Meneſtheus* was the firſt that began to flatter the people, and did ſeeke to winne the fauour of the communaltie, by ſweete entiſing words: by which deuice he ſtirred vp the chiefeſt of the citie againſt *Theſeus* (who indeed long before began to be weary of him) by declaring vnto them how *Theſeus* had taken from them their royalties and ſigniories, and had ſhut them vp in ſuch ſort within the walles of a citie, that he might the better keepe them in ſubiection and obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour ſort of people, he did ſtirre vp alſo to rebellion, perſwading them that it was no other then a dreame of libertie which was promiſed them: and how contrariwiſe they were clearely diſpoſſeſſed and throwne out of their own houſes, of their temples, and from their naturall places where they were borne, to the end onely, that in liew of many good and louing Lordes which they were wont to haue before, they ſhould now be compelled to ſerue one only head, and a ſtrange Lord. Euen as *Meneſtheus* was very hote about this practiſe, the warre of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that inſtant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For theſe *Tyndarides* (to wit the children of *Tyndarus*) *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, came down with a great army, againſt the city of ATHENS: & ſome ſuſpect ſore that *Meneſtheus* was cauſe of their comming thither. Howbeit at the firſt entrie they did no hurt at all in the country, but onely demanded reſtitution of their ſiſter. To whom the citizens made anſwer, that they knew not where ſhe was left: and then the brethren began to make ſpoile, and offer warre indeed. Howbeit there was one called *Academus*, who hauing knowledge (I cannot tell by what meane) that ſhe was ſecretly hidden in the citie of APHIDNES, reuealed it vnto them. By reaſon wherof the *Tyndarides* did alwaies honor him very much, ſo long as he liued, and afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS, hauing oft burnt & deſtroyed the whole country of ATTICA throughout, they would yet neuer touch the Academie of ATHENS for *Academus* ſake. Yet *Dicearchus* ſayth, that in the armie of the *Tyndarides* there were two ARCADIANS, *Echedemus* and *Marathus*, and how of the name of one of them, it was then called the place of Echedemie, which ſithence hath bene called Academia: and after the name of the other, there was a village called MARATHON, becauſe he willingly offered himſelf to be ſacrificed before the battell, as obeying the order and commandement of a prophecie. So they went and pitched their campe before the citie of APHIDNES, and hauing wonne the battell, and taken the citie by aſſault, they razed the place. They ſay that *Alycus*, the ſonne of *Sciron* was ſlaine at this field, who was in the hoaſt of the *Tyndarides*, and that after his name, a certaine quarter of the territorie of MEGARA was called *Alycus*, in the which his bodie

The manner of Hellens rauiſhment.

Diana Orthia.

Theſeus left Hellen in the citie of Aphidnes.

Theſeus went with Pirithous into Epirus, to ſteale Proſerpina Aidoneus daughter.

Pirithous torne in peeces with Cerberus.

Theſeus cloſe priſoner.

The warre of the Tyndarides with the Athenians.

Academia why ſo called.

Marathon.

Aphidnes won & razed by the Tyndarids.

Alycus Scirons ſonne ſlaine at the battell of Aphidnes.

was

was buried. Howbeit *Hereas* writeth that *Theſeus* ſelfe did kill him before APHIDNES: In witneſſe whereof he alledgeth certaine verſes which ſpeake of *Alycus*.

While as he ſought with all his might and maine
(in thy defence, faire Hellen for to fight)
In Aphidnes vpon the pleaſant plaine,
bold Theſeus to cruell death him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Theſeus* being there, the city of APHIDNES, and his mother alſo were taken. But when it was wonne they of ATHENS began to quake for feare, and *Meneſtheus* counſelled them to receiue the *Tyndarides* into the city, and to make them good cheere, ſo they would make no wars but vpon *Theſeus*, which was the firſt that had done them the wrong and iniury: & that to all other elſe they ſhould ſhew fauour & good will. And ſo it fell out. For when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to do as they liſted, they demanded nothing els but that they might be receiued into their corporation, & not to be reckoned for ſtrangers, no more then *Hercules* was: the which was granted the *Tyndarides*, and *Aphidnus* did adopt them for his children, as *Pylius* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreouer they did honour them as if they had bene gods, calling them *Anaces*. Either becauſe they ceaſed the wars, or for that they ordered themſelues ſo well, that their whole army being lodged within the city, there was not any hurt or diſpleaſure done to any perſon: but as it became thoſe that haue the charge of any thing, they did carefully watch to preſerue the good quiet thereof. All which this Greeke word *Anacos* doth ſignifie, whereof perchance it comes that they call the kings *Anactes*. There are others alſo who hold opinion that they were called *Anaces*, becauſe of their ſtarres which appeared in the aire. For the ATTICAN tongue ſaith, *Anacas*, and *Anecathen*: where the common people ſay *Ano*, and *Anothen*, that is to ſay, aboue. Neuertheleſſe *Æthra Theſeus* mother, was caried priſoned to LACEDÆMON, and from thence to TROIA with *Hellen*, as ſome ſay: and as *Homer* himſelfe doth witneſſe in his verſes, where he ſpeaketh of the women that followed *Hellen*.

The Tyndarides honoured as gods, and called Anaces.

Cicer. de Nat. deor. lib. 3.

Kings called Anactes.

Anaces why ſo called.

Æthra the daughter deare of Pitheus aged Sire,
And with her faire Clymene ſhe, whoſe eyes moſt men deſire.

Æthra taken priſoner, and caried to Lacedemon.

Yet there are other who as well reiect theſe two verſes, and maintaine they are not *Homers*: as alſo they reproue all that is reported of *Munychus*. To wit, that *Laocide* being priuily conceiued of him by *Demophon*, he was brought vp ſecretly by *Æthra* within TROIA. But *Heſter* the hiſtorien in his thirteenth of his hiſtories of ATTICA, maketh a recitall farre contrary to other, ſaying: that ſome hold opinion, that *Paris Alexander* was ſlaine in battell by *Achilles* and *Patroclus* in the country of THESSALY, neare to the riuer of *Sperchius*, & that his brother *Hector* tooke the city of TROEZEN, from whence he brought away *Æthra*: in which there is no maner of apparance or likelihood. But *Ædoneus* king of the MOLOSSIANS, feaſting *Hercules* one day as he paſſed through his Realme, deſcended by chance into talke of *Theſeus* and of *Pirithous*, how they came to ſteale away his daughter ſecretly: and after told how they were alſo puniſhed. *Hercules* was maruellous ſory to vnderſtand that one of them was now dead, and the other in danger to dye; and thought with himſelfe that to make his mone to *Ædoneus*, it would not helpe the matter: he beſought him only that he would deliuer *Theſeus* for his ſake. And he granted him. Thus *Theſeus* being deliuered of his captiuity, returned to ATHENS, where his friends were not altogether kept vnder by his enemies: & at his returne he did dedicate to *Hercules* all the temples, which the city had before cauſed to be built in his owne honour. And where firſt of all they were called *Theſea*, he did now ſurname them all *Herculea*, excepting foure, as *Philochorus* writeth. Now when he was arriued at ATHENS, he would immediatly haue commaunded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found himſelfe troubled much with ſedition, becauſe thoſe who had hated him of a long time, had added alſo to their old cankred hate, a diſdaine and contempt to feare him any more. And the common people now were become ſo ſtubborne, that where before they would haue done all that they were commanded, and haue ſpoken nothing to the contrary: now they looked to be borne with, and flattered. Whereupon *Theſeus* thought at the firſt to haue vſed force, but he was forced by the faction and contention of his enemies to let all alone, and in the end, deſpairing he ſhould euer bring his matters to paſſe to his deſire, he ſecretly ſent away his children vnto the Ile of EVBOEA, to *Elphenor* the ſonne of *Chalcodus*. And himſelfe, after he had made many wiſhes and curſes againſt the ATHENIANS, in the village of GARGETTVS, in a place which for that cauſe to this day is called *Arateriod*, (that is to ſay, the place of

Diuerſe opinions of Homers verſes.

Sperchius fl.

Theſeus deliuered out of priſon by Hercules meanes.

The Athenians diſdaine to obey Theſeus.

Theseus fled from Athens, into the Ile of Scires.

cursings) he did take the seas, and went into the Ile of Scirros, where he had goods, and thought also to haue fonnd friends. *Lycomedes* raigned at that time, and was king of the Ile, vnto whom *Theseus* made request for some land, as intending to dwell there: albeit some say that he required him to giue him aide against the ATHENIANS. *Lycomedes*, were it that he doubted to entertaine so great a personage, or that he did it to gratifie *Menestheus*: caried him vp to the high rockes, fayning as though he would from thence haue shewed him all his country round about. But when he had him there, he threw him downe headlong from the top of the rockes to the bottome, and put him thus vnfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell downe of himselfe by an vnfortunate chaunce, walking one day after supper as was wont to do. There was no man at that time that did follow or pursue his death, but *Menestheus* quietly remained king of ATHENS: and the children of *Theseus*, as priuate souldiers followed *Elphinor* in the warres of TROIA. But after the death of *Menestheus*, who died in the iourney to TROY, *Theseus* sonnes returned vnto ATHENS, where they recouered their state. Sithence there were many occasions which moued the ATHENIANS to reuerence and honor him as a demy God. For in the battell of *Marathon*, many thought they saw his shadow and image in armes, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the yeare wherein *Phædon* was gouernour of ATHENS) the Nunne *Pithia* answered the ATHENIANS, who had sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*: that they should bring backe the bones of *Theseus*, & putting them in some honorable place, they should preserue and honor them deuoutly. But it was a hard matter to find his graue: and if they had found it, yet had it bin a hard thing to haue brought his bones away, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that Ile: which were so wild and fierce, that none could trade or liue with them. Notwithstanding *Cimon* hauing taken the Iland (as we haue written in his life) and seeking his graue: perceiuing by good hap an eagle pecking with her beake, and scraping with her clawes in a place of some prety height: straight it came into his mind (as by diuine inspiration) to search and digge the place, where was found the tombe of a great body, with the head of a speare which was of brasse, and a sword with it. All which things were brought to ATHENS by *Cimon* in the admirall gally. The ATHENIANS receiued them with great ioy, with processions and goodly sacrifices, as if *Theseus* himselfe had bene aliue, and had returned into the city againe. At this day all these relickes lye yet in the middest of the city, neare to the place where the young men do vse all their exercises of body. There is free liberty of accesse for all slaues and poore men (that are afflicted and pursued, by any mightier themselues) to pray and sacrifice in remembrance of *Theseus*: who while he liued was protectour of the oppressed, and did curteously receiue their requests and petitions that prayed to haue aide of him. The greatest and most solemne sacrifice they do vnto him, is on the eight day of October, in which he returned from CRETA, with the other young children of ATHENS. Howbeit they do not leaue to honour him euery eight day of all other moneths, either because he arriued from TROEZEN at ATHENS the eight day of Iune, as *Diodorus* the Cosmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meetest for him, because the bruite ranne he was begotten of *Neptune*. They do sacrifice also to *Neptune*, the eight day of euery moneth, because the number of eight is the first cube made of euen number, and the double of the first square: which doth represent a stedfastnesse immoueable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this cause we surname *Asphalius*, and *Gæiochus*, which by interpretation doth signifie: the safe keeper, and the stayer of the earth.

Cimon taketh the Ile of Sciros and bringeth Theseus bones to Athens.

Theseus tombe.

Neptune vvhy called Asphalius and Gæiochus.

The end of Theseus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Romulus.*

THE Hiſtoriographers do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cauſe the great name of the citie of ROME (the glory whereof is blowne abroad through all the world) was firſt giuen vnto it. For ſome thinke that the Pelaſgians, after they had ouercome the greateſt part of the world, and had inhabited and ſubdued many nations, in the end did ſtay themſelues in that place where it was new builded: & for their great ſtrength and power in armes, they gaue the name of ROME vnto the city, as ſignifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other ſay, that after the taking and deſtruction of TROIA, there were certaine TROIANS which ſauing themſelues from the ſword, tooke ſuch veſſels as they found at aduenture in the hauen, and were by winds put to the THVSCANE ſhore, where they anckered neare vnto the riuer of Tyber. There their wiues being ſo ſore ſea ſicke, that poſſibly they could not any more endure the boiſtrous ſurges of the ſeas: it happened one of them among the reſt (the nobleſt and wiſeſt of the company) called *Roma*, to counſell the other women of her companions to ſet their ſhips a fire, which they did accordingly. Wherewith their husbands at the firſt were maruellouſly offended. But afterwards, being compelled of neceſſitie to plant themſelues neare vnto the citie of PALLANTIVM, they were appeaſed when they ſaw things proſper better then they hoped for, finding the ſoile there fertile, and the people their neighbours ciuill and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore amongeſt other honours they did to requite this Lady *Roma*, they called their city after her name, as from whom came the originall cauſe of the building and foundation thereof. They ſay, that from thence came this cuſtome continuing yet to this day at ROME, that the women ſaluting their kinſefolkes and husbands do kiſſe them in the mouth, for ſo did theſe TROIAN Ladies to pleaſe their husbands, and to winne them againe, after they had loſt their fauours, and procured their diſpleaſures with burning of their ſhippes. Other ſay that *Roma* was the daughter of *Italus*, and of *Lucaria*, or elſe of *Telephus* the ſonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *AEneas*: other ſay of *Aſcanius*, the ſonne of *AEneas*, who named the city after her name. Other hold opinion, that it was *Romanus* (the ſonne of *Vlyſſes* and of *Circe*) that firſt founded ROME: other will ſay that it was *Romus* the ſonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* ſent thither from TROIA. Other write that it was one *Romis* a tyran of the LATINES, who draue the THVSCANS out of thoſe parts: which departing out of THESSALY, went firſt of all into LYDIA, and afterwards from LYDIA into ITALIE. And furthermore, they

Diuerſe opinions about the name of Rome.

Tibris ſt.

The beginning of kiſſing their kinſfolkes in the mouth, came from the Troian women.

Fables of Romulus birth.

who thinke that *Romulus* (as indeed it carieth beſt likelihood) was he that gaue the name to the citie, do not agree about his auncestors. For ſome of them write, that he was the ſonne of *AEneas* and of *Dexithea* the daughter of *Phorbus*, and that he was brought into ITALY of a litle child with his brother *Remus*: and that at that time the riuer of Tyber being ouerflowne, all other ſhips were caſt away, ſauing the ſhippe in which the two litle boyes were, which by great good happe came to ſtay a vpon a very plaine euen ground on the banke: and becauſe the children beyond all hope were ſaued by this meanes, therefore the place was afterwards called ROMA. Other ſay that *Roma* the daughter of the firſt Troian Lady was maried vnto *Latinus* the ſon of *Telemachus*, by whom ſhe had *Romulus*. Other write, that it was *AEmilia*, the daughter of *AEneas* and of *Lauinia*, which was gotten with child by the god *Mars*. Other tel a tale of *Romulus* birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is ſayd that there was ſometime a king of ALBA named *Tarchetius*, a very wicked and cruell man, in whoſe houſe through the permiſſion of the gods, appeared ſuch a like viſion: that there roſe vp in the harth of his chimney the forme and faſhion of a mans priuy member, which continued there many dayes. And they ſay, that at that time there was in THVSCANE an oracle of *Thetis*, from whom they brought vnto this wicked king *Tarchetius* ſuch an aunſwer: that he ſhould cauſe his daughter yet vnmaried to haue carnall company with the ſtraunge thing, for ſhe ſhould beare a ſonne, that ſhould be famous for his valiancie, for ſtrength of body, and his happy ſucceſſe, wherein he ſhould exceede all men of his time. *Tharchetius* told this oracle vnto one of his daughters, and willed her to entertaine this ſtraunge thing: but ſhe diſdaining to do it, ſent one of her wayting women to vndertake the entertainement. But *Tarchetius* was ſo mad at this, that he cauſed them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddeſſe *Veſta* appeared to him in his ſleepe in the night, and charged him he ſhould not do it. Whereupon he did command them to make him a peece of cloth in the priſon, with promiſe that they ſhould be maried when they had finiſhed it. Theſe poore maides toiled at it all the liue long day, but in the night there came other (by *Tarchetius* commandement) that did vndoe all they had done the day before. In the mane time, this waiting woman that was got with child by this ſtraunge thing, was deliuered of two goodly boyes or twins: whom *Tarchetius* gaue vnto one *Teratius*, with expreſſe commandement he ſhould caſt them away. This *Teratius* caried them vnto the banke of the riuer: thither came a ſhe Wolfe and gaue them ſucke, and certaine birds that brought little crummes and put them in their mouthes, vntill a ſwine-heard perceiuing them, & wondring at the ſight, did boldly go to the children, and tooke them away with him. Theſe infants being thus preſerued, after they were come to mans ſtate, did ſet vpon *Tarchetius* and ſlue him. One *Promathion* an Italian writer, deliuereth this ſtory thus. But the report that carieth beſt credite of all, and is allowed of by many writers, commeth from *Diocles Peparethian*, (whom *Fabius Pictor* followeth (in many things) who was the firſt that put forth this ſtory among the GRECIANS, and ſpecially the chiefeſt points of it. Though this matter be ſomewhat diuerſely taken, yet in effect the ſtory is thus. The right line and bloud of the kings of ALBA deſcended from *AEneas*, by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne: and the Kingdome fell in the end betweene two brethren, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. They agreed by lot to make diuiſion betweene them, whereof the one to haue the Kingdome, and the other all the gold, ſiluer, ready money, goods and iewels brought from TROIA. *Numitor* by his lot choſe the Realme for his portion: *Amulius* hauing all the gold and treaſure in his hands, did find himſelfe thereby the ſtronger, and ſo did eaſily take his Realme from him. And fearing leaſt his brothers daughter might haue children which one day might thruſt him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, there to paſſe her dayes in virginitie, and neuer to be maried: (ſome call her *Rhea*, other *Syluia*, and other *Ilia*) neuertheleſſe not long after ſhe was found with child, againſt the rule and profeſſion of the *Veſtall Nunnes*. So nothing had ſaued her from preſent death, but the petition of *Antho* the daughter of king *Amulius*, who intreated her father for her life: yet notwithſtanding ſhe was ſtraightly locked vp, that no body could ſee her, nor ſpeake with her, leaſt ſhe ſhould be brought to bed without *Amulius* knowledge. In the end ſhe was deliuered of two faire boyes and maruellous great twinnes: which made *Amulius* more affraid then before. So he commaunded one of his men to take the two children, and to throw them away, and deſtroy them. Some ſay that this ſeruants name was *Fauſtulus*: other thinke it was he that brought them vp. But whoſoeuer he was, he that had the charge to throw them away put them in a trough, and went towards the riuer with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it riſen ſo high,

An Oracle of Thetis in Thuſcane.

See the fragments of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato. See alſo Halicarnaſſeus, and T. Liuius

Romulus kindred.

Romulus mother.

Fauſtulus.

and

and running ſo ſwiftly, that he durſt not come neare the waters ſide, and ſo they being in the trough, he layd them on the banke. In the meane time the riuer ſwelling ſtill, and ouerflowing the banke, in ſuch ſort that it came vnder the trough, did gently lift vp the trough, and caried it vnto a great plaine, called at this preſent *Cermanum*, and in the old time *Germanum* (as I take it) *Cermanum.* becauſe the ROMAINES called the brothers of father and mother, *Germani*. Now there was neare vnto this place a wild fig-tree which they called *Ruminalis*, of the name of *Romulus*, as the *Ruminalis.* moſt part thought: or elſe becauſe the beaſts feeding there, were wont to come vnder the ſame in the extreame heate of the day, and there did ruminate, that is chew their cudde in the ſhadow: or perhaps becauſe that the two children did ſucke the teate of the Wolfe, which the ancient LATINES call RVMA, and they at this day do yet call the goddeſſe on whom they cry out to giue *The goddeſſe Rumilia.* their children ſucke, RVMILIA. And in their ſacrifices to her they vſe no wine, but offer vp milke and water mingled with hony. To theſe two children lying there in this ſort, they write, there came a ſhe Wolfe and gaue them ſucke, and a Hitwaw alſo which did helpe to nouriſh and keepe them. Theſe two beaſts are thought to be conſecrated to the god *Mars*, and the LATINES do ſingularly honour and reuerence the Hitwaw. This did much helpe to giue credite to the words of the mother, who affirmed ſhe was conceiued of thoſe two children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit ſome thinke ſhe was deceiued in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce did rauiſh her. Other hold opinion that the name of the nurſe which gaue the two children ſucke with her breaſts, gaue occaſion to common report to erre much in this tale, by reaſon of the double ſignification thereof. For the LATINES do call with one ſelfe name ſhe Wolfes *Lupas*, and women that giue their bodies to all commers: as this nurſe the wife of *Fauſtulus* (that brought theſe children home to her houſe) did vſe to do. By her *Acca Laurentia Fauſtulus wife, that nurced the twins.* right name ſhe was called *Acca Laurentia*, vnto whom the ROMAINES do ſacrifice yet vnto this day: and the Prieſt of *Mars* doth offer vnto her, in the moneth of Aprill, the ſhedding of wine and milke accuſtomed at burials, and the feaſt it ſelfe is called *Laurentia*. It is true that they honor alſo another *Larentia* for like occaſion. The clerke or ſexten of *Hercules* temple, not knowing one *The Greeke ſaith Laurentia.* day how to driue away the time as it ſhould ſeeme: of a certaine liuelineſſe and boldneſſe, did deſire the god *Hercules* to play at dice with him, with condition that if he did winne, *Hercules* ſhould be bound to ſend him ſome good fortune: and if it were his lucke to loſe, then he promiſed *Hercules* he would prouide him a very good ſupper, and would beſides bring him a faire gentlewoman to lye withall. The conditions of the play thus rehearſed, the ſexten firſt caſt the dice for *Hercules*, and afterwards for himſelfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wan, and the ſexten meaning good faith, & thinking it very meete to performe the bargaine that himſelfe had made, prepared a good ſupper, and hired this *Laurentia* the courtiſan, which was very faire, but as yet of no great *Laurētia feaſt. Laurentia a curtiſan.* fame to come to it. Thus hauing feaſted her within the temple, and prepared a bed ready there, after ſupper he locked her into the temple, as if *Hercules* ſhould haue come indeed and lyen with her. And it is ſayd for troth, that *Hercules* came thither, and commanded her in the morning ſhe ſhould go into the market place, and ſalute the firſt man ſhe met, & keepe him euer for her friend. Which thing ſhe performed, and the firſt man ſhe met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great *Tarrutius.* yeares, and one that had gathered together maruellous wealth and riches. He had no children at all, neither was he euer maried. He fell acquainted with this *Laurentia*, and loued her ſo dearely, that ſhortly after chancing to dye, he made her heire of all he had: whereof ſhe diſpoſed afterwards by her laſt will and teſtament, the beſt and greateſt part vnto the people of ROME. Moreouer it is reported alſo, that ſhe now being growne to be famous and of great honor (as thought to be the lemman of a god) did vaniſh away ſuddenly in the ſelfe ſame place, where the firſt *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called *Velabrum*: becauſe the riuer being ouerflowne, *Velabrum whereof Liuie Decad. 3. lib. 7.* they were oftentimes compelled to paſſe by bote to go to the market place, and they called this maner of ferrying ouer, *Velatura*. Other ſay, that thoſe tumblers and common players, which ſhewed ſundry games and paſtimes to win the fauor of the people, were wont to couer that paſſage ouer with canuaſſe clothes and veiles, by which they go from the market place to the liſtes or ſhew place where they run their horſes, beginning their race euen at that place: and they call a veile in their tongue, *Velum*. This is the cauſe why the ſecond *Laurentia* is honored at ROME. *Fauſtulus* chiefe neat-heard to *Amulius*, tooke vp the two children, and no body knew it, as ſome ſay: or as other report (and likeſt to be true) with the priuity and knowledge of *Numitor*, *Amulius* brother, who ſecretly furniſhed them with mony that brought vp the two yong children. It

Romulus and Remus education.

is ſayd alſo they were both conueyed vnto the city of the GABIANS, where they were brought vp at ſchoole, and taught all other honeſt things, which they vſe to teach the ſonnes and children of good and Noble men. Further they ſay they were named *Remus* and *Romulus*, becauſe they were found ſucking on the teates of a Wolfe. Now the beauty of their bodies did preſently ſhew, beholding onely but their ſtature and maner of their countenances, of what nature and linage they were: and as they grew in yeares, their manly courage increaſed maruellouſly, ſo as they became ſtoute and hardy men, in ſo much as they were neuer troubled or aſtonied at any danger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that *Romulus* had more wit and vnderſtanding then his brother *Remus*. For in all things wherin they were to deale with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limites of their paſtures: it was eaſily diſcerned in him, that he was borne to command, and not to obey. For this cauſe they were both exceedingly beloued of their companions, & of thoſe which were their inferiors. As for the kings heardmen, they paſſed not much for them, ſaying that they were euen like themſelues, and ſo ſeemed not to care a pinne for their anger or diſpleaſure, but wholly gaue themſelues to all gentlemanly exerciſes and trades, thinking to liue idly and at eaſe without trauell, was neither comely nor conuenient: but to exerciſe and harden their bodies with hunting, running, purſuing murderers and theeues, and to helpe thoſe which were oppreſſed with wrong and violence, ſhould be credite and commendation to them. By reaſon whereof, in very ſhort time they grew to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chance there aroſe ſome ſtrife and variance betweene the heardmen of *Amulius*, and the heardmen of *Numitor*: in ſo much as thoſe that were *Numitors*, caried away by force ſome cattell of the others. The other ſide would not beare that, but purſued faſt after, and beating them wel-fauoredly, they made them take their legges, and brought backe againe the greateſt part of the cattell they had caried away with them. Whereat *Numitor* ſtormed maruellouſly, but yet his men ſeemed to make but little account of it, and purpoſing reuenge, they gathered about them a good company of vacabounds (that had neither home nor reſting place) and certaine fugitiue bondmen which they entiſed ill-fauouredly, incouraging them to ſteale away from their maiſters. Thus one day whileſt *Romulus* was buſie about ſome ſacrifice (being a deuoute man and religious, and well giuen to ſerue the gods, and to learne to diuine and tell beforehand what things ſhould happen and come to paſſe) it happened the heardmen of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very ſlenderly accompanied: ſo they fell vpon him ſuddenly: blowes were dealt roundly on both ſides, and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the end proued the ſtronger part, & did take *Remus* by force, & caried him ſtraight before *Numitor*, alledging many cõplaints and matters againſt him. *Numitor* durſt not puniſh him of his owne authority, becauſe he feared his brother *Amulius*, who was ſomewhat terrible: but went vnto him, and earneſtly beſought him to do him iuſtice, and not to ſuffer him being his owne brother, to receiue ſuch iniury of his men. There was not a man in the city of ALBA, but did greatly miſlike the iniury done to *Numitor*: and ſpake it openly, that he was no perſon to be offered ſuch a wrong. In ſo much as *Amulius* moued herewith, did deliuer *Remus* into his hands, to puniſh him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* caried him home with him. But when he had him in his houſe, he began to conſider better of him, with admiration how goodly a yong man he was, how in height and ſtrength of body he paſſed all the reſt of his people: and perceiuing in his face an aſſured conſtancy, and bold ſtedfaſt courage that yeelded not, nor was abaſhed for any danger he ſaw towards him: and hearing alſo the report of his actes and manhood to be aunſwerable to that he ſaw: (being chiefly moued in mine opinion, by ſome ſecret inſpiration of the gods, which ordaine the depth of great matters) began partly by coniecture, and partly by chaunce to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his father and mother: ſpeaking to him in a more gentle wiſe, and with a friendlier countenance then before, to make him the bolder to anſwer, & be of better hope. *Remus* boldly anſwered him; Truly I will not hide the troth from thee, for thou ſeemeſt to be more worthy to be King then thy brother *Amulius*. For thou enquireſt, and heareſt firſt before thou condemneſt: and he condemneth before he examine or heare the parties. Vntill now, we thought we had bene the children of two of the Kings ſeruants, to wit of *Fauſtulus* and of *Laurentia*: I ſay we, becauſe my brother and I are two twins. But ſeeing we are now falſely accuſed vnto thee, and by malicious ſurmiſed tales are wrongfully brought in danger of our liues: we intend to diſcouer our ſelues, and to declare ſtraunge things vnto thee, whereof the preſent perill we now ſtand in, ſhall plainly proue

Romulus a godly man.

Remus taken of Numitors heardmen.

Gods prouidence.

Remus oration, declaring the birth of himſelfe and his brother Romulus.

proue the troth. Men say that we haue bene begotten miraculously, fostered and giuen sucke more straungely, and in our tender yeares were fed by birds and wild beasts, to whom we were cast out as a pray. For a Wolfe gaue vs sucke with her teates, and an Hitwaw (they say) brought vs little crummes, and put them in our mouthes, as we lay vpon the banke by the riuer, where we were put in a trough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of copper, vpon the which are some letters engrauen halfe worne out, which peraduenture one day will serue for some tokens of knowledge (vnprofitable for our parents) when it shall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. *Numitor* then comparing these words, with the age the young man seemed to be of, and considering well his face: did not reiect the hope of his imagination that smiled on him, but handled the matter so, that he found meanes to speake secretly with his daughter, notwithstanding at that time she was kept very straightly. *Faustulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was prisoner, and that the king had deliuered him already into the hands of his brother *Numitor* to do iustice, went to pray *Romulus* to helpe him, and told him then whose children they were: for before he had neuer opened it to them but in darke speeches, and glawncing wise, and so much as sufficed to put them in some hope. So *Faustulus* taking the trough with him at that time, went vnto *Numitor* in great haste, as maruellously affraide for the present daunger he thought *Remus* in. The Kings souldiers which warded at the gates of the city, began to gather some suspition of *Faustulus* maner of comming: and he made himselfe to be the more suspected, being questioned with about the cause of his repaire thither, that he faltred in his words: besides, they espied his trough which he caried vnder his cloke. Now amongst the warders, there was by chaunce one that was the man to whom the children were committed to be cast away, and was present when they were left on the banke of the riuer to the mercy of fortune. This man knew the trough by and by, as well by the fashion, as by the letters grauen vpon it: who mistrusted straight that which was true indeed. So he did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Faustulus* with him to haue him confesse the troth. *Faustulus* being in this perplexity, could not keepe all close vpon examination, but did vtter out somewhat of the matter, and yet he told not all. For he plainely iustified the children were aliue: yet he sayd they were farre from the city of Alba, where they kept beasts in the fields. And as for the trough, he was going to carry it to *Ilia*, because she had diuerse times prayed him to let her see and feele it: to the end she might be more assured of her hope, who promised her that one day she should see her children againe. So it chanced vnto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly doth vnto those that are troubled, and do any thing in feare or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to send one presently (who in all other other things was a very honest man, but a great friend of his brother *Numitors*) to aske him if he had heard any thing that his daughters children were aliue. This person being come to *Numitors* house, found him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be witnesse thereof, and of the good hap discouered vnto *Numitor*: whereupon he perswaded him how to set vpon his brother, and to dispatch the matter with speed. So from that time forwards, he tooke their part. On the other side also the matter gaue them no leisure to deferre their enterprise, although they had bene willing: for the whole case was somewhat blowne abroade. So *Romulus* then got straight a power, & drew very neare the city, and many of the citizens of Alba went out to ioyne with him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Now *Romulus* power which he brought (ouer and besides those citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were deuided by hundreds, and euery hundred had his captaine who marched before his band, caryng litle bundels of grasse or of boughes tied to the end of their poles. The Latines call these bundels *Manipulos*, whereof it commeth that yet at this day in an army of the Romaines, the souldiers which are all vnder one ensigne, are called *Manipulares*. So *Remus* stirring vp those that were within the city, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the tyrant *Amulius* fell in such feare and agony, that without prouiding any thing for his safety, they came vpon him suddenly in his pallace, and slue him. Thus you heare how neare *Fabius Pictor* and *Diocles Peparethian* do agree in reciting the story, who was the first in mine opinion that wrote the foundation of the city of Rome: howbeit there are that thinke they are all but fables and tales deuised of pleasure. But me thinkes for all that, they are not altogether to be reiected or discredited, if we will consider fortunes strange effects vpon times, and of the greatnesse also of the Romaine empire: which had neuer atchieued to her present possessed power and authority, if the gods had not from the beginning bene workers of the same, and if there had not also bene some straunge cause, and

Numitors vnwisedome.

Faustulus care to saue Remus.

Amulius perplexed in his mind.

Manipulares whereof so called.

Amulius slaine.

wonderfull foundation. *Amulius* being now ſlaine as before, and after that all things were appeaſed, and reduced to good order againe: *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the city of ALBA, being no Lords thereof, nor alſo would be Lords of it, ſo long as their grandfather by the mothers ſide was aliue. Wherefore after they had reſtored him to his eſtate, and had done the honour and duty they ought vnto their mother, they purpoſed to go & build a city in thoſe places where they had bene firſt brought vp, for this was the honeſteſt colour they could pretend for their departing from ALBA. Peraduenture they were enforced ſo to do whether they would or not, for the great number of baniſhed men, and fugitiue ſlaues which were gathered together by them for their ſtrength, who had bene vtterly loſt and caſt away, if they had bene once diſcharged by them. Therefore it was of neceſſity that they ſhould dwell by themſelues, ſeparated in ſome place, to keepe his number together and in ſome order. For it is true that the inhabitants of the city of ALBA would not ſuffer ſuch baniſhed perſons and runagates to be mingled amongeſt them, nor would receiue them into their city to be free among them. All which appeareth ſufficiently: firſt, becauſe they tooke away women by force: and ſo not of inſolency, but of neceſſity, when they found no man that would beſtow any of them. It is manifeſt alſo they did greatly honour and make much of the women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their city began a little to be ſetled, they made a temple of refuge for all fugitiues & afflicted perſons, which they called the temple of the god *Aſylæus*: where there was ſanctuarie and ſafety for all ſorts of people that repaired thither, and could get into the temple: for whom it was alledged, they could not deliuer any bondman to his maiſter, nor detter to his creditor, nor murtherer to the Iuſtice that was fled thither for ſuccour, becauſe the oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian* had expreſſely enioyned them to graunt ſanctuarie to all thoſe that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in ſhort ſpace their city flouriſhed, and was repleniſhed, where at the firſt foundation of it, they ſay there was not aboue one thouſand houſes, as more at large hereafter ſhall be declared. When they came now to the building of their city, *Romulus* and *Remus* the two brethren fell ſuddenly at a ſtrife together about the place where the city ſhould be builded. For *Romulus* built ROME, which is called foure ſquare, and woulds needes it ſhould remaine in the place which he had choſen. *Remus* his brother choſe another place very ſtrong of ſituation, vpon mount *Auentine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and now is called *Rignarium*. Notwithſtanding, in the end they agreed betweene themſelues, this controuerſie ſhould be decided by the flying of birds, which do giue a happy diuination of things to come. So being ſet in diuerſe places by themſelues to make obſeruation, ſome ſay that there appeared vnto *Remus* ſixe, and to *Romulus* twelue vulters. Other ſay that *Remus* truly ſaw ſixe, and *Romulus* feigned from the beginning that he ſawe twiſe as many: but when *Remus* came to him, then there appeared twelue indeed vnto *Romulus*, and this is the cauſe why the ROMAINES at this day in their diuinations and ſouthſayings of the flying of birds, do maruellouſly obſerue the flying of the vulters. It is true which the hiſtoriographer *Herodotus Ponticus* writeth; that *Hercules* reioyced much when there appeared a vulter to him, being ready to begin any enterpriſe. For it is the foule of the world that doth leaſt hurt, and neuer marreth nor deſtroyeth any thing that man doth ſow, plant or ſet: conſidering that ſhe feedeth on carion only, and doth neuer hurt nor kill any liuing thing. Alſo ſhe doth not pray vpon dead fowle, for the likeneſſe that is betweene them: where the eagles, the dukes and the ſakers, do murther, kill, and eate thoſe which are of their owne kind. And yet as *AEſchylus* ſayth,

The building of Rome.

Aſylæus temple a ſanctuary for all baniſhed perſons and fugitiues.

Striſe betwixt Romulus, and Remus.

Remonium. Rignarium.

The Romaines obſerue the flying of vulters.

Needes muſt that fowle accompted be moſt vile,
moſt rauening, and full of filthy mind,
Which doth himſelfe, continually defile,
by praying ſtill vpon his proper kind.

Moreouer, other birds are alwayes (as a man would ſay) before our eyes, and do daily ſhew themſelues vnto vs: where the vulter is a very rare bird, and hardly to be ſeene, and men do not eaſily find their ayries. Which hath giuen ſome occaſion to hold a falſe opinion, that the vulters are paſſagers, and come into theſe parts out of ſtraunge countries. The prognoſticators alſo thinke, that ſuch things which are not ordinarie, and but ſeldome ſeene, be not naturall, but miraculouſly ſent by the gods to prognoſticate ſomething. When *Remus* knew how his brother had mocked him, he was verie angrie with him. And when *Romulus* had caſt a ditch, as it were for the wall about his city, *Remus* did not only ſcorne it, but hindered alſo his worke, and

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in the end for a mockerie leapt ouer his wall. To conclude, he did ſo much, that at the laſt he was ſlaine there by *Romulus* own hands, as ſome ſay: or as other hold opinion, by the hands of one of his men which was called *Celer*. In this fight they ſlue *Fauſtulus*, and *Pliſtinus* alſo his brother, who had holpen him to bring vp *Romulus*. Howſoeuer the matter fell out, this *Celer* abſented himſelfe from ROME, and went into the country of THVSCANE. And they ſay, that men which are quick & ready vpon a ſodaine, took their names euer after vpon him, & were called *Celeres*. As amongſt other, *Quintus Metellus* after the death of his father, hauing in very few daies made the people of ROME to ſee a combat of fencers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the ſharpe, they ſurnamed him *Celer*, for that the ROMAINES maruelled how he could prepare his things in ſo ſhort a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* hauing now buried his brother, & his other two bringers vp (called foſter fathers) in the place they cal *Remonia*, began then to build & lay the foundation of his citie, ſending for men out of THVSCANE, who did name and teach him particularly all the ceremonies he had to obſerue there, according to their lawes and ordinances as a great holy myſterie. And firſt of all they made a round ditch in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did caſt their chiefeſt and beſt things, which men vſe lawfully for good, and naturally as moſt neceſſary. After that they did throw alſo into it, a little of the earth, from whence euery man came, and mingled theſe all together. This ditch in their ceremonies is called the World, in Latine *Mundus*, euen the ſelfeſame name the Latines call the *Vniuerſall*. About this ditch they did trace the compaſſe of the citie they would build, euen as one would draw a circle about a center. This done, the founder of the citie taketh a plough, to which he faſtned a culter or plough ſhare of braſſe, and ſo yoaked in the plough an oxe and a cow, he himſelfe holding the plough did make round about the compaſſe of the citie a deep furrow. Thoſe which followed him, had the charge to throw the turues of earth inward into the citie, which the plough ſhare raiſed vp, and not to leaue any of them turned outward. The furrow thus caſt vp was the whole compaſſe of their wal, which they call in Latine *Pomærium*, by ſhortning of the ſyllables, for *poſt murum*: to wit, after wall. But in the place where they determined to make a gate, they did take off the plough ſhare, and draw the plough, with leauing a certaine ſpace vnbroken vp: whereupon the ROMAINES thinke all the compaſſe of their walles holy and ſacred, except their gates. For if their gates had bene hallowed and ſanctified, they would haue had a conſcience through them to haue brought in, or caried out of the city, any things neceſſary for the life of man, that had not bene pure and cleane. Now they beleeue certainly, that this ceremonie of the foundation of their citie was made the one & twenty of Aprill: becauſe the ROMAINES do yet keep that day holy day, & cal it the feaſt of the natiuity of their country. On which day they did not in old time ſacrifice any thing that had life, as eſteeming that day (which was the natiuitie of their citie) to be moſt meet to be kept cleane and pure from being polluted or defiled with any bloud. Notwithſtanding before ROME was builded, they had another feaſt called the ſhepheards or heardmens holy day, which they did celebrate vpon the ſame day, & called it *Palilia*. Now at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the ROMAINES is cleane contrary to the GRECIANS: yet for al this, they hold opinion for certainty that the day on which *Romulus* foũded his citie, was aſſuredly that which the GRECIANS cal *Triacada*: that is to ſay, the thirtieth day. On which there was ſeen an eclypſe of the Moone, which they ſuppoſe was obſerued by the Poet *Antimachus* (borne in the city of TEOS) in the thirteenth yeare of the ſixt *Olympiad*. Likewiſe in the time of *Marcus Varro* (as a learned man, & one that had read as much of auncient ſtories as any ROMAINE) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius*, a great Philoſopher and Mathematician, who being giuen to the calculation of Aſtronomie for the delight of ſpeculation only, wherein he was thought moſt excellent: it did fall out that *Varro* gaue him this queſtion, to ſearch out what houre and day the natiuitie of *Romulus* was, who gathered it out by certaine accidents, as they do in the reſolutions of certaine Geometricall queſtions. For they ſay, that by the ſelfe ſame ſcience, one may tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainely the hower of his natiuitie: and how one may tell alſo the hower of his natiuitie, when by accidents they know what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* did the queſtion that *Varro* gaue him. And hauing throughly conſidered the aduentures, deedes, and ieſts of *Romulus*, how long he liued, and how he died: all which being gathered and conferred together, he did boldly iudge for a certainty, that he was conceiued in his mothers wombe, in the firſt yeare of the ſecond *Olympiad*, the three and twentith day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Cheac*, and now is called December, about three of the clocke

Romus ſlaine by Romulus or Celer.

Celeres wherefore ſo called.

Q. Metellus Celer.

Romulus layeth the foundation of Rome.

The world.

Pomærium vulgo ſo called

The wals holy.

The feaſt day of Romes foundation the 21. of Aprill.

The feaſt Palilia.

An eclipſe of the Moone at the laying of the foundation of Rome.

Varro a Philoſopher.

Tarutius a mathematician.

The hower of a mans natiuitie may be calculated by his accidents.

Romulus natiuitie calculated by Tarutius.

An eclips of the Sonne vvhen Romulus vvas conceiued in his mothers womb.

in the morning, in which houre there was a whole eclypse of the Sun: & that he was borne into the world, the 21. of the moneth of *Thoth*, which is the moneth of September, about the rising of the Sun. And that ROME was begun by him on the ninth day of the moneth which the ÆGYPTIANS call *Pharmuthi*, and answereth now to the moneth of Aprill, betweene two and three of the clocke in the morning. For they will say that a citie hath his reuolution and his time of continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man: & that they knew by the situation of the stars, the day of her beginning & foundatiõ. These things and such other like, peraduenture will please the Readers better, for their strangenesse and curiositie, then offend or mislike them for their falsehood. Now after that he had founded his citie, he first and formost did diuide in two companies all those that were of age to cary armour. In euery one of these companies there were three thousand footemen, and three hundred horsemen: and they were called Legions, because they were sorted of the chosen men that were pickt out amongst all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called *Populus*, which signifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred councellours of the best and honestest men of the citie, which he called *Patricians*: and the whole company of them together he called *Senatus*, as one would say, the counsell of the ancients. So they were called *Patricians*, as some will say, the counsell of the fathers lawfull children, which few of the first inhabitans could shew. It may be, some will say this name was giuen thẽ of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the sanctuarie of their citie, which word they vse at this day in the selfe same signification: as one that followed *Euander* into ITALY, was called *Patron*, because he was pitifull, and releeued the poore and little children, and so got himselfe a name for his pity and humanitie. But me thinkes it were more like the troth to say, that *Romulus* did call them so, because he thought the chiefest men should haue a fatherly care of the meaner sort: considering also it was to teach the meaner sort that they should not feare the authority of the greater, nor enuy at their honors they had, but rather in all their causes should vse their fauour and good will, by taking them as their fathers. For euen at this present, strangers call those of the Senate, lords or captaines: but the naturall ROMAINES call them, *Patres Conscripti*, which is a name of fatherhead & dignitie without enuy. It is true, that at the beginning they were only called *Patres*, but sithence, because they were many ioyned vnto the first, they haue bene named *Patres Conscripti*, as a man should say, fathers of record together: which is the honourablest name he could haue deuised to make a differẽce betwixt the *Senators* & the people. Furthermore, he made a difference between the chiefer citizens, and the baser people, by calling the better sort *Patroni*, as much to say, as defenders: & the meaner sort *Clientes*, as you would say, followers, or men protected. This did breed a maruellous great loue & good wil among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutuall curtesies & pleasures: for the Patrons did help the Clients to their right, defended their causes in iudgemẽt, did giue vnto them counsel, & did take al their matters in hand. The Clients again enterchangeably humbled themselues to their patrons, not only in outward honor & reuerence towards them, but otherwise did help them with mony to marry and aduance their daughters, or else to pay their debts and credite, if they were poore or decayed. There was no law nor magistrate that could compell the patron to be a witnes against his client: nor yet the client to witnes against his patron. So they increased, and continued all other rights & offices of amitie & friendship together, sauing afterwards they thought it a great shame & reproch for the better, and richer, to take reward of the meaner & poorer. And thus of this matter we haue spoken sufficiently. Moreouer, foure moneths after the foundation of the citie was laid, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great rauishment of women. There are some which lay it vpon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, & giuen to prophecies and answers of the gods, foretold that his citie should become very great & mighty, so as he raised it by wars, & increased it by armes: & he sought out this colour to do mischiefe, & to make war vpon the SABYNES. To proue this true, some say he caused certain of their maids by force to be taken away, but not past 30. in number, as one that rather sought cause of wars, then did it for need of mariages: which me thinks was not likely to be true, but rather I iudge the contrarie. For seeing his citie was incontinently replenished with people of all sorts, whereof there were very few that had wiues, and that they were men gathered out of all countries, and the most part of them poore & needy, so as their neighbors disdained them much, & did not looke they would long dwell together: *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their maides & rauishing thẽ, to haue an entry into alliance with the SABYNES, & to entise thẽ further to ioyne with them in mariage, if they did gently intreat these wiues they had gotten, enterprised this

The Romaine Legion 3000. footemen 300. horsemen.

Romulus instituteth a common wealth.

VVhat the Patricians and Senate were.

Patres Conscripti.

Patroni. Clientes.

The shame of the Romaines to take gifts of poore men.

The rauishmẽt of the Sabyne vvomen.

this violent taking of their maides, and rauiſhing of them in ſuch ſort. Firſt he made it to be commonly bruted abroad in euery place, that he had found the altar of a god hidden in the ground, & he called the name of the god, *Conſus*: either becauſe he was a god of counſel, wherupon the ROMAINES at this day in their tongue call *Conſilium*, which we cal counſel: & the chiefe magiſtrates of their citie *Conſules*, as we ſay counſellers. Other ſay it was the altar of the god *Neptune*, ſurnamed the patron of horſes. For this altar is yet at this day within the great liſtes of the city, and euer couered and hidden, but when they vſe the running games of their horſe race. Other ſay, becauſe counſell euer muſt be kept cloſe and ſecret, they had good reaſon to keepe the altar of this god *Conſus* hidden in the ground. Now other write, when it was opened, *Romulus* made a ſacrifice of wonderfull ioy, and afterwades proclaimed it openly in diuers places, that at ſuch a day there ſhould be common playes in ROME, and a ſolemne feaſt kept of the god *Conſus*, where all that were diſpoſed to come ſhould be welcome. Great numbers of people repaired thither from all parts. He himſelfe was ſet in the chiefeſt ſeate of the ſhow place, apparelled faire in purple, and accompanied with the chiefe of his citie about him. And there hauing purpoſed this rauiſhment you haue heard of, he had giuen the ſigne before: that the ſame ſhould begin, when he ſhould riſe vp and fold a plaite of his gowne, and vnfold the ſame againe. Hereupon his men ſtood attending with their ſwordes: who ſo ſoone as they perceiued the ſigne was giuen, with their ſwordes drawne in hand, and with great ſhouts and cries, ranne violently on the maides and daughters of the SABYNES to take them away and rauiſh them, and ſuffered the men to runne away, without doing them any hurt or violence. So ſome ſay, there were but thirtie rauiſhed, after whoſe names were called the thirty linages of the people of ROME. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were fiue hundred & ſeuen & twentie: and *Iuba*, ſixe hundred foureſcore and three. In the which is ſingularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he himſelfe did take then but only one of the maides, named *Herſilia*: that afterwards was the onely cauſe and mediation of peace betwixt the SABYNES and the ROMAINES. Which argueth plainely, that it was not to do the SABYNES any hurt, nor to ſatifie any diſordinate luſt, that they had ſo forcibly vndertaken this rauiſhment: but to ioyne two peoples together, with the ſtraighteſt bonds that could be betweene men. This *Herſilia* as ſome ſay, was married vnto one *Hoſtilius*, the nobleſt man at that time amongſt the ROMAINES: or as others write, vnto *Romulus* himſelfe, which had two children by her. The firſt was a daughter, and her name was *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was the firſt: the other was a ſon, whom he named *Aollius*, becauſe of the multitude of people he had aſſembled together in his city, and afterwards he was ſurnamed *Abillius*. Thus *Zenodotus* the TROEZENIAN writeth, wherein notwithſtanding there be diuers that do contrarie him. Among thoſe which rauiſhed then the daughters of the SABYNES, it is ſaid there were found certaine meane men carrying away a maruellous paſſing faire one. Theſe met by chance on the way certaine of the chiefe of the citie, who would haue taken her by force from them, which they had done, but that they began to cry, they carried her vnto *Talaſsius*, who was a yong man maruellouſly well beloued of euery bodie. Which when the others vnderſtood, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: inſomuch as there were ſome which ſodainly turned backe againe, and did accompanie them for *Talaſsius* ſake, crying out aloud, and often on his name. From whence the cuſtome came, which to this day the ROMAINES ſing at their mariages, *Talaſsius*, like as the GRECIANS ſing *Hymeneus*. For it is ſayd he was counted very happie that he met with this woman. But *Sextius Sylla* a CARTHAGINIAN borne, a man very wiſe, and well learned, told me once it was the crie & ſigne which *Romulus* gaue to his men, to begin the rauiſhment: whereupon thoſe which carried them away, went crying this word *Talaſsius*, & that frō thence the cuſtome hath continued, that they ſing it yet at their mariages. Neuertheleſſe the moſt part of authors, ſpecially *Iuba*, thinkes it is a warning to remember the new married women of their worke, which is to ſpinne, which the GRECIANS call *Talaſsia*, the Italian word at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the ROMAINES vſed this terme of *Talaſsia*, as we of GRECE do vſe, we might by coniecture yeeld another reaſon for it, which ſhould carrie a better likelihood and proofe. For when the SABYNES after the battell had made peace with the ROMAINES, they put in an article in fauour of the women in the treatie, that they ſhould not be bound to ſerue their husbands in any other worke but in ſpinning of wooll. Euer ſince this cuſtome hath growne, that thoſe which giue their daughters in mariage, and thoſe who leade the bride, and ſuch as are preſent at the wedding, ſpeake in ſport to the new maried wife, laughing, *Talaſsius*: in token that they do

Romulus craft about the rauiſhment of the Sabynes daughters.
Conſus a god.
Neptune the god of horſmen.
The executiō of the rauiſhment
The number of the Sabyne women rauiſhed.
Herſilia Romulus wife.
Romulus firſt daughter called Prima.
His ſonne was called Aollius Abillius.
The cauſe why the Romains do ſing the name of Talaſsius in mariages.
Talaſsia.
Matrimoniall ceremonie at Rome.

not leade the bride for any other worke or seruice, but to spin wooll. Thereof this hath bene the vse to this day, that the bride doth not of her self come ouer the threshold of her husbands doore, but she is hoised pretily into the house: becausе the SABYNE women at that time were so lift vp, and caried away by force. They say also, that the manner of making the shed of the new wedded wiues haire, with the yron head of a Iaueling, came vp then likewise: this storie being a manifest token that these first mariages were made by force of armes, and as it were at the swords point: as we haue written more at large in the booke, wherein we render and shew the causes of the ROMAINES fashions and customes. This rauishment was put in execution about the eighteenth day of the moneth called *Sextilis*, and now named August: on which day they yet celebrate the feast they call *Consalia*. Now the SABYNES were good men of warre, and had great numbers of people, but they dwelt in villages, and not within incloſed walles: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did feare nothing, and as those who were descended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheless they seeing themselues bound and tied to peace by pledges and hostages, that were very neare allied vnto them, & fearing their daughters should be ill intreated, sent ambassadors to *Romulus*, by whom they made reasonable offers & perswasions, that their daughters might be deliuered vnto them againe, without any force or violence, and then afterwards, that he would cause them to be asked in mariage of their parents, as both reason & law would require. To the end that with good wil & consent of al parties, both peoples might contract amity & alliance together. Wherunto *Romulus* made answer, he could not restore the maids which his people had taken away & maried: but most friendly he praied the SABYNES to be contented with their alliance. This answer being returned, & not liked, whilst the princes & cõmunaltie of the SABYNES were occupied in consultatiõ, & about the arming of thẽselues: *Acron* king of the CENINENSES (a man exceeding couragious & skilful in the wars, & one that from the beginning mistrusted the ouer bold & stout enterprises that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, considering the late rauishment of the SABYNES daughters, & how he was already greatly dreaded of his neighbours, & somewhat vntollerable, if he were not chastised and brought lower) first began to inuade him with a puissant army, & to make hot & violent wars vpon him. *Romulus* on the other side prepared also, & went forth to meet him. When they were come so neare together that they might see one another, they sent defiãce to ech other, & praied that they two might fight man to man amidst their armies, & neither of theirs to stir a foot. Both of them accepted of it, & *Romulus* making his praier vnto *Iupiter*, did promise, & made a vow: that if he did giue him the victory to ouercome, he wold offer vp to him the armor of his enemie, which he did. For first he slue *Acron* in the field, & afterwards gaue battell to his men, & ouerthrew them also. Lastly he tooke his citie, where he did no hurt nor yet displeasure to any, sauing that he did command thẽ to pull down their houses, & destroy thẽ, & to go dwell with him at ROME: where they should haue the self same rights & priuiledges which the first inhabitãts did enioy. There was nothing more enlarged the citie of ROME, then this maner of pollicy, to ioyne alwaies vnto it those she had ouercome & vanquished. *Romulus* now to discharge his vow, and in such sort that his offering might be acceptable to *Iupiter*, and pleasant to his citizens to behold: did cut down a goodly straight grown yong oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his camp did lie: the same he trimmed & did set forth after the maner of victorie, hanging & tying all about it in faire order, the armour & weapons of king *Acron*. Then he girding his gowne to him, and putting vpon his long bush of haire, a garland of lawrel, laid the yong oke vpon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his city, and sung a royall song of victorie, all his armie following him in armes vnto the citie in order of battel: where his citizens receiued him in all passing wise and triumph. This noble and stately entry euer since hath giuen them minds in such sort, and in statelier wise to make their triumph. The offering of this triumph was dedicated to *Iupiter* surnamed *Feretrian*: becausе the Latine word *Ferire*, signifieth to hurt and kill; and the praier *Romulus* had made, was, he might hurt & kill his enemie. Such spoiles are called in Latine, *Spolia opima*: therfore saith *Varro*, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit me thinks it were more likely to say, that they were so named of this word *Opus*, which betokeneth a deed, becausе he must needs be the chiefe of the armie, that hath slaine with his owne hands the Generall of his enemies, and that must offer the spoiles called *Spolia opima*, as you would say, his principall spoiles and deeds. This neuer happened yet but to three Romaine captaines only: of the which *Romulus* was the first, who slue *Acron* king of the CENINENSES. *Cornelius Cossus* was the second, who killed *Tolumnius*, the general of the THVSCANS. *Clodius Marcellus*

Sextilis, August.

Plutar. in his proble. Consualia.

The Sabynes what they were.

Acron king of the Ceninenses maketh warre with Romulus

Acron slaine in the field.

Romulus triumph.

The beginning of triumph.

Iupiter Feretrius.

Spolia opima.

Three Romains onely obtained spolia opima.

Marcellus was the third, who slue *Britomartus*, king of the GAVLES, with his owne hands. And for the two last, *Cossus* and *Marcellus*, they made their entry into the city, carying their triumphes vpon charets triumphant: but *Romulus* did not so. Therefore in this point *Dionysius* the historiographer hath erred, writing that *Romulus* did enter into ROME vpon a charret triumphant. For it was *Tarquinius Priscus* the son of *Demaratus*, who first did set out triumphes in so stately and magnificent show. Other hold opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the first that euer entred vpon triumphant charret. Concerning *Romulus*, his statues are yet to be seene in ROME, carying his triumph a foote. After this ouerthrow & taking of the CENINENSES, the inhabitants of the cities of FIDENA, CRVSTVMERIVM, & ANTEMNA, rose all together against the ROMAINES whiles the other SABYNES also were a preparing themselues. So they fought a battell, in which they tooke the ouerthrow: & left their cities to the spoile of *Romulus*, their lands to be giuē where he thought good, & themselues to be caried to ROME. *Romulus* then did giue their lands among his citizens, except those lands which did belong to the fathers of the maidens that they had taken away & rauished. For he was contented that the fathers of them should keepe still their lands. By and by the other SABYNES stomaking thereat, did chuse them a generall called *Tatius*, and so went with a puissant army toward the city of ROME, whereunto to approch at that time it was very hard, the castle or keepe of their city being seated where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great garrison, whereof *Tarpeius* was captaine, & not his daughter *Tarpeia*, as some will say, who set out *Romulus* as a foole. But *Tarpeia* the captaines daughter, for the desire she had to haue all the gold bracelets which they did weare about their armes, sold the fort to the SABYNES, & asked for reward of her treason, all they did weare on their left armes. *Tatius* promised them vnto her: & she opened them a gate in the night, by the which she did let all the SABYNES into the castle. *Antigonus* thē was not alone, who said, he loued those which did betray, & hated them that had betrayed: nor yet *Cæsar Augustus*, who told *Rymitalces* the THRACIAN, that he loued treason, but he hated traytors. And it is a common affection which we beare to wicked persons, whilest we stand in need of them: not vnlike for all the world to those which haue need of the gall and poyson of venimous beasts. For when they find it, they are glad, & take it to serue their turne: but after their turne is serued, & they haue that they sought, they hate the cruelty of such beasts. So played *Tatius* at that time. For when he was gotten into the castle, he commanded the SABYNES (for performance of his promise he had made to *Tarpeia*) they should not sticke to giue her all they ware on their left armes, & to do as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the bracelets which he ware, did cast it to her, & his target after. And so did all the rest in like sort, in so much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of bracelets & targets, she died as pressed to death vnder her burden. Neuertheless *Tarpeius* selfe was atteinted, & condemned also of treason, by *Romulus* order, as *Iuba* saith, it is set forth by *Sulpitius Galba*. They that write now otherwise of *Tarpeia*, saying she was the daughter of *Tatius*, generall of the SABYNES, & was forced by *Romulus* to lye with him, & how she was punished in this sort by her owne father after her said treason committed: those I say, amongst whom *Antigonus* is one, are not to be credited. And the Poet *Simylus* also doth dote most, who saith *Tarpeia* sold the Capitoll not to the SABYNES, but to the king of GAVLES, with whom she was in loue: as in these verses doth appeare:

Tarquinius Priscus the first that triumphed in charet.

Valerius Publicola.

The cities of Fidena, Crustumerium, and of Antemna rose all against Romulus.

The Sabynes led by Tatius, went to besiege the city of Rome.

Tarpeia betrayeth the castle, and letteth in the Sabynes.

Antigonus and Augustus Cæsars words of traytours.

A fit similitude.

Note the reward of treason.

Tarpeia pressed to death.

Tarpeia, that mayde of foolish minde,
which neere vnto the Capitoll did dwell
(In feruent flames, of beastly loue beblind,
wherewith the king of Gaules did make her swell)
Caused stately Rome surprised for to bee
by enemies, as euery man may see.
And so through hope of his fidelity
betrayed her Syre, with all his family.

And a litle after, in speaking of the manner of her death, he saith also:

Yet lo: the Gaules, those worthy men of might
threw her not downe, into the waues of Po,
But from their armes, wherewith they wont to fight
they cast their shields vpon her bodie so,
That she surprest with such an heauy waight,
(Ah wofull maide) to death was smoothred straight.

This maiden therefore being buried in the ſame place, the whole hill was called afterwards *Tarpeius* after her name, which continued vntill *Tarquinius* the King did dedicate all the place to *Iupiter*: for then they caried her bones into ſome other place, and ſo it loſt her name. Vnleſſe it be that rocke of the Capitoll, which at this preſent time they call *Rupes Tarpeia*, from the top whereof they were wont in old time to throw downe headlong all wicked offenders. When the SABYNES now had gotten this hold, *Romulus* being exceeding wrath, ſent them a defiance, and bad them battell if they durſt. *Tatius* ſtraight refuſed not, conſidering if by miſchance they were diſtreſſed, they had a ſure refuge to retire vnto. The place between the two armies where the fight ſhould be, was all round about enuironed with little hilles. So as it was plaine, the fight could not be but ſharpe and dangerous, for the diſcõmodiouſneſſe of the place, where was neither ground for any to flie, nor yet any ſpace for any long chaſe, it was of ſo ſmall a compaſſe. Now it fortuned by chance, the riuer of Tyber had ouerflowne the bankes a few daies before, and there remained in it a deeper mud then men would haue iudged, becauſe the ground was ſo plaine, and was euen where the great market place of ROME ſtandeth at this day. They could diſcerne nothing thereof by the eye, becauſe the vpper part of it was cruſted, whereby it was the more ready for them to venter vpon, and the worſe to get out, for that it did ſinke vnderneath. So the SABYNES had gone vpon it, had not *Curtius* danger bene, which by good fortune ſtayed them. He was one of the nobleſt and valianteſt men of the SABYNES, who being mounted vpon a courſer, went on a good way before the army. This courſer entring vpon the cruſted mudde, and ſinking withall, began to plunge and ſtruggle in the mire: whereat *Curtius* proued a while with the ſpurre to ſtirre him, and get him out, but in the end ſeeing it would not be, he left his backe, and ſaued himſelfe. The ſame very place to this day is called after his name, *Lacus Curtius*. The SABYNES thẽ ſcaping thus this danger, began the battell. The fight did grow very cruell, and endured ſo a great while, the victory leaning no more to the one ſide then to the other. There died in a ſmall ſpace a great number of men, amongeſt whom *Hoſtilius* was one, who as they ſay was the husband of *Herſilia*, and grandfather to *Hoſtilius* that was king of ROMAINES after *Numa Pompilius*. Afterwards there were (as we may thinke) many other encounters and battels betweene them: howbeit they make mention of the laſt aboue al the reſt, wherein *Romulus* had ſo ſore a blow on his head with a ſtone, that he was almoſt felled to the ground, in ſo much as he was driuen to retire a litle out of the battell. Vpon which occaſion the ROMAINES gaue backe alſo, and drew towards mount Palatine, being driuen out of the plaine by force. *Romulus* began now to recouer of the blow he had receiued, and ſo returned to giue a new onſet, and cried out all he might to his ſouldiers to tary, and ſhew their face againe to their enemie. But for all his lowd crying, they left not flying ſtill for life, and there was not one that durſt returne againe. Wherupon *Romulus* lifting vp his hands ſtraight to heauen, did moſt feruently pray vnto *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe him to ſtay the flying of his people, and not ſuffer the ROMAINES glorie thus to fall to their vtter deſtruction, but to repaire it by his fauour againe. He had no ſooner ended his prayer, but diuerſe of his men that fled, began to be aſhamed to flie before their King, and a ſudden boldneſſe came vpon them, and their feare therewithall vaniſhed away. The place they firſt ſtayed in was, whereas now is the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, which is as much to ſay, as *Iupiter* the ſtayer. Afterwards gathering themſelues together againe, they repulſed the SABYNES euen to the place they cal now *Regia*, & vnto the temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*: where both the battels being prepared to giue a new charge, there did fall out before them, a ſtrange and vncredible thing to ſee, which ſtayed them they fought not. For of the SABYNE women whom the ROMAINES had rauiſhed, ſome ranne of the one ſide, other of the other ſide of the battels, with lamentations, cries, and ſhowts, ſtepping betweene their weapons, and among the ſlaine bodies on the ground, in ſuch ſort that they ſeemed out of their wits, and caried as it were with ſome ſpirits. In this manner they went to find out their fathers and their husbands, ſome carying their ſucking babes in their armes, other hauing their haire looſe about their eyes, and all of them calling, now vpon the SABYNES, now vpon the ROMAINES, with the genteleſt names that could be deuiſed: which did melt the hearts of both parties in ſuch ſort, that they gaue backe a little, and made them place betweene both the battels. Then were the cryes and lamentations of euery one plainely heard. There was not a man there but it pitied him, as well to ſee them in that pitifull caſe, as to heare the lamentable words they ſpake: adding to their moſt humble petitions and requeſts that could be any way imagined, paſſing wiſe perſwaſions and reaſons to induce them to a peace. For what offence (ſayd they) or what

The place of the fight betwixt Romulus and Tatius.

Curtius the Sabyne.

Curtius lake.

The Sabynes giue battell to Romulus. Hoſtilius ſlaine.

Romulus hit on the head with a ſtone.

Iupiter Stator.

A wonderfull boldneſſe of women.

what displeasure haue we done to you, that we should deserue such an heape of euils, as we haue already suffered, and yet you make vs beare? we were as you know violently (and against all law) rauished by those, whose now we remaine. But our fathers, our brethren, our mothers and friends haue left vs with them so long, that processe of time, and the straighteſt bonds of the world, haue tied as now so fast to them, whom mortally before we hated, that we are constrained now to be slighted thus, to see them fight, yea and to lament and dye with them, who before vniustly tooke vs from you. For then you came not to our rescue when we were virgins vntouched, nor to recouer vs from them when they wickedly assaulted vs, poore soules: but now ye come to take the wiues from their husbands, and the mothers from their litle children. So as the helpe ye thinke to giue vs now doth grieue vs more, then the forsaking of vs was sorrowfull to vs then. Such is the loue they haue borne vnto vs, and such is the kindnesse we beare againe to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other cause then for vs, yet were it reason ye should let fall your armes for our sakes (by whom you are made grandfathers and fathers in law, cosins and brothers in law) euen from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this war began for vs, we hartily beseech you then that you will receiue vs with your sons in law, and your sons by them, and that you will restore vnto vs our fathers, our brethren, our kinsefolks & friends, without spoyling vs of our husbands, of our children, and of our ioyes, and thereby make vs wofull captiues and prisoners in our minds. These requests and perswasions by *Hersilia*, and other the Sabyne women being heard, both the armies stayed, and held euery body his hand, and straight the two generals inparled together. During which parle they brought their husbands and their children, to their fathers and their brethren. They brought meate and drinke for them that would eate. They dressed vp the wounds of them that were hurt. They caried them home with them to their houses. They shewed them how they were mistresses there with their husbands. They made them see how greatly they were accompted of and esteemed; yea how with a wedlocke loue and reputation they were honoured. So in the end peace was concluded betweene them, wherein it was articled, that the Sabyne women which would remaine with their husbands should tarry still, and be exempted from all worke or seruice (as aboue recited) saue only spinning of woll. And that the Sabynes and Romaines should dwell together in the city, which should be called Roma, after *Romulus* name: and the inhabitants should be called *Quirites*, after the name of the city of *Tatius* king of the Sabynes, and that they should raigne and gouerne together by a common consent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this day *Comitium*: becausse that *Coire*, in the Latin toung signifieth to assemble. So the city being augmēted by the one halfe, they did chuse of the Sabynes another hundred new Patricians, vnto the first hundred of the Romaines that were chosen before. Then were the Legions made of 6000. footmen, & 600. horsmen. After they deuided their inhabitants into three Tribes, wherof those that came of *Romulus*, were called *Ramnenses* after his name: those that came of *Tatius* we called *Tatienses* after his name: & those that were of the third stocke, were called *Lucerenses*, as from the Latin word *Lucus*, called with vs a groue in English, becausse thither great nūber of people of all sorts did gather, which afterwards were made citizens of Rome. The very word of *Tribus* (which signifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) doth witnesse this beginning of Rome from wards or hundreds. For hereupon the Romaines call those at this day, their *Tribunes*, which are the chiefe heads of the people. But euery one of these principall wards had afterwards ten other particular wards vnder them, which some thinke were called after the names of the thirty Sabyne women that were rauished: but that seemeth false, becausse many of them carry the names of the places they came from. Howbeit at that time many things were stablished & ordained in honour of women: as to giue them place, the vpper hand in meeting them, the vpper hand in streetes: to speake no fowle or dishonest word before them, no man to vnray himselfe, or shew naked before them: that they should not be called before criminall Iudges sitting vpō homicides & murderers: that their childrē should weare about their necks a kind of Iewell, called *Bulla*, fashioned in maner like these water bubbles that rise vpon the water when it beginneth to raine: & that their gownes should be garded with purple. Now the two kings did not straight confer together so soone as any occasion of businesse was offered them, but either of them did first counsell alone with his hundred Senators, & afterwards they did all assemble together. *Tatius* dwelt in the place where now is the temple of *Iuno Moneta*: *Romulus* in the place called at this present, the staires of the faire banke, then the descent of mount Palatine, as they go to the show place or great listes, where

The words of Hersilia and other Sabyne women vnto both armies.

Romulus and Tatius inparle together.

Peace betweene the Romaines and the Sabynes.

Quirites why so called.

Comitium.

The Romaine legion 6000. footemen, and 600. horsemen.

The Romaine tribute.

Honours giuen to women.

Tatius and Romulus pallacet.

The holy cornell tree.

they ſay was ſometime the holy cornell tree, whereof they make ſo great account. *Romulus* one day deſirous to proue his ſtrength, threw (as it is ſayd) a dart from mount Auentine toward mount Palatine. The ſtaffe whereof was of a cornell tree: and the Iron of it entred ſo deepe into the ground being a luſty fat ſoyle, that no man could pull it out, although many proued it, and did the beſt they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring foorth trees, did ſo nouriſh the end of this ſtaffe, that it tooke roote, and began to ſpread branches: ſo that in time it became a faire great cornell tree, which the ſucceſſours of *Romulus* did incloſe with a wall, and did keepe and worſhip it as a very holy thing. If by chaunce any went to ſee it, and found it looked not freſh and greene, but like a tree withered and dried away for lacke of moiſture: he went away ſtraight as one affraide, crying to all he met (and they with him went crying ſtill) in euery place, water, water, as it had beene to haue quenched a fire. Then ranne they thither out of all quarters with veſſels of water, to water and moiſt the tree. In the time of *Caius Cæſar*, who cauſed the ſtaires about it to be repaired: they ſay the labourers raiſing the place, and digging about this cornell tree, did by negligence hurt the rootes of the ſame in ſuch ſort, as afterwards it dried vp altogether. Now the SABYNES receiued the moneths after the manner of the ROMAINES, whereof we haue written ſufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe vſed the SABYNES ſhields: and both he and his people chaunged the faſhion of their armour and weapons they vſed. For the ROMAINES before did carry litle ſhields after the faſhion of the ARGIVES. As for either of their holy dayes and ſacrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them, which either the one or the other people obſerued before, but they added thereunto ſome other new. As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was inſtituted in honour of the women, becauſe by their meanes peace was concluded. And that alſo of *Carmentalia*, in the honour of *Carmenta*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be the goddeſſe of fate or deſtiny, becauſe ſhe hath rule and power ouer the natiuities of men, by reaſon whereof, the mothers call vpon her often, and reuerence her very much. Other ſay ſhe was the wife of *Euander* the ARCADIAN, who being a propheteſſe inſpired by the god *Phœbus*, gaue the Oracles in verſe, whereupon ſhe was ſurnamed *Carmenta*, becauſe that *Carmina* in Latin ſignifie verſes: for it is of certainty that her proper name was *Nicoſtrata*. Howbeit there are ſome which giue another manner of deriuation and interpretation of this word *Carmenta*, which is the likelier to be true: as if they would ſay, *Carens mente*: which ſignifieth wanting wit, for the very fury that taketh them when they are inſpired with the propheticall ſpirit. For in Latine *Carere* betokeneth to lacke: and *Mens*, ſignifieth wit. As for the feaſt of *Palilia*, we haue told of it before: but the feaſt of *Lupercalia*, conſidering the time of celebrating thereof, it ſeemeth it is ordeined for a purification. For it is celebrated on the vnfortunate dayes of the moneth of Februarie, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the old time on which they did celebrate the ſame, were called *Februata*. But the proper name of the feaſt, is as much to ſay, as the feaſt of Wolues. Wherefore it ſeemeth to be a feaſt of great antiquity, and inſtituted by the ARCADIANS which came in with *Euander*: albeit the name of Wolues is as common to the females, as the males, and ſo it mighr perhaps be called, by reaſon of the Wolfe that brought vp *Romulus*. For we ſee thoſe which runne vp and downe the city that day, and they call *Luperci*, do begin their courſe in the very place where they ſay *Romulus* was caſt out. Howbeit many things are done, wherof the originall cauſe were hard now to be coniectured. For goates about a certaine time of the yeare, are killed, then they bring two yong boyes, Noble mens ſons, whoſe foreheads they touch with the knife bebloudied with the bloud of the goates that are ſacrificed. By & by they dry their foreheads with woll dipped in milke. Then the yong boyes muſt laugh immediatly after they haue dried their foreheads. That done, they cut the goates skins, & make thongs of thē, which they take in their hands, & run with thē all about the city ſtarke naked (ſauing they haue a cloth before their ſecrets) & ſo they ſtrike with theſe thongs all they meet in their way. The yong wiues do neuer ſhun them at al, but are well cōtented to be ſtriken with thē, beleeuing it helpeth them to be with child, and alſo to be eaſily deliuered. There is another thing yet in this feaſt, that theſe LVPERCIANS which runne about the citie, do alſo ſacrifice a dogge. Concerning this feaſt, the Poet named *Butas* doth write ſomewhat in his elegies, where ſhewing the occaſion of the fond cuſtomes and ceremonies of the ROMAINES, he doth ſay that *Romulus* after that he had ſlaine *Amulius*, did runne ſtraight with great ioy to the very place where the Wolfe gaue him and his brothher ſucke, in memorie of which running, he ſaith this feaſt of *Lupercalia* was celebrated: and that the noble mens younger ſonnes do runne through the citie, ſtriking

The Sabynes vſed the Romaines moneths.

Feaſts, Matronalia, Carmentalia, Carmenta.

Lupercalia.

The Lupercians do ſacrifice a dogge.

VVhy the Lupercians do runne through the city naked.

ſtriking & laying on thē which they meet in their way with their goat thongs, in tokē that *Remus* & *Romulus* ran from ALBA vnto that place, with their drawn ſwords in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloudy knife, is in remēbrance of the danger they ſtood in at that time to haue bene ſlaine. Laſt of all, the drying of their foreheads with wooll dipped in milk, is in memory of the milk they ſucked of the Wolues. But *Caius Acilius* writeth, that *Remus* & *Romulus* before ROME was built, did happen to loſe their beaſts on a day, and after they had made certain prayers vnto *Faunus* for the finding of thē, they ran here & there ſtarknaked as they went a ſeeking of thē, for feare they ſhold haue bin troubled with ouermuch heat & ſweating. And this is the cauſe he ſaith, why the LVPERCIANS do at this day run about naked. And if it be true, they make this ſacrifice for a purging, a man might ſay they might offer vp a dog for that purpoſe, like as the GRECIANS in their ſacrifices of purgation, do vſe to carry out all their dogs. And in many places they do obſerue this ceremony, to driue out the dogs, which they call *Periſcylaciſmes*. Otherwiſe, if it be of a thankfulnes to the Wolfe that gaue *Romulus* ſuck, & ſaued him frō periſhing, that the ROMAINES do ſolemnize this feaſt: it is not impertinent they ſhold ſacrifice a dog, becauſe he is an enemy to the Wolues. Vnleſſe a man would ſay it was to puniſh this beaſt, which troubleth & letteth the LVPERCIANS when they run. Some ſay alſo it was *Romulus*, who firſt inſtituted it a religion to keep holy fire, & that firſt ordained holy virgins, which are called *Veſtales*: other do aſcribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithſtanding it is moſt certain otherwiſe, that *Romulus* was a very deuout man, & greatly skilful in telling of things to come by the flying of birds: for which cauſe he did ordinarily cary the augurs crooked ſtaffe, called in latin *Lituus*. It is a rod crooked at the end, wherwith the augurs or ſoothſaiers whē they ſit down to behold the flying of birds, do point out & mark the quarters of the heauen. They carefully kept it within the pallace: howbeit it was loſt in the time of wars with the GAVLES, when the city of ROME was taken. Afterwards when theſe barbarous people were chaſed & driuē out, it was found again (as it is ſaid) all whole, within a great hill or heape of aſhes, hauing no manner of hurt, where all things elſe about it had bin conſumed & marred with the fire. He is ſaid to haue made certaine lawes, among which there is one that ſeemeth ſomwhat hard, which is: that the man is ſuffered to put away his wife, & in ſome caſe to giue her nothing: & like libertie is not giuen to the wife to put away her husband. As if ſhe may be proued to haue conſented to the poiſoning of her children, or to haue counterfeited her husbands keys, or to haue cōmitted adultery. But if he put her away for any other cauſe, then the one halfe of the goods is adiudged to the wife, & the other moity to the goddeſſe *Ceres*: & he that putteth away his wife after this ſort, is cōmanded further to ſacrifice to the goddes of the earth. This alſo was notable in *Romulus*, who hauing ordained no pain nor puniſhment for parricides (that is, for thoſe that kil their parents) called yet al murther parricide, to ſhew how deteſtable that murder was; and as for parricides, he thought it vnpoſſible. And it ſeemed a great while, he had reaſon to think ſo, that ſuch wickednes wold neuer happē in the world. For in 600. yeres together it was not knowne that any man in ROME cōmitted ſuch an offence: and the firſt parricide with them was *Lucius Oſtius*, after the wars of *Hannibal*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the firſt yeare of the raign of *Tatius*, ſome of his kinſemen & friends met by chance on the way certaine ambaſſadors, coming from the city of LAVRENTVM vnto ROME, whō they ſet vpon, & meant to haue robbed thē. The ambaſſadors reſiſting thē, & not willing to deliuer their mony, they made no more a do, but ſlue thē. This hainous deed being thus cōmitted, *Romulus* was of opinion they ſhold be executed openly in the high way for example. But *Tatius* deferred it ſtill from day to day, & did alwaies excuſe the matter vnto him, which was the only cauſe they fell out one with the other. For in all things elſe, they caried themſelues as honeſtly as might be the one to the other, ruling and gouerning together, with a common cōſent & good accord. But the parents and kinſefolkes of thoſe who were murdered, when they ſaw they could haue no iuſtice becauſe of *Tatius*: watched him one day as he ſacrificed with *Romulus*, in the city of Lauiniū, & ſtabbed him in, without offering *Romulus* any violence, but rather praiſed him for a good & righteous prince. *Romulus* cauſed the body of *Tatius* to be ſtraight taken vp, & buried him very honorably in mount Auentine, about the place now called Armiluſtriū. Further he neuer ſhewed any countenance to reuenge his death. There are ſome Hiſtoriographers that write, that thoſe of the city of Laurentum being afraid at this murder, did deliuer forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the ambaſſadours. He notwithſtanding did let them go againe, ſaying: one murther was requited by another. This gaue ſome occaſion of ſpeech to thinke, he was glad he

The veſtall Nuns and holy fire inſtituted by Romulus Lituus.

Romulus lawes.

Parricides.

No parricide knowne in Rome ſix hundred yeares together.

Lucius Oſtius the firſt man that ſlue his owne father at Rome.

Ambaſſadours ſlain comming to Rome.

The death of Tatius in Lauinium.

Armiluſtrium.

The Sabynes obedience to Romulus.

was rid of his cõpanion: yet the Sabynes neither ſtirred nor rebelled for all this, but ſome of thẽ were afraid of him for the great loue they bare him, other for his power he was of, & other for the honor they gaue him as a god, continuing ſtill in dutie & obedience towards him. Diuers ſtrangers alſo had *Romulus* valiancie in great honor: as amongſt other, thoſe who then were called the ancient Latines, which ſent ambaſſadors to him to make league & amitie with him. He deuiſed to take the city of FIDENA which was nere neighbor to ROME. Some ſay he took it vpon a ſuddẽ, hauing ſent before certaine horſmen to breake downe the hookes & hinges with force, which the gates hang by: & himſelf came after with the reſt of his armie, & ſtale vpon them, before the city miſtruſted any thing. Other write that the FIDENATES firſt inuaded his countrie, and foraged vnto the very ſuburbes of ROME, where they did great harme: & how *Romulus* laid an ambuſh in their way as they returned home, & ſlue a great number of them. When he took their citie, he did not raze it, but made a colony of it, (as a place to ſend the ouer-increaſe of ROME vnto) whither he ſent afterwards two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES to inhabit there: & it was on the 13. day of April, which the ROMAINES call the Ides of the ſame moneth. Not long after there roſe ſuch a great plague in ROME, that men died ſuddenly, and were not ſicke: the earth brought forth no fruit: bruite beaſts deliuered no increaſe of their kind: there rained alſo drops of bloud in ROME, as they ſay. In ſo much as beſides the euils men felt in this extremity, they fell in a maruellous feare of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiuing the like hapned to the inhabitants of LAVRENTVM, then euery man iudged it was the very vengeance & heauie hand of the gods: who plagued and puniſhed theſe two cities for the murder committed vpon *Tatius*, and the ambaſſadors that were killed. Wherupon the murderers of both ſides were apprehended & executed: & theſe plagues by & by ceaſed both in the one and the other city. *Romulus* beſides, did purifie the cities with certaine ſacrifices that he deuiſed, which they keepe ſtill at this day, at the gate called *Ferentina*. But before the plague ceaſed, the CAMERINES came to aſſault the ROMAINS, and had ouercome all the countrie, ſuppoſing they ſhould not be able to withſtand thẽ, becauſe they had bene ſo ſore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithſtanding, *Romulus* ſet vpon them with his armie, & wan the field of them, in which conflict there were ſlaine about ſixe thouſand men. After the battell done, he tooke their citie, and conueyed to ROME the one halfe of the inhabitants that remained. After this he ſent twiſe as many ROMANES as there were naturall CAMERIANS left at CAMERINE, to dwell there among them. This was done the 1. day of Auguſt: ſo great was the multitude of the inhabitants of ROME that had increaſed in 16. yeares from the firſt foundation of the citie. Among other ſpoiles he got there, he carried away a charret of braſſe with foure horſes, which he cauſed to be ſet vp in the temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne ſtatue vpon it, and victorie crowning him with a garland triumphant. His power being growne thus great, his weake neighbours did ſubmit themſelues vnto him, being contented to liue in peace by him. His ſtronger neighbours were afraid of him, and enuied much his greatneſſe, and did take it no good pollicie to ſuffer him thus to riſe in the face of the world, and thought it meet ſpeedily to daunt his glorie, and clippe his wings. The firſt of the THVSCANES that bent their power againſt him, were the VEIANS, who had a great countrey, and dwelled in a ſtrong and mightie citie. To picke a quarrell to him, they ſent to haue redeliuered to them the citie of FIDENA, which they ſaid belonged vnto them. This was thought not onely vnreaſonable, but a thing worthie laughing at, conſidering that all the while the FIDENATES were in warre & danger, the THVSCANES neuer came to their aide, but had ſuffered them to be ſlaine, & then came to demaund their lands and tenements, when other had poſſeſſion of them. Therefore *Romulus* hauing giuen them an anſwere full of mockerie, and deriſion, they deuided their power into two armies, and ſent the one againſt them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards ROME. That which went againſt the citie of FIDENA, preuailed, and killed there two thouſand ROMAINES: the other was ouerthrowne & diſcomfited by *Romulus*, in which there died eight thouſand VEIANS. Afterwards, they met againe ſomewhat nere the citie of the FIDENATES, where they fought a battell: and all did confeſſe, the chiefeſt exploit was done by *Romulus* owne hands that day, who ſhewed all the skill and valiantnes that was to be looked for in a worthie captaine. It ſeemed that day, he farre exceeded the common ſort of men, in ſtrength of bodie & feates of armes. Neuertheles that which ſome ſay, is hardly to be credited: and to be plaine, is out of all compaſſe of beliefe and poſſibilitie. For they write, there were 14. thouſand men ſlaine at that battell, and that more then halfe of them were ſlaine by *Romulus* owne hands:

Romulus tooke the citie of Fidena.

Plague at Rome.

It rained bloud at Rome.

Camerium take of Romulus.

The incredible valiantneſſe of Romulus.

and

& the rather, for that euery man iudgeth it a vaine bragge and oſtentation which the MESSENIANS report of *Ariſtomenes*, who offered in ſacrifice to the gods three hundred beaſtes of victorie, as for ſo many LACEDÆMONIANS himſelf had ſlaine in the battell. Their armie being thus broken, *Romulus* ſuffered them to flye who by ſwiftnes could ſaue themſelues, & marched with all his power in good array towards their city. The citizens then conſidering their late great loſſe and ouerthrow, would not hazard the danger of withſtanding him, but went out all together, & made their humble petition and ſute for peace. All was granted them for a hundred yeares, ſaue they ſhould forgo their territorie called *Septemagium*, that was the ſeuenth part of their countrie: and yeeld to the ROMAINES all their ſalt houſes by the riuers ſide, & deliuer fiftie of their chiefeſt citizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entrie & triumph into ROME for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the ſame moneth, leading in his triumph many priſoners taken in thoſe wars: & among other, the generall of the VEIANS, a very ancient man who fondly behaued himſelfe in his charge, and ſhewed by his doings, that his experience was farre ſhort for his yeares in the warres. And from thence it commeth, when they offer to the gods to giue thankes for this victorie, that euen at this day, they bring to the Capitol through the market place, an olde man apparelled in a purple robe, and with a Iewell called *Bulla* about his neck, which the gentlemens young children weare about their neckes: and a herauld goeth hard by him, crying, who buieth who, the SARDIANIANS? becauſe they hold opinion the THVSCANES are come of the SARDIANIANS, & the very citie of VEIES ſtandeth in the countrie of THVSCANE. This was the laſt warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almoſt to all thoſe, who by ſudden proſperitie, and fortunes ſpeciall fauour, are raiſed to high and great eſtate. For truſting to proſperitie and good ſucceſſe of his actes, he began to grow more ſtrange and ſtately, and to carrie a ſowrer countenance then he was wont to do before: leauing to be after his old maner, a courteous & gracious prince: and gaue himſelfe in faſhions to be ſomewhat like a tyrant, both for his apparell, and ſtately port and maieſtie that he caried. For he ware euer a coate of purple in graine, and vpon that, a long robe of purple colour: and gaue audience, ſitting in a wide chaire of eſtate, hauing euer about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would ſay, flights for their ſwiftnes and ſpeed in executing of his commandements. Other there were that went before him, who caried as it were tipſtaues in their hands, to make the people giue roome, and had leather thongs about their middle to bind faſt ſtreight, all the prince ſhould command. Now in old time the LATINES ſaid, *Ligare* was to bind: but at this preſent they ſay *Alligare*, from whence it commeth that the vſhers and ſergeants are called *Lictores*. Howbeit me thinkes it were more likely to ſay, they had put to a c, and that before they were called *Litores*, without a c. For they be the very ſame which the GRECIANS call *Liturgos*, and be in Engliſh, miniſters or officers: and at this day, *Leitos*, or *Leos*, in the GREEKE toung ſignifieth the people. *Romulus* now after his grandfather *Numitor* was dead at the citie of ALBA, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to winne the fauour of the people there, turned the Kingdome to a Common weale, and euery yeare did chuſe a new magiſtrate to miniſter iuſtice to the SABYNES. This preſident taught the noble men of ROME to ſeek & deſire to haue a free eſtate, where no ſubiect ſhould be at the commandement of a King alone, & where euery man ſhold command & obey as ſhold be his courſe. Thoſe which were called *Patricians* in ROME, did meddle with nothing, but had only an honorable name & robe, and were called to counſell rather for a faſhion, then to haue their aduice or counſell. For when they were aſſembled together, they did only heare the Kings pleaſure & cõmandemẽt, but they might not ſpeake one word, & ſo departed: hauing no other preheminence ouer the cõmon wealth, ſauing they were the firſt that did know what was don. Al other things therby did grieue thẽ leſſe. But when of his owne meere authority, & as it were of himſelf, he would as pleaſed him, beſtow the conquered lands of his enemies to his ſoldiers, & reſtore again to the VEIANS their hoſtages as he did: therein plainly appeared, how great iniurie he did to the Senate. Wherupon the Senatours were ſuſpected afterwards that they killed him, when within few daies after it was ſaid, he vaniſhed away ſo ſtrangely, that no man euer knew what became of him. This was on the ſeuẽth day of the moneth now called Iuly, which then was named *Quintilis*, leauing nõ manner of certaintie els of his death that is knowne, ſaue onely of the day & the time when he vaniſhed, as we haue ſaid before. For on that day, the ROMAINES do at this preſent many things, in remẽbrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no maruell, the certaintie of his death

Romulus maketh peace with the Veians.

Proſperity increaſe of pride and ſtomacke.

Celeres Romulus guard.

Lictores, vvherefore ſo called.

Romulus conuerteth the kingdome of Alba to a common vvealc.

Romulus vaniſhed away no man knew how

The 17 day of Iuly an vnfortunate day to the Romanes.

The death of Scipio Africanus.

was not knowne: seeing *Scipio Africanus* was found after supper dead in his house, and no man could tell, nor yet did know how he died. For some say that he fainted and died sodainly being of weake complexion. Other say he poisoned himselfe: other thinke his enemies did get secretly in the night into his house, and smothered him in his bed. Yet they found his bodie layd on the ground, that euery bodie might at leisure consider, if they could find or coniecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vanished away sodainely, there was neither seene peece of his garments, nor yet was there found any part of his body. Therfore some haue thought that the whole Senatours fell vpon him together in the temple of *Vulcan*, and how after they had cut him in peeces, euery one caried away a peece of him, folded close in the skirt of his robe. Other thinke also, this vanishing away was not in the temple of *Vulcan*, nor in the presence of the Senatours onely: but they say that *Romulus* was at that time without the citie, neare the place called the goates marsh, where he made an oration to the people, and that sodainely the weather chaunged, and ouercast so terribly, as it is not to be told nor credited. For first, the Sunne was darkened as if it had bene very night: this darkenesse was not in a calme or still, but there fell horrible thunders, boisterous winds, and flashing lightnings on euery side, which made the people runne away, and scatter here and there, but the Senatours kept still close together. Afterwards when the lightning was past and gone, the day cleered vp, and the element waxed faire as before: then the people gathered together againe, and sought for the King, asking what was become of him. But the noble men would not suffer them to enquire any further after him, but counselled them to honour and reuerence him as one taken vp into heauen: and that thenceforth in stead of a good King, he would be vnto them a mercifull and gracious god. The meaner sort of people (for the most part of them) took it well, and were very glad to here thereof, and went their way worshipping *Romulus* in their hearts, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the troth more eagerly did cumber sore, and troubled the PATRICIANS, accusing them, that they abused the cõmon people with vaine & fond perswasions, whilst thẽselues in the meane time had murdered the king with their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some say there was one *Iulius Proculus*, the noblest of all the PATRICIANS, being esteemed for a maruellous honest man, & known to haue bene very familiar with *Romulus*, and came with him from the city of ALBA: that stepped forth before all the people, and affirmed (by the greatest and holiest othes a man might sweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the way, farre greater and fairer, then he had seen him euer before, and armed all in white armour, shining bright like fire: whereat being affraide in that sort to see him, he asked him yet: O King, why hast thou thus left and forsaken vs, that are so falsely accused and charged to our vtter discredite and shame, by thy vanishing? To whom *Romulus* gaue this aunswer. *Proculus*, it hath pleased the gods from whom I came, that I should remaine amongest men so long as I did: and now hauing built a city, which in glory and greatnesse of empire shall be the chiefest of the world, that I should returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in heauen. Therefore be of good comfort, and tell the ROMAINES, that they exercising prowesse and temperancie, shall be the mightiest and greatest people of the world. As for me, tell them I will hencefoorth be their god, protector, and patron, and they shall call me *Quirinus*. These words seemed credible to the ROMAINES, aswell for the honestie of the man that spake vnto them, as for the solemne othes he made before them all. Yet I wote not how, some celestiall motion, or diuine inspiration helped it much: for no man said a word against it. And so all suspition and accusation laid aside, euerie man began to call vpon *Quirinus*, to pray vnto him, and to worship him. Truly this tale is much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of *Aristeas* the Proconnesian, and of *Cleomedes* the Astypalæian. For they say, that *Aristeas* died in a fullers workhouse, and his friends comming to carrie away his bodie, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: and at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his way towards the citie of CROTONA. It is said also that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally strong & great, and therewithall mad, & furious hastie. For after many desperate parts he had playd, he came at the last on a day into a schoole-house full of little children, the roofe whereof was borne with one pillar, which he did hit with so terrible a blow of his fist, that he brake it the middest, so as the whole roofe fell and dashed the poore children in peeces. The people ranne straight after him to take him: but he threw himselfe forthwith into a chest, and pulled the lid vpon him. He held it so fast downe, that many striuing together all they could to open it, they were not able once to stirre it. Whereupon they brake the chest

Diuers opinions of Romulus death.

Iulius Proculus met with Romulus after his vanishing.

Romulus oracle vnto Proculus.

Romulus called Quirinus, and honoured as a god.

Aristeas a Proconnesian taken out of mens sight after he was dead.

Cleomedes Astypalensis vanished strangely out of mens sights, being fast locked in a chest

all

all in peeces, but they found the man neither quicke nor dead. Whereat they were marueilously amazed, and sent to *Apollo Pythias*, where the propheteſſe answered them in this verſe:

Cleomedes the laſt of the demy gods.

The report goeth also that *Alcmenes* corſe did vaniſh away, as they caried it to buriall, and how in ſtead thereof they found a ſtone layd in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other ſuch wonders, that are farre from any apparance of troth: onely becauſe they would make men to be as gods, and equall with them in power. It is true, that as to reproue and deny diuine power, it were a lewd and wicked part: euen ſo to compare earth and heauen together, it were a meere folly. Therefore we muſt let ſuch fables go, being moſt certaine that as *Pindarus* ſayth it is true:

Alcmenes body vaniſhed out of the beere.

Each liuing corps, muſt yeeld at laſt to death,
and euery life muſt leeſe his vitall breath:
The ſoule of man, that onely liues on hie,
and is an image of eternitie.

The ſoule eternall.

For from heauen it came, and thither againe it doth returne, not with the body, but then ſooneſt, when the ſoule is furtheſt off and ſeparated from the body, and that ſhe is kept holy, and is no more defiled with the fleſh. It is that the Philoſopher *Heraclitus* meant, when he ſayd: The dry light, is the beſt ſoule which flieth out of the body, as lightning doth out of the cloud: but that which is ioyned with the body being full of corporall paſſions, is a groſſe vapor, darke and maſſie, and cannot flame, ariſe or ſhoote out like lightning. We muſt not beleeue therefore, that the bodies of noble and vertuous men, do go vp together with their ſoules into heauen, againſt the order of nature. But this we are certainely to beleeue, that by the vertues of their ſoules (according to diuine nature and iuſtice) they do of men become ſaints, and of ſaints halfe gods, and of halfe gods, entier and perfect gods: after that they are perfectly (as it were by ſacrifices of purgation) made cleane and pure, being deliuered from all paine and mortality, and not by any ciuill ordinance, but in troth and reaſon, they receiue a moſt happy and glorious end. Now touching *Romulus* ſurname, which afterwards was called *Quirinus*: ſome ſay that it ſignifieth as much as warlike: other thinke he was ſo called becauſe the Romaines themſelues were called *Quirites*. Other write, that men in old time did call the point of a ſpeare, on the dart it ſelfe, *Quiris*: by reaſon whereof the image of *Iuno* ſurnamed *Quiritides*, was ſet vp with an iron ſpeare, and the ſpeare which was conſecrated in the Kings pallace, was called *Mars*. Furthermore it is an vſe amongſt men, to honor them with a ſpeare or dart, which haue ſhewed themſelues valiant in the wars: and that for this cauſe *Romulus* was ſurnamed *Quirinus*, as who would ſay, god of the ſpeares & wars. There was ſince built a temple vnto him, in the hill called *Quirinus*, and ſo named of him. The day whereon he vaniſhed, is called the flying of the people, or otherwiſe the Nones of the goates. For on that day, they go out of the city to do ſacrifice in the place called the Fenne, or the goates marſh: and the Romaines call a goate, *Capra*. As they go thus together, they call with lowd ſhowtes and cryes vpon diuerſe Romaines names, as *Marcus*, *Cneus*, and *Gaius*, in token of the flying that was then: & that they called one another backe againe, as they ran away in great feare & diſorder. Howbeit other ſay, that it is not done to ſhew the running away, but to ſhew their ſpeed and diligence, and referre it to the ſtory. Now after the Gavles that had taken Rome were expulſed by *Camillus*, the city was ſo weakned, that they could ſcant recouer their force & ſtrēgth againe: wherfore many of the Latines ioyning together, went with a great mighty army, vnder the conduct of *Liuius Poſthumius*, to warre againſt the Romaines. This *Poſthumius* brought his campe as neere the city of Rome as he could, and ſent to the Romaines by a trumpet to let them vnderſtand, how the Latines were deſirous by new mariages, to reſtore their old ancient amity and kindred that was neere hand decayed betweene them: & therefore if the Romaines would ſend them a conuenient number of their daughters and yong widowes to mary with them, they would haue peace, as they had before time with the Sabynes, vpon the like occaſion. The Romaines hereat were ſore troubled, thinking that to deliuer their women in ſuch ſort was no better, then to yeeld and ſubmit themſelues to their enemies. But as they were thus perplexed, a waiting maide called *Philotis* (or as other call her, *Tutola*) gaue them counſell to do neither the one nor the other, but to vſe a pollicy with them, by meanes whereof they ſhould ſcape the danger of the warres, and ſhould alſo not be tied nor bound by any pledges. The deuiſe was, they ſhould ſend to the Latines her ſelfe, and a certaine number of their faireſt bond-maydes,

Heraclitus ſaying of the ſoule.

VVhy Romulus vvas called Quirinus.

The hill of Quirinus.

Nonæ Capratinæ.

The vvarre of the Latines. Liuius Poſthumius generall.

Philotis a vvaiting maids ſudden deuiſe.

trimmed vp like gentlewomen and the beſt citizens daughters, and that in the night ſhe would lift them vp a burning torch in the aire, at which ſigne they ſhould come armed, and ſet vpon their enemies as they lay aſleepe. This was brought to paſſe: and the LATINES thought verily they had bene the ROMAINES daughters. *Philotis* failed not in the night to lift vp her ſigne, and to ſhew them a burning torch in the top of a wild fig-tree: and did hang certaine couerlets & clothes behind it, that the enemies might not ſee the light, and the ROMAINES contrariwiſe might diſcerne it the better. Thereupon ſo ſoone as the ROMAINES ſaw it, they ran with all ſpeed, calling one another by their names, and iſſued out of the gates of the city with great haſt: and ſo tooke their enemies vpon a ſudden, and ſlue them. In memory of which victory, they do yet ſolemnize the feaſt called the Nones of the goates, becauſe of the wild fig-tree called in Latine *Caprificus*. And they do feaſt the womē without the city, vnder ſhadows made of the boughes of fig-trees. The waiting maides, they run vp and downe, and play here and there together. Afterwards they ſeeme to fight, & throw ſtones one at another, as then they did when they holpe the ROMAINES in their fight. But few writers do auow this tale, becauſe it is on the day time that they call ſo each other by their names, and that they go to the place which they call the goates marſh, as vnto a ſacrifice. It ſeemeth this agreeth better with the firſt hiſtory when they called one another by their names in the night, going againſt the LATINES: vnleſſe peraduenture theſe two things after many yeares happened vpon one day. Furthermore, they ſay *Romulus* was taken out of the world, when he was foure and fiftie yeares of age, and had raigned eight and thirty yeares by accompt.

Romulus age and raigne.

THE COMPARISON OF *Theſeus with Romulus.*

THVS haue we declared all things of *Theſeus* and *Romulus* worthy memory. But to compare the one with the other, it appeareth firſt that *Theſeus* of his owne voluntarie will, without compulſion of any (when he might with ſafety haue raigned in the city of TROEZEN, and ſucceeded his grandfather in no ſmall kingdome) did deſire of himſelfe, and rather ſought meanes to aſpire to great things: and that *Romulus* on the other ſide, to deliuer himſelfe from bondage and ſeruitude that lay ſore vpon him, and to eſcape the threatned puniſhment which ſtill did hang ouer his head, was certainely compelled (as *Plato* ſaith) to ſhew himſelfe hardy for feare: who ſeeing how extreamly he was like to be hādled, was of very force cōſtrained to ſeeke aduenture, & hazard the enterpriſe of attaining high & great things. Moreouer the chiefeſt act that euer he did was, when he ſlue one only tyrant of the city of ALBA called *Amulius*: where *Theſeus* in his iourney only, as he trauelled, gaue his mind to great enterpriſes, and ſlue *Sciron*, *Scinnis*, *Procruſtes*, & *Corynetes*. And by ridding them out of the world, he deliuered GREECE of all thoſe cruell tyrants, before any of thoſe knew him whom he had deliuered from them. Furthermore, he might haue gone to ATHENS by ſea, & neuer needed to haue trauelled, or put himſelfe in danger with theſe robbers, conſidering he neuer receiued hurt by any of them: whereas

By what meanes men are prouoked to great enterpriſes.

Plato in Phædone.

Romulus

Romulus could not be in safety whileſt *Amulius* liued. Hereupon it may be alledged, that *Theſeus* vnprouoked by any priuate wrong or hurt receiued, did ſet vpon theſe deteſtable theeues & robbers: *Remus* and *Romulus* contrariwiſe, ſo long as the tyrant did them no harme, did ſuffer him to oppreſſe and wrong all other. And if they alledge theſe were noble deeds, and worthy memorie: that *Romulus* was hurt fighting againſt the SABYNES, and that he ſlue king *Acron* with his owne hands, & that he had ouercome & ſubdued many of his enemies: then for *Theſeus* on the other ſide may be obiected, the battel of the CENTAVRI, the wars of the AMAZONS, the tribute due to the king of CRETA: & how he ventured to go himſelfe thither with the yong boyes & wenches of ATHENS, as willingly offering himſelfe to be deuoured by a cruell beaſt, or els to be ſlaine & ſacrificed vpō the tombe of *Androgeus*, or to become bondſlaue & tied in captiuity to the vile ſeruice of cruell men & enemies, if by his courage & manhood he could not deliuer himſelfe. This was ſuch an act of magnanimity, iuſtice & glory, & briefly of ſo great vertue, that it is vnpoſſible truly to be ſet out. Surely me thinkes the philoſophers did not ill define loue, when they ſaid ſhe was a ſeruitour of the gods, to ſaue yong folkes, whom they thought meete to be preſerued. For, the loue of *Ariadne* was in mine opinion the worke of ſome god, & a meane purpoſely prepared for *Theſeus* ſafety. Therfore the woman is not to be reproched nor blamed for the loue ſhe bare *Theſeus*, but rather it is much to be wondred at, that euery man and woman in like wiſe did not loue him. And if of her ſelfe ſhe fell in loue with him, I ſay (and not without cauſe) ſhe afterwards deſerued to be beloued of a god, as one that of her owne nature loued valiantneſſe & honor, & entertained men of ſingular value. But both *Theſeus* & *Romulus* being naturally giuen to rule & raigne, neither the one nor the other kept the true forme of a king, but both of them did degenerate alike: the one changing himſelfe into a popular man, the other to a very tyrant. So that by ſundry humors, they both fell into one miſchiefe and error. For a prince aboue all things muſt keepe his eſtate: which is no leſſe preſerued by doing nothing vncomely, as by doing all things honorably. But he that is more ſeuere or remiſſe then he ſhould be, remaineth now no more a king or a prince, but becommeth a people-pleaſer, or a cruell tyrant: & ſo cauſeth his ſubiects to deſpiſe or hate him. Yet me thinkes the one is an error of too much pitty and baſeneſſe: and the other of too much pride and cruelty. But if we may not charge fortune with all miſchances happening vnto men, but that we ought to conſider in them the diuerſities of maners and paſſions, ſeeing anger is vnreaſonable, & wrath raſh and paſſionate: then can we not cleare the one, nor excuſe the other of extreme rage and paſſion, in the fact committed by the one againſt his brother, and by the other againſt his naturall ſon. Howbeit the occaſion and beginning of anger doth much excuſe *Theſeus*, who moued with the greateſt cauſe that might be, was put into ſuch choller and paſſion. But if *Romulus* variance with his brother had proceeded of any matter of counſell, or cauſe of the common-weales: there is none ſo ſimple to thinke, that his wiſdome would ſo ſuddenly haue ſet vpon him. Where as *Theſeus* in contrary maner killed his ſon, prouoked by thoſe paſſions that few men can auoide: to wit, loue, iealouſie, and falſe report of his wife. Moreouer *Romulus* anger went to the effect, whereof the iſſue fell out very lamentable: *Theſeus* anger ſtretched no further, thē to rough words, and old folkes curſes in their heate. For it ſeemeth, curſed fortune, & naught elſe, was the cauſe of his ſons only miſhap, as foreſpoken and wiſhed for ſomewhat by his father. Theſe be the ſpeciall things may be alledged for *Theſeus*. But for *Romulus* this was a notable thing in him. Firſt his beginning being very low and meane, and his brother and he taken for bondmen, & the children of hogheards, before they were themſelues all free, they ſet at liberty in maner all the LATINES, winning at one inſtant many titles of glory and honour: as deſtroyers of their enemies, defenders of their parents, Kings of nations, founders of new cities, and no ouerthrowers of the old, where as *Theſeus* of many habitations and houſes made onely one, and did ouerthrow and plucke downe diuerſe ſtates, bearing the names of ancient kings, princes, & halfe gods of ATTICA. All theſe alſo did *Romulus* afterwards, & compelled his enemies whom he had ouercome, to deſtroy their owne houſes, and to come and dwell with their conquerours. And in the beginning, he neuer changed nor increaſed any city that was built before, but built himſelfe a new city out of the ground, getting all together, land, country, kingdome, kindred & mariages, without loſing or killing any man: and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poore vacabonds, who had neither countrey, lands, nor houſes, and deſired nothing elſe but to make a people amongſt them, and to become citizens of ſome city. Alſo *Romulus* bent not himſelfe to follow theeues and robbers, but ſubdued by force of armes many mighty and puiſſant people: he tooke cities, and triumphed ouer kings

Loue the miniſter of the gods.

The office of a prince.

Virtue in Romulus was to be preferred before Theſeus.

and princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of *Remus*, it is not certainly knowne of whose hands he died. The most part of authors do charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that *Romulus* deliuered his mother from apparant death, and restored his grandfather to the royall throne of *AEneas*, who before was deposed and brought from a king to seruile obedience, without any regard of honor or dignity: to whom he did many moe great pleasures and seruices. Besides he neuer offended him willingly, no not so much as ignorantly. Contrarily I thinke *Theseus*, who failing by negligence to put out his white saile at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, how eloquent an oration soeuer could be made for his excuse: yea though it were before the most fauorable iudges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN verie well perceiuing that it was no hard thing to excuse and defend so fowle a fault, doth faine that the good old man *AEgeus* hauing newes brought him that his sonnes ship was at hand, did run in so great hast to his castell, to see his son arriue a far off, that as he ran, his foot hit against something, and ouerthrew him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that neuer a man seeing him run so hastily to the sea side, did make haste to attend & waite vpon him. Furthermore, *Theseus* faults touching women and rauishments, of the twaine, had the lesse shadow and colour of honesty. Because *Theseus* did attempt it very often: for he stole away *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, & *Anaxo* the TROEZENIAN. Againe, being stepped in yeares, and at later age, and past mariage, he stole away *Helen* in her minority, being nothing neere to consent to marry. Then his taking of the daughters of the TROEZENIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, & the AMAZONS (neither cõtracted to him, nor comparable to the birth and linage of his owne country which were at ATHENS, and descended of the noble race and progeny of *Erichtheus*, and of *Cecrops*) did giue men occasion to suspect that his womannishnesse was rather to satisfie lust, then of any great loue. *Romulus* now in a contrary maner, when his people had taken 800. or therabouts, of the SABYNE women to rauish them: kept but only one for himselfe that was called *Hersilia*, as they say, and deliuered the rest to his best and most honest citizens. Afterwards by the honor, loue, and good entertainement that he caused them to haue & receiue of their husbands, he changed this violent force of rauishment, into a most perfect bond and league of amity: which did so knit and ioyne in one these two nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall loue which grew afterwards betwixt those two peoples, and consequẽtly of the ioyning of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath giuen a good testimony of the loue, reuerence, constancy, kindnesse, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that meanes, betwixt man and wife. For in two hundred and thirty yeares afterwards, there was neuer man that durst forsake or put away his wife, nor the wife her husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the best learned men, & most curious obseruers of antiquities do know his name, that was the first murderer of his father and mother: euen so all the ROMAINES knew what he was, which first durst put away his wife. It was one called *Spurius Caruilius*, because his wife was barren & had no children. The effects also do agree with the testimony of the time. For the realme was common vnto the kings of both nations, & through the alliance of these mariages that began first of rauishments, both nations liued peaceably, & in equality, vnder one ciuil pollicy, and well gouerned common weale. The ATHENIANS contrariwise, by *Theseus* mariages, did get neither loue nor kinred of any one person, but rather they procured wars, enmities, & the slaughter of their citizens, with the losse in the end of the city of APHIDNES: & yet very hardly, & by the mercy of their enemies (whom they honored as gods) they escaped for him, the danger which the TROIANS suffered afterwards, for the selfe act done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the last, that his mother was not onely in danger, but euen feelingly suffered like misery and captiuitie, which *Hecuba* did afterwards, when she was forsaken of her sonne: vnlesse peraduenture those things that they write of the imprisonment and captiuity of *Æthra*, be found false, and but fables, as for the fame and memory of *Theseus* were behouefull, that both it, & many other things also, were of no more troth nor likelihood. That which they write of *Romulus* diuinements, maketh great difference betweene him and *Theseus*. For *Romulus* in his birth was preserued by the maruellous fauour of the gods: *Theseus* to the contrary, was begotten against the gods will, as appeared plainely by the aunswer of the Oracle to *Ægeus*, that he should not meddle with any woman in straunge and foraine countrey.

Romulus loue to his kinne.

Theseus detested for oblition.

Theseus detested for his rauishments of women.

Romulus rauishment of women excused.

No diuorce made in Rome for 230. yeares space. Val. Max. saith 520. The first wife put away in Rome.

Theseus mariages cause of warres and troubles.

Romulus more acceptable to the gods then Theseus.

The end of Romulus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Lycurgus.*

A Man cannot ſpeake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he ſhall find great contrariety of him amongſt the hiſtoriographers. For, of his parentage and trauell out of his countrey, of his death and making of lawes, of his forme of gouernement, and order of executing the ſame, they haue written diuerſly. And yet aboue all things, concerning him, they agree worſt about the time he liued in. For ſome of them (and *Ariſtotle* is of that number) will needes haue him to haue bene in the time of *Iphytus*, and that he did helpe him to eſtabliſh the ordinance that all warres ſhould ceaſe during the feaſt of the games Olympicall: for a teſtimony whereof, they alledge the copper coyte which was vſed to be throwne in thoſe games, and had found grauen vpon it, the name of *Lycurgus*. Other compting the dayes and time of the ſucceſſion of the kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Eratoſtenes*, & *Apollodorus*) ſay he was many yeres before the firſt Olympiades. *Timæus* alſo thinketh there were two of this name, and in diuerſe times: howbeit the one hauing more eſtimation then the other, men gaue this *Lycurgus* the glory of both their doings. Some ſay the eldeſt of the twaine, was not long after *Homer*: and ſome write they ſaw him. *Xenophon* ſheweth vs plainely he was of great antiquitie: ſaying he was in the time of the *Heraclides*, who were neareſt of bloud by deſcent to *Hercules*. For it is likely *Xenophon* meant not thoſe *Heraclides*, which deſcended from *Hercules* ſelfe: for the laſt kings of SPARTA were of *Hercules* progeny, as well as the firſt. Therefore he meaneth thoſe *Heraclides*, which doubtleſſe were the firſt and neareſt before *Hercules* time. Neuertheleſſe though the hiſtoriographers haue written diuerſly of him, yet we will not leaue to collect that which we find written of him in auncient hiſtories, and is leaſt to be denied, and by beſt teſtimonies moſt to be proued. And firſt of all, the Poet *Simonides* ſayth, his father was called *Prytanis* and not *Eunomus*: and the moſt part do write the pedegree otherwiſe, as well of *Lycurgus* ſelfe, as of *Eunomus*. For they ſay, that *Patrocles* the ſonne of *Ariſtodemus* begate *Sous*, and *Sous* begate *Eurytion*, and *Eurytion* begate *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begate *Eunomus*, and *Eunomus* begat *Polydectes* of his firſt wife, and *Lycurgus* of the ſecond wife, called *Dianaſſa*: yet *Euthychidas* another writer, maketh *Lycurgus* the ſixt of deſcent in the right line from *Polydectes*, and the eleuenth after *Hercules*. But of all his auncеſters, the nobleſt was *Sous*, in whoſe time the citie of SPARTA ſubdued the ILOTES, made them ſlaues, and did enlarge and increaſe their dominion, with the lands and poſſeſſions they had got by conqueſt of the ARCADIANS. And it is ſayd, that *Sous* himſelfe being on a time ſtraightly beſieged by the CLITORIANS, in a hard

Xenophon in lib. de Lacedæmon. rep.

Of the Heraclides, Pauſanias, Diodorus and Clemē. Strom. lib. 1.

Lycurgus kinred.

dry ground, where no water could be found, offered them thereupon to reſtore all their lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his company did drinke of a fountaine that was there not farre off. The CLITORIANS did grant vnto it, and peace alſo was ſworne betweene them. Then he called all his ſouldiers before him, and told them if there were any one amongſt them that would refraine from drinking, he would reſigne his kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his company that could (or would) forbeare to drinke, they were ſo ſore a thirſt. So they all dranke hartily except himſelfe, who being the laſt that came downe, did no more but a litle moyſt his mouth without, and ſo refreſhed himſelfe, the enemies ſelues ſtanding by, and dranke not a drop. By reaſon whereof, he refuſed afterwards to reſtore their lands he had promiſed, alledging they had not all dronke. But that notwithſtanding, he was greatly eſteemed for his acts, and yet his houſe was not named after his owne name: but after his ſonnes name *Eurytion*, they of his houſe were called *Eurytionides*. The reaſon was, becauſe his ſonne *Eurytion* to pleaſe the people, did firſt let fall and giue ouer, the ſole and abſolute power of a king. Whereupon there followed afterwards maruellous diſorder and diſſolution, which continued a great time in the city of SPARTA. For the people finding themſelues at liberty, became very bold and diſobedient: and ſome of the kings that ſucceeded, were hated euen to death, becauſe they would perforce vſe their auncient authority ouer the people. Other, either to win the loue and good-wils of the people, or becauſe they ſaw they were not ſtrong inough to rule them, did giue themſelues to diſſemble. And this did ſo much increaſe the peoples looſe and rebellious minds, that *Lycurgus* owne father being king, was ſlaine among them. For one day, as he was parting a fray betweene two that were fighting, he had ſuch a wound with a kitchin knife, that he dyed: and left his Realme to his eldeſt ſonne *Polydectes*, who dyed alſo ſoone after, and without heire of his body as was ſuppoſed. In ſo much as euery man thought *Lycurgus* ſhould be king: and ſo he tooke it vpon him, vntill it was vnderſtood that his brothers wife was young with child. Which thing ſo ſoone as he perceiued, he publiſhed openly, that the Realme belonged to the child that ſhould be borne, if it were a ſonne. After this he gouerned the Realme, but as the kings lieutenant and regent. The LACEDÆMONIANS call the regents of their kings that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* brothers widdow did ſend, & let him ſecretly vnderſtand, that if he would promiſe to marry her when he ſhould be king, that ſhe would come before her time, and either miſcary or deſtroy that ſhe went with. *Lycurgus* deteſtably abhorring this brutiſh and ſauage vnnaturalneſſe of the woman, did not reiect her offer made him, but ſeemed rather to be very glad, then to diſlike of it. Neuertheleſſe he ſent her word againe, ſhe ſhould not need to try maſteries, with drinkes and medicines to make her come before her time: for in ſo doing, ſhe might bring her ſelfe in danger, and be caſt away for euer. Howbeit he aduiſed her to go her full time, and to be brought a bed in good order, & then he would find meanes inough to make away the child that ſhould be borne. And ſo with ſuch perſwaſions he drew on this woman to her full time of deliuery. But ſo ſoone as he perceiued ſhe was neere her time, he ſent certaine to keepe her, and to be preſent at her labour, commaunding them that if ſhe were brought a bed of a daughter they ſhould leaue her with the woman: and if it were a ſonne they ſhould forthwith bring it to him, in what place ſoeuer he was, and what buſineſſe ſoeuer he had in hand. It chanced that ſhe came euen about ſupper time, & was deliuered of a ſonne. As he was ſitting at the table with the other magiſtrates of the city, his ſeruants entred the hall, and preſented to him the litle babe, which he tenderly tooke in his armes: and ſayd openly to them that were preſent: behold my Lords of SPARTA, here is a king borne vnto vs. And ſpeaking theſe words, he layd him downe in the kings place, and named him *Charilaus*, as much to ſay as the ioy of the people. Thus he ſaw all the lookers on reioycing much, and might heare them praiſe and extoll his ſincerity, iuſtice, and vertue. By this meanes he raigned onely as king but eight moneths, from thenceforth he was taken and eſteemed ſo iuſt and ſincere a man among the citizens, that there were moe that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the kings regent, or that he had the gouernement of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithſtanding there were ſome that bare him diſpleaſure and malice, who ſought to hinder and diſgrace his credite, and chiefly the friends and kinred of the kings mother: whoſe power and honour were thought much impaired by *Lycurgus* authoritie: in ſo much, as a brother of hers called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great words with him on a day, did not ſticke to ſay to his face: I know for a certaintie one of theſe dayes thou wilt be king: meaning thereby to bring him in ſuſpition with the citizens. Which thing

A ſubtill promiſe.

Prodicos, Regents, or protectors of yong kings in minority.

Charilaus, king of the Lacedæmonians, Herod. lib. 1. Dionyſius Halic. lib. 2.

thing though *Lycurgus* neuer meant, yet of a ſubtill and crafty wit, *Leonides* thought by giuing out ſuch words, that if the young King happened to dye in his minoritie naturally, it would be miſtruſted that *Lycurgus* had ſecretly made him away. The Kings mother alſo gaue out ſuch like ſpeeches, which in the end did ſo trouble him, with the feare he had, what euent might fall out thereof, that he determined to depart his countrey, and by his abſence to auoide the ſuſpition that therein might grow vppon him any way. So he trauelled abroade in the world as a ſtraunger, vntill his nephew had begotten a ſonne who was to ſucceed him in his kingdome. He hauing with this determination taken his iourney, went firſt of all into CRETA, where he diligently obſerued and conſidered the manner of their liuing, the order of the gouernement of their Common-weale, and euer kept company with the beſt, and euer was conferring with the moſt learned. There he found very good lawes in his iudgement, which he noted of purpoſe to carry home to his countrey, to ſerue when time ſhould come. He found there other lawes alſo, but of them he made no reckoning. Now there was one man that aboue the reſt was reputed wiſe and skilfull in matters of ſtate and gouernement, who was called *Thales*: with whom *Lycurgus* did ſo much by intreaty, and for familiar friendſhip, that he perſwaded him to go with him vnto SPARTA. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that title and name: but in effect he ſang all that the beſt and ſufficienteſt gouernours of the world could deuiſe. For all his ſongs were goodly ditties, wherein he did exhort and perſwade the people to liue vnder obedience of the law, in peace and concord one with the other. His words were ſet out with ſuch tunes, countenance and accents, that were ſo full of ſweetneſſe, harmonie, and peircing, that inwardly it melted mens hearts, and drew the hearers of a loue to like the moſt honeſt things, and to leaue all hatred, enmitie, ſedition, and diuiſion, which at that time raigned ſore among them. So as it may be ſayd, he it was that prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the LACEDÆMONIANS vnto reaſon. At his departing out of CRETA, he went into ASIA, with intent (as it is ſayd) to compare the manner of life and pollicy of thoſe of CRETA (being then very ſtraight and ſeuere) with the ſuperfluities and vanities of IONIA: and thereupon to conſider the difference betweene their two manners and gouernements, as the Phiſition doth, who to know the whole and healthfull the better, doth vſe to compare them with the ſicke and diſeaſed. It is very likely it was there, where he firſt ſaw *Homers* workes, in the hands of the heires and ſucceſſours of *Cliophylus*: and finding in the ſame, as well many rules of pollicy, as the great pleaſure of poets faining, he diligently copied it out, and made a volume thereof to carry into GRECE. It is true there was much fame abroad of *Homers* poeſies among the GRECIANS, howbeit there were few of them brought together, but were ſcattered here and there in diuerſe mens hands, in pamphlets and peeces vnſewed and without any order: but the firſt that brought them moſt to light among men, was *Lycurgus*. The ÆGYPTIANS ſay, that he was in their countrey alſo, and that hauing found there one notable ordinance among other, that their ſouldiers & men of warre were ſeparated from the reſt of the people, he brought the practiſe of it into SPARTA: where ſetting the marchants, artificers and labourers euery one apart by themſelues, he did eſtabliſh a noble Common wealth. So the ÆGYPTIAN hiſtoriographers, and ſome others alſo of GRECE do write. He was alſo in AFRICKE, and in SPAINE, and as farre as INDIA, to conferre with the wiſe men there, that were called the Philoſophers of INDIA. I know no man that hath written it, ſauing *Ariſtocrates*, that was *Hipparchus* ſonne. The LACEDÆMONIANS wiſhed for him often when he was gone, and ſent diuerſe and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or maieſtie of a Prince, whereby they did excell the common people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to command, and to giue order, as hauing in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to draw men willingly to obey him. Moreouer the Kings themſelues were not vnwilling to haue him to returne home, becauſe they hoped that his preſence would ſomewhat bridle, and reſtraine the people from their inſolency and diſobedience towards them. Whereupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no ſooner arriued, but he began to deuiſe how to alter the whole gouernement of the common-weale, and throughout to chaunge the whole courſe and order of the ſtate: thinking that to make onely certaine particular lawes were to no purpoſe, but much like, as one ſhould giue ſome eaſie medicine, to purge an ouerthrowne body with all humours and diſeaſes. Therefore he thought firſt that all groſſe and ſuperfluous humours, were

Lycurgus trauelled countries.

Thales a poet harper.

Lycurgus iourney into Aſia.

The praiſe of Homers vvorkes.

Homers poems vnknowne to the Grecians, brought to light by Lycurgus.

Lycurgus returneth and chaungeth all the common vvealth.

meete to be dissolued and purged, and then afterwards to giue them a new forme and order of gouernement. When he had thus determined with himselfe, before he would take in hand to do any thing, he went to the city of DELPHES: where after he had sacrificed to *Apollo*, he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with this glorious title by the oracle of *Pythia*: ô beloued of the gods, and rather god then man. Where when he craued grace of *Apollo* to establish good lawes in his countrey, it was answered him: that *Apollo* graunted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest maner of a cõmon-wealth, that euer had or should be in the world. This answer did comfort him very much, and so he began to breake his purpose to certaine of the chiefe of the city, and secretly to pray and exhort them to helpe him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, & after by litle & litle he wan others to him, who ioyned with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter, he caused thirty of the chiefest men of the city in a morning to come into the market place wel appointed and furnished, to suppresse those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. *Hermippus* the historiographer rehearseth twenty of the chiefest: but he that aboue all others did most assist him in his doings, and was the greatest aide vnto the stablishing of his lawes, was called *Arithmiadas*. The king *Charilaus* hearing of this assembly, did feare there had bene some conspiracy or insurrection against his person, and for his safety he fled into the temple of *Iuno*, called *Chalceæcos*, as much to say, as *Iunos* brasen tẽple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the troth, he waxed bold & came out of the temple againe, & he himselfe fauored the enterprise, being a prince of a noble mind, howbeit very soft by nature, as witnesseth *Archelaus* (that was thẽ the other king of LACEDÆMON) by telling how *Charilaus* answered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (quoth he) be good, whẽ I cãnot be euil to the euill? In this change of the state, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefest alteration was, his law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to haue a regal power & equal authority with the kings in matters of weight & importance & was (as *Plato* saith) to be the healthfull counterpoise of the whole body of the cõmon-weale. The other state before was euer wauering, sometime inclining to tyranny, when the kings were too mighty: & somtime to cõfusion, when the people would vsurpe authority. *Lycurgus* therfore placed between the kings & the people, a counsell of Senators, which was as a strong beame, that held both these extremes in an euen ballance, and gaue sure footing and ground to either part, to make strong the state of the common-weale. For the 28. Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) tooke somtime the kings part, when it was needfull to pull downe the fury of the people: and contrarily, they held sometimes with the people against the kings, to bridle their tyrannicall gouernement. *Aristotle* saith, he ordeined the number of Senatours to be but eight and twenty, because two of thirty that ioyned with him as afore, did for feare forsake him at his enterprise. Howbeit *Sphærus* writeth, that from the beginning, he neuer purposed to haue more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, considering it is compounded of the number of seuen, multiplied by foure: and is the first perfect number next to sixe, being equall to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number rather then any other, because he meant the whole body of the counsell should be but thirty persons, adding to that number, the two kings. *Lycurgus* tooke so great care to establish well this counsell, that he brought an oracle for it, from *Apollos* temple in DELPHES. This oracle is called vnto this day *Retra*, as who would say, the statute oracle: whereof the answer was: When thou hast built a temple vnto *Iupiter* the *Syllanian*, and to *Minerua* the *Syllanian*, and deuided the people into lineages, thou shalt establish a Senate of thirty counsellors, with the two kings: and shalt assemble the people at times conuenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the riuer CNACION. There the Senators shall propound all matters, and breake vp after their assemblies: and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one word. In those dayes the people were euer assembled betweene two riuers; for there was no hall to assemble a counsell at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no builded place meete for men to giue good counsell in, or to determine causes, but rather a hinderance: because in such places men be drawne to muse on vaine things, and their minds be caried away with beholding the images, tables, and pictures, commonly set vp for ornament in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sports be made, they thinke more of them, then of any counsell. Againe, if it be in a great hal, thẽ of the faire embowed or vawted roofes, or of the fretised seelings curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, & tend

not

Lycurgus counselleth with the oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

Chalceæcos, Iunos brasen temple.

Lycurgus instituteth a Senate of the Lacedæmonians.

Plato de leg. 3.

28. was the number of the Senators.

Retra of Lycurgus.

Cnacion fl.

The open fields appointed for place of counsell.

not ſtill their buſineſſe they come for. When the people were aſſembled in counſell, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counſell to be determined, neither might any of them deliuer his opinion what he thought of any thing: but the people had onely authority to giue their aſſent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senators, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, becauſe the people did many times croſſe and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding ſomething to it, they did adde theſe words to the Oracle aforeſayd: That if the people would not aſſent to any ordinance of the Senate, then ſhould it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake vp the counſell, and to fruſtrate all things done in the ſame: the wiſe aduiſe of the Senate being encountred thus, and their meaning to the beſt, ſo peruerted to the worſe. Theſe two kings perſwaded the people, that at the very firſt, this addition came with the Oracle of *Apollo*: as the poet *Tyrteus* maketh mention in the place, where he ſaith:

From Delphes Ile, this oracle is brought
of Pythia: into their countrey ſoile.
The Kings (euen they to whom of right there ought
a louing care in princely breaſts to boile,
the Spartane wealth, to gard from euery ſpoile:)
Shalbe the chiefe, graue cauſes to decide
with Senators: whoſe ſound aduiſe is tride.
And next to them, the people ſhall fulfill
as much as ſeemes, to pleaſe their princes will.

Lycurgus now hauing thus tempered the forme of his common-weale, it ſeemed notwithſtanding to thoſe that came after him, that this ſmall number of thirty perſons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, and of too great authority. Wherefore to bridle them in a litle, they gaue them (as *Plato* ſaith) a bit in their mouths, & that was the authority of the Ephores, which ſignifie as much as controllers: & were erected about a hundred & thirty yeares after the death of *Lycurgus*. The firſt which was choſen of theſe, was *Elatus*, and it was in the time of King *Theopompus*, whoſe wife on a day in her anger ſayd: how through his negligence he would leaue leſſe to his ſucceſſours, then he had receiued of his predeceſſors. To whom he anſwered againe, not leſſe but more, for that it ſhall continue longer, and with a more ſurety. For, in loſing thus their too abſolute power, that wrought them great enuy and hatred among their citizens, they did eſcape the danger and miſchiefe that their neighbours the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS did feele: who would not giue ouer the ſouereigne authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wiſdome and foreſight manifeſtly knowne: who ſo will deeply conſider the ſeditions and ill gouernements of the ARGIVES, and MESSENIANS (their neere neighbours and kinſmen) aſwell from the people, as from the kings. Who from the beginning had all things alike to the SPARTANS: and in deuiding of their lands a farre better order thē theirs. This notwithſtanding, they did not proſper long: but through the pride of their kings, & the diſobedience of their people, they entred into ciuill warres one againſt another, ſhewing by their diſorders and misfortunes the ſpeciall grace the gods did beare to SPARTA, to giue thē ſuch a reformer, as did ſo wiſely temper the ſtate of their common-weale, as we will ſhew hereafter. The ſecond law that *Lycurgus* made, and the boldeſt and hardeſt he euer tooke in hand, was the making of a new diuiſion of their lands. For he ſaw ſo great a diſorder and vnequality among the inhabitants, as well of the country, as of the city LACEDÆMON, by reaſon ſome (and the greateſt number of them) were ſo poore, that they had not a handfull of ground, & other ſome being leaſt in nūber were very rich, that had all: he thought with himſelf to baniſh out of the city all inſolency, enuy, couetouſneſſe, & deliciouſnes and alſo all riches & pouerty, which he tooke the greateſt, and the moſt continual plagues of a city, or common-weale. For this purpoſe, he imagined there was none ſo ready and neceſſary a meane, as to perſwade his citizens to ſuffer all the lands, poſſeſſions, and inheritance of their country, to runne in common together: and that they ſhould make a new diuiſion equally in partition amongſt themſelues, to liue from thencefoorth as it were like brothers together, ſo that no one were richer then another, & none ſhould ſeeke to go before each other, any other way then in vertue only: thinking there ſhould be no difference or vnequality among inhabitants of one city, but the reproches of diſhoneſty, and the praiſes of vertue. Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, did out of hand make a law of the diuiſion of their lands. For

The inſtitution of the Ephores.

Lycurgus wiſdome.

Lycurgus maketh equall diuiſion of lands vnto the citizens.

All the lands through the country of Laconia, deuided into 30000. parts.
All the lands about Sparta into 9000. parts.
What barley euery part did yeeld.

first he did deuide all the country of LACONIA, into thirty thousand equal parts, the which he did set out for those that inhabited about SPARTA: and of those lands that ioyned next to the city of SPARTA, that was the chiefe metropolitan city of LACONIA, he made other nine thousand parts, which he deuided to the naturall citizens of SPARTA, who be those that are properly called SPARTANS. Howbeit some will say, he made but sixe thousand parts, and that king *Polydorus* afterwards did adde too other three thousand parts. Other say also, that *Lycurgus* of these nine thousand parts made but the halfe onely, and *Polydorus* the rest. Euery one of these parts was such, as might yeeld vnto the owner yearely, three score and ten bushels of barley for a man, and twelue bushels for the woman, and of wine and other liquide fruits, much like in proportion: which quantitie *Lycurgus* iudged to be sufficient, to keepe the body of a man in health, and to make him strong and lusty, without any further allowance. They say after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came ouer the lands where wheate had bene reaped not long before, and saw the number of sheaues lying in euery shocke together, and no one shocke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, and told them that were with him, me thinkes all LACONIA is as it were an inheritance of many brethren, who had newly made partition together. He gaue an attempt to haue deuided also moueables, and to haue made a common partition betweene them, to the end he would haue vtterly taken away all vnequality. But finding the citizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had, should be taken away, he went about to do it more secretly, and in a cunninger wise to take away that couetousnesse. For first of all he did forbid all coine of gold & siluer to be currant: and then he did set out certaine coines of iron, which he cõmanded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantity was but litle worth. So as to lay vp thereof the value of ten Minas, it would haue occupied a whole celler in a house, besides it would haue needed a yoke of oxen to carry it any where. Now gold and siluer being thus banished out of the country, many lewd parts and faults must needs cease thereby. For who would rob, steale, picke, take away, hide, procure, or hoord vp any thing, that he had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to vse or imploy? For, the iron they occupied for their coine, they cast vineger vpon it while it was red-hote out of the fire, to kill the strength and working of it to any other vse: for thereby it was so eger and brickle, that it would bide no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other fashion. By this meanes he banished also, all superfluous and vnprofitable sciences, which he knew he should not need to do by any proclamation: because they would fall away (or the most part of them) euen of thẽselues, when the baseneſse of the mony they should take for their worke, should vndo them. For their iron monies were not currant elsewhere in the cities of GREECE, but euery body made a iest of it there. By this occasion, the LACEDÆMONIANS could buy no forein wares nor marchandises, neither came there any ship into their hauen to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rhetorician did repaire into their country to teach them eloquence, and the cunning cast of lying: nor yet came there to them any wisard to tell thẽ their fortune, nor any Pander to keepe any brothell house, nor yet goldsmith or ieweller, to make or sell any toyes or trifles of gold or siluer to set forth women: considering all these things are vsed to be made to get mony, and to hoord vp that they had not. After this sort, delicatenesse that wanted many things that entertained it, began by litle & litle to vanish away, and lastly, to fall off from themselues: when the most rich men had no more occasion then the poorest, and riches hauing no meane to shew her selfe openly in the world, was faine to remaine shut at home idly, as not able to do her master any seruice. Thereupon moueables and houshold stuffe (which a man cannot be without, and must be daily occupied) as bedsteads, tables, chaires, and such like necessaries for house, were excellently well made: and men did greatly praise the fashion of the LACONIAN cup which they called Cothon, and especially for a souldier in the warres, as *Critias* was wont to say. For it was made after such a fashion, that the colour of it did let the eye to discerne the fowle and vnwholesome water, which men are driuen oft times to drinke in a campe, and goeth many times against ones stomacke to see it: and if by chance there was any filth or muddie in the bottome, it would cleaue and sticke fast vpon the ribs of the belly, and nothing came through the necke, but cleane water to his mouth that dranke it. The reformer of their state was the cause of all this: because their artificers tending now to superfluous works, were occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, now to driue away all superfluity & dilicatenesse, and to roote out vtterly desire to get and gather: he made another third law for eating & drinking, and against feasts and bankets. First he willed and com-

Lycurgus chãgeth all gold and siluer into iron coyne.

Lycurgus made all sciences and crafts of no value.

Cothon a strange kind of cup of the Lacedemonian souldiers.

commanded the citizens, that they ſhould eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of thoſe he had permitted by his ordinance. Then he did expreſſely forbid them to eate alone, or apart, or ſecretly by themſelues, vpon rich tables and ſumptuous beds, abuſing the labour of excellent workemen, and the deuiſes of lickeriſh cookes to cramme themſelues in corners, as they do fat vp beaſts and poultry, which doth not onely breed ill conditions in the minde, but doth marre the complexions of men, and the good ſtates of their body, when they giue themſelues ouer to ſuch ſenſuality and gluttony. Whereof it followeth in the ende, that men muſt needes ſleepe much, to helpe to digeſt the exceſſe of meates they haue taken, and then muſt they go to the hote houſes to bath themſelues, and ſpend long time about the ordinary attendance of their ſickly bodies. This was a maruellous thing for him to bring to paſſe, but much more, to make riches not to be ſtolen, and leaſt of all to be coueted, as *Theophraſtus* ſaid of him: which by this meanes of making thē eate together with all ſobriety at their ordinary diet, was brought to paſſe. For there was no more meane to the rich, then to the poore, to vſe to play, or ſhew riches, ſith both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: ſo as that which is commonly ſpoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blind, was truly verified onely in the city of SPARTA, aboue all other places of the world. For there riches was layd on the ground like a corſe without a ſoule, that mooueth no whit at all: conſidering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home ſecretly in his houſe before he came to their open hals, nor might not come thither for a countenance onely to his meales, being already fed and full fraught. For euery mans eye was vpon thoſe eſpecially which did not eate and drinke with a good ſtomach amongſt them: and it was the vſe to reproch them as gluttons, and dainty mouthed men, which refuſed to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the ordinance they ſay, that grieued moſt the rich aboue all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were moſt madde and angry with him: in ſo much, as on a day, they all ſetting vpon him to alter it, he was compelled to run out of the market place, and getting ground of them, he recouered the liberties of a Church, before any could ouertake him: ſauing one yong man called *Alcander*, who otherwiſe had no ill nature in him, but that he was ſomewhat quicke of his hand, and cholerike withall. Who following *Lycurgus* neerer then any other, did giue him a blow ouerthwart the face with a ſtaffe, and ſtrake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* neuer baſhed or made word at the matter, but did lift vp his head to thoſe that followed him, and ſhewed them his face all a gore-bloud, & his eye put out cleane: whereof they were ſo ſore aſhamed, that there was not a man that durſt once open his mouth againſt him, but to the contrary, they ſeemed to pity him, and did deliuer *Alcander* into his hands that had done the deed, to puniſh him as himſelfe pleaſed. And ſo they all brought him to his houſe, and ſhewed they were right hartily ſorie for his hurt. *Lycurgus* thanking them, returned them all backe againe, ſaue that he made *Alcander* to go with him into his houſe, where he neuer hurt him, nor gaue him fowle word: but commaunded him onely to waite vppon him, and made his other ordinarie ſeruants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now began to ſpie his owne fault, did moſt willingly attend vpon him, and neuer ſpake word to the contrary. When he had ſerued him a certaine time, being very neere continually about him, he began to feele and taſte of his naturall liberality, and ſaw of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moued to do all he did: he perceiued what was the ſeuerity of his ordinary life, and what his conſtancy was to endure labour without wearineſſe. *Alcander* then began to loue and honour *Lycurgus* from his heart, and told his parents and friends, how he was no ſuch ſeuere man as he ſeemed, but was of ſo kind and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I pray you how *Alcander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his puniſhment alſo, which he ſhould haue receiued: for of a fierce, raſh, and a lewd conditioned youth he was before, he became now a very graue and wiſe man. But for memory of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a temple to *Minerua*, which he ſurnamed *Optiletide*, becauſe the DORIANS which dwell in thoſe parts of PELOPONNESVS, do call the eyes, *Optiles*. There are other writers (as *Dioſcorides* for one) which ſay *Lycurgus* had a blow with a ſtaffe, but he had not his eye ſtriken out with it: and how contrariwiſe, he founded this temple to *Minerua*, to giue her thankes for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that euer ſince the SPARTANS haue bene reſtrained to cary ſtaues in any aſſembly of counſell. But to returne to their common repaſtes, which the CRETANS called *Andria*, and the LACEDÆMONIANS *Phiditia*, either becauſe they were places wherein they learned to liue ſoberly and ſtraightly (for in the GREKE tongue *Phido*,

Lycurgus appointeth order for diet vnto the Lacedæmonians.

Alcander ſtroke out Lycurgus eye.

Lycurgus patience and gentleneſſe.

Minerua Optiletide.

Andria and Phiditia, meales why ſo called.

is to ſaue and ſpare) or elſe becauſe their amity and friendſhip grew there towards one another, as if they would haue called them *Philitia*, feaſts of loue, by changing D. into L: It may be alſo they added the firſt letter as ſuperfluous, and meant to call the places *Editia*, becauſe they did eate and drinke there. They ſat in their hals by fifteene in a company, litle more or leſſe, and at the beginning of euery moneth, euery one brought a buſhell of meale, eight gallons of wine, fiue pound of cheeſe, and two pound and a halfe of figs for a man, beſides ſome litle portion of their money to buy certaine freſh cates. And ouer and aboue all this, euery man when he did ſacrifice in his houſe, was bound to ſend the beſt and chiefeſt things of his ſacrifice to the hals to be eaten. Likewiſe if any man went on hunting, and killed any veniſon: it was an order, he ſhould ſend a peece of the fleſh thither. Hauing theſe two lawfull cauſes, they might eate and drinke by themſelues at home, either when they ſacrificed any beaſt to the gods, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwiſe they were bound of neceſſity to meete in their hals at meales, if they would eate any thing. This order they kept very ſtraightly a great time: in ſo much as king *Agis* on a day, returning from the wars, where he had ouerthrowne the ATHENIANS, & being deſirous to ſup at home priuatly with the Queene his wife, he ſent to the hals for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certaine officers aſſiſting the kings in the wars, did deny him. The next day *Agis* left of for ſpight, to do the accuſtomed ſacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the end of euery war: wherupon they ſet a fine on his head, and condemned him to pay it. The yong children alſo went to theſe repaſts, euen as they ſhould go to ſchooles to learne grauity & temperance, where they heard wiſe and graue diſcourſes touching the gouernment of a common weale, but not of maſters that were as hirelings. There they learned pretily to play vpon words, and pleaſantly to ſport one with another, without any broad ſpeeches, or vncomely ieſts, and at others hands to beare the ſame againe, without choler or anger. For this property haue the LACEDÆMONIANS aboue all other, to take and giue a mocke without any offence: neuertheleſſe, if any mans nature could not beare it, he needed but pray the party to forbeare his ieſting, and ſo he left it ſtraight. And it was euer an ordinary among them, that the eldeſt of the company told the reſt that were come into the hall to meale, with ſhewing them of the dore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a word here out of this doore. Euen ſo he that wold be receiued to meale there in their cõpany, muſt firſt of neceſſity be allowed & receiued in this ſort, by all the reſt. Euery one of thẽ tooke a litle ball of bran or dow to waſh their hands with, & without euer a word ſpeaking, they threw it into a baſen, which the ſeruant that waited on them at the table did cary vpon his head: he that was contented the other ſhould be receiued in company, did caſt in his ball as he did receiue it, but if he miſliked him, then he preſſed it flat betweene his fingers, & threw it in. This bal of bran thus preſſed flat, was as much as a beane bored through, and was to them a ſigne of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this ſort, the ſuter was reiected: for they would not haue any enter into their company, that was not liked of all the reſt. He that thus was reiected, they ſay he was diſcadded: for the baſin wherein the little bals were caried, was called *Caddos*. The beſt diſh they ſerued at theſe meales, was that they call their blacke broth: ſo that when they had that, the old men did eate no fleſh, but left it all to the yong men, and they by themſelues did eate the broth. There was a king of PONTVS, that being deſirous to taſte of this blacke broth, did buy of purpoſe a LACEDÆMONIAN cooke: but after he had once taſted thereof, he was very angry ſtraight. The cooke then ſaid vnto him: and it pleaſe your grace, ere one ſhall find this broth good, he muſt be waſhed firſt in the riuer of EVROTAS. After they had eate & drunke thus ſoberly together, euery one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to go thither, nor any where elſe with light, becauſe they ſhould accuſtome themſelues boldly to go vp and downe the darke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is ſpecially to be noted, that *Lycurgus* would in no wiſe haue any of his lawes put in writing. For it is expreſſely ſet downe in his lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his lawes ſhould be written. For he thought that which ſhould chiefly make a citie happie, and vertuous, ought throughly by education to be printed in mens hearts and manners, as to haue continuance for euer: which he tooke to be loue and good will, as a farre ſtronger knot to tie men with, then any other compulſarie law. Which when men by vſe and cuſtome through good education do take in their childhood, it maketh euery man to be a law to himſelfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and ſometime are changed into one ſort, and ſometime in another, as occaſion ſerueth: he thought it beſt not to conſtraine them to do it by writing,

Children were brought to theſe meales.

The property of a Lacedemonian.

The order of receiuing any man into their company at meales.

The blacke broth.

Cicero calleth this king, Dionyſius the tyran. Tuſc. 5.

Lycurgus would not haue his lawes written otherwiſe then in mens minds.

nor

nor to establish customes that might not be altered, but rather to leaue them to the libertie and discretion of men which had bene brought vp in the same, both to take away, and to adde therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefest point of a good law-maker or reformer of the common weale was, to cause men to be well brought vp and instructed. One of his Ordinances therefore was expresly, that not one of his lawes should be written. Another of his deuises was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to auoid, he made a lawe that all roofes of houses should be made onely with the axe, and all gates and doores with the sawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards *Epaminondas* had, when he said, speaking of his table: Such a boord neuer receiueth any treason. Euen so thought *Lycurgus*, that such a built house would neuer receiue curiositie or daintinesse. For no man is so madly disposed or simple witted, as to bring into so poore and meane houses, bedsteads with siluer feet, imbrodered couerlets, or counterpoints of purple silke, neither yet plate of gold nor of siluer, nor such other like costly furniture & fineneſſe, as those things require to waite vpon them: because the beds must be aunswerable to the meaneneſſe of the house, the furnitures of the beds must be sutelike to the same, and all other houshold stuffe, diet, meat, and drinke agreeable to the rest. Hereof proceeded that, which *Leontychidas* the first King of that name, said once: who supping on a time in the citie of CORINTH, and seeing the roofe of the hall where he sate, sumptuously embowed & carued, he asked straight if the trees did grow carued so in that country. The third law was, he did forbid thē to make war often with one enemie, lest the enemy forced to take often armes in hand, might in the end grow experter and valianter then they. For this cause king *Ageſilaus* was greatly blamed, who was a long time after. For by making often wars with the countrie of BOEOTIA, he made the THEBANS in the end as expert and valiant souldiers as the LACEDÆMONIANS. Wherupon *Antalcidas* seeing him hurt one day, said vnto him: The THEBANS haue nobly rewarded thee for their learning, sith thou hast made them expert souldiers vnwilling to learne the discipline of war. These be the lawes *Lycurgus* selfe called *Retra*, and signifie as much as Oracles, that the god *Apollo* had discouered to him. Now the education of children, he esteemed the chiefest and greatest matter, that a reformer of lawes should establish. Therefore beginning a farre off, he first considered the state of mariage, and the generation of children. For *Aristotle* saith, that *Lycurgus* did attempt to reforme women, and did soone giue it ouer againe: because he could do no good therin, by reason of the great libertie they had taken by the absence of their husbands in the warres, compelled often so to be abroade, and that they did leaue them mistresses of their house, and at their returne did honour them so much, and make of them so beyond measure, with calling them ladies and mistresses. Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, aswell as he had of mens: and so reason did require. First of all, he willed that the maidens should harden their bodies with exercise of running, wrestling, throw the barre, and casting the dart, to the end that the fruite wherewith they might be afterwards conceiued, taking nourishment of a strong and lustie bodie, should shoot out and spreade the better: and that they by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easily away with the paines of child bearing. And to take away from them their womannish daintinesse, and fineneſſe, he brought vp a custome, for young maides and boyes to go as it were a procession, and to daunce naked at solemne feastes and sacrifices, and to sing certaine songs of their owne making, in the presence and sight of young men. To whom by the way they gaue many times pretie mockes of purpose, as pleasantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and sometimes also in their song for their vertues, wittes, or manners, they praised them which had deserued it. By this meanes, they did set young mens hearts a fire, to striue to winne most praise and honour. For who so was praised of them for a valiant man, or whose worthie acts were sung by them, he thereby was encouraged to do the better another time: and the pretie girds and quippes they gaue to others, was of no lesse force, then the sharpest wordes and admonitions that otherwise could be giuen them. This tooke place the rather, because it was done in the presence of the Kings, the Senators, and all the rest of the citizens which came thither to see these sports. And though the maides did shew themselues thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonestie seene nor offered, but all this sport was full of play and toyes, without any youthfull part or wantonnesse: and rather caried a shew of demureneſſe, and a desire to haue their best made bodies seene and spied. Moreouer, it somwhat lifted vp their harts, and made them noblier

Retra, for excesse or ryot.

Epaminondas saying.

King Leontychidas saying.

Retra for wars

Antalcidas saying.

The discipline of vvomen amongst the Lacedemonians. Arist. polit li. 7. cap. 17.

The exercises and discipline of maydes.

minded, by giuing them to vnderſtand, that it was no leſſe comely for them, in their kind and exerciſes to carrie the bel, then it was for men in their games and exerciſes to carry the price. Hereof it came, that the women of LACEDÆMON were ſo bold to ſay, and thinke of themſelues that, which *Gorgona* the wife of king *Leonidas* one day anſwered: being in talke with a ſtraunge woman that ſaid to her: There be no women in the world that commaund their husbands, but you wiues of LACEDÆMON. Whereto the Queene ſtraight replied: ſo be there no women but we, which bring foorth men. Furthermore, theſe plaies, ſports, and daunces, the maides did naked before young men, were prouocations to draw and allure the young men to marrie: not as perſwaded by geometricall reaſons, as ſaith *Plato*, but brought to it by liking, and of very loue. Thoſe which would not marrie, he made infamous by law. For it was not lawful for ſuch to be preſent, where theſe open games and paſtimes were ſhewed naked. Furthermore the officers of the citie compelled ſuch as wold not marrie, euen in the hardeſt time of the winter, to enuirone the place of theſe ſportes, and to go vp and downe ſtarke naked, and to ſing a certaine ſong made for the purpoſe againſt them, which was: that iuſtly were they puniſhed, becauſe that lawe they diſobeyed. Moreouer, when ſuch were old, they had not the honour and reuerence done them, which old maried men vſually receiued. Therefore there was no man that miſliked, or reproued that, which was ſpoken to *Dercillidas*: albeit otherwiſe he was a noble captaine. For, comming into a preſence, there was a young man which would not vouchſafe to riſe and do him reuerence, nor to giue him place for to ſit downe: and worthily, quoth he, becauſe thou haſt not gotten a ſon, who may do ſo much for me in time to come. Thoſe which were deſirous to marrie any, were driuen to take them away by force, whom they would marrie, not litle young wenches I meane, which were not of age to be maried: but luſtie and ſtrong maides of age to beare children. And when one of them was ſtolen away in this ſort, ſhe that was priuie thereto, and meane to make the mariage, came and ſhaued the haires of her head that was maried: then ſhe put her into mans apparell, and gaue her all things ſute like to the ſame, and laid her vpon a mattreſſe all alone, without light or candle. After this was done, the bridegrome, being neither drunke nor finelier apparelled then he was wont to be, but hauing ſupped ſoberly at his ordinarie, came home ſecretly to the houſe where the bride was: & there vntyed his wiues girdle, tooke her in his armes, layd her vpon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwardes faire and ſoftly ſtole away to the place, where he was wont to ſleepe with other young men. And ſo from thenceforth, he continued alwaies to do the like, being all the day time with his companions, & ſleeping moſt of the night, vnleſſe he ſometime ſtale to ſee his wife; being afraid, and aſhamed euer to be ſeene by any of the houſe where ſhe was. And hereunto his young wife did helpe for her part, to ſpie meanes and occaſions how they might meet together, and not be ſeene. This manner endured a great while and vntill ſome of them had children, before they boldy met together, and ſawe each other on the day time. This ſecret meeting in this ſort did ſerue to good purpoſes, not onely becauſe it was ſome meane of continencie, and ſhamefaſtneſſe, but alſo it kept their bodies in ſtrength and better ſtate, to bring foorth children. It continued alſo in both parties, a ſtill burning loue, and a new deſire of the one to the other, not as it were luke warme, nor wearie, as theirs commonly be which haue their bellies full of loue, and as much as they luſt: but they euer parted with an appetite one from another, keeping ſtill a longing deſire to deuiſe how to meete againe. Now when he had ſtabliſhed ſuch a continencie, and ſo kind a framed honeſtie in mariage, he tooke no leſſe care to driue away all fooliſh icalouſie therein, thinking it very good reaſon to beware there ſhould be no violence, nor confuſion in mariage: and yet as reaſon would, they ſhould ſuffer thoſe which were worthie to get children as it were in common, laughing at the madde folly of them which reuenge ſuch things with warre and bloudſhed, as though in that caſe men in no wiſe ſhould haue no fellowſhippe together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being ſtepped in yeares, and hauing a young wife, if ſeeing a faire young man that liked him, and knowne withall to be of a gentle nature, he brought him home to get his wife with child, and afterwardes would auow it for his, as if himſelfe had gotten it. It was lawfull alſo for an honeſt man that loued another mans wife, for that he ſaw her wiſe, ſhamefaſt, and bringing foorth goodly children, to intreat her husband to ſuffer him to lye with her, and that he might alſo plowe in that luſtie ground, and caſt abroad the ſeede of well fauoured children: which by this meanes came to be common in bloud and parentage, with the moſt honourable and honeſteſt perſons. For firſt of all, *Lycurgus* did not like that children ſhould be priuate

The ſaying of a Laconian vvoman.

Men that wold not marie, Lycurgus reputed infamous by lavv.

Matrimoniall ceremonies in Lacedæmon.

VVholeſome vules for maried couples.

Lycurgus regard to auoide icalouſie in the cõmon vvealth

priuate to any men, but that they ſhould be common to the common weale: by which reaſon he would alſo, that ſuch as ſhould become citizens, ſhould not be begotten of euery man, but of the moſt honeſteſt men onely. So *Lycurgus* thought alſo there were many fooliſh vaine toyes & fanſies, in the lawes and orders of other Nations, touching mariage: ſeeing they cauſed their bitches and mares to be limed and couered with the faireſt dogges and goodlieſt ſtalons that might be gotten, praying or paying the maiſters and owners of the ſame: and kept their wiues notwithſtanding ſhut vp ſafe vnder locke and key, for feare leſt other then themſelues might get them with child, although they were ſickly, feeble brained, and extreame old. As if it were not firſt of all, and chiefly a diſcommodity to the fathers and mothers, and likewiſe to thoſe that bring them vp, to haue vnperfect and feeble children borne, as it were begotten of dry and withered men: and then to the contrarie, what pleaſure and benefit is it to thoſe that haue faire and good children, borne, as gotten of like ſeed and men. Theſe things were done then by naturall & ciuil reaſon, neuertheleſſe they ſay women were ſo farre off then from intreatie, as euer they were before: ſo as in old time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adulterie meant. For proofe wherof, the anſwer made by *Geradas* (one of the firſt auncient SPARTANS) vnto a ſtranger, may be alledged, that asked him, what puniſhment they had for adulterers. My friend, quoth he, there be none here. But if there were? reply'ed the ſtranger again. Mary ſaid he, then he muſt pay as great a bul, as ſtanding vpon the top of the mountaine Taygetus, may drinke in the riuer of Eurotas. Yea marie: but how is it poſſible (quoth the ſtranger) to find ſuch a bull? *Geradas* laughing, anſwered him againe: And how were it poſſible alſo to find an adulterer in SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* lawes touching mariages. Furthermore, after the birth of euery boy, the father was no more maiſter of him, to cocker & bring him vp after his will: but he himſelf caried him to a certaine place called Leſché, where the eldeſt men of his kindred being ſet, did view the child: and if they found him faire, and well proportioned of all his limmes, and ſtrong, they gaue order he ſhould be brought vp, and appointed him one of the nine thouſand parts of inheritance for his education. Contrariwiſe, if they found him deformed, miſhapē, or leane, or pale, they ſent him to be throwne in a deepe pit of water, which they commonly called Apothetes, & as a man would ſay, the common houſe of office: holding opinion it was neither good for the child, nor yet for the commonweale, that it ſhould liue, conſidering from his birth he was not wel made, nor giuen to be ſtrong, healthfull, nor luſtie of bodie all his life long. For this cauſe therefore, the nurſe after their birth did not waſh them with water ſimply (as they do euery where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they proue, whether the complexion or temperature of their bodies were good or ill. For they ſuppoſe, that children which are giuen to haue the falling ſickneſſe, or otherwiſe to be full of rewmes and ſickneſſes, cannot abide waſhing with wine, but rather dry & pine away: as contrarily the other which are healthfull, become thereby the ſtronger and the luſtier. The nurces alſo of SPARTA vſe a certaine manner to bring vp their children, without ſwadling, or binding them vp in clothes with ſwadling bands, or hauing on their heads any croſ-clothes: ſo as they made them nimbler of their limmes, better ſhaped and goodlier of bodie. Beſides that, they acquainted their children to all kind of meates, and brought them vp without much tendance, ſo as they were neither fine nor licorous, nor feareful to be left alone in the darke, neither were they cryers, wrallers, or vnhappy children, which be all tokens of baſe and cowardly natures. So that there were ſtrangers, that of purpoſe bought nurces out of LACONIA, to bring vp their children: as they ſay *Amicla* was one of them which nurced *Alcibiades*. But *Pericles* his tutor, gaue him afterwards a bondman called *Zopyrus*, to be his maiſter and gouernor: who had no better propertie in him, then other common ſlaues. This did not *Lycurgus*. For he did not put the education and gouernment of the children of SPARTA into the hands of hyred maiſters or ſlaues bought with mony: neither was it lawfull for the father himſelfe to bring vp his owne child after his owne maner and liking. For ſo ſoone as they came to ſeuen yeares of age, he tooke & diuided them by companies, to make them to be brought vp together, and to accuſtome them to play, to learne, and to ſtudie one with another: Then he choſe out of euery company one, whom he thought to haue the beſt wit, and had moſt courage in him to fight, to whom he gaue the charge and ouerſight of his owne company. The reſt had their eyes waiting alwaies on him, they did obey his commandements willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections he gaue them, they did ſuch taskes and works as he appointed them: ſo that all their ſtudie was moſt to learne to obey. Furthermore, the olde gray headed men were

No adultrie ſhowne in Sparta.

The education of childrē with the Lacedæmonians.

Leſché.

Apothetes.

Young babes waſh'd with wine.

The Spartan nurces.

Pluto of the firſt Alcibiades

How the Lacedæmonians children were brought vp.

preſent many times to ſee them play, and for the moſt part they gaue them occaſions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better know and diſcerne the naturall diſpoſition of euery one of them, and whether they gaue any ſignes or tokens in time to come, to become cowards or valiant men. Touching learning, they had as much as ſerued their turne: for the reſt of their time they ſpent in learning how to obey, to away with paine, to endure labour, to ouercome ſtill in fight. According to their growth and yeares, they did chaunge the exerciſes of their bodies: they did ſhaue their heads, they went bare-legged, they were conſtrained to play naked together the moſt part of their time. After they were paſt twelue yeares of age, they ware no longer coates: and they gaue them yearely but one ſeely gowne. This was the cauſe they were alwaies ſo naſtie and ſluttiſh, and they neuer vſed to bath or noint themſelues, ſauing onely at certaine daies in the yeare, when they were ſuffered to taſt of this refreſhing. They lay and ſlept together vpon beds of ſtraw, which they themſelues did make, of the tops of reeds or canes that grew in the riuer of Eurotas: which they were forced to go gather and breake thẽſelues with their hands, without any toole or iron at all. In the winter, they did mingle thiſtle downe with theſe, which is called *Lycophonas*, becauſe that ſtuffe ſeemeth ſomewhat warme of it ſelfe. About this time, the fauourers and likers of this pretie youth, which were commonly the luſtieſt and beſt diſpoſed youths of the citie, began to be ofter in their company: and then the old men tooke the better regard vnto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exerciſes, and where their vſe was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one ſhould mocke another. This did their old men, not by way of paſtime onely, but with ſuch care & hartie loue towards thẽ, as if they had bene altogether their fathers, maiſters, & gouernors, while they were boyes: inſomuch as there was neuer time nor place, where they had not alwaies ſome to admoniſh, reproue, or correct thẽ, if they did a fault. Notwithſtanding all this, there was euer one of the honeſteſt men of the citie, who had expreſly the charge and gouernance of theſe boyes. He did deuide them in companies, & afterwards gaue the ouerſight of them, to ſuch a one of the boyes as was diſcreeteſt, the manlieſt, the moſt hardie, and of the beſt courage amongſt them. They called the children that were paſt infancie two yeares, *Irenes*: and the greateſt boyes *Melirenes*: as who would ſay, readie to go out of boyerie. This boy who was made ouerſeer of them, was commonly twenty yeres of age. He was their captaine when they fought, & did commaund them as his ſeruants when they were in the houſe: and willed them which were ſtrongeſt and the moſt grown, to carrie wood when they ſhold prepare dinner or ſupper, and thoſe which were leaſt and weakeſt, to go gather herbes, which they muſt ſteale or lacke them. So they went out to ſteale ſome in gardens, ſome at the markets, other in the halles where the feaſts were kept, and men did eate together, into the which they conueyed themſelues as cloſely and cunningly as they could deuiſe: for if they were taken with the maner, they were ſcourged terribly, becauſe they were ſo groſſe and negligent, and not fine and cunning in their facultie. They ſtole alſo all other kind of meate, whatſoeuer they could get or lay hands on. They pried and ſought all occaſions how to take and ſteale meate handſomely, both when men were aſleepe, or elſe that they were careleſſe, or did not giue good heed vnto them. But he that was taken with the maner, had his payment roundly, and was puniſhed with faſting beſides: for they had but a ſlender pittance, becauſe neceſſitie ſhold driue thẽ to venter boldly, and wit ſhould find out al the deuices to ſteale finely. This was the chiefeſt cauſe, why they gaue thẽ ſo ſmall a diet. The ſecond cauſe was, that their bodies might grow vp higher in height. For the vitall ſpirits not being occupied to concoct and digeſt much meat, nor yet kept down, or ſpread abroad by the quantitie or ouerburden therof, do enlarge thẽſelues into length, & ſhoot vp for their lightnes: & for this reaſon they thought the bodie did grow in height and length, hauing nothing to let or hinder the riſing of the ſame. It ſeemeth that the ſelfe ſame cauſe made them fairer alſo. For the bodies that are leane & ſlender, do better and more eaſily yeeld to nature, which bringeth a better proportion and form to euery member: and contrariwiſe it ſeemeth theſe groſſe, corpulent, and ouer-fed bodies do encounter nature, and be not ſo nimble and pliant to her, by reaſon of their heauie ſubſtance. As we ſee it by experience, the children which women bring a litle before their time, & be ſomwhat caſt before they ſhould haue bene borne, be ſmaller and fairer alſo, and more pure commonly then other that go their time: becauſe the matter whereof the bodie is formed, being more ſupple and plyant, is the eaſilier weilded by nature, which giueth them their ſhape and forme. Touching the naturall cauſe of this effect, let vs giue place to other to diſpute it that will, without our further deciding

It is a kind of thiſtle in the Meſſenian tongue: reade Heſychias.

Irenes. Melirenes.

The theeuerie of the Lacedæmonians.

Straight diet cauſeth growth and height.

deciding of the ſame. But to returne to the matter of the LACEDÆMONIANS children. They did robbe with ſo great care, and feare to be diſcouered, that they tell of one, which hauing ſtolen a little foxe, did hide him vnder his cloke, and ſuffered him with his teeth and clawes to teare out all his belly, and neuer cryed, for feare he ſhould haue bene betrayed, vntill he fell downe dead in the place where he ſtoode. This is not vncredible, by that we ſee young boyes do abide at this day: for we haue ſeene diuerſe, which haue bidden whipping euen to death, vpon the altar of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orthia*. Now this vnder maiſter, who had the charge of euery companie of theſe boyes, vſed after ſupper (ſitting yet at the table) to bid one of them ſing a ſong: to another he put foorth a queſtion, who was to be well aduiſed of his aunſwer, as for example: Who is the honeſteſt man in the citie: or how thinkeſt thou by that ſuch a one did: By this exerciſe they were inured from boyes ſtate, to iudge of things well or ill done, and to vnderſtand the life and gouernement of their citizens. For which of them did not anſwer quickely and directly to theſe queſtions, who is a good man, who is an honeſt citizen, and who not: they thought it was a ſigne of a dull wit, and careleſſe nature, not giuen to any vertue, for deſire of honour and eſtimation. Furthermore this vnder maiſter was euer to waite for his aunſwer, and to ſee it ſhould be briefe and well knit vp in wordes: otherwiſe his puniſhment that aunſwered croſſely, or to little purpoſe, was, that his maiſter bit him by the thombe. This he did many times in the preſence of the old men and magiſtrates of the citie, that they might ſee whether he puniſhed them with reaſon or not, and according to their deſeruing. And though he did hurt him, they did not by and by reproue him, but when the children were gone away, then was he himſelfe rebuked and puniſhed, if he had corrected them too ſore, or contrarily had fauoured them too much. Moreouer they did aſcribe the good or ill opinion conceiued of the children, vnto euery of their fauourers and louers, which did affect and entertaine them: in as much as they ſay, a young boy vppon a time fighting with another, and a crie ſcaping out of his mouth, which his faint cowardly heart did yeeld, his fauourer and louer was ſtraight condemned by the officers of the citie to a fine. Albeit this loue was a thing euen incorporated into them, that the moſt honeſt and vertuouſeſt women loued the young maides thus alſo: yet was there no iealouſie nor ſuſpition that grew hereof, but rather to the contrarie, there grew a maruellous mutuall loue and kindneſſe between them, which liued in one ſelfe place. For either of them by all the meanes they could, did deuiſe how to make the child they loued in common, the wiſeſt, the gentleſt, and the beſt conditioned aboue all other. They taught theſe children to ſpeake in ſuch ſort, that their ſpeech had euer in it a pleaſant grace, and in few words comprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great maſſe and weight of iron money, ſhould be but litle worth, and of a ſmall value, as we haue told you before: and contrarily, that ſpeech in few wordes, without any affectation, ſhould hold much deepe and graue matter, wherwith the children being acquainted, after long ſilence, ſhold be briefe and pithie in their aunſwers. For as the ſeede of incontinent men which are too buſie with euery ragge and colman hedge, can take no roote to bring foorth fruite: euen ſo immoderate ſpeech, full of wordes and buſie tattle, bringeth foorth as little ſenſe. Hereof it commeth, that the anſwers of the LACONIANS were ſo ſhort and wittie. As they ſay, king *Agis* aunſwered on a day an ATHENIAN, who ieſting at the ſwords the LACEDÆMONIANS did weare, ſaid they were ſo ſhort, that theſe tumblers and iuglers did ſwallow them downe in the ſight of all the world: and yet ſaid *Agis* we hurt our enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of ſpeaking: which is not to ſpeake much, but when they ſpeake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers vnderſtand them. I thinke alſo that *Lycurgus* ſelfe, was ſhort and quicke in his talke. For ſo a man may coniecture by his anſwers which are written: as that which he made to one who earneſtly prayed him to ſtabliſh a popular ſtate in LACEDÆMON, that the baſeſt might haue as great authoritie as the higheſt. Beginne (quoth he) to do it firſt in thine owne houſe. And as that alſo which he anſwered another who asked him, why he had appointed ſo ſmall things, and ſo little of value to be offered to the gods: Becauſe (quoth he) we ſhould neuer ceaſe to honour them. And as that which he ſpake another time, touching fights and frayes, which was: that he did neuer forbid his citizens any of them, but thoſe wherein they vſe to giue their hand, as you would ſay to yeeld. Men find alſo ſuch like aunſwers, in ſome of his letters written to his citizens, as when they asked him: How can we defend our ſelues againſt our enemies? He aunſwered: If ye be poore, and one do couet no more then another. And in another letter that was ſent, where he diſcourſeth, whether it were

Childrens exerciſe after their ſupper.

The Lacedæmonians manner of louing.

Short ſpeech taught among the Lacedemonians.

Lycurgus wiſe anſwers.

Lycurgus loue to God.

To giue a hand is to confeſſe himſelfe ouercome.

requisite to incloſe the citie with walles: he ſayeth, can that citie be without walles, which is enuironed with men, though it be vncompaſſed with ſtone? Neuertheleſſe it is hard to reſolue, whether thoſe letters, and other ſuch like that are ſhewed, be to be beleeued, or diſcredited to be his. But that long ſpeech was much diſliked, and reproued among the LACEDÆMONIANS, it is manifeſtly to be ſeene by the wordes, which ſome amongſt them haue heretofore aunſwered.

Short ſentences of certaine Laconians.
Leonidas.
Charilaus.
Archidamidas

As king *Leonidas* ſaid one day, to one that diſcourſed with him many good things, but out of ſeaſon: friend, thou ſpeakeſt many good wordes, but to litle purpoſe. And *Charilaus*, nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his vncle made ſo few lawes: becauſe ſaid he, to men of few wordes, few lawes will ſerue. And *Archidamidas* ſayed thus to ſome which reproued *Hecataus* the Oratour, for that being bidden to ſupper at one of their feaſtes, he ſpake not a word all ſupper time. He who can ſpeake well, knoweth alſo when to ſpeake. And where I haue tolde before, that in their feate and quicke aunſwers, commonly there was ſome pretie grace, it may be well ſeene and knowne by theſe that follow. *Demaratus* aunſwered a buſie fellow who troubled him too much with vaine importunate queſtions, asking him ſtill: who was the honeſteſt man of LACEDÆMON? euen he that is leaſt like thy ſelfe. And *Agis* ſaid to ſome which highly praiſed the ELIANS for their vpright iudgement, and iuſt dealing in the games Olympicall. What wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in fiue yeares ſpace the ELIANS one day do good iuſtice? And *Theopompus* likewiſe to a ſtraunger, who as deſirous to ſhew his affection he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS, told him how euery body called him *Philolacon* (as to ſay) a louer of LACEDÆMON. It were more honeſtie for thee (ſaid he) to be named *Philopolites*, a louer of her citizens.

Sharpe ſentences of the Laconians:
Demaratus.
Agis.
Theopompus.

Pliſtonax, Pauſanias ſon.

And *Pliſtonax* the ſonne of *Pauſanias*, when an Oratour of ATHENS ſaid the LACEDÆMONIANS were vnlearned and ignorant: Thou ſayeſt true quoth he, for we only of al the GRECIANS haue learned none of your ill conditions. And *Archidamidas*, to one that demaunded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS: Enow ſaid he, to driue away the wicked. We may coniecture alſo their manner of ſpeaking, by their words in mirth, which they ſpake ſometimes playing wiſe: for they did neuer vſe to ſpeake vaine words at randone, but it had alwaies ſome ſecret meaning in it, which required anothers good obſeruation that would find it. As he which was deſired to go heare the nightingale counterfeited naturally: I haue (ſaid he) heard the nightingale it ſelfe. And another which hauing read this inſcription vpon a tumbe:

Archidamidas

In the life of Ageſilaus.

When as they had well quenched tyrannie
throughout their land, by worthy warlike power,
Their happe was yet in wretched wiſe to dye,
by ſcaling Selynuntaes ſtrongeſt tower.

They well deſerued death, ſaid he, that did but quench tyranny: they ſhould haue quite conſumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promiſing to giue him ſuch hardie cocks of the game, as ſhould die in the place where they fought. O giue me not thoſe (ſaid he) which will dye, but thoſe which with fighting will kill others. Another ſeeing men ſitting in coaches and litters as they went: God forbid (ſaid he) that I ſhould euer ſit in a chaire, where I could not riſe to my elders. Such were their aunſwers and encounters. So that ſome had reaſon which ſaid heretofore, to ſpeake LACONIAN like, was to be Philoſopher like: as you would ſay, more to exerciſe the mind, then the bodie. Beſides all this, they did ſtudie to ſing well, and to make goodly ditties and ſongs. Then they ſpake moſt properly and featly. There was in their ſongs alſo a certaine motion, I wote not what, which ſtirred vp the hearers hearts, and did kindle deſire in them to do notable feates. Their tongue was plain, without affectation: their matter graue and moral, containing for the moſt part the praiſe of thoſe, which were ſlaine in battell for the defence of their countrie, as being happie men: and a ſhame to thoſe that liue, which for faint hearts refuſed ſo to die, to leade a miſerable and vnfortunate life. Or elſe they ſang how they were the patternes for time to come, or the right glorie of the world, and the true repreſentation of vertuous men; as the ſong would beſt become their ages which did ſing. It ſhall not be impertinent for the better vnderſtanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open feaſtes, there were alwaies three daunces, according to the difference of the three ages. The daunce of the old men, thus began firſt for to ſing.

The Lacedemonians ſongs.

Three daunces among the Lacedemonians.

We haue bene young and ſtrong, yet valiant heretofore,
till crooked age did hold vs backe, and bad vs do no more.

The young men followed after, ſinging:

We

We yet are yong, bold, ſtrong, and readie to maintaine,
that quarrell ſtill, againſt all men that do on earth remaine.

The third was of children that came after and ſaid:

And we do hope as well, to paſſe you all at laſt,
and that the world ſhall witneſſe be, ere many yeares be paſt.

To conclude, who nearely will conſider the works and makings of the LACON Poets (whereof ſome are yet extant) and will marke alſo the notes and tunes of the pipe, after the ſound and meaſure whereof they marched in array, going to charge the enemy: he ſhall find that *Terpander* and *Pindarus*, had reaſon to ioyne hardineſſe with muſicke. For *Terpander* ſpeaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſaith in a place: *Terpander of the Lacedamonians.*

This is that land where deedes of chiualrie,
did flouriſh moſt, in many a martiall feate:
Where muſicke made, her choiſe of harmonie,
and iuſtice kept her ſtately royall ſeate.

And *Pindarus* ſpeaking of them alſo ſaith: *Pyndarus of the Lacedamonians.*

There: graue aduiſe, is found in aged braines:
there: gallant youths are luſtie lads in deede.
Which can both ſing, and daunce, in courtlike traines:
yet daunt their foes with many a doughtie deede.

By which teſtimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and deſcribed them to haue loued muſicke, and the warres together. For as another LACON Poet ſaith:

It fitteth well, and is a ſeemely thing,
for ſuch as ſpend their time in feates of warre:
To haue the skill, ſweete ſonnets for to ſing,
and touch the harpe withouten iangling iarre.

For this cauſe therefore in all their warres, when they ſhould giue battell, the King did firſt ſacrifice to the Muſes, to put his ſouldiers in mind (as it ſhould ſeeme) of the diſcipline and wiſedome of the Muſes that they had bene brought vp in, to the end that when his ſouldiours were in the moſt extreme daunger, the Muſes ſhould preſent them ſelues before the ſouldiers eyes, to pricke them forwards to do ſome noble actes of worthie memorie. In their time of warre, they did tollerate their yong men a little of their hard and old accuſtomed life, and ſuffered them then to trimme their haires, to haue braue armour, to weare gay apparell, and tooke as great delight therein, to ſee them gallant and luſtie, as to behold yong neying and ſnorting horſes, deſirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they did vſe to weare long haires: yet were they neuer ſo carefull to combe and bruſh their heads, as when they ſhould to the battell. For then they did noint them ſelues with ſweete oyles, and did ſhed their haire, remembring *Lycurgus* ſaying: who was wont to tell them, that haires to them which were faire, did make them more faire, and to them that were foule, they made them more vgly and dreadfull. The exerciſes alſo of their bodies, were more eaſie and gentle, and not ſo hard and ſtraight in their warres, as they were in a peace: and generally, their whole manner of life was not then ſo ſtraightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they onely were the men of the world, to whom warres were made a reſt from labour, which men ordinarily do endure, to make them the fitter for the warres. Afterwardes when their armie was ſet in battell ray, euen in the face of the enemie, the King did ſtraight ſacrifice a goate vnto the goddes, and forthwith commaunded all his ſouldiours to put their garlands of flowers on their heads, and willed that the pipes ſhould ſound the ſong of *Caſtor*, at the noiſe and tune whereof, he him ſelfe beganne firſt to march forward. So that it was a maruellous pleaſure, and likewiſe a dreadfull ſight, to ſee the whole battell march together in order, at the ſound of the pipes, and neuer to breake their pace, nor confound their rankes, nor to be diſmaid nor amazed themſelues, but to go on quietly and ioyfully at the ſound of theſe pipes, to hazard them ſelues euen to death. For it is likely, that ſuch courages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet ouercome with much furie: but rather they haue an aſſured conſtancie and valiantneſſe in good hope, as thoſe which are backed with the aſſiſting fauour of the gods. The king marching in this order, had alwaies ſome about him, which had before time wonne the priſes in games and iuſtes. And they ſay there was one of theſe on a time, that was offered a great ſumme of mony at the games Olympicall, not to preſent himſelfe

The long boſhes and haire of the Laconians

How the Laconians began battell.

The Laconians ſong when they marched. Euſt. Ilia. 15.

at them: but he refuſed it, liking better with great paine to win the priſe, then for much mony to loſe his honour. Whereupon the one ſayd vnto him, LACONIAN: and what haſt thou gotten now, to cary away the priſe with ſo much ſwet? The LACONIAN anſwered him laughing: I ſhal fight in the battel, ſaith he, before the King. When they had once broken into their enemies, they did ſtil fiercely and fiercelier ſet vpon them, and did neuer ceaſe, vntill their enemies gaue way & fled: and then they chaſed and followed them ſtill, vntill ſuch time as their ouerthrow and flight had aſſured them of the victorie. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their campe, iudging it to be no manhood, neither part of a noble mind, or of ſo worthy a nation as the GREGIANS were, to kil and hew in peeces, men ſo ſcattered and out of order, hauing forſaken al the hope of victorie. This fell out not onely honourable, but alſo very profitable for them. For they which were in battell againſt them, knowing they killed none but ſuch as reſiſted ſtoutly, and how they did let other go which fled before them: they found it was more their benefite to flie, then to tarrie and abide the ſtrokes. *Hippias* the ſophiſter ſaith, that *Lycurgus* him ſelfe was a very good captaine, and a great ſouldier, as he that had bene in many foughten fields: and *Philoſtephanus* aſcribeth to him the deuiſe to put horſemen in troupes & companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fiftie men at armes was a troupe, whoſe maner was to put themſelues in ſquadrons. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* writeth otherwiſe, that *Lycurgus* was neuer at the wars, and that he made all his lawes and gouernement in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermiſſion of wars during the playes Olympical, which they ſay he deuiſed, doth ſhew in apparance that he was a gentle natured man, and one that loued quietnes and peace. Some notwithſtanding (amongſt whom *Hermippus* was one) ſay, he was not with *Iphitus* at the firſt beginning when he ordeined the playes Olympicall, but that by chance he happened to come thither, paſſing by in his iourney only, and that he ſtaid there to ſee the games: where he thought he heard the voice of a man behind him, ſaying, he maruelled much why he did not perſwade his citizens alſo to be partners of this new deuice: and turning backe to ſee who it was that ſpake to him, he ſaw no body. Whereupon he tooke a conceit that it was a ſpeech from the gods: and went therefore preſently to ſeek out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the ſtatutes and orders of the feaſt, which afterwards were farre more famous, better ordered, and more ſtately then before. But to returne againe to the LACEDÆMONIANS: their diſcipline and order of life continued ſtill, after they were full growne men. For it was not lawfull for any man to liue as he liſted, but they were within their city, as if they had bene a campe, where euery man knoweth what allowance he hath to liue withall, and what buſineſſe he hath elſe to do in his calling. To be ſhort, they were all of this mind, that they were not borne to ſerue themſelues, but to ſerue their countrey. Therefore if they were commanded nothing elſe, they went continually to ſee what the children did, and to teach them ſomwhat which might profit the common weale, or elſe they went to learne of thoſe which were their elders. For one of the beſt and happieſt things which *Lycurgus* euer brought into his citie, was the great reſt & leiſure which he made his citizens to haue, only forbidding them that they ſhould not profeſſe any vile or baſe occupation: and they needed not alſo to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where goods were nothing profitable nor eſteemed. For the Ilotes, which were made bōd mē by the wars, did till their grounds, and yeelded them a certain reuenue euery yeare. And as touching this matter, they tel of a LACEDÆMONIAN, who being on a day at ATHENS where the law was pleaded, did vnderſtand that a citizen there was condemned for idlenes, and how he went home to his houſe very ſorowfully, accompanied with his friends which were ſory for him, and greatly lamented his ill hap: the LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed thoſe which were about him, to ſhew him the man condemned for liuing nobly, and like a gentleman. I haue alledged this, to ſhew how he thought it a vile and ſeruile thing to exerciſe any handy craft, or to worke any thing by hand to get money. For ſutes in law, a man may be well aſſured they were baniſhed with the gold and ſiluer from LACEDÆMON, conſidering now there was no more auarice nor couetouſneſſe there, nor yet pouerty nor lacke, but equality with abundance, and quiet life with ſobriety. All other times but when they had warres, they followed dauncing, feaſts, playes, bankets, hunting, or other exerciſes of body, and meetings to paſſe the time away. For the young men vntill they came to thirty yeares of age, neuer went into the market to buy any prouiſion or things for the houſe, but did their fathers or their friends buſineſſe: nay it was a ſhame for the oldeſt men, to haunt the market too often. As to the contrarie, it was honourable for them to be preſent at the ſhew place the moſt part of the day, where they diuerſly exerciſed their bodies, and likewiſe to be

How farre the Lacedæmonians did purſue their enemies.

Lycurgus a very good captaine. Oulames.

The Laconians opinion to ſerue their countrey.

The reſt and leiſure of the Lacedæmonians.

Idle liuers puniſhed at Athens.

Sutes in law went away with gold and ſiluer that was baniſhed.

How they ſpent the time in Sparta.

at

at the places of assembly, there to spend time with walking together, and discoursing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, trafficke, or mony. For all their talke (for the most part) was about the praising of some honest thing, or sporting wise to reproue some dishonesty, which alwaies caried with it some gentle lesson or monitiō by the way. For *Lycurgus* was not such a sower mā, as they neuer saw him laugh: but as *Sositius* writeth, it was he that first sacriced to the litle god of laughter, which is at LACEDÆMON, becausse he would mingle their feasts & assemblies with mirth, as a pleasant sawce to ease the trouble of their strict and hard life. To be briefe, he did accustome his citizens so, that they neither would nor could liue alone, but were in maner as men incorporated one with another, and were alwaies in company together, as the bees be about their maister bee: still in a continuall loue to serue their countrie, to win honour, and to aduance the common-weale. Which affection of theirs is plaine and easly seene to be imprinted in them by certain of their answers, as in that which *Pædaretus* said on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred. Who departing home to his house mery & iocond as might be, said: It did him good to see there were three hundred found better in the citie than himself. *Pisistratidas* also being sent ambassadour with certaine other to the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, the PERSIAN Lords asked him, if they came of their owne desire, or whether they were sent from the whole state: If we obtaine, said he, it is from the state: if we be denied, then we come of our selues. And *Argileonida* the mother of *Brasidas*, asked some that went to visit her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their iourney to AMPHIPOLIS, if her sonne died like a man, & a worthy SPARTAN: and they straight did commend him highly, saying: there was not left in all LACEDÆMON such a valiant man. She replied vnto them. Say not so, my friends, I pray you: for *Brasidas* was indeed a valiant man, but the countrey of LACONIA hath many moe yet valienter then he was. Now touching their Senate, *Lycurgus* was the first that erected it among them. The first that were thereof, were *Lycurgus* chiefe aiders and assisters of that erection, as we haue declared before: but afterwardes he ordained, that when any of those first should happen to die, they should chuse in his place the most honest reported man in the citie, so he were three score yeares old and aboue. This was the noblest glorie that could be among men, when a man bare the bell & prise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongst the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for libertie to speake, soueraigne authoritie to gouerne, and princely power ouer the commonweale, the honor, the life, and the goods of the whole citizens: howbeit the election was made after this sort. The people first assembled in the market place, where there were some appointed & shut vp thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but only they might heare the noise which they made there. For the people by their crie and shout, did declare whom they did chuse, and whom they did refuse of the competitours, as they vsed to shew their liking by the like crie in other things. The competitours were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fel, passed through the midst of the assembly of the people, and said neuer a word. The people straight that liked, made a crie or shout aloud. The men appointed which were locked vp, had bookes or tables in which they wrote and noted the greatnes of the cry & shout the people made, as euery competitor passed by, not knowing nor seeing who he was. These hidden men did only set downe in their bookes, the first, the second, the third, and so many more, as by shouts and cries they perceiued did passe thus through the assembly. They noted also in their said bookes, which of these had the greatest crie & shout of people at their passing through: and him they came and declared to be Senator chosen. Then he wearing a garland of flowers on his head, went to all the temples of the gods in the citie to giue thankes, hauing a great traine of yong men following, and praising of his vertues. There went also with him a maruellous companie of women singing songs of his praise, and how blessed he was that he had liued so vertuously. Then euery one of his kinne prepared a banquet for him at home at their houses, and as he entred the house, they said vnto him; *The citie honoureth thee with this banquet*. That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinarie place of their eating, where he did in all things as he was accustomed, saiing he was serued now at his table with a double allowance, whereof he reserued the one. After supper, all his kinswomen stood in the entrie of the hall where they had eaten: so he called her whom he loued best, and gaue her his allowance he had saued, and sayd to her: This was giuen me in token I was this day rewarded for my vertue: and euen so I giue it thee for a like token of reward

The Lacedemonians liued not priuately to themselues in the common-weale.

Pædaretus saying.

The manner of chooſing the Senate in Sparta.

VVhat was done the Senator being chosen.

for thy vertue. Then was she brought home by all the women there to her house, euen in like sort as he was by the men. Touching burials, *Lycurgus* made a wise order: For first of all, to cut off all superstition of burying places, he commaunded they should bury their dead within the city, and that their graues should be round about their temples, that yong persons might haue them alwayes in their eyes, and not be affraid to see a dead body, as if to touch a coarse, or to passe by their graues, it should defile a man. Then did he forbid them to bury any thing with the coarse, & willed they should only lap it vp in a red cloth, with oliue leaues. It was not lawfull to graue the name of any dead body vpon his graue, but only of such a man as died in the warres, or of some holy woman professed into their temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very short. For it lasted not but eleuen daies, and on the twelfth day, they must do sacrifice to *Proserpina*, and so leaue off their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or vnworking in his citizens: for to all necessary things which men cannot lack, *Lycurgus* ioyned euer a certaine emulation of men; as to desire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furnished his city with many good precepts and examples, among which his citizens being still borne and bred vp, and hauing the same in euery place before their eyes where they went, they came to passe in time to be framed after the very patterne and mould of vertue it selfe. For this cause did he not suffer any to trauell out of the country, or to go abroad as he would, without special licence, for feare lest those which trauelled abroad for their pleasure, should bring home strange fashions and maners, and a corrupt disordered life, which by litle and litle might get way, and bring an alteration and change of the whole state. Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all strangers, except those which had necessary businesse there, or were come thither for some profit to the countrey: not that he was afraid they should learne something whereby to loue vertue, or that they should desire to follow his fashion and manner of gouernement, as *Thucydides* was: but rather fearing they should teach his citizens some naughty manners, or some ill fauoured vice. For it must needs be, that strangers bring euer strange and new deuises with them: which new deuises bring with them also new opinions: and new opinions beget new affections and minds, that many times are repugnant to the law, and to the forme of the common-weale established before, as discords do many times in an harmony of musicke, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he iudged it a thing most necessary, to keep his city free and safe from counterfaiting of any strangers manners or fashions, that were commonly as persons infected with some contagious sickenesse. Now in all we haue spoken before, euen to this place, there is no maner of token or shew of iniustice, or lacke of equitie, wherewith some seeme to burden *Lycurgus* in his lawes: by saying they were well made, to make men warlike and valiant, but not to be iust or righteous. But concerning the law they call *Cryptia*, as much to say, as their secret: if it were of *Lycurgus* institution, as *Aristotle* sayth, it might haue caried *Plato* into the like opinion that *Lycurgus* had of his common weale. This was the law: The gouernors which had the charge and ouersight of the yong men, at certaine appointed times, did chuse out those they thought to haue the best discretion, and sent them abroad into the country, some one way, some another way, who caried with them daggers, and some prouision to feed them. These yong men being thus dispersed abroade in the country, did hide themselues all the day close in secret places, and there they lay and tooke their rest: afterwards when night was come, they went to seek out the high wayes, & killed the first of the ILOTES that they met. Sometimes euen in the broad day, they went into the country to kill the strongest and stoutest of them: as *Thucydides* telleth in his history of the wars of PELOPONNESVS, where he saith: That a certaine conuenient number of the ILOTES were crowned, by a publike proclamation of the SPARTANS: and being infranchised, for their good seruices they had done the common weale, they were caried to all the temples of the gods for an honour. Within a while after, no man knew what was become of them, being about two thousand in number: so that neuer man heard tell neither then nor since, how they came to their deaths. Howbeit *Aristotle* aboue all others saith, that the *Ephores*, so soone as they were placed in their offices, made warre with the ILOTES, because they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardly. For they forced them sometimes to drinke wine without water out of measure, till they had made them starke drunke. Then they brought them all into their common hals where they did eate, to make their children to behold them, and to see what beastlinesse it was for a man to be drunke. Likewise they made them sing songs, and daunce daunces, vnfit for honest men, and such as were ful of derision and mockery, and did forbid them expresly to sing any honest

The manner of burials with the Lacedemonians.

The time of mourning.

None allowed to trauell into other countries without licece.

No straungers suffered to dwel in Sparta.

Cryptia with the Lacedemonians.

The cruelties of the Lacedemonians against the Ilotes.

honeſt ſongs. So it is reported, that in the iourny the THEBANS made to LACONIA, many of the ILOTES were taken priſoners thereat, and when they were commanded to ſing the verſes of *Terpander*, or of *Alcman*, or of *Spendon* the Laconian, they would not do it: ſaying, they durſt not ſing thē for their maiſters. Wherfore he that firſt ſaid in the country of LACEDÆMONIA, he that is free is more free, & he that is bond, is more bond then in other places: knew very well the diuerſitie betweene the libertie and bondage there, and the libertie and bondage of other countries. But in my opinion, the LACEDÆMONIANS began to vſe theſe great outrages and cruelties, long time after the death of *Lycurgus*, and ſpecially ſince the great earthquake that happened at SPARTA, at which time the ILOTES roſe againſt them with the MESSENIANS, and did great miſchiefe thorough the countrey, and put the citie to the greateſt diſtreſſe and daunger that euer it had. For I cannot be perſwaded, that euer *Lycurgus* inuented, or inſtituted, ſo wicked and miſchieuous an act, as that kind of ordinance was: becauſe I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemencie and iuſtice we ſee he vſed in all his other doings, and was witneſſed beſides by open oracle from the gods, for a iuſt and wiſe man. Furthermore, they ſay of him, that when he ſaw the chiefeſt points of his gouernement had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his common-weale went on, and was ſtrong inough to maintaine and keepe it ſelfe a foote, like as *Plato* ſaith, that God reioyced greatly after he had made the world, and ſaw the ſame turne and moue his firſt mouing: euen ſo *Lycurgus* taking ſingular pleaſure and delight in his mind, to ſee his notable lawes put in vre, and ſo well eſtabliſhed and liked of by experience, ſought yet to make them immortal, as neere as he could poſſible, by any forecaſt of man, that no after time whatſoeuer, might change or put them downe. To bring this to paſſe, he cauſed all the people to aſſemble, and told them he thought his ciuil pollicy and ſtate of common weale was already ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, for vertuous and happie life: yet there was one matter behind of greater importance then all the reſt, which he could not yet declare vnto them, vntill he had firſt asked counſell of the oracle of *Apollo*. And therefore in the meane time they ſhould keepe and obſerue his lawes and ordinances inuiolably, without changing, remouing, or ſtaying any matter therein, vntill he were returned from the citie of DELPHES, and then they ſhould do that other thing behind, if the god then ſo counſelled him. They all promiſed him to do it, and praied him to make haſt to go on his iourny. But before he departed, he made the kings and ſenators ſweare firſt, and conſequently al the people after, that they would keep his lawes and ordinances without changing or altering any thing, vntill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the citie of DELPHES, where ſo ſoone as he arriued, he ſacrificed in the temple to *Apollo*, and asked him: If the lawes he had made were good to make a man an happie life. *Apollo* made him anſwer, his lawes were very good, and that his city keeping them, ſhould be the moſt renowmed of the world. *Lycurgus* cauſed this oracle to be written, which he ſent to SPARTA. After he ſacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and then taking leaue of his friends, and of his ſonne, he determined to die, becauſe his citizens ſhould neuer be releaſed of the oath they had made betweene his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath ſtrength inough to liue longer: and yet was old inough alſo to die if he would. Wherefore finding himſelf happie to haue obtained his deſire, he willingly pined him ſelfe to death, by abſtinence and lacke of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great perſonages ſhould bring benefite euer to the common-weale, and that the end of their life ſhould be no more idle or vnprofitable, then the reſt of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their moſt meritorious acts, to haue their death extolled for worthineſſe. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection & crown of his felicity, after he had made & ordained ſo many good and notable lawes, for the honor and benefit of his country: and ſhould be as a ſeale of confirmation of his law, and the continuall preſeruitour of this citie, conſidering all his citizens had ſworne to keepe them all inuiolably, vntill he were returned. He was not deceiued of his hope, for his citie was the chiefeſt of the world, in glory and honour of gouernement, by the ſpace of fiue hundred yeares. For ſo long his citie kept his lawes without any change or alteration by any of the Kings ſucceſſours, vntill King *Agis*, the ſonne of *Archidamus* began to raigne. For the creation of the *Ephores*, did not breake, nor diſcontinue any of the lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced them rather to a more ſtraight and ſtrict order: although it ſeemed at the firſt that the *Ephores* were ordained, for the maintenance and defence of the liberty of the people, whereas indeed they did alſo ſtrengthen the authority of the Kings and Senate. Now in the raigne of King *Agis*, gold and ſiluer beganne firſt to creepe in againe to the citie of SPARTA, by meanes of

Diodorus lib. 2

Plato in Timæo.

Lycurgus wonderfull counſell in ſtabliſhing his lawes.

Lycurgus death.

Sparta flouriſhed fiue hundred yeares.

Lycurgus lawes were broken in King Agis time by Lyſanders meanes.

Money corrupteth Lycurgus lawes.

Lyſander. With money there came in ſtraight couetouſnes, and greedines to get and gather. And although *Lyſander* was not deſirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and couetouſneſſe into the country, and filled the ſame with all fineneſſe, by bringing in great ſtore of gold and ſiluer from the warres, directly againſt the laws and ordinances of *Lycurgus*. The which ſo long as they were in force and vſe, it appeared that the gouernement of SPARTA ſeemed not to be a pollicie or common weale, but rather a certain holy place and order of religion. And euen as the Poets faine, that *Hercules* went through the world with his club and Lions skinne, puniſhing cruell robbers, and vnnaturall tyrants: ſo in like caſe with a litle ſcrole of parchment, and a poore cape, did the SPARTANS commaund and giue lawes to all the reſt of GRECE, euen with their good liking and conſent. And they chaſed the tyrants away, which vſurped tyrannicall power ouer any of their cities, and did decide all controuerſies, and oftentimes pacified their ſeditions, without ſending out one ſouldier, but only a ſimple poore ambaſſadour. At whoſe commaundement, the people preſently aſſembled like the bees, which gather together about their king, ſo ſoone as they ſpie him: they did then ſo greatly reuerence the good gouernement and iuſtice of the SPARTANS. Therefore I can but wonder much at thoſe which ſay, the city of LACEDÆMON could obey well, but not commaund: and for proofe they alleage words of king *Theopompus*, who anſwered one which ſaid, that SPARTA was maintained, becauſe the kings could command well. Nay the rather (ſaid he) becauſe the citizens can obey well. For men commonly diſdaine to obey thoſe, which are not wiſe in commanding. So that the faithfull obediẽce of the ſubiects, dependeth much vpon the ſufficient cõmandement of the wiſe prince. For he that directeth well, muſt needs be well obeyed. For like as the art of a good rider, is to make his horſe gentle, and ready at commandement: euen ſo the chiefeſt point belonging to a Prince, is to teach his ſubiects to obey. Wherefore the LACEDÆMONIANS procured, that not onely other people did willingly obey them, but alſo deſired to be ruled and commaunded by them. For they asked them, neither ſhips nor money, nor yet did ſend them any number of men of warre to compell them, but only they ſent one citizen of SPARTA to gouerne them, to whom all the other people ſubmitted themſelues, and were holpen by him in their neceſſity, as fearing and reuerencing him. In this wiſe the SICILIANS were holpen by *Gyſippus*, the CHALCIDIANS by *Braſidas*, and all the GRECIANS inhabiting ASIA, by *Lyſander*, *Collicratidas*, and by *Ageſilaus*, who were called the reformers and directers of Princes, peoples and Kings, vnto whom they were ſent here and there: but euer they had their eye vpon the city of SPARTA, as vpon the moſt perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to gouerne a common weale after. To this effect tended the mery word ſpoken in ieſt by *Stratonicus*: who ſaid he did order the ATHENIANS to tend their ſacrifices, and the ELIANS to tend their games: and if they made any fault therein, the LACEDÆMONIANS ſhould be well whipped. That was merily ſpoken, and in a ieſting maner. But *Antiſthenes* (the philoſopher and one of *Socrates* ſchollers) ſeeing the THEBANS growne very hawty and glorious, after that they had conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS in the iourney of LEVCTRES: me thinketh ſaid he, theſe THEBANS here do like the ſchool-boyes, which bragge and reioyce, when they haue a little beaten their maſter. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to haue his city to command many. But he thought the felicitie of a citie, as of a priuate man, conſiſted chiefly in the exerciſe of vertue, and in the vnity of the inhabitants therof. He framed his common wealth to this end, that his citizens ſhould be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintaine and keepe themſelues long in ſafety. The ſelfe ſame intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in ſetting forth their bookes, which they wrote of the gouernement of common weales: and ſo had likewiſe many other great and learned men which haue written of the ſame matter. Howbeit they only left behind them, words, and written books: but *Lycurgus* contrariwiſe, left no written bookes nor pamphlets, but ſtabliſhed and left behind him a royall forme of gouernement, which no man euer before had inuented, nor neuer after could be followed. He hath made them plainly ſee a whole city liue together, and gouerne it ſelfe philoſophically, according to the true rules and precepts of perfect wiſedome: which imagined that true wiſedome was a thing hanging in the ayre, and could not viſibly be ſeene in the world. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glory all thoſe, which euer tooke vpon them to write or ſtabliſh the gouernement of a common weale. And therefore ſayth *Ariſtotle*, that after his death they did him leſſe honor in LACEDÆMONIA, then he had deſerued: albeit they did him all the honor they poſſibly could deuiſe. And yet they built a temple for him, and made ſolemne ſacrifice

See more in Lyſanders life.

Lyſander brought in riches againe into Sparta.

Theopompus words of obeying and commanding.

Good gouernement breedeth due obedience.

Antiſthenes, Socrates ſchollers words.

The foundation of a common weale.

sacrifice to him euery yeare, as vnto a god. More, they say, that when the ashes of his body were brought to SPARTA, there fell straight lightning vpon his tomb where they were put, which they had not often seene to happen to other men of name after their decease, sauing only to the Poet *Euripides*, who dying in MACEDONIA, was buried neare the citie of ARETHVSA. The which is some manifest argument, for such as loue the Poet, to lay against those which somwhat depraue him, seeing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well beloued man of the gods. Some say *Lycurgus* dyed in the citie of CYNETA. But *Apollothemis* saith, he died in ELIDA. *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* write, he ended his daies in CRETA. And *Aristoxenus* saith further, that those of the Ile of CRETA do shew his graue in the place which they cal *Pergamia*, by the broad high waies side. He left one only begotte son named *Antiorus*, who died without issue, so that his house and name failed with him. But his neare kinsmen and familiar friends, did set vp a company or brotherhood in memorie of him, which continued a long time: and the daies wherin they assembled, were called the *Lycurgides*. There is another *Aristocrates* (the son of *Hipparchus*) who saith, that he being dead in CRETA, his friends burned his body, and afterwards threw his ashes into the sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any part of him should at any time haue bene brought to SPARTA, the inhabitants would haue said he was returned againe, and thereby would haue thought themselues discharged of their oath, and might haue lawfully altered the lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and end of *Lycurgus* life.

Diuine honors to Lycurgus after his death.

Antiorus Lycurgus sonne.

The end of Lycurgus life.

THE LIFE OF *Numa Pompilius.*

THE Historiographers differ maruellously of the time, in which *Numa Pompilius* raigned king, albeit some will deriue frō him many noble houses descended in ROME. For one *Clodius*, who wrote the booke intituled, the table of time, affirmeth that the ancient registers of the city of ROME were lost when it was taken and sacked by the GAVLES: and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which haue thrust in ancient houses & families of the first ROMAINES, that concerne nothing them whom they meant to represent. On the other side, although the common opinion be, that *Numa* was a familiar friend and scholler of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, yet some say he was neuer learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greeke tongue. And yet maintaining that it is possible enough, that

In what time Numa was. Cicero de Or. 2. & Tusc. 4. Liu. Halic. li. 4

Whether Pythagoras had any conuersation with Numa.

Pythagoras the second, a Spartane borne, taught Numa at Rome.

he was so well borne, and had such perfection in all kind of vertue, that he neuer needed any master: and though he had needed, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this king vnto some other forreine person, that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Other say, that *Pythagoras* the Philosopher was long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and well nigh fiue ages after him. Howbeit other say, there was another *Pythagoras* borne in SPARTA (who hauing won the prize of running at the games Olympicall, in the sixteenth Olympiad, and the third yeare of *Numaes* raigne) did come into ITALIE, where he kept much about *Numa*, and did assist and helpe him in the gouerning and ordering of his Realme. By meanes whereof there be many customes yet of the LACONIANS, mingled with the ROMAINES, which this second *Pythagoras* was said to haue taught him. Neuertheles it is not confessed that *Numa* was borne of the SABYNES, which they say are descended from the LACEDÆMONIANS. So it falleth out very hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for such as will follow the roll or table of those, which from Olympiades to Olympiades haue won the prizes of games Olympicall: considering the rolle or table that they haue at this present, was very lately published by one *Hippias* an *Elian*, who deliuereth no reason or argument of necessitie, why it should be taken for an vndoubted troth, which he in that sort hath gathered. Yet we will not leaue to put in writing those things worthy of memory which we could gather by any meanes of king *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest. It was now since ROME was built, seuen and thirty yeres (for so long time raigned *Romulus*) when *Romulus* the fifth of the month of Iuly (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a solemne sacrifice without the citie, neare to a certain place commonly called, the goate marsh. As all the whole Senate, with the most part of the people were present at this sacrifice, suddenly there rose in the aire a very great tempest, and a maruellous darke thicke cloud, which fell on the earth with such boysterous winds, stormes, lightnings, and thunder, that the poore common people being afraid of so sore a tempest, dispersed themselues suddenly, running here and there for succour, and therewithall king *Romulus* vanished away in such sort, that he was neuer after seene aliue nor dead. This brought the Senators & Noble men whō they called *Patricians*, into great suspition. And there ran a foule tale among the common people, how they had long time borne very impatiently to be subiects to a King, becaus themselues would haue had and taken vpon them some soueraign authority, and that for this cause they had killed king *Romulus*. Adding somewhat more vnto it, how a litle before he had vsed them more roughly, and commanded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Neuertheles they found the meanes to quench all these brutes and murmurings, by doing diuine honor and sacrifice vnto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirme this, one of the noblest men among them called *Proclus* came in, and by oath, affirmed before all the people, that he saw *Romulus* ascending vp into heauen armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voice say: frō thence-foorth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeased, there sprang vp another trouble, to know whom they should choose in his place. For the strangers which were come then from other places to dwell in ROME, were not yet throughly ioyned to the naturall borne ROMAINES: in so-much, as the common people did not onely wauer, and stagger vp and downe in opinion, but the Senatours also (that were many, and of diuerse nations) did enter into a suspition one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessitie they must choose a king: howbeit in the rest they differed much, not onely whom they should choose, but also of what nation he should be. For those which were the first founders and builders of the citie of ROME with *Romulus*, could in no wise abide, nor suffer that the SABYNES (to whom they had diuided part of their lands, and a moitie of their citie) should attempt and presume to command them, whom they did receiue and associate into their company and fellowship. The SABYNES alledged on the other side for them, a good reason, and such as caried great probability. Which was, that neuer since the death of their king *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted king *Romulus*, but had suffered him to raigne peaceably: and therefore *Romulus* being now deceased, reason would that the new King should be chosen of their nation. And that albeit the ROMAINES had receiued them into their citie, they could not say therfore, that in time of this association, they were lesse to be reckened of in any thing, then themselues. Further they added, that in ioyning with them, the ROMAINES had doubly increased their might and power, and had made a bodie of a people, which deserued the honour and title of a citie. These were the causes of their contention. But to preuent that of this contention there might grow no confusiō

The death of Romulus.

In the life of Romulus he is named Proculus.

Dissention at Rome about choosing of their King.

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in the citie, if it ſhould remaine without an head to command: the Senators which were a hundred and fiftie in number, gaue counſell that euery one of them by turnes, one after another, ſhould carrie the royall ſtate of the king, and all the ſhewes and ornaments of his maieſtie, and ſhould do the ordinarie ſacrifices of the king, and diſpatch all cauſes ſixe houres in the day, and ſix hours in the night, as the king before had vſed. Thus they thought it beſt to deuide the rule, that one might haue aſmuch power as the other, aſwell in reſpect of themſelues, as alſo for regard of the people. For they imagined, that the changing and remouing thus of this regall dignitie, and paſſing it from man to man, would cleane take away enuie among them, and make euery of them to rule temperately, and vprightly ſee, that in one and the ſelfe ſame day and night, euery of them ſhould be a King and priuate perſon alſo. The ROMAINES call this manner of regiment in vacation, *Interregnum*: as you would ſay, rule for the time. Now albeit their gouernment was very modeſt and ciuill, yet they could not for all that keepe themſelues from falling into the ſuſpition and ſlaunder of the people: who gaue it out ſtraight, that this was a fine deuice of theirs, to chaunge by this meanes the rule of the Realme into a few noble mens hands, to the end that the whole authority and gouernment of all publike cauſes, ſhould remaine ſtill in themſelues, becauſe it gricued them to be ſubiect to a King. And in the end, the two parts of the city came to this agreement: that the one part ſhould chooſe one of the bodie of the other, to be the King. This courſe they liked very well, aſwell for the pacification of preſent ſtirre and diſſention amongeſt themſelues, as for procuring equalitie of affection, and ſtirring vp a likeneſſe of good will in the King that thus indifferently ſhould be choſen: whereby he ſhould loue the one part for that they had choſen him, and likewiſe the other part for that he was of their Nation. The SABYNES were the firſt, which referred the election to the ROMAINES choyce: and the ROMAINES thought it better to chooſe one of the Nation of the SABYNES, then to haue a ROMAINE choſen by the SABYNES. After they had conſulted, they determined amongſt themſelues: and did chooſe *Numa Pompilius* one of the bodie of the SABYNES to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at ROME, howbeit he was a man ſo famous for his vertue, that the SABYNES ſo ſoone as they named him, did receiue him more willingly, then they who had choſen him. After they had thus publiſhed their election, the firſt and chiefeſt perſons of the one and the other ſide, were choſen out to go vnto him. Now *Numa Pompilius* was borne in one of the chiefeſt and beſt cities which the SABYNES had, called *Cures*, whereupon the ROMAINES, and their fellowes the SABYNES were called afterwards *Quirites*, and he was the ſon of *Pomponius* a Noble man, the youngeſt of foure brethren: being by the ſecret working of the gods, borne on the very day, on the which ROME was firſt founded by *Romulus*, which was the one and twentieth day of April. This man being naturally giuen and inclined vnto all vertue, did yet increaſe the ſame by ſtudie, and all kind of good diſcipline: and by the exerciſe thereof, and of true patience, and right philoſophie, he did maruellouſly adorne himſelfe and his manners. For he did not onely cleare his ſoule and mind of all paſſions and vices commonly vſed in the world: but he conquered in himſelfe all heats, violence and couetouſneſſe. And would neither ſeeke nor vſurpe that which was another mans; a thing at that time honoured among the moſt barbarous people: but thought that to be the true and right victorie in man, firſt to conquer and command himſelfe by iudgement and reaſon, and then to ſubdue all couetouſnes and greedineſſe. Hauing therfore this opinion, he would in no wiſe haue in his houſe any ſuperfluity or fineneſſe. He became to euery man that would employ him (aſwell ſtranger as his own country man) a wiſe counſeller, and an vpright iudge. He beſtowed his leiſure, not to follow his own delight, or to gather goods together: but to ſerue the gods, and to behold their celeſtiall nature & power, as much as mans reaſon and vnderſtanding could comprehend. Therby he got ſo great a name and reputation, that *Tatius* (which was king of ROME with *Romulus*) hauing but one only daughter called *Tatia*, made him his ſon in law. Howbeit this mariage put him in no ſuch iolity, that he would dwell at ROME with his father in law, but rather kept at home at his owne houſe in the country of the SABYNES, there to ſerue and cheriſh his old father with his wife *Tatia*: who for her part alſo liked better, to liue quietly with her husband being a priuate man, then to go to ROME where ſhe might haue liued in much honor and glory, by meanes of the King her father. She dyed as it is reported, 13. yeares after ſhe was maried. After her death, *Numa* leauing to dwell in the citie, was better contented to liue in the country alone, & ſolitarie, & gaue himſelf to walke much in the fields & woods conſecrated to the gods, as one deſirous to lead alone life, far frō the

Liuie ſaith but a hundred. Dionyſius 200. Plutar. in the life of Romulus agreeth with Dionyſius.

Interregnum.

Numa choſen King.

Numa borne in the city of Cures.

Quirites why ſo called.

The life and manners of Numa before his raigne.

Tatia the wife of Numa.

company of men. Whereupon was raiſed (in my opinion) that which is ſpoken of him, and of the goddeſſe *Egeria*. That it was not for any ſtrangeneſſe, or melancholineſſe of nature, that *Numa* withdrew himſelfe from the conuerſation and company of men, but becauſe he had found another more honourable and holy ſocietie of the *Nymph*, and goddeſſe *Egeria*, who had done him, as they ſay, that honour, as to make him her husband: with whom as his beloued darling it is ſaid he enioyed happie daies, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inſpired with the loue and knowledge of all celeſtiall things. Surely, theſe deuiſes are much like vnto certaine old fables of the *Phrygians*, which they hauing learned from the father to the ſonne, do loue to tell of one *Atis*: of the *Bithynians*, of one *Herodotus*: of the ARCADIANS, of one *Endymion*: & of many other ſuch like men, who in their liues were taken for ſaints, and beloued of the gods.

Numa conuerſant vvith the goddeſſe Egeria

Gods familiar vvith men.

Notwithſtanding, it is likely, that the gods loue neither birds, nor horſe, but men, and haue ſometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and do not diſdaine ſometime the conuerſation of ſuch as be holy, religious and deuout. But to beleeue the gods haue carnall knowledge, and do delight in the outward beautie of creatures, that ſeemeth to carie a very hard beleefe. Yet the wiſe ÆGYPTIANS thinke it probable enough and likely, that the ſpirit of the goddes hath giuen originall of generation to women, and do beget fruite of their bodies: howbeit they hold that a man can haue no corporall companie with any diuine nature. Wherein they do not conſider, that euery thing that ioyneth together, doth deliuer againe a like ſubſtance, to that wherewith it was ioyned. This notwithſtanding, it is meete we ſhould beleeue the gods beare good will to men, and that of it doth ſpring their loue, whereby men ſay the gods loue thoſe whoſe manners they purifie and inſpire with vertue. And they do not offend, which faine that *Phorbas*, *Hyacinthus* and *Admetus*, were ſometimes the louers of *Apollo*, and alſo *Hyppolitus* the SICYONIAN: of whom they report, that euer when he paſſed ouer the arme of the ſea which lieth betweene the cities of SICYONA, and of CIRRHA, the god which knew he came, reioyced, and cauſed *Pythia* the Propheteſſe to pronounce theſe heroycall verſes:

I know full well, my deare Hippolytus
returnes by ſea, my mind diuineth thus.

VVho are beloued of the gods.

It is ſaid alſo that *Pan* was in loue with *Pindarus* and his verſes, and that the gods honoured the Poets *Heſiodus*, and *Archilocus*, after their death by the Muſes. They ſay moreouer, that *AEſculapius* lay with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this day they do yet ſhew many tokens thereof: and after his death, another god (as it is reported) made him to be honourably buried. Now if they graunt, that ſuch things may be true: how can we refuſe to beleeue, that ſome gods haue bene familiar with *Zaleucus*, *Minos*, *Zoroaſtres*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and ſuch other like perſonages, which haue gouerned Kingdomes, and ſtabliſhed Common weales? And it is not vnlike that the gods indeed did company with them, to inſpire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw neare vnto theſe Poets and players of the harpe, that made and played many dolefull and ioyfull ditties, at the leaſt for their ſport and pleaſure onely, if euer they came neare them. Neuertheles if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large as *Bacchylides* ſaid, to thinke and ſay as he luſt. For my ſelfe I do find, that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other ſuch perſons, not to be without likelihood and probability: who hauing to gouern rude, churliſh, and ſtiffe necked people, and purpoſing to bring in ſtrange nouelties into the gouernments of their countries, did faine wiſely to haue conference with the gods, conſidering this faining fell to be profitable & beneficiall to thoſe themſelues, whom they made to beleeue the ſame. But to return to our hiſtory. *Numa* was forty yeres old, when the ambaſſadors of ROME were ſent to preſent the kingdome vnto him, and to intreat him to accept thereof. *Proclus* & *Veleſus*, were the ambaſſadors that were ſent. One of the which the people looked ſhould haue bene choſen for King, becauſe thoſe of *Romulus* ſide, did fauor much *Proclus*: & thoſe of *Tatius* part fauoured *Veleſus*. Now they vſed no long ſpeech vnto him, becauſe they thought he would haue bene glad of ſuch a great good fortune. But contrarily it was indeed a very hard thing, & required great perſwaſions, & much intreaty, to moue a man which had alwaies liued quietly, and at eaſe, to accept the regiment of a city, which as a man would ſay, had bin raiſed vp and grown by wars and martiall deeds. Wherfore he aunſwered them in the preſence of his father, and one other of his kinſemen called *Martius* in this ſort: Change and alteration of mans life is euer dangerous: but for him that lacketh nothing neceſſary, nor hath cauſe to complain of his preſent ſtate, it is a great folly to leaue his old acquainted trade of life, and to enter into another new and vnknowne, if there

Proclus and Veleſus ambaſſadors to offer Numa the kingdome.

The oration of Numa to the ambaſſadours, refuſing to be King.

there were no other but this only respect: that he leaueth a certaintie, to venter vpon vncertainty. Howbeit there is further matter in this, that the dangers & perils of this kingdom which they offer me, are not altogether vncertaine, if we will looke backe what happened vnto *Romulus*: who was not vnsuspected to haue laid wait, to haue had *Tatius* his fellow and companion murdered: and now after *Romulus* death, the Senatours selues are mistrusted to haue killed him on the other side by treason. And yet they say it, and sing it euery where: that *Romulus* was the son of a God, that at his birth he was miraculously preserued, and afterwards he was as incredibly brought vp. Whereas for my owne part, I do confesse, I was begotten by a mortall man, and was fostered, brought vp, and taught by men as you know: and these few qualities which they praise & commend in me, are conditions farre vnmeet for a man that is to raigne. I euer loued a solitarie life, quiet and study, and did exempt my selfe from worldly causes. All my life time I haue sought & loued peace aboue all things, and neuer had to do with any warres. My conuersation hath bene to company with men, which meet only to serue and honor the gods, or to laugh and be merie one with another, or else to spend their time in their priuate affaires, or otherwise somtime to attend their pastures, and feeding of their cattell. Whereas *Romulus* (my Romaine lords) hath left you many wars begun, which peraduenture you could be contented to spare: yet now to maintaine the same, your citie had need of a martiall King, actiue, and strong of body. Your people moreouer, through long custome, and the great increase they are giuen vnto by feates of armes, desire nought else perhaps but warres: and it is plainely seene, they seeke still to grow, and commaund their neighbours. So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a meere mockerie for me, to go to teach a city at this present to serue the goddes, to loue iustice, to hate wars, and to fly violence: when it rather hath need of a conquering captaine, then of a peaceable king. These and such other like reasons & perswasions *Numa* alledged, to discharge himself of the kingdome which they offered him. Howbeit, the ambassadors of the Romaines most humbly besought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he wold not be the cause of another new stir, and commotion among them, seeing both parts in the city haue giuen their consent & liking to him alone, and none other to be their king. Moreouer, when the ambassadors had left him vpon this sute, his father, and *Martius* his kinseman, began also priuately to perswade him, that he should not refuse so good and godly an offer. And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer then he was, nor coueted no princely honour nor glory, because he sought onely most famous vertue: yet he must needs thinke, that to rule well, was to do the gods good seruice, whose will it was to employ the iustice they knew in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therfore (quoth they) this royall dignity, which to a graue and wise man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable works and fruits. There you may do noble seruice to the gods, to humble the hearts of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious: for they readily turne, and easily conforme themselues vnto the nature of their prince. They dearely loued *Tatius*, although he was a stranger: they haue consecrated a memorie to *Romulus* with diuine honours, which they make vnto him at this day. And it may be, that the people seeing themselues conquerors, will be full enough of wars: and the Romaines being now full of spoiles and triumphes, will be glad to haue a gentle prince, and one that loueth iustice, that they may thencefoorth liue in peace vnder good and holy lawes. And yet if it be otherwise, that their hearts be still full of heate and furie to fight: is it not better to turne this their desire to make warres some other way, when a man hath the bridle in his owne hands to do it, and to be a mean in the meane time to ioyne the countrey, and all the nations of the Sabynes in perpetuall loue and amitie, with so mightie and flourishing a citie? Besides all these perswasions and reasons, there were many signes also (as they say) which promised him good lucke, together with the earnest affection and liking of his owne countrey citizens. Who, so soone as they vnderstood the comming and commission of the ambassadours of Rome, they importunately desired him to go thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdome: that he might more straightly vnite and incorporate them together with the Romaines. Whereupon, *Numa* accepted the Kingdome. Then after he had done sacrifice to the goddes, he set forwards on his iourney towards Rome: where the people and Senate went out to meete him, with a wonderfull desire to see him. The women at his entrie, went blessing of him, and singing of his praises. They did sacrifice for him, in all the temples of the goddes. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as ioyfull and glad, as if a new Realme, and not a new King, had bene come to the citie of Rome.

Numa beginneth his kingdome vvith the seruice of the goddes.

Thus was he brought with this open ioy and reioycing, vnto the market place, where one of the Senatours, which at that time was regent, called *Spurius Vettius*, made them prouounce his open election: and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voyces of the people. Then were brought vnto him the tokens of honour and dignity of the King. But he himselfe commanded they should be staid awhile, saying: He must first be confirmed King by the gods. Then he tooke the wise men and priests, with whom he went vp into the Capitoll, which at that time was yet called mount *Tarpeian*. And there, the chiefest of the southsayers called *Augures*, turned him towards the south, hauing his face couered with a veile, and stood behind him, laying his right hand vpon his head, and praying to the gods that it would please them to declare their willes by flying of birds, or some other token concerning this election: and so the southsayer cast his eyes all about, as farre as he could possibly discerne. During all this time there was a maruellous silence in the market place, although then an infinit number of people were assembled there together, attending with great deuotion what the issue of this diuination would be: vntill there appeared vnto them on the right hand, good and luckie birds, which did confirme the election. Then *Numa* putting on his regall robes, came downe from mount *Tarpeian*, into the market place, where all the people receiued him with wonderfull shoutes of ioy, as a man the most holy and best beloued of the gods that they could haue chosen. So hauing taken the royall seat of the Kingdome, his first act was this. That he discharged the guard of the three hundred souldiers, which *Romulus* had alwaies about his person, called *Celeres*, saying: he would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King ouer people, which should mistrust him. His second act was, that he did adde to the two priests of *Iupiter* and *Mars*, a third in the honour of *Romulus*, who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the auncient ROMAINES also, called their priests, instituted in the old time, *Flamines*, by reason of certaine litle narrow hats which they did weare on their heads, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greeke signifieth a hat. And at that time (as they say) there were many mo Greeke words mingled with the Latine, then there are at this day. For they called the mantles the Kings did weare *Lænas*. And *Iuba* saith, that it is the very same which the GRECIANS call *Chlænas*, and that the young boy which was a seruant in the temple of *Iupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as some of the GRECIANS do yet call the god *Mercurie*, because he is seruant of the gods. Now *Numa* hauing done these things at his first entrie into his Kingdome, still to winne further fauour and good will of the people, began immediatly to frame his citizens to a certaine ciuility, being as iron wrought to softnesse, and brought them frō their violent and warlike desires, to temperate and ciuill manners. For out of doubt, ROME was properly that, which *Plato* ascribeth to a citie full of trouble and pride. For, first it was founded by the most couragious and warlike men of the world, which from all parts were gathered there together, in a most desperat boldnes, and afterwards it increased, and grew strong, by armes & continuall wars, like as piles driuen into the ground, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and sticke the faster. Wherfore *Numa* iudging it no small nor light enterprise, to pluck down the haughty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them vnto a sober & quiet life, did seeme to work it by meanes of the gods, with drawing them on therto by litle and litle, and pacifying of their hote and fierce courages to fight, with sacrifices, feasts, dancings, and cōmon processions, wherin he celebrated euer himself. In the which together with their deuotiō, there was mingled now and then pastime & pleasure: and sometimes he laid the feare & feare of the gods before their eyes, making thē beleeue that he had seene strange visions, or that he had heard voyces, by which the gods did threaten them with some great troubles & plagues, alwaies to pull downe and humble their hearts, vnto the feare of the gods. This was the cause why they thought afterwards that he had learned his wisedome of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher: because the greatest part of the philosophy of the one, & of the gouernment of the other, consisted in such ceremonies and diuine studies. They report also that *Numa* did put on the outward shew and semblance of *Pythagoras* holinesse, as following his intension and example. For *Pythagoras* as they say, made an Eagle so tame and gentle, that she wold stoupe, and come downe to him by certaine voices, as she flew in the aire ouer his head. And that passing through the assembly of the games Olympical, he shewed her thigh of gold, and many other prety feats and deeds they tel of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Phliasian* hath written these verses of him:

Pythagoras which loued to dwell in dignity,
and had an heart to glory bent, and past in pollicy,

Numa vvas consecrated by the Augures.

The guard of Celeres discharged by Numa.

Flamen Quirinalis instituted of Numa.

Numa inducth ciuill and quiet life. Plato de Rep. lib. 2.

Numa and Pythagoras institutions much alike.

Much like a man which ſought, by charming to enchaunt,
did vſe this art, to winne mens minds, which vnto him did haunt:
His graue and pleaſant tongue, in ſugred ſpeech did flow,
whereby he drew moſt minds of men, to bent of his owne bow.

Euen ſo the fained fable of *Numa*, which he ſo cunningly diſguiſed, was about the loue of a goddeſſe, or ſome *Nymph* of the mountaine: with whom he ſeemed to haue certaine ſecret meetings and talke, whereof we haue ſpoken before. And it is ſaid, he much frequented the Muſes in the woods. For he would ſay, he had the moſt part of his reuelations of the Muſes, and he taught the ROMAINES to reuerence one of them aboue all the reſt, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would ſay, Lady ſilence. It ſeemeth he inuented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did ſo ſpecially commaund, and recommend ſilence vnto his ſchollers. Againe, if we conſider what *Numa* ordained concerning images, and the repreſentation of the gods, it is altogether agreeable vnto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that God was neither ſenſible nor mortall, but inuiſible, incorruptible, and only intelligible. And *Numa* did forbid the ROMAINES alſo to beleeue, that God had euer forme or likeneſſe of beaſt or man. So that in thoſe former times, there was in ROME no image of God, either painted or grauen: and it was from the beginning a hundred three ſcore and ten yeares, that they had built temples and chappels vnto the gods in ROME, and yet there was neither picture nor image of God within them. For they tooke it at the firſt for a ſacriledge, to preſent heauenly things by earthly formes, ſeeing we cannot poſſibly any way attaine to the knowledge of God, but in mind and vnderſtanding. The very ſacrifices which *Numa* ordained, were altogether agreeable, and like vnto the maner of ſeruing of the gods, which the *Pythagorians* vſed. For in their ſacrifices they ſpilt not the bloud, but they did theirs commonly, with a litle meale, a litle ſhedding of wine and milke, and with ſuch other light things. Such as affirme that thoſe two men did much companie and were familiar together, do lay further proofes and arguments for the ſame. The firſt is this: that the ROMAINES did make *Pythagoras* a free man of the city of ROME, as *Epicharmus* the Comicall poet an ancient writer (and ſometimes one of *Pythagoras* ſchollers) ſaith in a booke he wrote and dedicated vnto *Antenor*. The other proofe is: that *Numa* hauing had foure children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* ſonnes name, from whom they ſay is deſcended, the houſe of the *AEmilians*, which is the nobleſt of the *Patricians*: for the king gaue him the ſurname of *AEmilius*, becauſe of his ſweet tongue and pleaſant voice. Furthermore, I my ſelfe haue heard ſay many times in ROME, that the ROMAINES hauing receiued an oracle, which commaunded them to ſet vp images in their city, to the wiſeſt and valianteſt man that euer was among the GRECIANS: cauſed two ſtatues of braſſe to be ſet vp in their market place, the one of *Pythagoras*, and the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to ſtriue about this matter any further, ſeeing there are ſo many doubts: me thinketh it were but vaine. Moreouer, they attribute to *Numa*, the firſt erection of the colledge pontificall: and ſay, he him ſelfe was the firſt *Pontifex* that euer was. But touching the name of *Pontifex*, ſome will ſay they were ſo called, becauſe they chiefly were ordained and appointed for the ſeruice of the Almightie: for this word *Potens* in the ROMAINE tongue, betokeneth mightie. Other thinke this name was giuen to them by their founders, as to exempt perſons out of the world: who enioyned them to do all the ſeruice and ſacrifices to the gods they could poſſibly, and yet notwithſtanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not ſtraight condemned for omitting the ſame. Howbeit the moſt part do bring out another deriuation of this name, wherein me thinkes there is little reaſon. As that they ſhould be called *Pontifices*, becauſe they had the charge and maintenance of the bridge. For that which the GRECIANS call *Gephyran*, the LATINES call *Pontem*: that is, a bridge. And to ſay truly, the charges of repairing the bridge, belongeth to the Biſhops: as well as the keeping of the moſt holy and vnchaungeable ceremonies. For the ROMAINES thought it not onely a thing vnlawfull, but tooke it for a moſt damnable and wicked act, to deſtroy or breake the bridge of wood, which was onely ioyned together (as they ſay) with pinnes of wood, and without anie yron at all, by the commaundement of an old oracle. But the ſtone bridge was built long time after the raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the raigne of his nephew *Martius*. Nowe the firſt and chiefeſt of theſe biſhoppes, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, authoritie, and dignitie of the high prieſt and maiſter, of their pontificall law: who ſhould be carefull, not onely about all publicke ſacrifices and ceremonies, but alſo

Numa worſhipped Tacita one of the Muſes.

Pythagoras taught his ſchokers to keep ſilence.

Pythagoras opinion of God.

Numa forbade images of God.

Proofes for the conuerſation of Numa and Pythagoras.

Numa inſtituteth Biſhops.

Pontifices why ſo called.

The woodden bridge at Rome

The high biſhop.

about ſuch as were priuate, and to ſee that no man priuatly ſhould breake the auncient ceremonies, nor bring in any new thing into religion, but rather euery man ſhould be taught by him, how, and after what ſort he ſhould ſerue and honour the gods. He alſo hath the keeping of the holy virgines which they call *Veſtales*. For they do giue *Numa* the firſt foundation and conſecrating of them, and the inſtitution alſo of keeping the immortal fire with honour and reuerence, which theſe virgines haue the charge of. Either for that he thought it meete to commit the ſubſtance of fire (being pure and cleane) vnto the cuſtodie of cleane and vncorrupt maides: or elſe becauſe he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, & bringeth forth nothing) was fitteſt, and moſt proper vnto virgines. For in GREECE, where they kept continuall fire likewiſe (as in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, and at ATHENS) the maidens do not keepe the ſame, but old women which are paſt mariage. And if this fire chance to faile, as they ſay in ATHENS the holy lamp was put out in the time of the tyranny of *Ariſtion*: and in the city of DELPHES it was put out, when the temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the MEDES: and at ROME alſo, in the time of the warres that the ROMAINES had againſt king *Mithridates*: and in the time of the ciuill warres, when altar, fire, and all were burnt and conſumed together: they ſay that it muſt not be lighted againe with other common fire, but muſt be made a new, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the ſunne, and that they do in this maner. They haue a hollow veſſell made of a peece of a triangle, hauing a corner right, and two ſides alike: ſo that from all parts of his compaſſe and circumference, it falleth into one point. Then they ſet this veſſell right againſt the beames of the ſunne, ſo that the bright ſunne beames come to aſſemble and gather together in the center of this veſſell, where they do pierce the ayre ſo ſtrongly, that they ſet it a fire: and when they put to it any drie matter or ſubſtance, the fire taketh it ſtraight, becauſe the beame of the ſunne, by meanes of the reuerberation, putteth that drie matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thinke that theſe *Veſtall* virgines keepe no other thing, but this fire, which neuer goeth out. Other ſay, there are other holy things alſo, which no body may lawfully ſee but they: whereof we haue written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, at the leaſt ſo much as may be learned and told. The firſt maidens which were vowed & put into this order of religion by *Numa*, were (as they ſay) *Gegania* and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwards king *Seruius* increaſed the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth vnto this day. Their rule and order ſet downe by king *Numa* was this: that they ſhould vow chaſtity for the ſpace of thirty yeares. In the firſt ten yeares they learne what they haue to do: the next ten yeares following, they do that which they haue learned: and the laſt ten yeres, they teach yong nouices. After they haue paſſed their thirty yeares, they may lawfully marry if they be diſpoſed, and take them to another maner of life, and leaue their religion. But as it is reported, there haue bene very few of them which haue taken this libertie, and fewer alſo which haue ioyed after they were profeſſed, but rather haue repented themſelues, and liued euer after a very grieuous and ſorrowfull life. This did ſo fray the other *Veſtals*, that they were better contented with their vowed chaſtitie: and ſo remained virgines, vntill they were old, or els died. He gaue them alſo great priuiledges, and prerogatiues. As, to make their will and teſtament, in their fathers life time. To do all things without any gardian or ouerſeer, as women which haue three children at a birth. When they go abroad, they carry maces before them to honour them. And if by chance they meete any offendour in their way, going to execution, they ſaue his life: howbeit the profeſſed *Veſtall* muſt affirme by oath, that ſhe met him vnwares, and not of ſet purpoſe. If any man preſume vnder their chaire, whereupon they are caried through the city, he ſhall die for it. Alſo when they themſelues do any fault, they are corrected by the great Biſhop, who ſometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and quality of their offence) in a darke place, and vnder a curten. But ſhe that hath defloured her virginitie, is buried quick by one of the gates of the city, which they call *Collina* gate: where within the city there is a mount of earth of a good length, & with the LATINES is ſaid to be raiſed. Vnder this forced mount, they make a litle hollow vawt, and leaue a hole open, whereby one may go downe: and within it there is ſet a litle bed, a burning lampe, and ſome victuals to ſuſtaine life withall. As a litle bread, a litle water, a litle milke, and a litle oyle, and that for honors ſake: to the end they would not be thought to famiſh a bodie to death, which had bene conſecrated by the moſt holy and deuout ceremonies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a litter, which they couer ſtrongly, and cloſe it vp with thicke leather, in ſuch ſort, that no bodie can ſo much as heare her voice, and ſo they carie her thus ſhut vp through the market place.

The inſtitution of the Veſtall Nunnes

The holy and immortall fire.

How the holy fire is drawne from the pure flame of the ſunne.

See the life of Camillus touching the Veſtall Nunnes.

The order appointed the Veſtals by Numa.

The Veſtals prerogatiues.

The puniſhment of the Veſtall Nunnes.

Euery

Euery one draweth back, when they ſee this litter a farre off, and do giue it place to paſſe by: and then follow it mourningly with heauy lookes, and ſpeake neuer a word. They do nothing in the city more fearefull to behold, then this: neither is there any day wherein the people are more ſorrowfull, then on ſuch a day. Then after ſhe is come to the place of this vawt, the ſergeants ſtraight vnloſe theſe faſt bound couerings: and the chiefe Biſhop after he hath made certaine ſecret praiers vnto the gods, and lift his hands vp to heauen, taketh out of the litter, the condemned *Veſtall* muffled vp cloſe, and ſo putteth her vpon the ladder, which conueyeth her downe into the vawt. That done, he withdraweth, and all the prieſts with him: and when the ſilly offendour is gone downe, they ſtraight pluck vp the ladder, and caſt abundance of earth in at the open hole, ſo that they fil it vp to the very top of the arch. And this is the puniſhment of the *Veſtals* which defile their virginitie. They thinke alſo it was *Numa* that built the round temple of the goddeſſe *Veſta*, in which is kept the euerlaſting fire: meaning to repreſent not the forme of the earth, which they ſay is *Veſta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the middeſt whereof (according to the *Pythagorians* opinion) remaineth the proper ſeate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Veſta*, and name it the Vnity. For they are of opinion, neither that the earth is vnmooueable, nor yet that it is ſet in the middeſt of the world, neither that the heauen goeth about it: but ſay to the contrarie, that the earth hanged in the aire about the fire, as about the center therof. Neither will they graunt, that the earth is one of the firſt and chiefeſt parts of the world: as *Plato* held opinion in that age, that the earth was in another place then in the very middeſt, and that the center of the world, as the moſt honourableſt place, did appertaine to ſome other of more worthy ſubſtance than the earth. Furthermore, the biſhops office was to ſhew thoſe that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and cuſtomes of buriall: whom *Numa* taught not to beleeue that there was any corruption or diſhoneſty in burials, but rather it was to worſhip and honour the gods of the earth, with vſuall and honourable ceremonies, as thoſe which after their death receiue the chiefeſt ſeruice of vs they can. But aboue all other in burials, they did ſpecially honour the goddeſſe called *Libitina*, that is ſaid, the chiefe gouernour and preſeruer of the rites of the dead: or be it *Proſerpina*, or *Venus*, as the moſt learned men among the ROMAINES do iudge, who not without cauſe do attribute the order of the beginning and end of mans life, to one ſelfe god, and power diuine. *Numa* ordained alſo, how long time euery body ſhould mourne in black. And for a child from three yeares to ten yeares of age, that died: he ordained they ſhould mourne no more moneths then it had liued yeares, and not to adde a day more. For he commaunded, that the longeſt time of mourning ſhould be but ten moneths onely, and ſo long time at the leaſt he willed the women ſhould remaine widowes, after the deceaſe of their husbands: or elſe ſhe that would mary within that time was bound by his order to ſacrifice a whole bullocke. *Numa* alſo erected many other orders of prieſts: of two ſorts whereof I will onely make mention. The one ſhall be the order of the SALII, and the other of the FECIALES: for me thinkes, both the one and the other doth manifeſtly ſhew the great holineſſe, and ſingular deuotion which he had in him. The FECIALES are properly thoſe, which the GRECIANS call IRENOPHYLACES, as who would ſay, peacekeepers. And in my iudgement, they had their right name according to their office, becauſe they did pacifie quarrels with reaſon by way of order, and did not ſuffer (as much as in them lay) that any matter ſhould be tried by violence, vntil they were paſt al hope of any peace. For the GRECIANS call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controuerſie with reaſon, & not with ſword. Euē ſo thoſe which the ROMAINES called the *Feciales*, went many times in perſon to thoſe that did the ROMAINES iniury, & ſought to perſwade them with good reaſon, to keepe promiſe with the ROMAINES, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeeld to reaſon, whom they ſought to perſwade: then they called the gods to the witneſſe thereof, and prayed them, that if they did not moſt earneſtly incenſe the ROMAIMES, to purſue that moſt iuſtly appertained vnto their right, that all euils and miſchiefes of the warres might fall vpon themſelues, and on their countrey. This done, they did threaten open warres againſt ſuch enemies. And if the FECIALES would not conſent to open warres, and did happen to ſpeake againſt them: it was not lawfull in that caſe, neither for priuate perſon, nor for the King himſelfe to make any warres. But like a iuſt Prince, he muſt haue leaue by their ſufferance to make the warres. Then did he conſider, and conſult, by what meanes he might beſt procure and proſecute the ſame. Concerning this matter, they iudge that the il hap which came to the ROMANES, when the citie of ROME was taken and ſacked by the GAVLES, chaunced iuſtly for breaking

The temple of Veſta repreſenteth the figure of the world.

Where the fire abideth.

The manner of buriall.

Libitina honored at funerals.

The time of mourning.

Salij, Feciales. Plut. Probl. 61. Gell. lib. 16. c. 4.

Feciales called Irenophylaces.

Irenen: a quarrell pacified with reaſon, without the ſword.

of this holy inſtitution. For at that time the barbarous people beſieged the citie of the CLVSINIANS: and *Fabius Ambuſtus* was ſent ambaſſadour vnto them, to ſee if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gaue him an ill anſwer: whereupon *Fabius* thinking his embaſie had bene ended, and being ſomewhat hote, and raſh in defence of the CLVSINIANS, gaue defiance to the valianteſt GAVLE there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune fauoured him in this chalenge: for he ſlue the GAVLE, and ſtripped him in the field. The GAVLES ſeeing their man ſlaine, ſent immediatly an herauld to ROME, to accuſe *Fabius*, how againſt all right and reaſon he began warres with them, without any open proclamation made before. The FECIALES being then conſulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be deliuered into the hands of the GAVLES, as one that had broken the law of armes, and had deſerued it: but he made friends to the people which fauoured him very much, and by their meanes eſcaped his deliuery and puniſhment. Neuertheleſſe, the GAVLES within ſhort time after, came before ROME with all their power: wich they tooke, ſacked, and burnt euery whit, ſauing the Capitoll, as we haue written more amply in the life of *Camillus*. Now concerning the Prieſts that were called *Salij*, they ſay he did inſtitute them vpon this occaſion. In the eight yeare of his raigne, there came a peſtilent diſeaſe through all ITALIE, and at the length it crept alſo into ROME. Whereat euery man being greatly affraid and diſcouraged, they ſay there fell from heauen a target of copper, which lighted betweene the hands of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King himſelfe affirmed he heard, of the *Nymph Egeria*, and the *Muſes*. To wit, that this target was ſent from heauen, for the health and preſeruation of the citie: and therefore he ſhould keepe it carefully, and cauſe eleuen other to be caſt and made, all like vnto the ſame in faſhion and greatneſſe, to the end, that if any would enterpriſe to ſteale it, he ſhould not tell which of them to take for the right target. Moreouer he ſaid, he was commaunded to conſecrate the place to the *Muſes* (in the which he did oftentimes companie with them) and alſo the fields which were neare thereabouts: and likewiſe to giue the fountaine that ſprang in that place, vnto the *Veſtals* profeſſed, that euery day, they might draw water at that Well, to waſh the ſanctuarie of their temple. The ſucceſſe hereof proued his words true, for the ſicknes ceaſed incontinently. So he aſſembled al the chiefe crafts-men then in ROME, to proue which of them would take vpon him to make one like vnto that. Euery man deſpaired to performe it. Howbeit one called *Veturius Mamurius* (the excellenteſt workman that was in thoſe dayes) did make them all ſo ſute like, that *Numa* himſelfe did not know the firſt target, when they were all laid together. So he ordained theſe prieſts *Salij*, to haue the cuſtodie of theſe targets, to ſee them ſafe kept. They were called *Salij*, not after the name of *Salian* borne in SAMOTHRACIA, or in MANTINEA, as ſome haue vntruly alleaged, who firſt inuented the maner of dauncing all armed: but they were ſo called, of their faſhion and manner of dauncing and leaping. For in the moneth of March, they go skipping and leaping vp and downe the citie, with thoſe targets on their armes, apparelled in red caſſockes without ſleeues, and girded about with broade leather ſword girdles, ſtudded with copper, hauing helmets of copper on their heads, and ſtriking vpon their targets with ſhort daggers, which they cary in their hands. Moreouer, all their dauncing conſiſteth in mouing of their feete: for they handle them finely, making turnes aboue ground and beneath, with a ſodaine meaſure, and a maruellous force of agilitie. They call theſe targets *Ancylia*, becauſe of their faſhion, which is not altogether compaſſe: for they are not all round as other common targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many foldes, and one ſo neare another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the GRECIANS call *Ancylon*. Or elſe they are ſo called, becauſe *Ancon* ſignifieth an elbow, vpon which they cary them. Al theſe deriuations are written in the hiſtory of *Iuba*, who in any caſe wil haue this word *Ancylia* to be drawn out of the Greek tongue. And it may be alſo they were ſo called, becauſe the firſt came frō aboue, which the GRECIANS cal *Anecathen*: or els for healing the ſick, which is called *Aceſis*. Or els for ceaſing of the dryneſſe, which in Greek is called *Anchmôn Lyſis*. Or for the ending of all diſeaſes and euils, for which cauſe the ATHENIANS cal *Caſtor & Pollux*, *Anacas*: if they luſt to giue this word his deriuation from the Greeke tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurius* the goldſmith had for making of theſe targets was, that the *Salij* vnto this day do make mention of him in their ſong, which they ſing going through the citie, and dauncing of their daunce all armed. Howbeit ſome thinke they ſay not *Veturius Mamurius*, but *veterem memoriam*, ancient memory. But *Numa* after he had ordained and inſtituted theſe orders of prieſts, built his palace neare vnto the temple of *Veſta*, which holdeth his name *Regia* at this

Rome taken by the Gaules. See Camillus life.

The inſtitution of the Salij.

A target from heauen.

Whereof they were called Salij.

Ancylia, whereof ſo called.

Regia, the kings palace.

this day, to say, the Kings palace. In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to sacrifice to the gods, or to teach the Priests what they should do, or how with them he should best contemplate all heauenly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this day, *Quirinall*, the place wherof is yet to be seen. But in all these sacrifices, ceremonies, and processions of the Priests, there were alwayes hushers that went before, crying to the people, Keepe silence, and tend vpon diuine seruice. For they say the *Pythagoreans* thought it good, that men should not worship the gods, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it meete, that men should of purpose go out of their houses, to serue and pray vnto them. Euen so king *Numa* thought it not meete, that his subiects should come to see, & heare diuine seruice negligently, as it were for a fashion, & only to be rid of it, as heeding another thing: but he would haue them set aside all other businesse, and employ their thoughts and hearts onely vpon the principall seruice of religion, and deuotion towards the gods. So that during seruice time, he would not haue heard any noise, any knocking, bouncing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in al artificers shops of occupation, whereof at this day yet they see some signes and tokens remaining in their sacrifices at ROME. For al the time the *Augur* beholdeth the flying of the birds, or that he is doing any sacrifice, the Vergers crie alowd: *Hoc age*, which meaneth, tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wits home, & to think on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his orders like the precepts of the *Pythagoreans*. For as they did warne men, not to sit vpon a litle bushell, not to cut fire with a sword, not to looke behind them when they go abroade: to sacrifice to the celestiall gods in odde number, and to the gods of the earth in an euen number, of which precepts they would not haue the common people to haue any knowledge or vnderstanding. Euen so there are many institutions of *Numa*, the reasons whereof are hidden and kept secret: as not to offer wine to the gods of the vine neuer cut, and not to sacrifice vnto them without meale: & to turne a turne about when they do reuerence to the gods, and to sit downe after they haue worshipped them. And as touching the two first ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recommend clemency & humanity, as being a part of the deuotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willeth them to make that worship the gods, they say it presenteth the turning which the element maketh by his mouing. But me thinketh it should rather come of this: for that the temples being set to the East, he that worshippeth entring into the temple, sheweth his backe to the West, and for this cause turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth againe towards God: doing the whole turne, & ending the consummation of his praier, by this double adoratiõ which he maketh before & behind. Vnles peraduenture that he meant secretly to signifie, & giue them to vnderstand by this turning & changing of their look, that which the ÆGYPTIANS figured by their wheeles: in shewing thereby, that these worldly things were neuer constant and in one state; and therefore, that we should take it thankfully, and patiently beare it, in what sort soeuer it pleased God to change or alter our life. And where he cõmanded that they should sit after they had worshipped God: they said it was a token of a good hope vnto thẽ that prayed, that their praiers should be exalted, & that their goods should remaine safe, and stick by them. Other say, that this ease & sitting, is a separating them from doing: & therfore he would they should sit in the temples of the gods, to shew they had done that which they had in hãd before, to the end to take of the gods the beginning of another. And it may well be also, that it was referred to the thing we spake of a litle before: That *Numa* would accustome his people, not to serue the gods, nor to speak to thẽ at al, as they passed by, or did any other thing, or were in haste: but would haue them pray vnto the gods when they had time & leisure, & all other businesse at that time set a part. By this good instruction and training them vnto religion, the city of ROME by litle and litle came to be so tractable, & had the great power of King *Numa* in such admiration, that they took all to be as true as the Gospell that he spake, though it had no more likelihood of troth, thẽ tales deuised of pleasure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or vnpossible to him, if he wold haue it. And for proofe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he hauing bidden a great company of the citizens of ROME to come & sup with him, caused them to be serued with plaine grosse meate, & in very poore & homely vessel. And when they were set, & began to fall to their meate, he cast out words so dainly vnto them, how the goddesse with whom he accompanied, was come to see him euen at that instant, and that so dainly the hall was richly furnished, & the tables couered with all sorts of excellent fine & delicate meates. Howbeit this far passed all the vanity of lying, which is found written of him, about his speaking with *Iupiter*. The hill

The maner of the Romaines worshipping of the gods.

The Pythagoreans opinion touching praier

Hoc age, a watchword to tend diuine seruice.

The similitude of Numa and Pythagoras precepts.

By what means Numa made the Romaines quiet & gentle.

The wonders of Numa.

Numaes speaking with Iupiter.

Auentine was not at that time inhabited, nor incloſed within the wals of ROME, but was full of ſprings and ſhadowed groues, whither commonly repaired to ſolace themſelues, the two gods, *Picus* and *Faunus*, which otherwiſe might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titanians*: ſauing it is ſaid, that they went through all ITALY, doing the like miracles and wonders in phiſicke, charmes and art magicke, which they report of thoſe the GRECIANS call *Idæi Dactyles*. There they ſay that *Numa* tooke them both, hauing put into the ſpring both wine and honie, where they vſed to drinke. When they ſaw that they were taken, they transformed themſelues into diuers formes, diſguiſing and diſfiguring their naturall ſhape, into many terrible and fearefull ſights to behold. Neuertheleſſe in the end, perceiuing they were ſo faſt, as to eſcape there was no reckoning: they reuealed vnto him many things to come, and taught him the purifying againſt lightning and thunder, which they make yet at this day with onions, haire, and pilchers. Other ſay, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Iupiter* out of heauen, with their coniuring and magicke: whereat *Iupiter* being offended, anſwered in choller, that he ſhould make it with heads. But *Numa* added ſtraight, of onions: *Iupiter* replied, of men. Then *Numa* asked him againe, to take a little away the crueltie of the commaundement: What haires? *Iupiter* anſwered, quicke haires. And *Numa* put too pilchers alſo. And it is reported that this was the goddeſſe *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this ſubtiltie. This done, *Iupiter* returned appeaſed: by reaſon whereof the place was called *Ilicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue ſignifieth appeaſed, and fauourable: and this purifying was afterwards made in that ſort. Theſe tales not onely vaine, but full of mockerie alſo, do ſhew vs yet plainly the zeale and deuotion men had in thoſe times towards the gods: vnto which *Numa* through cuſtome had won them. And as for *Numa* himſelfe, they ſay that he ſo firmely put all his hope and confidence in the helpe of the gods: that one day when he was told his enemies were in armes againſt him, he did but laugh at it, and anſwered: And I do ſacrifice. It is he (as ſome ſay) that firſt built the temple to *Faith* and *Terme*: and which made the ROMANES vnderſtand, that the moſt holy and greateſt oath they could make, was to ſweare by their faith, which they keepe yet at this day. But *Terme*, which ſignifieth bounds, is the god of confines, or borders: vnto whom they do ſacrifice, both publikely and priuately, vpon the limits of inheritances, and now they ſacrifice vnto him liue beaſts. Howbeit in old time they did ſacrifice vnto him without any bloud, through the wiſe inſtitution of *Numa*: who declared and preached vnto them, that this god of bounds was ſincere, and vpright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witneſſe of iuſtice, and a keeper of peace. It was he, which in my opinion, did firſt limite out the bounds of the territorie of ROME, which *Romulus* would neuer do, for feare leſſt in bounding out his owne, he ſhould confeſſe that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding and mearing, to him that will keepe it iuſtly, is a bond that bridleth power and deſire. But to him that forceth not to keepe it, it is a proofe to ſhew his iniuſtice. To ſay truly, the territorie of ROME had no great bounds at the firſt beginning, and *Romulus* had got by conqueſt the greateſt part of it, and *Numa* did wholy deuide it vnto the needy inhabitants to relieue them, and to bring them out of pouerty: (which carieth men headlong into miſchiefe, & diſcourageth them to labor) to the end that plowing vp the ſaid land, they ſhould alſo plow vp the weeds of their owne barennes, to become quiill and gentle. For there is no exerciſe nor occupation in the world, which ſo fitly bringeth a man to loue and deſire quietnes, as doth husbandry & tillage: and yet to defend a mans own, there is in it courage & hardines to fight. But greedy deſire, violently to take from others, & vniuſtly to occupy that is none of theirs, is neuer in right husbandmen. And therefore *Numa* hauing brought in husbandrie amongſt his ſubiects, as a medicine & meane to make them loue quietneſſe, was deſirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble and gentle of condition, then to increaſe them in riches. He deuided all the territorie of ROME into certaine parts which he called *Pagos*, as much to ſay, as villages. And in euery one of them he ordained controllers and viſiters, which ſhould ſuruey all about: and he himſelfe ſometimes went abroade in perſon, coniecturing by their labour the manners and nature of euery man. Such as he found diligent, he aduaunced them vnto honour, and gaue them countenance and authoritie: other which he ſaw ſlothfull and negligent, by rebuking and reprouing of them, he made them amend. But amongſt all his ordinances which he made, one aboue all the reſt caried the praiſe: and that was, that he deuided his people into ſundry occupations. For the citie of ROME ſeemed yet to be made of two nations, as we haue ſaid before: and to ſpeake more properly, it was made of two tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one: being altogether impoſſible

Picus. Faunus.

The purifying of thunder.

Ilicium, the name of the place.

Numa builded teples to Faith and Terme.

Numa made the bounds of the territorie of Rome.

Numa aduanceth tillage.

Numa deuided his people into ſundry occupations.

impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrels nor contentions betweene both parts. Wherefore he considered that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardnesse and contrary natures cannot well suffer mixture: then he breakes and beates them together, as small as may be. For, so being brought into a smaller and lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Euen so he thought it was best to deuide the people also into many small parts: by meanes whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easily take away the first and the greatest part, when it should be deuided and separated thus into sundry sorts. And this diuision he made by arts and occupations: as minstrels, goldsmiths, carpenters, diers, shoemakers, tawers, tanners, bel-founders, and pot-makers, and so forth through other crafts and occupations. So that he brought euery one of these into one body, and company by it selfe: and ordained vnto euery particular mystery or craft, their feasts, assemblies, and seruices, which they should make vnto the gods, according to the dignity and worthinesse of euery occupation. And by this meanes, he first tooke away all faction: that neither side sayd, nor thought any more, those are SABYNES, these are ROMAINES, these are of *Tatius*, these are of *Romulus*. Insomuch as this diuision was an incorporating, and an vniting of the whole together. Among other his ordinances, they did much commend his reforming of the law, that gaue liberty vnto fathers to sell their children. For he did except children already maried, so they were maried with their fathers consent and good will: iudging it to be too cruell and ouer hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had maried a free man, should find her selfe to be the wife of a bondman. He began also to mend a litle the calender, not so exactly as he should haue done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the raigne of *Romulus*, they vsed the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them 20. dayes and lesse, and others 35. dayes and more, without knowing the difference betweene the course of the Sunne and the Moone: and onely they obserued this rule, that there was 360. dayes in the yeare. But *Numa* considering the inequality stood vpon 11. dayes, for that the 12. reuolutions of the Moone are runne in 354. dayes, and the reuolution of the sunne, in 365. dayes, he doubled the 11. dayes, whereof he made a moneth: which he placed from 2. yeares to 2. yeares, after the moneth of February, and the ROMAINES called this moneth put betweene, *Mercidinum*, which had 22. dayes. And this is the correction that *Numa* made, which since hath had a farre better amendment. He did also change the order of the moneths. For March which before was the first, he made it now the third: and Ianuary the first, which vnder *Romulus* was the eleuenth, and February the twelfth and last. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added these two, Ianuary and February. For the ROMAINES at the beginning had but ten moneths in the yeare: as some of the barbarous people make but three moneths for their yeare. And the ARCADIANS amongst the GRECIANS haue but foure moneths for their yeare. The ACARNANIANS haue sixe to the yeare. And the ÆGYPTIANS had first but one moneth to their yeare: and afterwards they made foure moneths for their yeare. And this is the cause why they seeme (albeit they inhabite in a new countrey) to be neuertheless the auncientest people of the world: for that in their Chronicles they reckon vp such infinite number of yeares, as those which count the moneths for the yeares. And to proue this true, that the ROMAINES at the beginning had but ten moneths in the yeare, and not twelue, it is easily to be iudged by the name of the last, which they call at this day December. And that the moneth of March was also the first, may be coniectured by this: for the fifth moneth after that, is yet called *Quintilis*: the sixt *Sextilis*, and so the other in order following the numbers. For if Ianuary and February had then bene the first, of necessity the moneth of Iuly, which they call *Quintilis*, must haue bene named September: considering also that it is very likely, that the moneth which *Romulus* had dedicated vnto *Mars*, was also by him ordained to be the first. The second was Aprill: so called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to say *Venus*, vnto whom they make open sacrifice in this moneth. And on the first day of the same, women do wash themselues, hauing a garland of myrtle vpon their heads. Howbeit some other say, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was onely called *Aprilis*, because then is the chiefest force and strength of the spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seedes of plants and herbes begin to bud and shew foorth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The moneth following next after that, is called May: after the name of *Maia*, the mother of *Mercury*, vnto whom the moneth is consecrated. * The moneth of Iune is so called also, because of the quality of that season, which is as the youth of the

Numa tooke away the factions of Romulus and Tatius.

The ordinance of the moneths of Numaes institution.

Macrob. 1. Satyr. 13.

The yeare diuersely counted.

* *Peraduenture ye must reade in the Greeke (ἀπὸ τῆς ἡρας) which is to say, of the name of Iuno.*

yeare. Although ſome will ſay, that the moneth of May was named of this word *Maiores*, which ſignifieth as much as the elders: and the moneth of Iune, of *Iuniores*, which ſignifies the yonger men. All the other following, were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *Nouember*, and *December*. But *Quintilis*, was after called *Iulius*, of the name of *Iulius Cæſar*, who ſlue *Pompeius*: and *Sextilis* was named *Auguſtus*, of *Octauius Cæſar* his ſucceſſour in the empire, who was alſo ſurnamed *Auguſtus*. It is true alſo that *Domitian* would they ſhould call the two moneths following (which are *September* and *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*. But that held not long: for ſo ſoone as *Domitian* was killed, the moneths recouered their auncient names againe. The two laſt moneths only, haue euer continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the leaſt tranſlated: the moneth of February doth ſignifie as much as purging, or at leaſt the deriuation of the word ſoundeth neere it. In this moneth, they do ſacrifice of plants, and do celebrate the feaſt of the LVPERCALES, in which there are many things agreeable, and like to the ſacrifices made for purification. And the firſt, which is Ianuary, was called after the name of *Ianus*. Wherfore me thinkes that *Numa* tooke away the moneth of March from the firſt place, & gaue it vnto Ianuary: becauſe he would haue peace preferred before war, & ciuill things before marſhall. For this *Ianus* (were he King, or demigod) in the former age was counted very ciuill and politike. For he changed the life of men, which before his time was rude, cruel, & wild: and brought it to be honeſt, gentle, and ciuill. For this cauſe they do paint his image at this day with two faces, the one before, and the other behind, for thus changing the liues of men. And there is in ROME a temple dedicated vnto him, which hath two doores, that be called the doores of warre: for the cuſtome is to open them, when the ROMAINES haue any warres in any place, and to ſhut them when they be at peace. To haue them ſhut, it was a rare thing to ſee, and happened very ſeldome: by reaſon of the greatneſſe of their empire, which of all ſides was enuironed with barbarous nations, whom they were compelled to keepe vnder with force of armes. Notwithſtanding it was once ſhut vp in the time of *Auguſtus*, after he had ſlaine *Antonie*: and once before alſo in the yeare when *Marcus Attilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Conſuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened againe incontinently, by reaſon of warres that came vpon them ſoone after. Howbeit during the raigne of *Numa*, it was neuer one day opened, but remained ſhut continually by the ſpace of three and forty yeares together. For all occaſions of warres, were then vtterly dead and forgotten: becauſe at ROME the people were not onely through the example of iuſtice, clemency, and the goodneſſe of the King, brought to be quiet, and to loue peace: but in the cities thereabouts, there began a maruellous change of maners and alteration of life, as if ſome gentle aire had breathed on them, by ſome gracious and healthfull wind, blowne from ROME to refreſh them. And thereby bred in mens minds ſuch a hearty deſire to liue in peace, to till the ground, to bring vp their children, and to ſerue the gods truly: that almoſt through all ITALY, there was nothing but feaſts, playes, ſacrifices, and bankets. The people did trafficke and frequent together, without feare or danger, and viſited one another, making great cheere: as if out of the ſpringing fountaine of *Numaes* wiſedome many prety brooks and ſtreames of good and honeſt life had runne ouer all ITALY, and had watered it: and that the mildneſſe of his wiſdom had from hand to hand bin diſpearſed through the whole world. Inſomuch, as the ouer exceſſiue ſpeeches the Poets accuſtomably do vſe, were not ſufficient inough to expreſſe the peaceable raigne of that time.

* *Some old Grecian copies ſay in this place,* φύσιν, *as much to ſay, as for the dead.*

Why Ianus is painted with two faces.

At what time the temple of Ianus is ſhut in Rome. Liu. lib. 1.

The Romaines had no warres in all Numaes time.

There: ſpiders weaue, their cobwebs day and night
in harneſſes, which wont to ſerue for warre:
there: cancred ruſt doth fret, the ſteele full bright
of trenchant blades, well whet in many a Iarre.
There: mighty ſpeares, for lacke of vſe are eaten,
with rotton wormes: and in that country there,
the braying trompe doth neuer ſeeme to threaten
their quiet eares, with blaſts of bloudy feare.
There: in that land, no drowſie ſleepe is broken,
with hot alarmes, which terrors do betoken.

For during all king *Numaes* raigne, it was neuer heard that euer there were any warres, ciuill diſſention, or innouation of gouernement attempted againſt him, nor yet any ſecret enmity or malice

malice borne him, neither any conſpiracy once thought on to reigne in his place. And whether it was for feare of diſpleaſing the gods (which viſibly ſeemed to take him into their protection) or for the reuerent regard they had vnto his vertue, or for his proſperous and good ſucceſſe all the time he raigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he ſought to keepe men ſtill pure, and honeſt, from all wickednesſe, and layd moſt open before the eyes of the whole world, a cleere example of that which *Plato* long time after did affirme, and ſay, concerning true gouernement: which was: That the onely meane of true quietneſſe, and remedy from all euill (which euer troubleth men) was: when by ſome diuine ordinance from aboue there meeteth in one perſon, the right maieſtie of a King, and the mind of a wiſe philoſopher, to make vertue gouerneſſe and ruler ouer vice. For indeed happy is ſuch a wiſe man, and more happy are they, which may heare the graue counſell, and good leſſons of ſuch a mouth: and there (me thinkes) needeth no force, no compulſion, no threats, nor extremity to bridle the people. For men ſeeing the true image of vertue in their viſible prince, and in the example of his life, do willingly grow to be wiſe, and of themſelues do fall into loue, liking, and friendſhip together, and do vſe all temperance, iuſt dealing, and good order one toward another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other: which is the chiefe point of felicity, and the moſt happy good that can light vnto men. And he by nature is beſt worthy to be a King, who through his wiſedome and vertue, can graffe in mens manners ſuch a good diſpoſition: and this, *Numa* aboue all other, ſeemed beſt to know and vnderſtand. Furthermore, touching his wiues and children, there are great contrarieties among the hiſtoriographers. For ſome of them ſay, he neuer maried other wife then *Tatia*, and that he neuer had any children, but one onely daughter, and ſhe was called *Pompilia*. Other write to the contrary, that he had foure ſonnes, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*: of euery one of the which (by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne) haue deſcended the nobleſt races, and moſt auncient houſes of the Romaines. As the houſe of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the houſe of the *Pinarians*, of *Pinus*: the houſe of the *Calphurnians*, of *Calpus*: and the houſe of the *Mamercians*, of *Mamercus*. All which families by reaſon of their progenitor haue kept the ſurname of *Reges*, Kings. There are three other writers, which do reproue the two firſt: ſaying, that they did write to gratifie the families, making them falſely to deſcend of the noble race of king *Numa*. Moreouer it is ſayd, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he maried after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was maried vnto one *Martius*, the ſonne of the ſame *Martius* which perſwaded him to accept the kingdome of Rome. For he went with him to Rome, to remaine there: where they did him the honour to receiue him into the number of the Senators. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the father ſtood againſt *Tullus Hoſtilius* for the ſucceſſion of the Realme, and being ouercome, he killed himſelfe for ſorow. But his ſonne *Martius*, who maried *Pompilia*, continued ſtill at Rome, where he begot *Ancus Martius*, who was king of Rome after *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and was but fiue yeare old when *Numa* died. Whoſe death was not ſudden. For he died conſuming by litle and litle, as well through age, as alſo through a lingring diſeaſe that waited on him to his end, as *Piſo* hath written: and *Numa* at his death was litle more then foure ſcore yeare old. But the pompe and honour done vnto him at his funerals, made his life yet more happy and glorious. For all the people his neighbours, friends, kinſemen, and allies of the Romaines came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publicke contributions to honor his obſequies. The noble men ſelues of the city (which were called *Patricians*) caried on their ſhoulders the very bed, on which the corſe lay, to be conueyed to his graue. The Prieſts attended alſo on his body, and ſo did all the reſt of the people, women and children in like caſe, which followed him to his tombe, all bewailing and lamenting his death, with teares, ſighes, and mournings. Not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their deareſt kinſeman, and neareſt friend that had died before he was old. They burnt not his body, becauſe (as ſome ſay) he commanded the contrary by his will and teſtament: but they made two coffines of ſtone, which they buried at the foote of the hill called *Ianiculum*. In the one they layd his bodie, and in the other the holy bookes which he had written himſelfe, much like vnto thoſe, which they that made the lawes among the Grecians did write in tables. But becauſe in his life time he had taught the prieſts the ſubſtance of the whole contained in the ſame, he willed the holy tables which he had written, ſhould be buried with his body. For he thought it not reaſonable that ſo holy matters ſhould be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens maners

Platoes ſaying concerning the felictie of a commonweale.

Numaes wiues and poſterity.

Pompilia, Numaes daughter.

Pompilia maried to Caius Martius Coriolanus.

Martius the Sabyne, made Senatour at Rome.

Ancus Martius the ſon of Caius Martius Coriolanus.

The death of Numa.

Numaes bookes.

Why the Pythagorians left nothing in writing.

and exercises. And he followed herein they say, the *Pythagorians*, who would not put their workes in writing, but did print the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of person the hidden rules and secrets of Geometry, which had not bene worthy of them, then they sayd the gods by manifest tokens would threaten to reuenge such sacriledge and impiety, with some great destruction and misery. Therefore, seeing so many things agreeable, and altogether like betweene *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I easily pardon those which maintaine their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acquainted and conuersant together. *Valerius Antias* the historian writeth, there were twelue bookes written concerning the office of Priests, and twelue other containing the philosophy of the Grecians. And that foure hundred yeares after (in the same yeare when *Publius Cornelius*, and *Marcus Bebius* were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and raigne, which opened the earth, and discouered these coffines: and the lids and couers thereof being caried away, they found the one altogether voide, hauing no manner of likelihood, or token of a body that had layen in it: and in the other they found these bookes, which were deliuered vnto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Praetor*) who had the charge to reade them ouer, and to make the report of them. But he hauing perused them ouer, declared to the Senate, that he thought it not conuenient the matters contained in them should be published vnto the simple people: and for that cause they were caried into the market place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing, that happeneth vnto all good and iust men, that they are farre more praysed and esteemed after their death, then before: becausse that enuy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding, the misfortunes which chaunced afterwards vnto the fiue Kings which raigned at Rome after *Numa*, haue made his honour shine, with much more noble glory then before. For the last of them was driuen out of his Kingdome, and died in exile, after he was very old. And of the other foure, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treason. And *Tullus Hostilius* which raigned after *Numa*, deriding and contemning the most part of his good and holy institutions, and chiefly his deuotion towards the gods, as a thing which made men lowly and faint hearted: did as soone as euer he came to be King, turne all his subiects hearts to the warres. But this madde humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a straunge and most grieuous disease that followed him, which brought him to chaunge his mind, and did farre otherwise turne his contempt of Religion, into an ouer fearefull superstition, which did nothing yet resemble the true religion and deuotion of *Numa*: and besides, he infected others with his contagious errour, through the inconuenience which happened vnto him at his death. For he was striken and burnt with lightning.

Twelue bookes of Priesthood.

Twelue bookes of philosophy.

Good men praised after their death.

The misfortunes of Numaes successors.

Hostilius.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Lycurgus with Numa.*

THVS hauing written the liues of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat hard to do, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference betweene them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deeds do shew it sufficiently. As in their temperance, their deuotion to the gods, their wisedome in gouerning, and their discreet handling of their people, by making them beleeue that the gods had reuealed the lawes vnto them, which they established. And now to come vnto their qualities, which are diuersely, and seuerally commended in either of them. Their first quality is, that *Numa* accepted the kingdome, and *Lycurgus* gaue it vp. The one receiued it, not seeking for it: and the other hauing it in his hands did restore it againe. The one being a stranger and a priuate man, was by strangers elected and chosen their Lord and King. The other being in possession a King, made himselfe againe a priuate person. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtaine a Realme by iustice; but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme iustice aboue a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was iudged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred so noble a mind in the other, that he esteemed not to be a King. Their second quality is, that like as in an instrument of musicke, the one of them did tune and wrest vp the slacke strings which were in Sparta: so the other slackened, and set them lower, which were too high mounted in Rome. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficulty was the greater. For he did not perswade his citizens, to plucke off their armor and curates, nor to lay by their swords: but only to leaue their gold and siluer, to forsake their soft beds, their fine wrought tables, & other curious rich furniture, and not to leaue off the trauell of warres, to giue themselues onely vnto feasts, sacrifices, and playes. But to the contrary, to giue vp banquetting and feasting, and continually to take paines in the wars, yeelding their bodies to all kind of paines. By which meanes, the one for the loue and reuerence they did beare him, easily perswaded all that he would: and the other, by putting himselfe in danger, and being hurt also, obtained not without great trauell and aduenture, the end of his intended purpose and desire. *Numa* his muse was so gentle, louing, and curteous, that the manners of his citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now so tractable and ciuill, that he taught them to loue peace and iustice. And to the contrary, if they will compell me to number amongst the lawes and ordinances of *Lycurgus*, that which we haue written touching the Ilotes, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I must of force confesse that *Numa* was much wiser, more gentle, and ciuill in his lawes, considering that euen vnto those which indeed were borne slaues, he gaue some litle taste of honour, and sweetnesse of liberty, hauing ordained, that in the feasts of *Saturne*, they should sit downe at meate at their maisters owne table. Some hold opinion, that this custome was brought in by king *Numa*: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruite, should haue some pleasure thereof to make good cheere with the first fruits of the same. Other imagine, that it is yet a token and remembrance of

The vertues of Numa and Lycurgus were alike, but their deeds diuerse.

What things were hard to Lycurgus.

Slaues sat with their maisters at Saturnes feasts. Macrob. Satur. lib. 1.

the equality which was amongst men in the world in *Saturnes* time, when there was neither maister nor seruant, but all men were alike equall, as brethren or kinsmen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them tooke a direct course, thought best to themselues, to frame their people vnto temperance, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loued warre best, and the other iustice: vnlesse it were that men would say, that for the diuersitie of the nature or custome of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) they were both compelled to vse also contrary and diuerse meanes from other. For it was not of a faint heart, that *Numa* tooke from his people the vse of armes, and desire to be in warres: but it was to the end they should not do any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* also study to make his people souldiers and warlike, to hurt others: but for feare rather that others should hurt them. And so, to cut off the excesse in the one, and to supply the defect of the other, they were both enforced to bring in a straunge manner of gouernement. Furthermore, touching their seuerall kind of gouernement, & diuiding of their people into states and companies: that of *Numa* was marueilous meane and base, and framed to the liking of the meanest people, making a body of a city, and a people compounded together, of all sorts, as goldsmiths, minstrels, founders, shoemakers, and of all sorts of crafts men and occupations together. But that of *Lycurgus* was directly contrary (for his was more seuere and tyrannical) in gouerning of the nobility, casting all crafts and base occupations vpon bondmen and straungers, and putting into the hands of his citizens the shield and launce, suffering them to exercise no other art or science, but the art and discipline of warres, as the true ministers of *Mars*: which all their life time neuer knew other science, but onely learned to obey their captaines, and to commaund their enemies. For to haue any occupation, to buy and sell, or to trafficke, free men were expressely forbidden: because they should wholly and absolutely be free. And all sciences to get money was lawfull for slaues, and the Ilotes: being counted for as vile an occupation, as to dresse meate, and to be a scullian of a kitchin. *Numa* put not this difference amongst his people, but onely tooke away couetous desire to be rich by warres: but otherwise, he did not forbid them to get goods by any other lawfull meanes, neither tooke any regard to bring all to equality, and to be alike wealthy, but suffering euery man to get what he could, taking no order to preuent pouerty, which crept in, and spread farre in his city: which he should haue looked vnto at the beginning, at that time when there was not too great an vnequality amongst them, and that his citizens for substance were in manner equall one with another: for then was the time when he should haue made head against auarice, to haue stopped the mischiefes and inconueniences which fell out afterwards, and they were not litle. For that onely was the fountaine and roote of the most part of the greatest euils and mischiefes, which happened afterwards in Rome. And as touching the diuision of goods: neither ought *Lycurgus* to be blamed for doing it, nor *Numa* for that he did it not. For this equality to the one, was a ground and foundation of his common-wealth, which he afterwards instituted: and to the other, it could not be. For this diuision being made not long before the time of his predecessor, there was no great need to change the first, the which (as it is likely) remained yet in full perfection. As touching mariages, & their children to be in cõmon, both the one and the other wisely sought to take away all occasion of iealousie: but yet they tooke not both one course. For the Romaine husbãd, hauing childrẽ inough to his cõtentation, if another that lacked children came vnto him, to pray him to lend him his wife, he might graunt her vnto him, and it was in him to giue her altogether, or to lend her for a time, and to take her afterwards againe. But the Laconian keeping his wife in his house, and the mariage remaining whole and vnbroken, might let out his wife to any man that would require her to haue children by her: nay furthermore, many (as we haue told you before) did themselues intreate men, by whom they thought to haue a trim brood of children, and layd them with their wiues. What difference, I pray you was betweene these two customes? sauing that the custome of the Laconians shewed, that the husbands were nothing angry, nor grieued with their wiues for those things, which for sorrow and iealousie doth rent the harts of most maried men in the world. And that of the Romaines was a simplicity somewhat more shamefast, which to couer it, was shadowed yet with the cloke of matrimony, and contract of mariage: confessing that to vse wife and children by halfes together, was a thing most intollerable for him. Furthermore, the keeping of maidens to be maried by *Numaes* order, was much straighter and more honorable for womanhood: and *Lycurgus* order hauing too much scope and liberty, gaue Poets occasion to speake, and to

Diuerse causes of the diuersity of institutions of Numa and Lycurgus.

Discription of their people.

Reason for mariages.

Numaes order for maidens the better.

giue

giue them ſurnames not very honeſt. As *Ibycus* called them *Phenomeridas*: to ſay, thigh ſhewers: and *Andromanes*: to ſay, manhood. And *Euripides* ſaith alſo of them:

Good mistrowne girles which left their fathers house at large,
and sought for young mens company, and tooke their ware in charge:
And shewed their thighes all bare, the taylour did them wrong,
on each side open were their cotes, the slits were all too long.

And indeed to ſay truly, the ſides of their peticotes were not ſewed beneath: ſo that as they went, they ſhewed their thighs naked and bare. The which *Sophocles* doth eaſily declare by theſe verſes:

The song which you shall sing, shall be the sonnet sayd
by Hermony lusty lasse, that strong and sturdy maide:
Which trust her petticote, about her middle short,
and set to shew her naked hippes, in francke and friendly sort.

And therfore it is ſayd, the LACON wiues were bold, manly, and ſtout againſt their husbands, namely the firſt. For they were wholly miſtreſſes in the houſe, and abroad: yea they had law on their ſide alſo, to vtter their minds frankly concerning the chiefeſt matters. But *Numa* euer reſerued the honor and dignity vnto the women, which was left them by *Romulus* in his time, when their husbands, after they had taken thē away perforce, diſpoſed themſelues to vſe them as gently as poſſibly they could: neuertheleſſe, he added otherwiſe thereto great honeſty, and tooke away all curioſity from them, and taught them ſobriety, and did inure them to ſpeake litle. For he did vtterly forbid them wine, and did prohibit them to ſpeake, although it were for things neceſſary, vnleſſe it were in the preſence of their husbands. In ſo much as it is reported, that a woman chancing one day to plead her cauſe in perſon, openly before the Iudges: the Senate hearing of it, did ſend immediatly vnto the oracle of *Apollo*, to know what that did prognoſticate to the city. And therfore *Numa* thought the memory of the naughty women, would much commend the great humility, gentlenes, & obedience of the good. For like as our GRECIAN hiſtoriographers do note thoſe which were the firſt that killed any of their citizens, or haue fought with their brethren, or haue killed their fathers or mothers: euen ſo the ROMAINES do note that *Spurius Caruilius* was the firſt that forſooke his wife, two hundred & thirty yeares after the firſt foundation of ROME, which was neuer done by any before. And that the wife of one *Pinarius*, called *Thalea*, was the firſt which euer brauled or quarrelled with her mother in law called *Geganie*, in the time whē *Tarquine* ſurnamed the proud raigned: ſo well and honeſtly were the orders of *Numa* deuiſed cōcerning mariage. Moreour, the age & time of marying of maids, which both the one & the other ordained, doth agree with the reſt of their education. For *Lycurgus* would not that they ſhould be maried, till they were of good yeares, & women grown, to the end that they knowing the cōpany of man at ſuch time as nature requireth, it ſhould be a beginning of their pleaſure & loue, and not of griefe & hate, when ſhe ſhould be cōpelled vnto it before time agreeable by nature, & becauſe their bodies alſo ſhould be more ſtrong & able to beare children, & to endure the mothers painfull throwes & trauell in child-bearing, conſidering they are maried to no other end, but to beare children. But the ROMANES to the contrary, do marry them at twelue yeares of age and vnder: ſaying, that by this meanes their bodies and manners be wholly theirs which do marry them, being aſſured that no body elſe could touch them. By this reaſon it is manifeſt, that the one is more natural, to make thē ſtrong to beare children: & the other more morall, to giue them the forme & maner of conditions, which a man wold haue thē to keepe all their life time. Moreouer touching orders for education of children, that they ſhould be brought vp, inſtructed, & taught, vnder the ſelfe ſame maiſters and gouernors, which ſhould haue an eye to make them drinke, eate, play, and exerciſe themſelues honeſtly, and orderly together: *Numa* made no more prouiſion for the ſame, then the leaſt maker of lawes that euer was, & nothing in compariſon of *Lycurgus*. For *Numa* left the parents at liberty, to vſe their diſcretion (according to their couetouſnes or neceſſity) to cauſe their children to be brought vp as they thought good: whether they would put them to be labourers, carpenters, founders, or minſtrels. As if they ſhould not frame the maners of children, and faſhion them from their cradle all to one end: but ſhould be as it were like paſſengers into one ſhip, which being there, ſome for one buſineſſe, other for another purpoſe, but all to diuerſe ends, do neuer meddle one with another, but in a rough ſtorme or tempeſt, when euery man is affraide of his own life. For otherwiſe, no man careth but for himſelfe. And other makers of lawes alſo, are

The Lacedemians were too manly.

The Romaine women very modeſt.

The firſt diuorce at Rome.

How much education and diſcipline is worth.

to be borne withall, if any thing hath ſcaped them through ignorance, or ſometime through lacke of ſufficient power and authority. But a wiſe philoſopher, hauing receiued a realme of people newly gathered together, which did contrary him in nothing: whereto ſhould he moſt ply his ſtudy and indeuour, but to cauſe children to be well brought vp, and to make yong men exerciſe themſelues, to the end they ſhould not differ in manners, nor that they ſhould be troubleſome, by their diuerſe manner of bringing vp, but that they ſhould all agree together, for that they had bene trained from their childhood vnto one ſelfe trade, and faſhioned vnder one ſelfe patterne of vertue? That good education, beſides other commodities, did alſo ſerue to preſerue *Lycurgus* lawes. For the feare of their oath which they had made, had bene of ſmall effect, if he had not through inſtitution, and education (as it were) died in wooll the maners of children, and had not made them from their nurſes breaſts in manner, ſucke the iuyce and loue of his lawes and ciuill ordinances. And this was of ſuch force, that for the ſpace of fiue hundred yeares and more, *Lycurgus* chiefe lawes and ordinances remained in full perfection, as a deepe wodded dye, which went to the bottome, and pierced into the tender wooll. Contrariwiſe, that which was *Numaes* chiefe end and purpoſe, to continue ROME in peace and amity, died by and by with him. For he was no ſooner dead, but they opened both the gates of the temple of *Ianus*, which he ſo carefully had kept ſhut all his raigne, as if indeed he had kept in wars there, vnder locke and key, & they filled all ITALIE with murther and bloud: and this his godly, holy, and iuſt gouernement which his Realme enioyed all his time, did not laſt long after, becauſe it had not the bond of education, and the diſcipline of children which ſhould maintaine it. Why, may a man ſay to me here: hath not Rome excelled ſtill, and preuailed more and more in cheualry? This queſtion requireth a long anſwer, and ſpecially vnto ſuch men as place felicity in riches, in poſſeſſions, and in the greatneſſe of empire, rather then in the quiet ſafety, peace, and concord of a commonweale, and in clemency and iuſtice, ioyned with contention. Neuertheleſſe, howſoeuer it was, that maketh for *Lycurgus* alſo, that the ROMAINES after they had chaunged the ſtate which they had of *Numa*, did ſo maruellouſly increaſe and grow mighty: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS to the contrary, ſo ſoone as they began to breake *Lycurgus* lawes, being of great authority and ſway, fell afterwards to be of ſmall account. So that hauing loſt the ſoueraignty and commandement ouer GREECE, they ſtood in great hazard alſo to be ouerthrowne for euer. But in troth it was ſome diuine thing in *Numa*, that he being a meere ſtranger, the ROMAINES did ſeeke him, to make him King, and that he could ſo change all, and rule a whole city as he liſted (not yet ioyned together) without need of any force or violence: as it was in *Lycurgus*, to be aſſiſted with the beſt of the city, in reſiſting the commons of LACEDÆMON, but he could neuer otherwiſe haue kept them in peace, and made them loue together, but by his onely wiſedome and iuſtice.

How Lycurgus lawes were eſtabliſhed.

Why Numaes orders died.

Why Numa is to be preferred before Lycurgus.

The end of Numa Pompilius life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Solon.*

DIDYMVS the Grammarian, in a litle booke that he wrote, and dedicated vnto *Aſclepiades*, touching the tables of the lawes of *Solon*, alleageth the words of one *Philocles*, in which he ſpeaketh againſt the common opinion of thoſe that haue written, that *Solons* father was called *Euphorion*. For all other writers agree, that he was the ſonne of *Execeſtides*, a man but reaſonably to liue, although otherwiſe he was of the nobleſt and moſt auncient houſe of the city of ATHENS. For of his fathers ſide, he was deſcended of King *Codrus*: and for his mother, *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth, ſhe was coſin germaine vnto *Pyſiſtratus* mother. For this cauſe euen from the beginning there was great friendſhip betweene them, partly for their kindred, and partly alſo for the curteſie and beauty of *Pyſiſtratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in loue. Afterwards they fortuned to fall at iarre one with the other, about matter of ſtate and gouernement: yet this ſquare bred no violent inconuenience betweene them, but they reſerued in their hearts ſtill their auncient amity, which continued the memory of their loue, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no ſtayed man to withſtand beauty, nor any great doer to preuaile in loue, it is manifeſt to all, as well by other poeticall writings that he hath made, as by a law of his owne: wherein he did forbid bondmen to perfume themſelues, or to be louers of children. Who placed this law among honeſt matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better ſort, and forbidding it to the baſeſt. They ſay alſo that *Pyſiſtratus* ſelfe was in loue with *Charmus*, and that he did ſet vp the litle image of loue, which is in ACADEMIA, where they were wont to light the holy candle. But *Solons* father (as *Hermippus* writeth) hauing ſpent his goods in liberality, and deeds of courteſie, though he might eaſily haue bene relieued at diuerſe mens hands with money, he was yet aſhamed to take any, becauſe he came of a houſe which was wont rather to giue and relieue others, then to take themſelues: ſo being yet a young man, he deuiſed to trade marchandiſe. Howbeit other ſay, that *Solon* trauelled countries, rather to ſee the world, and to learne, then to trafficke, or gaine. For ſure he was very deſirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifeſtly: for that being now old, he commonly vſed to ſay this verſe:

Solons linage.

Great friendſhip betwixt Solon and Pyſiſtratus.

A ſtatute for bondmen.

Solon gaue him ſelfe in youth to trade marchandiſe.

I grow old, learning ſtill.

Alſo he was not couetouſly bent, nor loued riches too much: for he ſayd in one place:

Who ſo hath goods, and gold inough at call,
great heards of beaſts, and flockes in many a fold,
both horſe and mule, yea ſtore of corne and all,
that may content each man aboue the mould:
no richer is, for all thoſe heapes and hoords,
then he which hath, ſufficiently to feede,
and cloth his corpes, with ſuch as God afoords.
But if his ioy, and chiefe delight do breede,
for to behold the faire and heauenly face,
of ſome ſweete wife, which is adornd with grace,
or elſe ſome child, of beauty faire and bright,
then hath he cauſe (indeed) of deepe delight.

Solons iudgement of riches.

And in another place alſo he ſaith:

Indeed I do deſire, ſome wealth to haue at will:
but not vnleſſe the ſame be got, by faithfull dealing ſtill.
For ſure who ſo deſires by wickedneſſe to thriue:
ſhall find that iuſtice from ſuch goods, will iuſtly him depriue.

There is no law forbiddeth an honeſt man, or gentleman, greedily to ſcrape goods together, and more then may ſuffice: and likewiſe to get ſufficient to maintaine one withall, and to defray all needfull charges. In thoſe dayes no ſtate was diſcommended, as ſaith *Heſiodus*, nor any art or ſcience made any difference betweene men: but marchandiſe they thought an honorable ſtate, as that which deliuered meanes, to trafficke into ſtraunge and farre countries, to get acquaintance with ſtates, to procure the loue of princes, and chiefly to gather the experience of the world. So that there haue bene marchants, which heretofore haue bene founders of great cities: as he which firſt built MASSILIA, after he had obtained the friendſhip of the GAVLES, dwelling by the riuer of Rhoſne. And they ſay alſo, that *Thales Mileſius* the wiſe, did trafficke marchandiſe, and that *Hippocrates* the mathematike did euen ſo: and likewiſe that *Plato* trauelling into ÆGYPT, did beare the whole charges of his iourney, with the gaines he made of the ſale of oyle he caried thither. They remember alſo that *Solon* learned to be lauiſh in expence, to fare delicatly, and to ſpeake wantonly of pleaſures in his Poems, ſomewhat more licentiouſly then became the grauity of a Philoſopher: onely becauſe he was brought vp in the trade of marchandiſe, wherein for that men are maruellous ſubiect to great loſſes and dangers, they ſeeke otherwhiles good cheere to driue theſe cares away, and liberty to make much of themſelues. Yet it appeareth by theſe verſes, that *Solon* accoumpted himſelfe rather in the number of the poore, then of the rich:

The commodities of marchandiſe.
A marchant builded Maſſilia.
Thales.
Hippocrates.
Plato, all marchants.

Rich men (oft times) in lewdeſt liues do range,
and often ſeene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet would the good their goodneſſe neuer chaunge
with lewd eſtate, although their wealth be more.
For vertue ſtands alwayes both firme and ſtable:
when riches rore, and ſeldome are dureable.

Pouerty with vertue better then riches.

This poetry at the beginning he vſed but for pleaſure, and when he had leiſure, writing no matter of importance in his verſes. Afterwards he did ſet out many graue matters of philoſophy, & the moſt part of ſuch things as he had deuiſed before, in the gouernment of a common-weale, which he did not for hiſtory or memories ſake, but only of a pleaſure to diſcourſe: for he ſheweth the reaſons of that he did, and in ſome places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproueth the ATHENIANS. And ſome affirme alſo he went about to write his lawes and ordinances in verſe, and do recite his preface, which was this:

How Solon vſed his poetry.

Vouchſafe ô mighty Ioue, of heauen and earth high King:
to graunt good fortune to my lawes, and health in euery thing.
And that their glory grow, in ſuch triumphant wiſe,
as may remaine in fame for aye, which liues and neuer dyes.

He chiefly delighted in morall philoſophy, which treated of gouernement and common weales: as the moſt part of the wiſe men did of thoſe times. But for naturall philoſophie, he was very groſſe and ſimple, as appeareth by theſe verſes:

Solon delighted in morall, but not in naturall philoſophy.

The

The clattering haile, and ſoftly falling ſnow
do breede in aire, and fall from clouds on hie.
The dreadfull claps, which thunderbolts do throw,
do come from heauen, and lightnings bright in skie.
The ſea it ſelfe by boiſterous blaſts doth rore,
which (were it not prouoked ſo full ſore)
Would be both calme and quiet for to paſſe,
as any element that euer was.

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the ſeuen wiſe men of GREECE, who ſearched further the contemplation of things in common vſe among men, than he. For ſetting him apart, all the others got the name of wiſedome, onely for their vnderſtanding in matters of ſtate and gouernement. It is reported that they met on a day all ſeauen together in the city of DELPHES, and another time in the city of CORINTH, where *Periander* got them together at a feaſt that he made to the other ſixe. But that which moſt increaſed their glory, and made their fame moſt ſpoken of, was the ſending backe againe of the three footed ſtoole when they all had refuſed it, and turned it ouer one to another with great humanitie. For the tale is, how certaine fiſher-men of the Ile of Co, caſt their nets into the ſea, and certaine ſtraungers paſſing by, that came from the city of MILETVM, did buy their draught of fiſh at aduenture, before the net was drawne. And when they drue it vp, there came vp in the net a three footed ſtoole of maſſie gold, which men ſay, *Hellen* (as ſhe did returne from TROY) had throwne in that place, in memorie of an auncient Oracle ſhe called then vnto her mind. Thereupon the ſtrangers and fiſher-men firſt fell at ſtrife about this three footed ſtoole, who ſhould haue it: but afterwards the two cities tooke part of both ſides, on their citizens behalfe. In ſo much as warres had like to haue followed betweene them, had not the propheteſſe *Pythia* giuen a like Oracle vnto them both: That they ſhould giue this three footed ſtoole vnto the wiſeſt man. Whereupon the men of Co, ſent it firſt to *Thales* in the city of MILETVM, as being willing to grant that vnto a priuate perſon, for which they had made warres with all the MILESIANS before. *Thales* ſayd, he thought *Bias* a wiſer man then himſelfe: and ſo it was ſent vnto him. He likewiſe ſent it againe vnto another, as to a wiſer man. And that other, ſent it alſo vnto another. So that being thus poſted from man to man, and through diuerſe hands, in the end it was brought backe againe vnto the city of MILETVM, and deliuered into the hands of *Thales* the ſecond time: and laſt of all was caried vnto THEBES, and offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo Iſmenian*. Howbeit *Theophraſtus* writeth, that firſt it was ſent to the city of PRIENA, vnto *Bias*: and then vnto *Thales*, in the city of MILETVM, by *Bias* conſent. And after that it had paſſed through all their hands, it was brought againe vnto *Bias*: and laſtly it was ſent to the city of DELPHES. And thus much haue the beſt and moſt ancient writers written: ſauing that ſome ſay in ſtead of a three footed ſtoole, it was a cuppe that King *Cræſus* ſent vnto the city of DELPHES. Other ſay, it was a peece of plate which *Bathycles* left there. They made mentiõ alſo of another priuate meeting betwixt *Anacharſis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharſis* being arriued at ATHENS, went to knocke at *Solons* gate, ſaying that he was a ſtranger which came of purpoſe to ſee him, and to deſire his acquaintance and friendſhip. *Solon* anſwered him, that it was better to ſeeke friendſhip in his owne countrey. *Anacharſis* replied againe: thou then that art at home, and in thine owne country, begin to ſhew me friendſhip. Then *Solon* wondering at his bold ready wit, entertained him verie courteouſly, & kept him a certaine time in his houſe, & made him very good cheere, at the ſelfe ſame time wherein he was moſt buſie in gouerning the common-weale, & making lawes for the ſtate thereof. Which when *Anacharſis* vnderſtood, he laughed at it, to ſee that *Solon* imagined with written lawes, to bridle mens couetouſneſſe and iniuſtice. For ſuch lawes, ſayd he, do rightly reſemble the ſpiders cobwebs: becauſe they take hold of litle flyes and gnats which fall into them, but the rich and mighty will breake and runne through them at their will. *Solon* anſwered him, that men do iuſtly keepe all couenants and bargaines which one make with another, becauſe it is to the hinderance of either partie to breake them: and euen ſo, he did ſo temper his lawes, that he made his citizens know, it was more for their profit to obey law and iuſtice, then to breake it. Neuertheleſſe afterwards, matters proued rather according to *Anacharſis* compariſon, then agreeable to the hope that *Solon* had conceiued. *Anacharſis* being by hap one day in a common aſſembly of the people at ATHENS, ſayd

Hellens three footed ſtoole of gold drawne vp in a drag net.

The rare modeſtie of the wiſe men.

Anacharſis and Solons meeting

Anacharſis ſaying of Solons written lawes.

that he maruelled much, why in the consultations and meetings of the GRECIANS, wise men propounded matters, and fooles did decide them. It is sayd moreouer, that *Solon* was sometime in the city of MILETVM at *Thales* house, where he sayd that he could not but maruell at *Thales*, that he would neuer marry to haue children. *Thales* gaue him neuer a word at that present: but within few dayes after he suborned a straunger, which sayd that he came but newly home from ATHENS, departing from thence but ten dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediatly, What newes there? This stranger whom *Thales* had schooled before, answered: none other there, sauing that they caried a yong man to buriall, whom all the city followed: for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the city, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the countrey, and had bene a long time (as they sayd) abroad. O poore vnfortunate father, then sayd *Solon*: and what was his name? I haue heard him named, sayd the stranger, but I haue forgotten him now: sauing that they all sayd, he was a worthy wise man. So *Solon* still trembling more and more for feare, at euery answer of this stranger: in the end he could hold no longer, being full of trouble, but told his name himselfe vnto the stranger, and asked him againe, if he were not the sonne of *Solon* which was buried. The very same, sayd the straunger. *Solon* with that, like a madde man straight began to beate his head, and to say, and do, like men impatient in affliction, and ouercome with sorow. But *Thales* laughing to see this pageant, staid him, and said: Lo, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marying, and getting of children: which is of such a violence, that thou seest it hath now ouercome thee, although otherwise thou art strong, and able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath sayd vnto thee, be of good cheere man, for it is but a tale, and nothing so. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patecus* (he which sayd he had *Æsops* soule) reciteth this story thus. Neuertheless it lacketh iudgement, and the courage of a man also, to be affraid to get things necessary, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning, he should neither esteeme honor, goods, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to loose them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can haue, decayeth oft times through sickenesse, or else by physicke, and potions. Furthermore *Thales* selfe, although he was not maried, was not therefore free from this feare, vnlesse he would confesse that he neither loued friends, kinsemen, nor country: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted son, called *Cybistus*, which was his sisters son. For our soule hauing in it a naturall inclination to loue, and being borne as well to loue, as to feel, to reason, or vnderstand, and to remember: hauing nothing of her owne whereupon she might bestow that naturall loue, borroweth of other. As where there is a house or inheritance without lawfull heires, many times straungers, and base borne children, do creepe into the kind affection of the owner, and when they haue once won and possessed his loue, they make him euer after to be kind and tender ouer them. So that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that moue them to marry, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwards are ready to die for feare and sorow, when they see their bastards (that they haue gotten of their slaues or concubines) fall sicke or dye, & do vtter words far vnmeet for men of noble courage. And some such there be, that for the death of a dog, or their horse, are so out of hart, and take such thought, that they are ready to go into the ground, they looke so pitifully. Other some are cleane contrary, who though they haue lost their children, forgone their friends, or some gentleman deare vnto them, yet no sorowfull word hath commen from them, neither haue they done any vnseemely thing: but haue passed the rest of their life like wise, constant, and vertuous men. For it is not loue but weakenes, which breedeth these extreme sorowes, & exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they loue & desire, by reason of the continuall trouble, feare & griefe they feele, by thinking how in time they may be depriued of it. Now we must not arme our selues with pouerty, against the griefe of losse of goods: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friends: neither with want of mariage, against the death of children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus haue we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The ATHENIANS hauing now sustained a long and troublesome warre against the MEGARIANS, for the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA, were in the end weary of it, and made proclamation straightly commaunding vpon paine of death, that no man should presume to preferre any more to the counsell of the city, the title or question of the possession of the Ile of SALAMINA. *Solon* could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most part of the lustiest youths desirous still of warre though their tongues were tied for feare of the proclamation: he fained himselfe

Solons talke with Thales at Miletum, about mariage, for hauing of children.

We should not let to get things necessary, fearing to loose them.

Cybistus Thales adopted sonne.

The instinct of naturall loue.

Proclamation vpon paine of death no man to moue the counsell for the title of Salamina.

himselfe to be out of his wits, and caused it to be giuen out that *Solon* was become a foole: and secretly he had made certaine lamentable verses, which he had cunned without booke, to sing abroad the citie. So one day he ranne suddenly out of his house with a garland on his head, and got him to the market place, where the people straight swarmed like Bees about him: and getting him vp vpon the stone where all proclamations are vsually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which began after this sort:

Solon fained madnesse to recouer Salamina.

Solons Elegies o the Salamians.

I here present my selfe (an Herauld) in this case,
which come from Salamina land, that noble worthy place.
My mind in pelting prose, shall neuer be expresst,
but sung in verse Heroicall, for so I thinke it best.

This Elegie is intituled SALAMINA, and containeth an hundred verses, which are excellently well written. And these being sung openly by *Solon* at that time, his friends incontinently praised them beyond measure, and especially *Pysistratus*: and they went about perswading the people that were present, to credit that he spake. Herupon the matter was so handled amongst them, that by and by the proclamation was reuoked, and they began to follow the wars with greater furie then before, appointing *Solon* to be generall in the same. But the common tale and report is, that he went by sea with *Pysistratus* vnto the temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Coliade*: where he found all the women at a solemne feast and sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddesse. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trustie man of his owne vnto the MEGARIANS, which then had SALAMINA: whom he instructed to faine himselfe a reuolted traitour, and that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but go with him, they might take all the chief ladies and gentlewomen of ATHENS on a sudden. The MEGARIANS easily beleeued him, and shipped forthwith certaine souldiers to go with him. But when *Solon* perceiued the shippe vnder saile coming from SALAMINA, he commanded the women to depart, and in stead of them he put lusty beardlesse springals into their apparell, and gaue them litle short daggers to conuey vnder their clothes, commanding them to play and daunce together vpon the sea side, vntill their enemies were landed, and their ship at anker; and so it came to passe. For the MEGARIANS being deceiued by that they saw a farre off, assoone as euer they came to the shore side, did land in heapes, one in anothers necke, euen for greedinesse, to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slaine euery mothers sonne. This stratageme being finely handled, and to good effect, the ATHENIANS tooke sea straight, and coasted ouer to the Isle of SALAMINA: which they tooke vpon the sudden, and wanne it without much resistance. Other say that it was not taken after this sort: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gaue *Solon* first such an Oracle:

Of the temple of Venus Coliad. Strab. lib. 4 & Pausan. of the Athenians.

Solons stratageme.

Solon vvanne Salamina.

Thou shalt first winne by vowes and sacrifice,
the helpe of lords and demy gods full bright:
Of whose dead bones, the dust engraued lyes,
in westerne soyle, Asopia that hight.

By order of this oracle, he one night passed ouer to SALAMINA, and did sacrifice to *Peripemus*, and to *Cichris*, demy-gods of the country. Which done, the ATHENIANS deliuered him fiue hundred men, who willingly offered themselues: and the city made an accord with them: that if they tooke the Isle of SALAMINA, they should beare greatest authoritie in the common weale. *Solon* imbarked his souldiers into diuers fisher boats, and appointed a galliot of thirty owers to come after him, & he ankered hard by the city of SALAMINA, vnder the point which looketh towards the Isle of NEGREPONT. The MEGARIANS which were within SALAMINA, hauing by chance heard some inkling of it, but yet knew nothing of certainty, ran presently in hurly burly to arme them, and manned out a ship to descry what it was. But they fondly comming within danger, were taken by *Solon*, who clapped the MEGARIANS vnder hatches fast bound, & in their roomes put aboord in their shippe the choisest souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commaunding them to set their course direct vpon the citie, and too keepe themselues as close out of sight as could be. And he himselfe with all the rest of his souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the field. Now whilst they were fighting together, *Solons* men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS shippe, entred the hauen and wan the towne. This is certainely true, and testified by that which is shewed yet at this day. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a shippe of ATHENS arriueth quietly at the first, and by and by those that are in the shippe make a great showt, and a man armed leaping out of the ship, runneth

ſhowting towards the rocke called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme land: and hard by the ſame is the temple of *Mars*, which *Solon* built there after he had ouercome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he ſent backe againe thoſe priſoners that he had taken (which were ſaued from the ſlaughter of the battell) without any ranſome paying. Neuertheleſſe, the MEGARIANS were ſharpely bent ſtill to recouer SALAMINA againe. Much hurt being done and ſuffered on both ſides: both parts in the end made the LACEDÆMONIANS iudges of the quarrell. But vpon iudgement giuen, common report is, that *Homers* authoritie did *Solon* good ſeruice, becauſe he did adde theſe verſes to the number of ſhips, which are in the Iliades of *Homer*, which he rehearſed before the iudges, as if they had bene indeed written by *Homer*:

Great ſtriſe betwixt the Megarians & Athenians for Salamina. Iliad. lib. 2.

Aiax that champion ſtout, did leade with him in charge,
twelue ſhippes from Salamina ſoyle, which he had left at large,
and euen thoſe ſelfe ſame ſhippes, in battell did he caſt,
and place in order for to fight, with enemies force at laſt,
In that ſame very place, whereas it ſeemed then,
the captaines which from Athens came, imbatteld had their men.

Howbeit the ATHENIANS ſelues thinke, it was but a tale of pleaſure: and ſay that *Solon* made it appeare to the iudges, that *Philæus*, and *Euryſaces* (both *Aiax* ſons) were made free denizens of ATHENS. Wherupon they gaue the Iſle of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, and one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the country of ATTICA: and the other in a town called MILETVM. And for due proofe thereof, they ſay there is yet a certaine canton or quarter of the country of ATTICA, which is called the canton of the *Philaides*, after the name of this *Philæus*, where *Pyſiſtratus* was borne. And it is ſaid moreouer, that *Solon* (becauſe he would throughly conuince the MEGARIANS) did alledge that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS maner, but after the ATHENIANS maner. For in MEGARA they bury the dead with their faces to the Eaſt: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the Weſt. Yet *Hereas* the *Megarian* denyeth it ſaying, that the MEGARIANS did bury them alſo with their faces towards the Weſt: alledging moreouer, that at ATHENS euery corſe had his owne beere or coffin by it ſelf, and that at MEGARA they did put three or foure corſes together. They ſay alſo there were certaine oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which did greatly help *Solon*, by which the god called SALAMINA, IONIA. Their ſtrife was iudged by fiue Arbitrators, all SPARTANS borne: that is to ſay, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypſechidas*, *Anaxilas*, and *Cleomenes*. *Solon* vndoubtedly won great glory and honor by this exploit, yet was he much more honored and eſteemed, for the oration he made in defence of the temple of *Apollo*, in the city of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be ſuffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS ſhould at their pleaſure abuſe the ſanctuarie of the Oracle, and that they ſhold ayde the DELPHIANS in honour and reuerence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the counſell of the *Amphictyons*, being moued with his wordes and perſwaſions, proclaimed warres againſt the CYRRHÆIANS: as diuers others do witneſſe, and eſpecially *Ariſtotle*, in the ſtorie he wrote of thoſe that wan the *Pythian* games, where he aſcribeth vnto *Solon* the honour of that determination. Neuertheleſſe *Hermippus* ſaith, *Solon* was not made generall of their armie, as *Euanthes* Samian hath written. For *Æſchines* the Orator wrote no ſuch thing of him: and in the Chronicles of the DELPHIANS they find, that one *Alcmæon*, and not *Solon*, was the generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the city of ATHENS had a long time bene vexed and troubled through *Cylons* hainous offence, euer ſince the yere that *Megacles* (gouernor of the city of ATHENS) did with faire words handle ſo the confederats of the rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken ſanctuarie within the liberties of the temple of *Minerua*: that he perſwaded them to be wiſe, and to preſent themſelues before the Iudges, holding by a threed, which they ſhould tye about the baſe of the image of the goddeſſe where ſhe ſtood, becauſe they ſhould not loſe their libertie. But when they were come to the place of the honorable goddeſſes ſo called (which be the images of the furies) comming down to preſent themſelues before the Iudges, the threed brake of it ſelf. Then *Megacles*, & other officers his companions, laid hold on them preſently, ſaying that it was a manifeſt ſigne that the goddeſſe *Minerua* refuſed to ſaue thē. So thoſe they tooke, and all they could lay hands on were immediatly ſtoned to death without the city: the reſt which tooke the altars of refuge, were ſlain there alſo. And none were ſaued, but ſuch as had made meanes to the gouernours wiues of the city, to intreat for them: which from that time forth were euer hated of the people, and cōmonly called the abiects and excommunicates. Who being the iſſues of the rebels that roſe with *Cylon*,

The manner of buriall with the Megarians and the Athenians.

Solon defendeth the cauſe of the temple of Delphes.

chaunced

chanced to rise againe in credit, & growing to great authority, they neuer left quarrelling & fighting continually with the offspring of *Megacles*. These factions were greatest & highest in *Solons* time: who being of authority, and seeing the people thus diuided in two parts, he stepped in betweene them, with the chiefest men of ATHENS, and did so perswade & intreat those whom they called the abiects and excommunicates, that they were contented to be iudged. So 300. of the chiefest citizens were chosen iudges to heare this matter. The accuser was *Myron Phlyeian*. This matter was heard and pleaded, and by sentence of the iudges, the excommunicats were condemned. Those that were aliue, to perpetual exile: & the bones of thē that were dead, to be digged vp, and thrown out of the confines of the territory of ATHENS. But whilst the city of ATHENS was occupied with these vprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught hold of the occasion deliuered, & set vpon the ATHENIANS, took from them the hauen of NISÆA, and recouered againe out of their hands the Ile of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the citie was possessed with a certaine superstitious feare: for some said, that sprites were come againe, and straunge sights were seene. The prognosticators also said, they perceiued by their sacrifices the citie was defiled with some abominable and wicked things, which were of necessity to be purged and throwne out. Hereupon they sent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phæstian*, whome they reckened the seuenth of the wise men, at the least such as will not allow *Periander* for one of the number. He was a holy and deuout man, and very wise in celestiall things, by inspiration from aboue: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the new *Curetes*, that is to say, Prophet: and he was thought the sonne of a Nymph called *Balte*. When he was come to ATHENS, and growne in friendship with *Solon*, he did helpe him much, and made his way for establishing of his lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their sacrifices much lighter, and of lesse cost: & brought the citizens to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting off certaine seuere and barbarous ceremonies, which the most part of women obserued in their mourning: and he ordained certaine sacrifices which he would haue done immediatly after the obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest was, that by vsing the citizens vnto holines and deuotion, daily sacrifices, prayers vnto the gods, purging of themselues, & humble offerings: he wan mens harts by litle and litle, to yeeld them more confirmable to iustice, & to be more inclined to concord and vnity. It is reported also that *Epimenides* when he saw the hauen of Munychia, and had long considered of it: told those about him, that men were very blind in foreseeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS, (said he) knew what hurt this hauen would bring them, they would eate it (as they say) with their teeth. It is said also that *Thales* did prognosticate such a like thing, who after his death commanded they should bury his body in some vile place of no reckening, within the territorie of the MILESIANS, saying that one day there should be the place of a citie. *Epimenides* therefore being maruellously esteemed of euery man for these causes, was greatly honored of the ATHENIANS, & they offered him great presents of mony and other things, but he would take nothing, & only prayed them to giue him a bough of the holy oliue: which they granted him, and so he returned shortly home into CRETA. Now that this sedition of *Cylon* was vtterly appeased in ATHENS, for that the excommunicates were banished the country, the city fell againe into their old troubles & dissentions about the gouernment of the common weale: & they were deuided into so diuers parts and factions, as there were people of sundry places and territories within the country of ATTICA. For there were the people of the mountaines, the people of the vallies, and the people of the sea coast. Those of the mountaines, tooke the common peoples part for their liues. Those of the valley, would a few of the best citizens should carry the sway. The coast-men would that neither of them should preuaile, because they would haue had a mean gouernment & mingled of thē both. Furthermore, the faction between the poore & rich, proceeding of their vnequality, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the citie was in great daunger, and it seemed there was no way to pacifie or take vp these controuersies, vnlesse some tyrant hapned to rise, that would take vpon him to rule the whole. For all the common people were so sore indetted to the rich, that either they plowed their lands, and yeelded them the sixt part of their crop: (for which cause they were called *Hectemorij* and seruants) or else they borrowed mony of them at vsurie, vpon gage of their bodies to serue it out. And if they were not able to pay thē, then were they by the law deliuered to their creditors, who kept thē as bondmen & slaues in their houses, or else they sent them into strange countries to be sold: & many euen for very pouerty were forced to sel their own childrē (for there was no law to forbid the cōtrary) or els to forsake their city

Epimenides Phæstus taken for one of the 7 sages, excluding Periander.

Solon pacified the sedition at Athens.

The miserie of debt & vsury.

and countrey, for the extreame cruelty and hard dealing of theſe abominable vſurers their creditors. Inſomuch that many of the luſtieſt & ſtouteſt of them, banded together in companies, and incouraged one another, not to ſuffer and beare any longer ſuch extremity, but to chooſe them a ſtout and truſty captaine, that might ſet them at liberty, and redeeme thoſe out of captiuity, which were iudged to be bondmen and ſeruants, for lack of paying of their dets at their daies appointed: and ſo to make againe a new diuiſion of all lands and tenements, and wholly to change and turne vp the whole ſtate and gouernment. Then the wiſeſt men of the citie, who ſaw *Solon* only neither partner with the rich in their oppreſſion, neither partaker with the poore in their neceſſity: made ſute to him, that it would pleaſe him to take the matter in hand, and to appeaſe and pacifie all theſe broiles and ſedition. Yet *Phanias* Lesbian writeth, that he vſed a ſubtilty, whereby he deceiued both the one and the other ſide, concerning the common weale. For he ſecretly promiſed the poore to diuide the lands againe: and the rich alſo, to confirme their couenants and bargaines. Howſoeuer it fell out, it is very certaine that *Solon* from the beginning made it a great matter, and was very ſcrupulous to deale betweene them: fearing the couetouſneſſe of the one, and arrogancie of the other. Howbeit in the end he was choſen gouernor after *Philõbrotus*, and was made reformer of the rigor of the lawes, and the temperer of the ſtate and common weale, by conſent and agreement of both parties. The rich accepted him, becauſe he was no begger: the poore did alſo like him, becauſe he was an honeſt man. They ſay moreouer, that one word and ſentence which he ſpake (which at that preſent was rife in euery mans mouth) that equality did breed no ſtrife: did aſwell pleaſe the rich and wealthy, as the poore and needie. For the one ſort conceiued of this word equality, that he wold meaſure all things according to the qualitie of the man: and the other tooke it for their purpoſe, that he would meaſure all things by the number, and by the polle only. Thus the captains of both factions perſwaded and prayed him, boldly to take vpon him that ſoueraigne authority, ſithence he had the whole citie now at his commandement. The neutersalſo of euery part, when they ſaw it very hard to pacifie theſe things with law and reaſon, were well content that the wiſeſt, and honeſteſt man, ſhould alone haue the royall power in his hands. Some ſay alſo that there was ſuch an oracle of *Apollo*:

Sit thou at helme, as gouernour to ſteere,
to guide our courſe, and rule the rowling ſhippe:
for thou ſhalt ſee, full many Athenians there,
will take thy part, and after thee will trippe.

Solons equitie & vprightnes Solon by ſubtiltie ſet order betwixt the poore & rich.

Solon choſen reformer of the lawe, and chiefe gouernour.

But his familiar friends aboue all rebuked him, ſaying he was to be accompted no better then a beaſt, if for feare of the name of tyrant, he would refuſe to take vpon him a Kingdome: which is the moſt iuſt and honourable ſtate, if one take it vpon him that is an honeſt man. As in old time, *Tinnondas* made himſelfe King of thoſe of *Negrepont*, with their conſent: and as *Pittacus* was then preſently of thoſe of METELIN. Notwithſtanding, all theſe goodly reaſons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they ſay that he aunſwered his friendes, that principalitie and tyrannie, was indeede a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entred into it. And in certaine verſes that he wrote to *Phocus*, thus he ſaid:

Solon refuſeth to be a tyrant. Tynnondas, & Pittacus tyrants.

Solons anſwer for tyranny.

I neither bluſh, nor yet repent my ſelfe,
that haue preſeru'd my natiue ſoyle alwaies,
and that therein (to hoord vp traſh and pelfe)
no tyrants thought could once eclypſe my praiſe.
No might could moue my mind to any wrong,
which might beblot the glory of my name:
for ſo I thought, to liue in honour long,
and farre excell all other men for fame.

Hereby appeareth plainely, that euen before he was choſen reformer of the ſtate, to ſtabliſh new lawes: he was then of great countenance and authoritie. But he himſelfe writeth, that many ſaid of him thus, after he had refuſed the occaſion of vſurping of this tyrannie:

Sure Solon was a foole, and of a baſhfull mind,
that would refuſe the great good hap, which gods to him aſsigned.
The pray was in his hands, yet durſt he neuer draw
the net therefore: but ſtood abaſht, and like a daſtard daw.

For

For had not that ſo bene, he would (for one daies raigne,
to be a king in Athens towne) himſelfe (all quicke) haue ſlaine.
And eke ſubuerted quite, his familie withall,
So ſweete it is to rule the roſt, yclad in princely pall.

Thus brought he common rumor to taber on his head. Now, notwithſtanding he had refuſed the kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remiſſe nor ſoft therefore in gouerning, neither would he bow for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his lawes to their liking, that had choſen him their reformer. For where the miſchiefe was tollerable, he did not ſtraight plucke it vp by the rootes: neither did he ſo change the ſtate, as he might haue done, leaſt if he ſhould haue attempted to turne vpſide downe the whole gouernment, he might afterwards haue bene neuer able to ſettle & ſtabliſh the ſame again. Therfore he only altred that, which he thought by reaſon he would perſwade his citizens vnto, or elſe by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he ſaid, ſoure with ſweet, and force with iuſtice. And herewith agreeth his aunſwer that he made afterwards vnto one that asked him, if he had made the beſt lawes he could for the ATHENIANS? Yea ſure, ſaith he, ſuch as they were to receiue. And this that followeth alſo, they haue euer ſince obſerued in the Athenian toung: to make certain things pleaſant, that be hateful, finely conueying them vnder colour of pleaſing names. As calling whores, lemans: taxes, contributions: garriſons, guards: priſons, houſes. And all this came vp firſt by *Solons* inuention, who called clearing of debts, *Seiſachtheian*: in Engliſh, diſcharge. For the firſt change and reformation he made in gouernment was this: he ordained that all manner of debts paſt ſhould be cleare, and no body ſhould aske his debtour any thing for the time paſt. That no man ſhould thencefoorth lend money out to vſurie, vpon couenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repayed. Howbeit ſome write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were contented that the intereſt only for vſurie ſhould be moderated, without taking away the whole debt: and that *Solon* called this eaſie & gentle diſcharge, *Seiſachtheian* with crying vp the value of mony. For he raiſed the pound of ſiluer, being before but threeſcore & thirteene Drachmes, full vp to an hundred: ſo they which were to pay great ſums of mony, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with leſſe number of peeces then the debt could haue bene payed when it was borrowed. And ſo the detters gained much, & the creditors loſt nothing. Neuertheles the greater part of them which haue written the ſame, ſay, that this crying vp of mony, was a general diſcharge of all debts, conditions, and couenants vpon the ſame: wherto the very poemes themſelues, which *Solon* wrote, do ſeem to agree. For he glorieth, and breaketh foorth in his verſes, that he had taken away all bawkes and marks that ſeparated mens lands through the country of ATTICA: and that now he had ſet at libertie, that which before was in bondage. And that of the citizens of ATHENS, which for lacke of paiment of their debts had bene condemned for ſlaues to their creditors, he had brought many home againe out of ſtrange countries, where they had bene ſo long, that they had forgotten to ſpeake their naturall tongue: and other which remained at home in captiuitie, he had now ſet them all at good liberty. But while he was in doing this, men ſay a thing thwarted him, that troubled him maruellouſly. For hauing framed an Edict for clearing of all debts, & lacking only a litle to grace it with words, and to giue it ſome pretie preface, that otherwiſe was readie to be proclaimed: he opened himſelf ſomwhat to certain of his familiars whom he truſted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) & told them how he would not meddle with lands & poſſeſſions, but wold only cleare & cut off all maner of debts. Theſe men before the proclamatiõ came out, went preſently to the money-men, & borowed great ſums of mony of them, & laid it out ſtraight vpon land. So when the proclamation came out, they kept the lands they had purchaſed, but reſtored not the mony they had borrowed. This foule part of theirs made *Solon* very ill ſpoken of, and wrongfully blamed: as if he had not onely ſuffered it, but had bene partaker of this wrong and iniuſtice. Notwithſtanding he cleared himſelfe of this ſlaunderous report, loſing fiue talents by his owne law. For it was well knowne that ſo much was due vnto him, and he was the firſt that following his owne proclamation, did clearely releaſe his debtours of the ſame. Other ſay he was owing fifteene talents: and among the ſame, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithſtanding they euer after called *Solons* friends, *Greocopides*, cutters of debts. This law neither liked the one nor the other ſort. For it greatly offended the rich for cancelling their bonds: and it much more miſliked the poore, becauſe all lands and poſſeſſions they gaped for, were not made againe common, and euery bodie alike rich and wealthie, as *Lycurgus* had made the

Excellent temperature.

Things hatefull made pleaſant with ſweet words.

Clearing of debts, Solons firſt lawe.

Vſurie forbidden vpon gage of the body.

The value of money cryed vp by Solon.

Lawes would be kept ſecret till they be publiſhed.

Ill conſciences by craft preuent lawe.

A good lawe-maker, beginneth to do iuſtice in himſelf

LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Lycurgus* was the eleuenth descended of the right line from *Hercules*, and had many yeres bene King of LACEDÆMON, where he had gotten great authority, and made himselfe many friends: all which things together, did greatly helpe him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of his Common weale. Yet also, he vsed more perswasion then force, a good witnesse thereof the losse of his eye: preferring a lawe before his priuate iniurie, which hath power to preserue a citie long in vnion and concord, and to make citizens to be neither poore nor rich. *Solon* could not attaine to this, for he was borne in a popular state, and a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could possible, with the power he had, as one seeking to winne no credit with his citizens, but onely by his counsell. Now, that he got the ill will of the greater part of the citie, by his proclamation which he made: he himself doth witnesse it saying:

Euen those which erst, did beare me friendly face,
and spake full faire, where euer I them met:
gan now beginne, to looke full grim of grace,
and were (like foes) in force against me set.
As if I had done them some spite or scorne,
or open wrong, which were not to be borne.

Neuertheless he saith immediatly after, that with the same authoritie and power he had, a man possibly

Could not controll the peoples minds:
nor still their braynes, which wrought like winds.

But shortly after, hauing a feeling of the benefit of his ordinance, and euery one forgetting his priuate quarrell: they altogether made a common sacrifice, which they called the sacrifice of *Seisachtheia*, or discharge, and chose *Solon* generall reformer of the law, and of the whole state of the common weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will. As the offices of state, common assemblies, voices in election, iudgements in iustice, and the body of the Senate. And they gaue him also full power and authoritie, to sesse & taxe any of them, to appoint the number, what time the sesse should continue, and to keepe, confirme, and disanull at his pleasure, any of the ancient lawes & customes then in being. To begin withall, he first took away all *Dracons* bloudie lawes, sauing for murther, & manslaughter, which were too seuere & cruell. For almost he did ordaine but one kind of punishment for all kind of faults and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idlenesse, were iudged to dye. And pety larcenie, as robbing mens hortyards, & gardens of fruit, or herbes, was as seuerely punished, as those who had committed sacrilege or murder. *Demades* therefore encountred it pleasantly, when he said: that *Dracons* lawes were not written with inke, but with bloud. And *Draco* himselfe, being asked one day, why his punishments were so vnequall, as death for all kinds of faults: he aunswered: Because he thought the least offence worthy so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grieuous. Then *Solon* being desirous to haue the chiefe offices of the citie to remaine in rich mens hands, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authority of gouernment in such sort, as the meaner people might beare a litle sway, which they neuer could before: he made an estimate of the goods of euery priuate citizen. And those which he found yearly worth 500. bushels of corne, & other liquide fruits and vpwards, he called *Pentacosiomedimnes*: as to say, fiue hundred bushell men of reuenue. And those that had 300. bushels a yeare, and were able to keep a horse of seruice, he put in the second degree, & called them knights. They that might dispend but two hundred bushels a yere, were put in the third place, & called *Zeugites*. All other vnder those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would say, hirelings, or crafts men liuing of their labor: whom he did not admit to beare any office in the city, neither were they taken as free citizens, sauing they had voices in elections, & assemblies of the city, and in iudgements, where the people wholy iudged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpose, for hereby the most part of priuate quarrels and strife that grew among them, were in the end laid open before the people. For he suffered those to appeale vnto the people, which thought they had wrong iudgment in their causes. Furthermore because his lawes were written somwhat obscurely, & might be diuersely taken & interpreted: this did giue a great deale more authority and power to the Iudges. For, considering all their controuersies could not be ended, and iudged by expresse law: they were driuen of necessitie alwaies to run to the Iudges, and debated their matters

Solons absolute authoritie in the common vveale.

Solon tooke away all Draconslawes.

Solon rateth euery citizen at a certaine summe.
Pentacosiomedimni.
Zeugita.
Thetes.

The darkenesse of the lavv increased the authority of the Iudge.

ters before them. In ſo much as the Iudges by this meanes came to be ſomewhat aboue the law: for they did euen expound it as they would themſelues. *Solon* ſelfe doth note this equall diuiſion of the publike authoritie, in a place of his poeſies, where he ſayth:

Such power haue I giuen, to common peoples hand,
as might become their meane eſtate, with equitie to ſtand:
and as I haue not pluckt, from them their dignitie,
ſo haue I not too much increac'd, their ſmall authoritie.
Vnto the rich likewiſe, I haue allowed no more,
then well might ſeeme (in iuſt conceit) ſufficient for their ſtore.
And ſo I haue for both prouided in ſuch wiſe,
that neither ſhall each other wrong, nor ſeeme for to deſpiſe.

Yet conſidering it was meete to prouide for the pouertie of the common ſort of people: he ſuffered any man that would, to take vpon him the defence of any poore mans caſe that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwiſe wronged: any other man that would might lawfully ſue the offendor, and proſecute law againſt him. And this was a wiſe law ordained of him, to accuſtome his citizens to be ſorie for anothers hurt, and ſo to feele it, as if any part of his owne body had bene iniured. And they ſay he made an anſwere on a time agreeable to this law. For, being asked what citie he thought beſt gouerned: he anſwered: That citie where ſuch as receiue no wrong, do as earneſtly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and iniury had bene done vnto themſelues. He erected alſo the counſell of the *Areopagites*, of thoſe magiſtrates of the citie, out of which they did yearely chuſe their gouernour: and he himſelf had bene of that number, for that he had bene gouernour for a yeare. Wherefore perceiuing now the people were growne to a ſtomack, and haughtines of mind becauſe they were cleare diſcharged of their debts: he ſet one vp for matters of ſtate, another counſel of an hundred choſen out of euery tribe, whereof foure hundred of them were to conſult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the people: that when the great counſell of the people at large ſhould be aſſembled, no matters ſhould be put forth, vnles it had bene before well conſidered of, & digeſted, by the counſell of the foure hundred. Moreouer, he ordained the higher court ſhould haue the chiefe authoritie and power ouer al things, and chiefly to ſee the law executed and maintained: ſuppoſing that the common weale being ſetled, & ſtaied with theſe two courts (as with two ſtrong anker holds) it ſhould be the leſſe turmoiled and troubled, and the people alſo better pacified and quieted. The moſt part of writers hold this opinion, that it was *Solon* which erected the counſell of the *Areopagites*, as we haue ſaid, and it is very likely to be true; for that *Dracon* in all his lawes and ordinances made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but alwayes ſpeaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were Iudges of life and death) when he ſpake of murther, or of any mans death. Notwithſtanding, the eight law of the thirteenth table of *Solon* ſaith thus, in theſe very words: All ſuch as haue bene baniſhed or detected of naughtie life, before *Solon* made his lawes, ſhal be reſtored againe to their goods and good name, except thoſe which were condemned by order of the counſell of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open court, for murther, and death of any man, or for aſpiring to vſurp tyrannie. Theſe words to the contrary ſeeme to proue and teſtifie, that the counſell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was choſen reformer of the lawes. For how could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the counſell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the firſt that gaue it authoritie to iudge? vnleſſe a man will ſay peraduenture, that he would a litle helpe the matter of his lawes which were obſcure and darke, and would ſupply that they lacked, with expounding of the ſame by them. Thoſe which ſhall be found attainted and conuicted of any matter, that hath bene heard before the counſell of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the gouernours of the citie when this law ſhall come forth: ſhall ſtand condemned ſtill, and all other ſhall be pardoned, reſtored, and ſet at libertie. Howſoeuer it is, ſure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore among the reſt of his lawes, one of them indeede was of his owne deuiſe: for the like was neuer ſtabliſhed elſewhere. And it is that law, that pronounceth him defamed, and vnhoneſt, who in a ciuill vprore among the citizens, ſitteth ſtill a looker on, and a neuter, and taketh part with neither ſide. Whereby his mind was as it ſhould appeare, that priuate men ſhould not be only carefull to put themſelues and their cauſes in ſafetie, nor yet ſhould be carleſſe for other mens matters, or think it a vertue not to meddle with the miſeries & misfortunes of their countrey, but from the beginning of euery ſedition that they ſhould ioyne

The counſell of the Areopagites

3. Counſels erected in Athens.

Other lawes of Solon.

A lawe againſt neuters.

with thoſe that take the iuſteſt cauſe in hand, and rather to hazard themſelues with ſuch, then to tary looking (without putting themſelues in danger) which of the two ſhould haue the victorie. There is another law alſo, which at the firſt ſight me thinketh is very vnhoneſt and fond. That if any man according to the law hath matched with a rich heyre and inheritour, and of himſelfe is impotent, and vnable to do the office of a husband, ſhe may lawfully lie with any whom ſhe liketh, of her husbands neareſt kinſmen: Howbeit ſome affirme, that it is a wiſe made law for thoſe, which knowing themſelues vnmeete to entertaine wedlocke, will for couetouſneſſe of lands, marie with rich heyres and poſſeſſioners, and mind to abuſe poore gentlewomen vnder the colour of law: and will thinke to force and reſtraine nature. For, ſeeing the law ſuffereth an inheritour or poſſeſſioner thus ill beſtowed, at her pleaſure to be bold with any of her husbands kin: men will either leaue to purchaſe ſuch mariages, or if they be ſo careleſſe that they will needs marie, it ſhall be to their extreame ſhame and ignominy, and ſo ſhall they deſeruedly pay for their greedy couetouſneſſe. And the law is well made alſo, becauſe the wife hath not ſcope to all her husbands kinſmen, but vnto one choice man whom ſhe liketh beſt of his houſe: to the end that the children that ſhall be borne, ſhall be at the leaſt of her husbands bloud and kindred. This alſo confirmeth the ſame, that ſuch a new maried wife ſhould be ſhut vp with her husband, and eate a quince with him: and that he alſo which marieth ſuch an inheritor, ſhould of dutie ſee her thriſe a moneth at the leaſt. For although he get no children of her, yet it is an honour the husband doth to his wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honeſt woman, that he loueth her, and that he eſteemeth of her. Beſides, it taketh away many miſlikings and diſpleaſures which oftentimes happen in ſuch caſes, and keepeth loue and good will waking, that it die not vtterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke away all ioynters and dowries in other marriages, and willed that the wiues ſhould bring their hubands but three gownes onely, with ſome other litle moueables of ſmall value, and without any other thing as it were: vtterly forbidding that they ſhould buy their husbãds, or that they ſhould make marchandize of mariages, as of other trades to gaine, but would that man and woman ſhould marrie together for iſſue, for pleaſure, and for loue, but in no caſe for money. And for proofe hereof, *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SICILIE, one day anſwered his mother (which would needs be maried to a yong man of SYRACVSA) in this ſort: I haue power (ſayth he) to breake the lawes of SYRACVSA, by hauing the kingdome: but to force the law of nature, or to make mariage without the reaſonable compaſſe of age, that paſſeth my reach and power. So is it not tollerable, and much leſſe allowable alſo, that ſuch diſorder ſhould be in well ordered cities, that ſuch vncomely and vnfit mariages ſhould be made, betweene couples of ſo vnequall yeares: conſidering there is no meete nor neceſſarie end of ſuch matches. A wiſe gouernour of a citie, or a Iudge and reformer of lawes and manners, might well ſay to an old man that ſhould marrie with a yong maide, as the Poet ſayth of *Philoctetes:*

Ah ſilly wretch, how trimme a man art thou,
at theſe yong yeares, for to be married now?

And finding a yong man in an old rich womans houſe, getting his liuing by riding of her errands, and waxing fat as they ſay the partridge doth by treading of the hens: he may take him from thence, to beſtow him on ſome yong maide that ſhall haue neede of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another law of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to ſpeake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke, that they ought not to touch the dead, no more than to touch holy things: and men ſhould take great heed to offend thoſe that are departed out of this world: beſides it is a token of wiſedome and ciuilitie, to beware of immortall enemies. He commaunded alſo in the ſelfe ſame law, that no man ſhould ſpeake ill of the liuing, ſpecially in Churches, during diuine ſeruice, or in counſell chamber of the citie, nor in the Theaters whileſt games were a playing: vpon paine of three filuer *Drachmes to be payed to him that was iniured, and two to the common treaſurie. For he thought it too much ſhameleſſe boldnes, in no place to keepe in ones choller, and moreouer, that ſuch lacked ciuilitie and good manners: and yet altogether to ſuppreſſe and ſmother it, he knew it was not onely a hard matter, but to ſome natures vnpoſſible. And he that maketh lawes, muſt haue regard to the common poſſibilitie of men, if he will puniſh litle, with profitable example, and not much without ſome profit. So was he maruellouſly well thought of, for the law that he made touching wils and teſtaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their heyres whom they would, but the goods came to the children or kinred of the teſtator. But he leauing it at libertie, to diſpoſe their goods where they

An act for marching with inheritours.

Solon forbiddeth ioynters and dowries.

Dionyſius ſaying of mariages.

A law forbidding to ſpeake euill of the dead.

* *Drachmæ.*

A law for wils and teſtaments.

they thought good, ſo they had no children of their owne: did therein preferre friendſhip before kindred, and good wil and fauor before neceſſitie and conſtraint, and ſo made euery one lord and maſter of his own goods. Yet he did not ſimply & alike allow of all ſorts of gifts, howſoeuer they were made (but thoſe only which were made by men of ſound memorie, or by thoſe whoſe wits failed them not by extreame ſicknes, or through drinkes, medicines, poiſonings, charmes, or other ſuch violence and extraordinarie meanes, neither yet through the intiſements and perſwaſions of women. As thinking very wiſely, there was no difference at all between thoſe that were euidently forced by conſtraint, and thoſe that were compaſſed & wrought by ſubornation at length to do a thing againſt their will, taking fraud in this caſe equall with violence, and pleaſure with ſorrow, as paſſions with madnes, which commonly haue as much force the one as the other, to draw and driue men from reaſon. He made another law alſo, in which he appointed women their times to go abroade into the fields, their mourning, their feaſts and ſacrifices, plucking from them all diſorder and wilfull libertie, which they vſed before. For he did forbid that they ſhould carrie out of the citie with them aboue three gownes, and to take victuals with them aboue the value of an halfe penny, neither basket nor pannier aboue a cubite high: and ſpecially he did forbid them to go in the night, other then in their coach, and that a torch ſhould be caried before them. He did forbid them alſo at the buriall of the dead, to teare and ſpoile themſelues with blowes, to make lamentations in verſes, to weepe at the funerals of a ſtranger not being their kinſeman, to ſacrifice an oxe on the graue of the dead, to burie aboue three gownes with the corſe, to go to other mens graues, but at the very time of burying the corſe: all which or the moſt part of them, are forbidden by our lawes at this day. Moreouer, thoſe lawes appoint a penaltie vpon ſuch women as offend in the ſame, to be diſtrained for, by certain officers expreſly named, to controle and reforme the abuſes of women, as womaniſh perſons and faint harted, which ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome with ſuch paſſions and fondneſſe in their mourning. And perceiuing that the citie of ATHENS began to repleniſh daily more and more, by mens repairing thither from all parts, and by reaſon of the great aſſured ſafetie and liberty that they found there: and alſo conſidering how the greateſt part of the Realme became in manner heathie, and was very barren, and that men traffiquing the ſeas, are not wont to bring any merchandize to thoſe which can giue them nothing againe in exchange: he began to practiſe that his citizens ſhould giue themſelues vnto crafts and occupations, and made a law, that the ſonne ſhould not be bound to relieue his father being old, vnleſſe he had ſet him in his youth to ſome occupation. It was a wiſe part of *Lycurgus* (who dwelt in a citie where was no reſort of ſtrangers, and had ſo great a territorie, as could haue furniſhed twiſe as many people, as *Euripides* ſaith, and moreouer on all ſides was enuironed with a great number of ſlaues of the ILOTES, whom it was needfull to keepe ſtill in labour and worke continually) to haue his citizens alwayes occupied in exerciſes of feates of armes, without making them to learne any other ſcience, but diſcharged them of all other miſerable occupations and handy-craftes. But *Solon* framing his lawes vnto things, and not things vnto lawes, when he ſaw the countrey of ATTICA ſo leane and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to ſuſtaine thoſe that tilled the ground onely, and therefore much more impoſſible to keepe ſo great a multitude of idle people as were in ATHENS: thought it very requiſite to ſet vp occupations, and to giue them countenance and eſtimation. Therefore he ordained, that the counſell of the *Areopagites*, ſhould haue full power and authoritie to enquire how euery man liued in the citie, and alſo to puniſh ſuch as they found idle people, and did not labour. But this was thought too ſeuere and ſtraight a law which he ordained (as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth) that the children borne of common harlots and ſtrumpets ſhould not be bound to relieue their fathers. For he that maketh no accompt of matrimonie, plainely ſheweth that he tooke not a wife to haue children, but onely to ſatisfie his luſt and pleaſure: and ſo ſuch a one hath his iuſt reward, and is diſappointed of the reuerence that a father ought to haue of his children, ſince through his owne fault the birth of his child falleth out to his reproch. Yet to ſay truly, in *Solons* lawes touching women, there are many abſurdities, as they fall out ill fauouredly. For he maketh it lawfull for any man to kill an adulterer taking him with the fact. But he that rauiſheth or forcibly taketh away a free woman, is only condemned to pay a hundred ſiluer * drachmes. And he that was the *Pandor* to procure her, ſhould onely pay twentie drachmes. Vnleſſe ſhe had bene a common ſtrumpet or curtiſan: for ſuch do iuſtifie open acceſſe to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any perſon to ſel his daughters or ſiſters, vnleſſe the father or brother had taken them,

A lawe for women going abroade.

Craftes and occupations aduanced.

The authoritie of the court and counſell of the Areopagites.

* *Drachmæ.*

abuſing themſelues before mariage. Me thinketh it is far from purpoſe and reaſon, with ſeueritie to puniſh a thing in one place, and ouer lightly to paſſe it ouer in another: or to ſet ſome light fine on ones head for a great fault, and after to diſcharge him, as it were but a matter of ſport. Vnleſſe they will excuſe it thus, that money being very hard and ſcant at that time in ATHENS, thoſe fines were then very great and grieuous to pay. For in ſetting out the charges of offerings which ſhould be made in ſacrifices, he appointed a weather to be a conuenient offering, and he ſetteth a buſhell of corne at a ſiluer drachme. More he ordained, that they which wonne any of the games at ATHENS, ſhould pay to the common treaſurie an hundred drachmes. And thoſe that wonne any of the games *Olympicall*, fiue hundred drachmes. Alſo he appointed that he which brought a he woolfe, ſhould haue fiue drachmes, and him one drachme for reward of a ſhe woolfe. Whereof as *Demetrius Valerian* writeth, the one was the price of an oxe, and the other of a mutton. For, touching the rates he ordained in the ſixteenth table of his lawes meete for burnt ſacrifices, it is likely he did rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithſtanding, the price which he ſetteth, is very litle in compariſon of that which they are worth at this day. Now it was a cuſtome euer amongſt the ATHENIANS to kill their woolues, becauſe all their countrey lay for paſture, and not for tillage. Some there be that ſay, the tribes of the people of ATHENS haue not bene called after the names of the children of *Ion*, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their diuers trades and maners of liuing, which they tooke themſelues vnto from the beginning. For, ſuch as gaue themſelues vnto the warres, were called *Oplites*: as who would ſay, men of armes. Thoſe that wrought in their occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to ſay, as men of occupation. The other two which were husbandmen, and followed the plough, were called *Teleontes*: as you would ſay, laboring men. And thoſe that kept beaſts and cattell, were called *Ægicores*: as much to ſay, as heardmen. Now, foraſmuch as the whole prouince of ATTICA was very drie, and had great lacke of water, being not full of riuers, running ſtreames, nor lakes, nor yet ſtored with any great number of ſprings, in ſo much as they are driuen there to vſe (through the moſt part of the countrey) water drawne out of welles made with mens hands: he made ſuch an order, that where there was any Well within the ſpace of an Hippicon, that euery body within that circuite, might come and draw water onely at that Well, for his vſe and neceſſitie. Hippicon is the diſtance of foure furlongs, which is halfe a mile: and thoſe that dwell further off, ſhould go ſeek their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yards deepe in their ground, & could find no water in the bottome, in this caſe, they might lawfully go to their next neighbors well, and take a pot full of water containing ſixe gallons, twiſe a day: iudging it great reaſon that neceſſitie ſhould be holpen, but not that idleneſſe ſhould be cheriſhed. He appointed alſo the ſpaces that ſhould be kept and obſerued by thoſe that would ſet or plant trees in their ground, as being a man very skilfull in theſe matters. For he ordained, that whoſoeuer would plant any kind of trees in his ground, he ſhould ſet them fiue foote aſunder one from another: but for the fig tree and oliue tree ſpecially, that they ſhould in any caſe be nine foote aſunder, becauſe theſe two trees do ſpread out their branches farre off, and they cannot ſtand neare other trees but they muſt needes hurt them very much. For beſides that they draw away the ſap that doth nouriſh the other trees, they caſt alſo a certaine moiſture and ſteame vpon them, that is very hurtfull and incommodious. More he ordained, that whoſoeuer would digge a pit or hole in his ground, ſhould digge it as farre off from his neighbours pit, as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would ſet vp a hiue of bees in his ground, he ſhould ſet them at the leaſt three hundred foote from other hiues ſet about him before. And of the fruites of the earth, he was contented they ſhould tranſport and ſell onely oyle out of the Realme to ſtrangers, but no other fruite or graine. He ordained that the gouernour of the citie ſhould yearely proclaime open curſes againſt thoſe that ſhould do to the contrarie, or elſe he himſelfe making default therein, ſhould be fined at a hundred drachmes. This ordinance is in the firſt table of *Solons* lawes, and therefore we may not altogether diſcredite thoſe which ſay, they did forbid in the old time that men ſhould carie figges out of the countrey of ATTICA, and that from thence it came that theſe picke-thankes, which bewray and accuſe them that tranſported figges, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another law alſo againſt the hurt that beaſts might do vnto men. Wherein he ordained, that if a dogge did bite any man, he that ought him ſhould deliuer to him that was bitten, his dogge tied to a logge of timber of foure cubites long: and this was a very good deuiſe, to make men ſafe from dogs. But he was very ſtraight in one law he

The tribes of the Athenians how they were called.

An act for welles.

An acte for planting and ſetting of trees.

Drachma.

he made, that no ſtranger might be made denizen & free man of the citie of ATHENS, vnleſſe he were a baniſhed man for euer out of his country, or elſe that he ſhould come and dwell there with all his family, to exerciſe ſome craft or ſcience. Notwithſtanding, they ſay he made not this law ſo much to put ſtrangers from their freedome there, as to draw them thither, aſſuring them by this ordinance, they might come and be free of the citie: and he thought moreouer, that both the one and the other would be more faithfull to the common weale of ATHENS. The one of thē, for that againſt their wils they were driuen to forſake their country: & the other ſort, for that aduiſedly and willingly they were contented to forſake it. This alſo was another of *Solons* lawes, which he ordained for thoſe that ſhould feaſt certain daies at the towne houſe of the city, at other mens coſt. For he would not allow that one man ſhould come often to feaſts there. And if any man were inuited thither to the feaſt, and did refuſe to come: he did ſet a fine on his head, as reproouing the miſerable niggardlines of the one, and the preſumptuous arrogancie of the other, to contemne and deſpiſe common order. After he had made his lawes, he did ſtabliſh them to continue for the ſpace of one hundred yeares, and they were written in tables of wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broad, in the which they were grauen: whereof there remaine ſome monuments yet in our time, which are to be ſeen in the towne hall of the city of ATHENS. *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that theſe tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Cratinus* alſo the Comicall poet ſayth in one place, of *Solon* & *Dracon*: that *Cyrbes* was a veſſell or pan wherein they did frie millet or hirſe. Howbeit others ſay, that *Cyrbes* properly were the tables, which contained the ordinances of the ſacrifices: and *Axones* were the other tables, that concerned the common weale. So, all the counſels and magiſtrates together did ſweare, that they would keepe *Solons* lawes themſelues, and alſo cauſe them to be obſerued of others throughly and particularly. Then euery one of the *Theſmothetes* (which were certaine officers attendant on the counſell, and had ſpeciall charge to ſee the laws obſerued) did ſolemnly ſweare in the opē market place, neare the ſtone where the proclamations are proclaimed: & euery of them both promiſed, and vowed openly to keep the ſame laws, and that if any of them did in any one point breake the ſaid ordinances, then they were content that ſuch offender ſhould pay to the temple of *Apollo*, at the city of DELPHES, an image of fine gold, that ſhould way as much as himſelfe. Moreouer, *Solon* ſeeing the diſorder of the moneths, and the mouing of the Moon, which followed not the courſe of the Sunne, and vſed not to riſe and fall when the ſunne doth, but oft times in one day, it doth both touch and paſſe the ſunne: he was the firſt that called the change of the Moone, *Ene cai néa*, as much to ſay, as old & new moon. Allowing that which appeared before the coniunction, to be of the moneth paſt: and that which ſhewed it ſelfe after the coniunction, to be of the moneth following. And he was the firſt alſo (in my opinion) that vnderſtood *Homer* rightly, when he ſaid: then beginneth the moneth when it endeth. The day following the change, he called *Neomenia*, as much to ſay, that the new moneth or the new moon. After the twentith day of the moneth which they called *Icada*, he reckned not the reſt of the moneth, as increaſing, but as in the wane: and gathered it by ſeeing the light of the moone decreaſing vntil the thirtieth day. Now after his lawes were come abroad, & proclaimed, there came ſome daily vnto him, which either praiſed them, or miſliked them, and praied him either to take away, or to adde ſomething vnto them. Many againe came and asked him, how he vnderſtood ſome ſentence of his laws: and requeſted him to declare his meaning, and how it ſhould be taken. Wherefore conſidering how it were to no purpoſe to refuſe to do it, and againe how it would get him much enuie and ill will to yeeld thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to wind himſelfe out of theſe briers, and to flie the gronings, complaints, and quarrels of his citizens. For he ſaith himſelfe:

Feaſts for townesmen in the townehall of Athens.

Axones.

Cyrbes.

Theſmothetes.

Full hard it is, all minds content to haue,
and ſpecially in matters hard and graue.

So, to conuey himſelf a while out of the way, he took vpon him to be maſter of a ſhip in a certaine voyage, & asked licence for ten yeares of the ATHENIANS to go beyond ſea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his lawes. So went he to the ſeas, and the firſt place of his arriuall was in ÆGYPT, where he remained a while, as he himſelfe ſayth.

Solons trauell.

Euen there where Nylus, with his crooked crankes,
by Canobe, falls into the ſea bankes.

He went to his booke there, and did conferre a certaine time with *Pſenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wiſeſt prieſts at that time that were in ÆGYPT: whom when he heard

rehearſe the ſtory of the Iles ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proued to put the ſame into verſe, and did ſend it abroad through GREECE. At his departure out of ÆGYPT he went into CYPRVS, where he had great courteſie and friendſhip of one of the Princes of that country, called *Philocyprus*, who was lord of a pretie litie citie which *Demophon* (*Theſeus* ſonne) cauſed to be built vpon the riuer of Clarie, and was of a goodly ſtrong ſituation, but in a very leane and barren countrey. Whereupon *Solon* told him, it would do better a great deale to remoue it out of that place, into a very faire and pleaſant valley that lay vnderneath it, and there to make it larger and ſtatelier then it was: which was done according to his perſwaſion. And *Solons* ſelfe being preſent at it, was made ouerſeer of the buildings, which he did help to deuiſe and order in good ſort, aſwell in reſpect of pleaſure, as for force & defence: inſomuch as many people came from other places to dwel there. And herein many other Lords of the country did follow the example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honor *Solon*, called this citie SOLES, which before was called ÆPIA. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his wordes vnto *Philocyprus*, as followeth:

Clarius fl.

AEpia called Soles.

So graunt the gods, that thou, and thine of-ſpring,
may clime to great and paſsing princely ſtate:
long time to liue, in Soles flouriſhing.
And that they graunt, my ſhip and me good gate
when I from hence, by ſeas ſhall take my way:
that with her harpe, dame Venus do vouchſafe
to waft me ſtill, vntill ſhe may conuey
my ſelfe againe, into my countrey ſafe.
Since I haue bene, the onely meane and man,
which here to build, this citie firſt began.

And as for the meeting and talke betwixt him and king *Cræſus*, I know there are that by diſtance of time will proue it but a fable, and deuiſed of pleaſure: but for my part I will not reiect, nor condemne ſo famous an hiſtorie, receiued and approoued by ſo many graue teſtimonies. Moreouer it is very agreeable to *Solons* manners and nature, and alſo not vnlike to his wiſdome and magnanimitie: although in all points it agreeth not with certaine tables (which they call Chronicles) where they haue buſily noted the order and courſe of times which euen to this day, many haue curiouſly ſought to correct, and could yet neuer diſcuſſe it, nor accord all contrarieties and manifeſt repugnances in the ſame. *Solon* at the deſire and requeſt of *Cræſus*, went to ſee him in the citie of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he ſeemed to be in the ſelfe ſame taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne and bred vp on the maine land, and had neuer ſeene the ſea neither farre nor neare, did imagine euery riuer that he ſaw had bene the ſea. So *Solon* paſſing alongſt *Cræſus* pallace, and meeting by the way many of the Lords of his Court richly apparelled, and carying great traines of ſeruing men, and ſouldiours about them: thought euer that one of them had bene the King, vntill he was brought vnto *Cræſus* ſelfe. Who was paſſing richly arrayed, what for precious ſtones and iewels, and for rich coloured ſilkes, layed on with curious goldſmiths worke, and all to ſhew himſelfe to *Solon* in moſt ſtately, ſumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiuing by *Solons* repaire to his preſence, that he ſhewed no manner of ſigne, nor countenance of wondering, to ſee ſo great a ſtate before him, neither had giuen out any word neare or likely to that which *Cræſus* looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had deliuered ſpeeches for men of iudgement and vnderſtanding to know, how inwardly he much did miſlike *Cræſus* fooliſh vanitie and baſe mind: then *Cræſus* commaunded all his treaſuries to be opened, where his gold and ſiluer lay: next, that they ſhould ſhew him his rich and ſumptuous wardrobes, although that needed not: for to ſee *Cræſus* ſelfe, it was enough to diſcerne his nature and condition. After he had ſeene all ouer and ouer, being brought againe vnto the preſence of the King: *Cræſus* asked him, if euer he had ſeene any man more happie than himſelfe was? *Solon* aunſwered him, I haue: and that was one *Tellus* a citizen of ATHENS, who was a maruellous honeſt man, and had left his children behind him in good eſtimation, and well to liue: and laſtly, was moſt happie at his death, by dying honourably in the field, in defence of his countrey. *Cræſus* hearing this anſwere, began to iudge him a man of litle wit, or of groſſe vnderſtanding, becauſe he did not thinke, that to haue ſtore of gold and ſiluer, was the onely ioy and felicitie of the world, and that he would preferre the life and death of a meane

Solon ſaw king Cræſus in the citie of Sardis.

Cræſus queſtion to Solon touching happineſſe.

Solon eſteemed Tellus a happie man.

meane and priuate man as more happie, then all the riches and power of so mighty a king. Notwithstanding all this, *Cræsus* yet asked him again: What other man beside *Tellus* he had seen happier then himself? *Solon* answered him, that he had seene *Cleobis* and *Biton*, which were both brethren, and loued one another singularly well, and their mother in such sort: that vpon a solemne festiuall day, when she should go to the temple of *Iuno* in her coach drawne with oxen: because they taried too long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoaked themselues by the necks, & drue their mothers coach in stead of the oxen, which maruellously reioyced her, & she was thought most happy of all other, to haue borne two such sons. Afterwards when they had done sacrifice to the goddesse, & made good cheare at the feast of this sacrifice, they went to bed: but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurt or sorrow, after they had receiued so much glory and honor. *Cræsus* then could no longer bridle in his patience, but breaking out in choler, said vnto him: Why, dost thou recken me then in no degree of happy men? *Solon* would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but answered him thus: O king of LYDIANS, the gods haue giuen vs GRECIANS all things in a meane, and amongst other things chiefly, a base and popular wisedom, not princely nor noble: which considering how mans life is subiect to infinit changes, doth forbid vs to trust or glory in these worldly riches. For time bringeth daily misfortunes vnto man, which he neuer thought of, nor looked for. But when the gods haue continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we think that man happy and blessed, and neuer before. Otherwise, if we should iudge a man happy that liueth, considering he is euer in danger of change during life: we should be much like to him, who iudgeth him the victory before hand, that is still a fighting, and may be ouercome, hauing no surety yet to cary it away. After *Solon* had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned back againe, leauing king *Cræsus* offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Now *Æsope* that wrote the fables, being at that time in the city of SARDIS, and sent for thither by the king, who entertained him very honorably: was very sory to see that the king had giuen *Solon* no better entertainment; so by way of aduice he said vnto him: O *Solon*, either we must not come to princes at all, or else we must seeke to please and content them. But *Solon* turning it to the contrarie, answered him: Either we must not come to princes, or else we must needs tell them truly, and counsell them for the best. So *Cræsus* made light account of *Solon* at that time. But after he had lost the battell against *Cyrus*, and that his city was taken, himselfe become prisoner, and was bound fast to a gibbet, ouer a great stacke of wood, to be burnt in the sight of all the PERSIANS, and of *Cyrus* his enemie: he then cryed out as loud as he could, thrise together: O *Solon*! *Cyrus* being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he onely cryed vpon in his extreame miserie, was a god or man. *Cræsus* kept it not secret from him, but said: he was one of the wise men of GREECE, whom I sent for to come vnto me on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stood in need of, but only that he might witnes my felicitie, which then I did enioy: the losse whereof is now more hurtfull, then the enioying of the same was good or profitable. But now (alas) too late I know it, that the riches I possessed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter sorrow, and to present & remedilesse calamitie. Which the wise GRECIAN considering then, and foreseeing a farre off by my doings at that time, the instant miserie I suffer now: gaue me warning I should marke the end of my life, and that I should not too farre presume of my selfe, as puffed vp then with vaine glory of opinion of happinesse, the ground thereof being so slippery, and of so litle suretie. These words being reported vnto *Cyrus*, who was wiser then *Cræsus*, and seeing *Solons* saying confirmed by so notable an example: he did not only deliuer *Cræsus* from present perill of death, but euer after honored him so long as he liued. Thus had *Solon* glory, for sauing the honor of one of these Kings, and the life of the other, by his graue & wise counsell. But during the time of his absence, great seditions rose at ATHENS amongst the inhabitants, who had gotten them seuerall heads amongst them: as those of the vallie had made *Lycurgus* their head. The coast men, *Megacles*, the sonne of *Alcmæon*. And those of the mountains, *Pysistratus*: with whom all artificers and crafts men liuing of their handy labour were ioyned, which were the stoutest against the rich. So that notwithstanding the city kept *Solons* lawes and ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a change, & desired to see things in another state; either parties hoping their condition would mend by change, and that euery of thē should be better then their aduersaries. The whole cōmon weale broiling thus with troubles *Solon* arriued at ATHENS, where euery man did honour and reuerence him: howbeit he was no

Cleobis and Biton, happy men

Solon commendeth the meane

No man happy before his end.

AEsops saying to Solon.
Solons answer to AEsope.

King Cræsus words of Solō hanging vpon a gibbet to be burnt.

Riches are but words and opinion.

Sedition at Athens in Solons absence.

Solō returneth to Athens.

more able to ſpeake aloud in open aſſembly to the people, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, becauſe his age would not ſuffer him: and therfore he ſpake with euery one of the heads of the ſeuerall factions a part, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together againe. Whervnto *Pyſiſtratus* ſeemed to be more willing then any of the reſt, for he was courteous, and maruellous faire ſpoken, and ſhewed himſelfe beſides, very good and pitifull to the poore, and temperate alſo to his enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he did ſo finely counterfeit it, that men imagined it was more in him, then in thoſe that naturally had it in them indeed. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aſpiring no higher, and hating thoſe which would attempt to change the preſent ſtate of the common weale, and would practiſe any innouation. By this art and fine maner of his, he deceiued the poore common people. Howbeit *Solon* found him ſtraight, and ſaw the marke he ſhot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and ſought ſtill to win him, and bring him to reaſon, ſaying oft times, both to himſelf and to others: That who ſo could plucke out of his head the worme of ambition, by which he aſpired to be the chiefeſt, and could heale him of his greedy deſire to rule: there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better citizen then he would proue. About this time began *Theſpis* to ſet out his tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the people for the rareneſſe therof, being not many Poets yet in number, to ſtriue one againſt another for victory, as afterwards there were. *Solon* being naturally deſirous to heare and learne, and by reaſon of his age ſeeking to paſſe his time away in ſports, in muſick, & making good cheare more then euer he did: went one day to ſee *Theſpis*, who plaid a part himſelf, as the old faſhion of the Poets was, and after the play was ended, he called him to him, & asked him: if he were not aſhamed to lye ſo openly in the face of the world. *Theſpis* anſwered him, that it was not materiall to do or ſay any ſuch things, conſidering all was but in ſport. Then *Solon* beating the ground with his ſtaffe he had in his hand: but if we cõmend lying in ſport (quoth he) we ſhal find it afterwards in good earneſt, in all our bargains & dealings. Shortly after *Pyſiſtratus* hauing wounded himſelf, and bloudied all his body ouer, cauſed his men to carry him in his coach into the market place, where he put the people in an vprore, & told thẽ that they were his enemies that thus traiterouſly had handled and arrayed him, for that he ſtood with thẽ about the gouerning of the common weale: inſomuch as many of them were maruellouſly offended, & mutined by and by, crying out, it was ſhamefully done. Then *Solon* drawing neere ſaid vnto him: O thou ſon of *Hippocrates*, thou doeſt ilfauouredly counterfet the perſon of *Homers Vlyſſes*: for thou haſt whipped thy ſelf to deceiue thy citizens, as he did teare & ſcratch him ſelf, to deceiue his enemies. Notwithſtanding this, the common people were ſtill in vprore, being readie to take armes for *Pyſiſtratus*: and there was a generall counſell aſſembled, in the which one *Ariſton* ſpake, that they ſhould graunt fiftie men, to carry halbards and maſes before *Pyſiſtratus* for guard of his perſon. But *Solon* going vp into the pulpit for orations, ſtoutly inueyed againſt it: & perſwaded the people with many reaſõs, like vnto theſe he wrote afterwards in verſe:

Pyſiſtratus vvicked craft and ſubtiltie.

Theſpis a maker of tragedies

Solon reproued Theſpis for lying.

Ech one of you (o men) in priuate actes
can play the foxe, for ſlie and ſubtill craft:
But when you come, yfore (in all your facts)
then are you blind, dull witted and bedaft:
For pleaſant ſpeech and painted flatterie,
beguile you ſtill, the which you neuer ſpie.

But in the end, ſeeing the poore people did tumult ſtill, taking *Pyſiſtratus* part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way alſo, ſaying: he had ſhewed himſelfe wiſer then ſome, & hardier then other. Meaning, wiſer then thoſe which ſaw not *Pyſiſtratus* reach and fetch: and hardier then they which knew very well he did aſpire to be king, and neuertheleſſe durſt not reſiſt him. The people went on with the motion of *Ariſton*, and authoriſed the ſame, touching the graunt of halbarders: limiting no number, but ſuffered him to haue about him, and to aſſemble as many as he would, vntill ſuch time as he had gotten poſſeſſion of the caſtle. Then the city was maruellouſly afraid and amazed: and preſently *Megacles*, and all thoſe which were of the houſe of the *Alcmeonides* did flie. *Solon*, who for yeares was now at his laſt caſt, and had no man to ſticke vnto him: went notwithſtanding into the market place, and ſpake to the citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beaſtlineſſe, and faint cowardly hearts, and encouraged them, not to loſe their liberty. He ſpake at that time notably, and worthy memorie, which euer after was remembred. Before, ſaid he, you might more eaſily haue ſtaid this preſent tyranny: but now

that

that it is already fashioned, you shall win more glory, vtterly to suppresse it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken vnto him, they were all so amazed. Wherefore he hied him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his house, and laid them before his gate in the middest of the street, saying: For my part, I haue done what I can possible, to helpe and defend the lawes and liberties of my countrey. So from that time he betooke himselfe vnto his ease, and neuer after dealt any more in matters of state, or common weale. His friends did counsell him to flye: but all they could not perswade him to it. For he kept his house, and gaue himself to make verses: in which he sore reproued the ATHENIANS faults, saying: *Solons libertie and constancie.*

If presently your burden heauie be:
yet murmure not against the gods therefore.
The fault is yours, as you your selues may see,
which graunted haue of mighty Mars the lore
to such as now, by your direction
do hold your neckes in this subiection.

His friends hereupon did warne him, to beware of such speeches, and to take heed what he said: lest if it came vnto the tyrants eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He answered them, in my age. Howbeit *Pysistratus* after he had obtained his purpose, sending for him vpon his word and faith, did honour and entertaine him so well, that *Solon* in the end became one of his counsell, and approoued many things which he did. For *Pysistratus* himselfe did straightly keepe, and caused his friends to keepe *Solons* lawes. Insomuch as when he was called by proces into the court of the *Areopagites* for a murther, euen at that time when he was a tyrant: he presented himselfe very modestly to answer his accusation, and to purge himselfe thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. *Pysistratus* himselfe also did make new lawes: as this. That he that had bene maimed, and made lame of any member in the wars, should be maintained all his life long at the common charges of the citie. The selfe same was before decreed by *Thersippus* (as *Heraclides* writeth) by *Solons* perswasion: who did preferre it to the counsell. *Pysistratus* afterwards tooke hold of the motion, and from thencefoorth made it a generall law. *Theophrastus* saith also, it was *Pysistratus*, and not *Solon*, that made the law for idlenesse: which was the onely cause that the country of ATTICA became more fruitfull, being better manured: and the city of ATHENS waxed more quiet. But *Solon* hauing begun to write the story of the Isles ATLANTIDES in verse (which he had learned of the wise men of the city of SAIS in EGYPT, and was very necessary for the ATHENIANS) grew wearie, and gaue it ouer in mid way: not for any matters or businesse that troubled him, as *Plato* said, but only for his age, and because he feared the tediousnesse of the worke. For otherwise he had leysure enough, as appeareth by these verses, where he saith: *A good lawe for reward of seruice.*

I grow old, and yet I learne still.

And in another place where he saith:

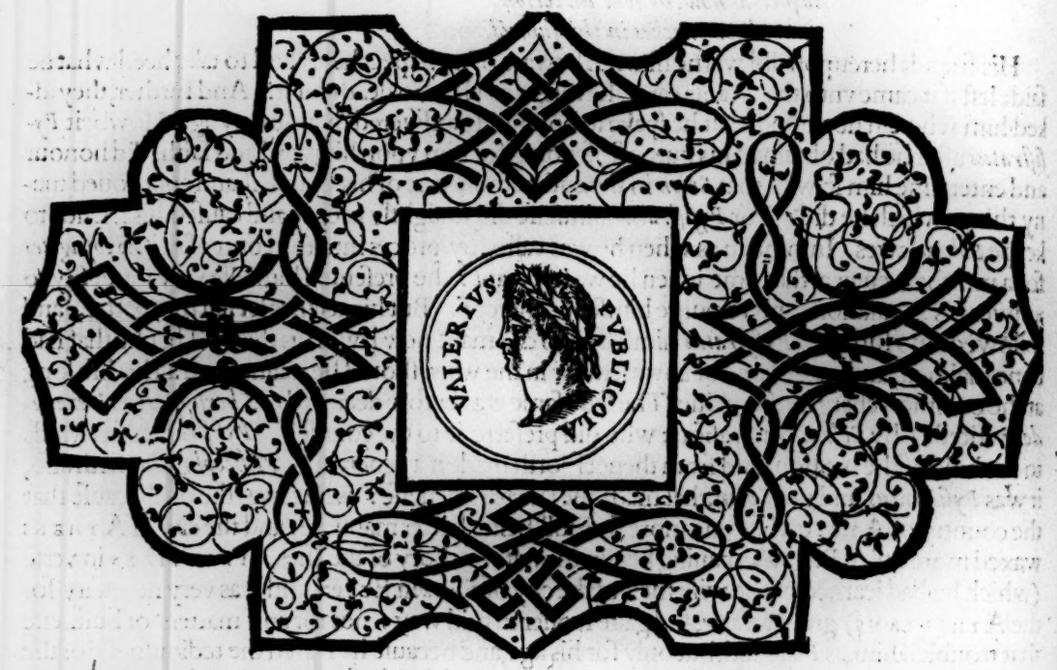
Now Venus yeelds me sweet delights,
and Bacchus lends me comfort still:
the Muses eke refresh my sprights,
and much releeue my weary will.
These be the points of perfect ease,
which all mens minds oftimes do please.

Plato afterwards for beautifying of the story and fables of the Isles ATLANTIDES, was desirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of speech haue broken vp a field or lay land of his owne, or that this gift had descended to him of right from *Solon*. He began to raise vp a stately front vnto the same, and enclosed it with high wals, and large squared courts at the entry thereof: such was it, as neuer any other worke, fable or poeticall inuention had euer so notable, or the like. But because he began a litle too late, he ended his life before his worke, leauing the readers more sorrowfull for that was left vnwritten, then they tooke pleasure in that they found written. For euen as in the city of ATHENS, the temple of *Iupiter Olympian* only remained vnperfect: so the wisedome of *Plato* (amongest many goodly matters of his that haue come abroad) left none of them vnperfect, but the only tale of the Isles ATLANTIDES. *Solon* liued long time after *Pysistratus* had vsurped the tyranny, as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth. Howbeit *Phanias Ephesian* writeth, that he liued not aboue two yeares after. For *Pysistratus* vsurped tyrannicall

power in the yeare that *Comias* was chiefe gouernor in ATHENS. And *Phanias* writeth, that *Solon* dyed in the yeare that *Hegestratus* was gouernour, which was the next yeare after that. And where some say, the ashes of his body were after his death strawed abroad through the Isle of SALAMINA: that seemeth to be but a fable, and altogether vntrue. Neuertheless it hath bene written by many notable authors, and amongst others, by *Aristotle* the Philosopher.

The end of Solons life.

THE LIFE OF PVBLIVS *Valerius Publicola.*



The house of P. Valerius.

NOW we haue declared what *Solon* was, we haue thought good to compare him with *Publicola*, to whom the ROMAINE people for an honour gaue that surname: for he was called before *Publius Valerius*, descended from that auncient *Valerius*, who was one of the chiefest workers and means, to bring the ROMAINES and the SABYNES that were mortall enemies, to ioyne together as one people. For it was he that most mooued the two Kings to agree, and ioyne together. *Publicola* being descended of him, whilest the Kings did rule yet at ROME, was in very great estimation, as well for his eloquence as for his riches: vsing the one rightly & freely for the maintenance of iustice, and the other liberally and courteously, for the releefe of the poore. So that it was manifest, if the Realme came to be conuerted into a publike state, he should be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chanced that king *Tarquine* surnamed the proud, being come to the crowne by no good lawfull meane, but contrarily by indirect and wicked waies, and behauing himself not like a King, but like a cruell tyrant; the people much hated and detested him, by reason of the death of *Lucretia* (which killed her selfe for that she was forcibly rauished by him) and so the whole city rose and rebelled against him. *Lucius Brutus* taking vpon him to be the head and captaine of this insurrection and rebellion, did ioyne first with this *Valerius*: who did greatly fauour and assist his enterprise, and did helpe him to driue out king *Tarquine* with all his house and familie. Now whilest they were thinking that the people would choose some one alone to be chiefe ruler ouer them, in steade of a king: *Valerius* kept himselfe quiet, as yeelding willingly vn-

Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus companion in expulsing the Kings.

to

to *Brutus* the first place, who was meerest for it, hauing bene the chiefe author and worker of their recouered liberty. But when they saw the name of *Monarchy* (as much to say, as soueraignty alone) was displeasant to the people, & that they would like better to haue the rule deuided vnto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: *Valerius* then began to hope, he should be the second person with *Brutus*. Howbeit this hope failed him. For against *Brutus* wil, *Tarquinius Collatinus* (the husband of *Lucretia*) was chosen Consul with him: not because he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation then *Valerius*. But the noble men of the city fearing the practises of those of the Kings bloud, which sought by all the faire and flattering means they could to returne againe into the city: did determine to make such a one Consul, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heauie enemie, perswading themselues that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no respect yeeld vnto them. *Valerius* tooke this matter grieuously, that they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not do any thing he could, for the benefit of his countrie: for that he had neuer any priuate iniurie offered him by the tyrants. Wherefore he repaired no more vnto the Senate to pleade for priuate men, and wholly gaue vp to meddle in matters of state: insomuch as he gaue many occasion to thinke of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared lest vpon this his misliking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings side, & so bring all the city in an vprore, considering it stood then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who stood in ielousie of some, wold by oath be assured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day solemnly to take their oathes vpon the sacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerefull countenance came into the market place, and was the first that tooke his oath he wold leaue nothing vndone that might preiudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the liberty of the city. This oath of his maruellously reioyced the Senate, and gaue great assurance also to the Consuls, but specially, because his deeds did shortly after performe his words. For there came ambassadours to ROME which brought letters from king *Tarquine*, full of sweet and lowly speeches to win the fauor of the people, with commission to vse all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardned harts of the multitude: who declared how the king had left all pride and cruelty, and meant to aske nought but reasonable things. The Consuls thought best to giue them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the people. But *Valerius* was against it, declaring it might perill the state much, and deliuer occasion of new stir vnto a multitude of poore people, which were more afraid of wars, then of tyranny. After that, there came other ambassadours also, which said that *Tarquine* would from thencefoorth for euer giue ouer and renounce his title to the kingdome, and to make any more wars, but besought them only, that they would at the least deliuer him and his friends their mony and goods, that they might haue wherwithall to keepe them in their banishment. Many came on a pace, and were very ready to yeeld to this request, and specially *Collatinus*, one of the Consuls who did fauor their motion. But *Brutus* that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his heate, ran immediatly into the market place, crying out that his fellow Consull was a traitor, and contented to grant the tyrants matter and meanes to make war vpon the city, where indeed they deserued not so much, as to be relieued in their exile. Hereupon the people assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a priuat man called *Gaius Minutius*, who speaking vnto *Brutus*, and to the whole assembly, said vnto them: O noble Consull and Senate, handle so the matter, that the tyrants goods be rather in your custody to make war with them, then in theirs to bring war vpon your selues. Notwithstanding the ROMAINES were of opinion, that hauing gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the tyrants, they should not disappoint the offred peace, with keeping backe their goods, but rather they should throw their goods out after them. Howbeit this was the least part of *Tarquines* intent, to seek his goods againe: but vnder pretence of that demand, he secretly corrupted the people, and practised treason, which his ambassadours followed, pretending only to get the kings goods and his fauorers together, saying, that they had already sold some part, and some part they kept, and sent them daily. So as by delaying the time in this sort with such pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and ancientest houses of the city: to wit, the family of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senators: and the family of the *Vitellians*, wherof there were two Senators: all which by their mothers, were Consul *Collatinus* nephewes. The *Vitellians* also were allied vnto *Brutus*, for he had maried their own sister, and had many children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawn to their string, two of the eldest of them, because they familiarly frequented together, being cosin germains, whom they had entised

Lucius Brutus, Tarquinius Collatinus Consuls.

The first ambassiate of king Tarquine for recouering his Realme.

Another ambassiate from Tarquine demaunding his goods.

Good counsell of Minutius.

Tarquines ambassadours practise treason.

The Aquilij and Vitellij with Brutus sonnes, traitours to their countrey.

to be of their conſpiracie, allying them with the houſe of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, and through the which they might perſwade themſelues to riſe to great honour and preferment by means of the king, rather then to truſt to their fathers wilful hardneſſe: for they called his ſeueritie to the wicked hardneſſe: for that he would neuer pardon any. Furthermore, *Brutus* had fained himſelfe mad, and a foole of long time for ſafety of his life, becauſe the tyrants ſhould not put him to death: ſo that the name of *Brutus* only remained. After theſe two yong men had giuen their conſent to be of the confederacie, & had ſpoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great and horrible oath, drinking the bloud of a man, & ſhaking hands in his bowels, whom they would ſacrifice. This matter agreed vpon betweene them, they met together to put their ſacrifice in execution, in the houſe of the *Aquilians*. They had fitly pickt out a dark place in the houſe to do this ſacrifice in, & where almoſt no body came: yet it hapned by chance, that one of the ſeruants of the houſe called *Vindicius*, had hidden himſelfe there, vnknowing to the traitors, and of no ſet purpoſe, to ſpie and ſee what they did, or that he had any manner of inkling thereof before: but falling by chance vpon the matter, euen as the traitors came into that place with a countenance to do ſome ſecret thing of importance, fearing to be ſeene, he kept himſelf cloſe, and lay behind a coffer that was there, ſo that he ſaw all that was done, and what they ſaid and determined. The concluſion of their counſell in the end was this, that they would kil both the Conſuls: and they wrote letters to *Tarquinius* aduertiſing the ſame, which they gaue vnto his ambaſſadors, being lodged in the houſe of the *Aquilians*, and were preſent at this concluſion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out alſo as ſecretly as he could, being maruellouſly troubled in mind, and at a maze how to deale in this matter. For he thought it daungerous (as it was indeed) to go and accuſe the two ſonnes vnto the father (which was *Brutus*) of ſo wicked and deteſtable a treaſon, and the nephewes vnto their vncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other ſide alſo, he thought this was a ſecret, not to be imparted to any priuate perſon, and not poſſible for him to conceale it, that was bound in dutie to reueale it. So he reſolued at the laſt to go to *Valerius* to bewray this treaſon, of a ſpeciall affection to this man, by reaſon of his gentle and courteous vſing of men, giuing eaſie acceſſe and audience vnto any that came to ſpeake with him, and ſpecially for that he diſdained not to heare poore mens cauſes. *Vindicius* being gone to ſpeake with him, and hauing told him the whole conſpiracie before his brother *Marcus Valerius*, and his wife, he was abaſhed and fearefull withall: whereupon he ſtayed him leſt he ſhould ſlip away, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watch the doore, that no body went in nor out vnto him. And willed his brother alſo, that he ſhould go and beſet the Kings palace round about, to intercept theſe letters if it were poſſible, and to ſee that none of their ſeruants fled. *Valerius* ſelfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friends and people that waited on him, went ſtraight vnto the houſe of the *Aquilians*, who by chance were from home at that time: and entring in at the gate, without let or trouble of any man, he found the letters in the chamber, where king *Tarquines* ambaſſadors lay. Whilſt he was thus occupied, the *Aquilians* hauing intelligence thereof, ran home immediatly, and found *Valerius* comming out at their gate. So they would haue taken thoſe letters from him by force and ſtrong hand: but *Valerius* and his company did reſiſt them, and moreouer hudded them with their gownes ouer their heades, and by force brought them (do what they could) into the market place. The like was done alſo in the Kings palace, where *Marcus Valerius* found other letters alſo wrapt vp in certaine fardels for their more ſafe cariage, and brought away with him by force into the market place, all the Kings ſeruants he found there. There the Conſuls hauing cauſed ſilence to be made, *Valerius* ſent home to his houſe for this bondman *Vindicius*, to be brought before the Conſuls: then the traitours were openly accuſed, and their letters read, and they had not the face to aunſwer one word. All that were preſent, being amazed, hung downe their heads, and beheld the ground, and not a man durſt once open his mouth to ſpeake, excepting a fewe, who to gratifie *Brutus*, beganne to ſay that they ſhould baniſh them: and *Collatinus* alſo gaue them ſome hope, becauſe he fell to weeping, and *Valerius* in like manner for that he held his peace. But *Brutus* calling his ſonnes by their names: Come on (ſaid he) *Titus* and thou *Valerius*, why do you not aunſwer to that you are accuſed of? and hauing ſpoken thriſe vnto them to aunſwere, when he ſawe they ſtoode mute, and ſaid nothing: he turned him to the Sergeants, and ſaid vnto them: They are now in your handes, do iuſtice. So ſoone as he had ſpoken theſe words, the Sergeants layed hold imme-

The confederacie confirmed with drinking of mans bloud.

Vindicius heareth all their treaſon.

The concluſion of their treaſon

Vindicius bewrayeth the treaſon vnto Valerius.

Titus and Valerius, Brutus ſonnes.

immediatly vpon the two yong men, and tearing their clothes off their backs, bound their hands behind them, and then whipped them with rods: which was such a pitifull sight to all the people, that they could not find in their hearts to behold it, but turned themselues another way, because they would not see it. But contrariwise, they say that their own father had neuer his eye off them, neither did chaunge his austere and fierce countenance, with any pitie or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly did behold the punishment of his owne children, vntill they were laied flat on the ground, and both their heads striken off with an axe before him. When they were executed, *Brutus* rose from the bench, and left the execution of the rest vnto his fellow Consull. This was such an act, as men cannot sufficiently praise, nor reprooue enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his mind so quiet, or else the greatnesse of his miserie that tooke away the feeling of his sorrow: whereof neither the one nor the other was any small matter, but passing the common nature of man, that hath in it both diuinenesse, and sometime beastly brutishnesse. But it is better the iudgement of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their iudgements should diminish his vertue. For the Romaines hold opinion, it was not so great an act done of *Romulus* first to build Rome, as it was for *Brutus* to recouer Rome, and the best libertie thereof, and to renew the auncient gouernement of the same. When *Brutus* was gone, all the people in the market place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wonder, and a great while without speaking to see what was done. The *Aquilians* straight grew bold, for that they saw the other Consull *Collatinus* proceede gently, and midly against them: and so made petition they might haue time giuen them to answer to the articles they were accused of, and that they might haue their slaue and bondman *Vindicius* deliuered into their hands, because there was no reason, he should remaine with their accusers. The Consull seemed willing to yeeld thereto, and was readie to breake vp the assembly thereupon. But *Valerius* said, he would not deliuer *Vindicius* (who was among the assembly that attended vpon his person;) and staied the people besides for departing away, least they should negligently let those escape that had so wickedly sought to betray their countrey: vntill he himselfe had laied hands vpon them, calling vpon *Brutus* to assist him, with open exclamation against *Collatinus*, that he did not behaue himselfe like a iust and true man, seeing his fellow *Brutus* was forced for iustice sake to see his owne sonnes put to death: and he in contrarie manner, to please a few women, sought to let go manifest traitours, and open enemies to their countrey. The Consull being offended herewith, commaunded they should bring away the bondman *Vindicius*. So the sergeants making way through the prease, laid hands vpon him to bring him away with them, and began to strike at them which offered to resist them. But *Valerius* friends stept out before the, & put them by. The people showted straight, and cried out for *Brutus*: who with this noise returned againe into the market place, and after silence made him, he spake in this wise: For mine own children, I alone haue bene their sufficient Iudge, to see them haue the law according to their deseruings: the rest I haue left freely to the iudgement of the people. Wherefore (said he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand vp, and perswade the people as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more words, but only to hearken what the people cried: who with one voice and consent condēned them, & cried execution, & accordingly they had their heads strikē off. Now was Consull *Collatinus* long before had in some suspition, as allied to the kings, & disliked for his surname, because he was called *Tarquinius*: who perceiuing himself in this case much hated and mistrusted of the people, voluntarily yeelded vp his Consulship, and departed the citie. The people then assembled themselues, to place a successour in his roome: they chose *Valerius* in his stead, without the contradiction of any, for his faithful trauel and diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then *Valerius* iudging that *Vindicius* the bondman had wel deserued also some recompence, caused him not onely to be manumisted by the whole graunt of the people, but made him a free man of the citie besides: and he was the first bondman manumisted, that was made citizen of Rome, with permission also to giue his voice in all elections of officers, in any companie or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, *Appius* to currie fauour with the common people, made it lawful for bondmen manumisted, to giue their voices also in elections, as other citizens did: and vnto this day the perfect manumisting and freeing of bondmen, is called *Vindicta*, after the name of this *Vindicius*, that was then made a free man. These things thus passed ouer, the goods of the kings were giuen to the spoile of the people, and their palaces were razed and ouerthrowne. Now amongst other lands, the goodliest part of the field of *Mars* was

Brutus seeth his owne sons punished and executed.

Brutus, praised and reprooued for the death of his sonnes.

Collatinus softnesse perilous.

Valerius boldly appeacheth Collatinus of iniustice.

Collatinus resigneth his Consulship, and departeth Rome.

Valerius chosen Consull in his place.

Vindicius the first bondman manumisted.

Vindicta so called, by reason of Vindicius.

Tarquines field consecrated to Mars.

belonging vnto king *Tarquine*: the same they consecrated forthwith, vnto the god *Mars*, and not long before they had cut downe the wheat thereof. The sheaues being yet in shocks in the field, they thought they might not grind the wheate, nor make any commoditie of the profit thereof: wherefore they threw both corne and sheaues into the riuer, and trees also which they had hewn downe and rooted vp, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god *Mars*, should be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. These sheaues thus throwne into the riuer, were caried downe by the streame not farre from thence, vnto a foord and shallow place of the water, where they first did stay, and did let the other which came after, that it could go no further: there these heapes gathered together, and lay so close one to another, that they began to sinke and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the streame of the riuer brought downe continually such mud and grauell, that it euer increased the heape of corne more and more, in such sort, that the force of the water could no more remoue it from thence, but rather softly pressing and driuing it together, did firme and harden it, and made it grow so to land. Thus this heape rising still in greatnesse and firmenesse, by reason that all that came downe the riuer staied there, it grew in the end, and by time to spread so farre, that at this day it is called the holy Iland in ROME: in which are many goodly temples of diuerse gods, and sundrie walks about it, and they call it in Latine, *Inter duos pontes*: in our tongue, betweene the two bridges. Yet some write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the *Tarquines* was consecrated vnto *Mars*: but that it happened afterwards, when one of the *Vestall Nunnes*, called *Tarquinia*, gaue a field of hers vnto the people, which was hard adioyning vnto *Tarquines* field. For which liberalitie and bountie of hers, they did graunt her in recompence many priuiledges, and did her great honour besides. Amongest others, it was ordained, that her word and witnesse should stand good, and be allowed in matters iudiciall: which priuiledge, neuer woman besides her selfe did enioy. By speciall grace of the people also, it was graunted her, that she might mary if she thought it good: but yet she would not accept the benefite of that offer. Thus you heare the report how this thing happened. *Tarquinius* then being past hope of euer entring into his kingdome againe, went yet vnto the THVSCANES for succour, which were very glad of him: and so they leauied a great armie together, hoping to haue put him in his kingdome againe. The Consuls also hearing thereof, went out with their armie against him. Both the armies presented themselues in battell ray, one against another, in the holy places consecrated to the gods: whereof the one was called the wood *Arsia*, and the other the meadow *AEsuuia*. And as both armies began to giue charge vpon each other, *Arnus* the eldest sonne of King *Tarquine*, and the Consull *Brutus* encountred together, not by chaunce, but sought for of set purpose to execute the deadly fode and malice they did beare each other. The one, as against a tyrant and enemie of the libertie of his countrey: the other, as against him that had bene chiefe authour and worker of their exile and expulsion. So they set spurres to their horses, so soone as they had spied each other, with more furie then reason, and fought so desperatly together, that they both fell starke dead to the ground. The first onset of the battell being so cruell, the end thereof was no lesse bloudie: vntill both the armies hauing receiued and done like damage to each other, were parted by a maruellous great tempest that fell vpon them. Now was *Valerius* maruellously perplexed, for that he knew not which of them wanne the field that day: seeing his souldiers as sorrowfull for the great losse of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the slaughter and victorie of their enemies. For, to view the multitude of the slaine bodies of either side, the number was so equall in sight, that it was very hard to iudge, of which side fell out the greatest slaughter: so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their campe, were perswaded in their opinion, that they had rather lost then won, coniecturing a farre off the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fel out as may be looked for after so terrible a battel. For when both campes were all laied to rest, they say the wood wherein they lay incamped, quaked & trembled: and they heard a voice say, that only one man more was slaine on the THVSCANS side, than on the ROMAINES part. Out of doubt this was some voice from heauen: for the ROMAINES thereupon gaue a shrill shout, as those whose hearts receiued a new quickning spirit or courage. The THVSCANS on the contrary part were so afraid, that the most part of them stole out of the camp, and scattered here and there: and there remained behind about the number of fiue thousand men, whom the ROMAINES tooke prisoners euery one, and had the spoile of their campe. The carkasses were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were slaine in that battell, eleuen thousand

Where of the holy Iland came in Rome, that lieth betweene both bridges.

Tarquine commeth with a great power of the Thuscanes to wage battell with the Romaines.

Arsia silua.

Arnus & Brutus encountered and slue each other.

The victorie of the Romaines against the Thuscanes.

thousand and three hundred of the THVSCANES: and of the ROMAINES, so many sauing one. This battel was fought (as they say) the last day of February, and the Consul *Valerius* triumphed, being the first of the Consuls that euer entered into ROME triumphing vpon a chariot drawne with foure horses, which sight the people found honourable and goodly to behold, and were not offended withall (as some seem to report) nor yet did enuie him for that he began it. For if it had bene so, that custome had not bene folowed with so good acceptation, nor had continued so many yeares as it did afterwards. They much commended also the honor he did to his fellow Consull *Brutus*, in setting out his funerals and obsequies, at the which he made a funerall oration in his praise. They did so like and please the ROMAINES, that they haue euer since continued that custome at the buriall of any noble man, or great personage, that he is openly praised at his buriall, by the worthiest man that liueth among them. They report this funerall oration is far more ancient then the first that was made in GREECE in the like case: vnlesse they will confirme that which the orator *Anaximenes* hath written, that the manner of praising the dead at their funerals, was first of all instituted by *Solon*. But they did most enuy *Valerius*, & beare him grudge, because *Brutus* (whom the people did acknowledge for father of their libertie) would neuer be alone in office, but had procured twise, that they should appoint *Valerius* fellow Consull with him. This man in contrariwise (said the people) taking vpon him alone the rule and soueraigntie, sheweth plainely he will not be *Brutus* successour in his Consulship, but *Tarquinius* selfe in the kingdom. For to great purpose was it to praise *Brutus* in words, and to follow *Tarquinius* in deeds: hauing borne before himselfe only all the maces, the axes and the rods, when he commeth abroad out of his owne house, which is farre greater, and more stately, then the kings palace which he himselfe ouerthrew. And to say truly, *Valerius* dwelt in a house a litle too sumptuously built and seated, vpon the hanging of the hill called mount Velia: and because it stood high, it ouerlooked all the market place, so that any man might easily see from thence what was done there. Furthermore, it was very il to come to it: but when he came out of his house, it was a maruellous pompe and state to see him come downe from so high a place, and with a traine after him, that caried the maiestie of a Kings court. But herein *Valerius* left a noble example, shewing how much it importeth a noble man and magistrate, ruling weightie causes, to haue his eares open to heare, and willingly to receiue free speech in steed of flatteries, and plaine troth in place of lies. For, being informed by some of his friends, how the people misliked and complained of it, he stood not in his owne conceit, neither was angry with them: but forthwith set a world of workemen vpon it, early in the morning before breake of day, and commanded them to plucke downe his house, and to raze it to the ground. Insomuch as the next day following, when the ROMAINES were gathered together in the market place, and saw this great sodaine ruine, they much commended the noble act and mind of *Valerius*, in doing that he did: but so were they angry, and sorie both, to see so faire and stately a built house (which was an ornament to the citie) ouerthrowne vpon a sodain. Much like in comparison to a man, whom through spite and enuy they had vniustly put to death: and to see their chiefe magistrate also like a stranger and a vagabond, compelled to seek his lodging in another mans house. For his friends receiued him into their houses, vntill such time as the people had giuen him a place, where they did build him a new house, farre more orderly, and nothing so stately and curious as the first was, and it was in the same place, where the temple called *Vicus Publicus* standeth at this day. Now because he would not onely reforme his person, but the office of his Consulship, and also would frame himselfe to the good acceptation and liking of the people: where before he seemed vnto them to be fearefull, he put away the carying of the axes from the rods, which the sergeants vsed to beare before the Consull. Moreouer when he came into the market place, where the people were assembled, he caused the rods to be borne downwards, as in token of reuerence of the soueraigne maiestie of the people: which all the magistrates obserue yet at this day. Now in all this humble shew & lowlines of his, he did not so much imbase his dignity and greatnes, which the common people thought him to haue at the first: as he did therby cut off enuy from him, winning againe as much true authority, as in semblance he would seeme to haue lost. For this made the people willinger to obey, and readier to submit themselues vnto him: insomuch as vpon this occasion he was surnamed *Publicola*, as much to say, as the people pleaser. Which surname he kept euer after, and we from henceforth also writing the rest of his life, wil vse no other name: for he was contented to suffer any man that would, to offer himselfe to aske the Consulship in *Brutus* place. But he yet not knowing what kind of man they would ioyne fellow

Valerius the first Consull that euer triumphed vpon a charret.

The first beginning of funerall oration among the Romaines.

Anaximenes saith, Solon vvas the first that instituted praises for the dead.

Valerius stately house standing on mount Velia.

Valerius a good example for magistrates.

Valerius ouerthrevvhis stately house.

The temple called Vicus Publicus.

Vvhy Valerius was surnamed Publicola

Consull with him, and fearing least through enuie or ignorance, the partie might thwart his purpose and meaning: employed his sole power and authoritie whilest he ruled alone, vpon high and noble attempts. For first of all he supplied vp the number of the Senatours that were greatly decayed, because king *Tarquine* had put some of them to death not long before, & other also had bene lately slaine in the warres, in whose places he had chosen new Senatours, to the number of a hundred threescore and foure. After that, he made new decrees and laws, which greatly did aduance the authoritie of the people. The first law gaue libertie to all offenders, condemned by iudgement of the Consuls, to appeale vnto the people. The second, that no man vpon paine of death should take vpon him the exercise of any office, vnlesse he had come to it by the gift of the people. The third was, and all in fauour of the poore, that the poore citizens of Rome should pay no more custome, nor any impost whatsoeuer. This made euery man the more willing to giue himselfe to some craft or occupation, when he saw his trauell should not be taxed, nor taken from him. As for the law that he made against those that disobeyed the Consuls, it was found to be so fauourable to the communaltie, as they thought it was rather made for the poore, than for the rich and great men. For the offenders and breakers of that law, were condemned to pay for a penaltie, the value of fiue oxen and two muttons. The price of a mutton was then, ten oboles, and of an oxe, a hundred oboles. For in those dayes, the Romaines had no store of coyned money: otherwise, they lacked no sheepe, nor other rother beasts. Hereof it came, that to this day they call their riches or substance, *Peculium*, because *Pecus* signifieth sheepe and muttons. And in the old time the stampe vpon their money was an oxe, a mutton, or a hogge: and some of them called their children *Bubulci*, which signifieth cowheards: others *Caprarij*, to say goateheards: and other *Porcij*, as you would say, swineheards. Now though in all his other lawes, he was very fauourable and temperate toward the people: yet in that moderation, sometimes he did set grieuous paines and punishments. For he made it lawfull to kill any man without any accusation, that did aspire to the kingdome, and he did set the murderer free of all punishment: so he brought forth manifest proofe, that the partie slaine, had practised to make himselfe King. As being impossible a man should pretend so great a matter, and no man should find it: and contrariwise being possible, albeit he were spied, that otherwise he might attempt it, by making himself so strong, that he needed not passe for the law. In this case he gaue euery man libertie by such an act or meane, to preuent him if he could of discretion, who by strength otherwise sought to aspire to raigne. They greatly commended him also for the law that he made touching the treasure. For being very necessarie that euery priuate citizen should according to his abilitie, be contributor to the charges and maintenance of the warres: he himselfe would neither take such collection into his charge, nor suffer any man of his to meddle with the same, nor yet that it should be laid in any priuate mans house, but he did ordaine that *Saturnes* temple should be the treasurie thereof. This order they keepe to this present day. Furthermore, he graunted the people to chuse two young men *Quæstores* of the same, as you would say the treasurers, to take the charge of this money: and the two first which were chosen, were *Publius Veturius*, and *Marcus Minutius*, who gathered great summes of mony together. For numbring the people by the pole, there were found a hundred and thirtie thousand persons which had payed subsidie, not reckoning in this account, orphans, nor widowes, which were exempted from all payments. After he had established all these things, he caused *Lucretius* (the father of *Lucretia*) to be chosen fellow Consull with him, vnto whom, for that he was his auncient, he gaue the vpper hand, and commaunded they should cary before him the rodds, which were the signes of the chiefe magistrate: and euer since they haue giuen this honour vnto age. But *Lucretius* dying not long after his election, they chose againe in his place *Marcus Horatius*, who held out the Consulship with *Publicola* the rest of the yeare. Now about that time King *Tarquine* remained in the countrey of Thvscane, where he prepared a second armie against the Romaines, and there fell out a maruellous strange thing thereupon. For when he raigned King of Rome, he had almost made an end of the building of the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and was determined (whether by any oracle receiued, or vpon any fantasie it is not knowne) to set vp a couch of earth baked by a potter, in the highest place of the temple, and he put it out to be done by certain Thvscane workmen of the citie of Veies: but whilest they were in hand with the worke, he was driuen out of his Realme. When the workmen had formed this couch, and that they had put it into the fornace to bake it, it fell out contrary to the nature of the earth, and the common order of their worke put into the fornace. For the earth

Publicolaes acts & lawes.

Wherof Peculiũ was called.

The first Quæstores. Publius Veturius, Marcus Minutius.

Lucretius and Publicola Consuls.

Publicola and Marcus Horatius Consuls.

earth did not ſhut and cloſe together in the fire, nor dryed vp all the moiſture thereof: but rather to the contrarie it did ſwell to ſuch a bigneſſe, and grew ſo hard and ſtrong withall, that they were driuen to breake vp the head and walles of the fornace to get it out. The ſoothſayers did expound this, that it was a celeſtiall token from aboue, and promiſed great proſperitie and increaſe of power vnto thoſe that ſhould enioy this coach. Whereupon the VEIANS reſolued not to deliuer it vnto the ROMAINES that demaunded it, but anſwered that it did belong vnto King *Tarquine*, and not vnto thoſe that had baniſhed him. Not many dayes after, there was a ſolemne feaſt of games for running of horſes in the citie of VEIES, where they did alſo many other notable actes, worthy ſight according to their cuſtome. But after the game was playd, he that had wonne the bell, being crowned in token of victorie, as they did vſe at that time, brought his coach and horſes faire and ſoftly out of the ſhew place: and ſodainely the horſe being affraide vpon no preſent cauſe or occaſion ſeene, whether it was by chaunce, or by ſome ſecret working from aboue, ranne as they had bene mad with their coach to the citie of ROME. The coach driuer did what he could poſſible at the firſt to ſtay them, by holding in the reines, by clapping them on the backes, and ſpeaking gently to them: but in the end, perceiuing he could do no good, and that they would haue their ſwinge, he gaue place to their furie, and they neuer linne running, till they brought him neare to the Capitoll, where they ouerthrew him and his coach, not farre from the gate called at this preſent, *Ratumena*. The VEIANS wondering much at this matter, and being afraid withall, were contented the workemen ſhould deliuer their coach made of earth vnto the ROMAINES. Now concerning *Iupiter Capitolins* temple, king *Tarquine* the firſt (which was the ſonne of *Demaratus*) vowed in the warres that he made againſt the SABYNES, that he would build it. And *Tarquine* the proude, being the ſonne of him that made this vow did build it: howbeit he did not conſecrate it, becauſe he was driuen out of his Kingdome before he had finiſhed it. When this temple was built and throughly finiſhed, and ſet forth with all his ornaments: *Publicola* was maruellouſly deſirous to haue the honor of the dedication thereof. But the noble men and Senatours enuying his glorie, being very angrie that he could not content himſelfe with all thoſe honours that he had receiued in peace for the good lawes he had made, and in warres for the victories he had obtained and well deſerued, but further that he would ſeeke the honour of this dedication, which nothing did pertaine vnto him: they then did egge *Horatius*, and perſwaded him to make ſute for the ſame. Occaſion fell out at that time, that *Publicola* muſt haue the leading of the ROMAINES army into the field: in the meane time, while *Publicola* was abſent, it was procured that the people gaue their voices to *Horatius*, to conſerate the temple, knowing they could not ſo well haue brought it to paſſe he being preſent. Other ſay, the Conſuls drew lots betweene them, and that it lighted vpon *Publicola* to leade the armie againſt his will, and vpon *Horatius* to conſecrate this temple, which may be coniectured by the thing that fortuned in the dedication therof. For all the people being aſſembled together in the Capitoll with great ſilence, on the 15. day of the moneth of September, which is about the new moone of the moneth which the GRECIANS call *Metagitnion*: *Horatius* hauing done all the ceremonies needfull in ſuch a caſe, and holding then the doores of the temple, as the vſe was euen to vtter the ſolemne words of dedication, *Marcus Valerius*, the brother of *Publicola*, hauing ſtood a long time there at the temple doore, to take an oportunitie to ſpeake, began to ſay alowd in this wiſe: My Lord Conſull, your ſonne is dead of a ſickneſſe in the Campe. This made all the aſſembly ſorie to heare it, but it nothing amazed *Horatius*, who ſpake onely thus much: Caſt his bodie then where you will for me, the thought is taken. So he continued on to end his conſecration. This was but a deuice and nothing true, of *Marcus Valerius*, onely to make *Horatius* leaue off his conſecration. *Horatius* in this ſhewed himſelfe a maruellous reſolute man, were it that he ſtraight found his deuice, or that he beleeued it to be true: for the ſodaineneſſe of the matter nothing altered him. The very like matter fell out in conſecrating of the ſecond temple. For this firſt which *Tarquine* had built and *Horatius* conſecrated, was conſumed by fire in the ciuill warres: and the ſecond was built vp againe by *Sylla*, who made no dedication of it. For *Catulus* ſet vp the ſuperſcription of the dedication, becauſe *Sylla* died before he could dedicate it. The ſecond temple was burnt againe not long after the troubles and tumults which were at ROME, vnder *Vitellius* the Emperour. The third in like manner was reedified and built againe by *Veſpaſian*, from the ground to the toppe. But this good happe he had aboue other: to ſee his worke perfected and finiſhed before his death, and not ouerthrowne as it was immediatly after his death. Wherein he did farre paſſe

How oft Iupiter Capitolins temple was burnt and built againe.

the happinesse of *Sylla*, who died before he could dedicate that he had built: and the other deceased before he saw his worke ouerthrowne. For all the Capitoll was burnt to the ground incontinently after his death. It is reported the only foundations of the first temple, cost *Tarquinius* fortie thousand *Pondos* of siluer. And to gild onely the temple which we see now in our time, they say al the goods and substance that the richest citizen of ROME then had, wil come nothing neare vnto it: for it cost aboue 12. thousand talents. The pillars of this temple are cut out of a quarrie of marble, called pentlike marble, and they were squared parpine, as thicke as long: these I saw at ATHENS. But afterwards they were cut againe, & polished in ROME, by which doing they got not so much grace, as they lost proportion: for they were made too slender, & left naked of their first beautie. Now he that would wonder at the stately building of the Capitol, if he came afterwards vnto the palace of *Domitian*, and did but see some gallerie, porch, hall, or hote house, or his concubines chambers: he would say (in my opinion) as the Poet *Epicharmus* said of a prodigall man:

How much was spent in building the Capitoll.

It is a fault, and folly both in thee
to lash out gifts, and prodigall rewards:
For fond delights, without all rule that bee,
regarding not what happens afterwards.

So might they iustly say of *Domitian*: Thou art not liberall, nor deuout vnto the gods: but it is a vice thou hast to loue to build, and desirest (as they say of old *Midas*) that all about thee were turned to gold and precious stones. And thus much for this matter. *Tarquine* after that great foughten battell wherein he lost his sonne (that was slaine by *Brutus* in fighting together hand to hand) went to the citie of CLVSIVM, vnto King *Claras Porsena*, the mightiest Prince that raigned at that time in all ITALIE, and was both noble and a courteous Prince. *Porsena* promised him aide: and first of all he sent to ROME to summon the citizens to receiue their King againe. But the ROMAINES refusing the summons, he sent forthwith an Herauld to proclaime open warres against them, and to tell them where, and when he would meete them: and then marched thitherwards immediatly with a great armie. *Publicola* now being absent, was chosen Consull the second time, and *Titus Lucretius* with him. When he was returned home againe to ROME, because he would exceede king *Porsena* in greatnesse of mind, he began to build a citie called SIGLIVRIA, euen when the King with all his armie was not farre from ROME: and hauing walled it about to his maruellous charge, he sent thither seuen hundred citizens to dwell there, to shew that he made litle account of this warre. Howbeit *Porsena* at his comming did giue such a lusty assault to the mount *Ianiculum*, that they draue out the souldiers which kept the same: who flying towards ROME, were pursued so hard with the enemies, that with them they had entred the towne, had not *Publicola* made a sally out to resist them. Who began a hote skirmish hard by the riuer of Tyber, and there fought to hauc staied the enemies to follow any further: which being the greater number did ouerlay the ROMAINES, and did hurt *Publicola* very sore in this skirmish, so as he was caried away into the citie in his souldiers armes. And euen so was the other Consull *Lucretius* hurt in like case: which so discouraged and frayed the ROMAINES, that they all tooke them to their legges, and fled towards the citie. The enemies pursued them at their heeles, as farre as the wodden bridge: so that the citie was in maruellous hazard of taking vpon the sodaine. But *Horatius Cocles*, and *Herminius*, and *Lucretius*, two other of the chiefest noble yong men of the citie, stood with them to the defence of the bridge, and made head against the enemie. This *Horatius* was surnamed *Cocles* (as much to say, as one eye) because he had lost one of them in the wars. Howbeit other writers say, it was because of his flat nose, which was so sunke into his head, that they saw nothing to part his eyes, but that the eye browes did meete together: by reason whereof the people thinking to surname him *Cyclops*, by corruption of the tongue they called him (as they say) *Cocles*. But howsoeuer it was, this *Horatius Cocles* had the courage to shew his face against the enemy, and to keep the bridge, vntil such time as they had cut and broken it vp behind him. When he saw they had done that, armed as he was, and hurt in the hip with a pike of the THVSCANES, he leaped into the riuer of Tyber, and saued himselfe by swimming vnto the other side. *Publicola* wondering at this manly act of his, perswaded the ROMAINES straight, euery one according to his abilitie, to giue him so much as he spent in a day: and afterwards also he caused the common treasurie to giue him as much land as he could compasse about with his plow in a day. Furthermore he made his image of brasse to be set vp in the temple of *Vulcane*, comforting by this honour his wounded hippe, whereof he was lame euer after. Now whilest

Porsena proclaimeth warre vpon Rome.

Publicola and Titus Lucretius Consuls.

Horatius Cocles why so called.

Good seruice rewarded.

King

King *Porſena* was hotly bent, very ſtraightly to beſiege ROME, there began a famine among the ROMAINES: and to increaſe the daunger, there came a new army out of THVSCANE, which ouerranne, burnt, and made waſte, all the territorie of ROME. Whereupon *Publicola* being choſen Conſull, then the third time, thought he ſhould neede to do no more to reſiſt *Porſena* brauely, but to be quiet onely, and to looke well to the ſafe keeping of the city. Howbeit ſpying his oportunitie, he ſecretly ſtole out of ROME with a power, and did ſet vpon the THVSCANES that deſtroyed the countrey about: and ouerthrew and ſlue of them, fiue thouſand men. As for the hiſtorie of *Mutius*, many do diuerſly report it: but I will write it in ſuch ſort, as I thinke ſhall beſt agree with the truth. This *Mutius* was a worthy man in all reſpects, but ſpecially for the warres. He deuiſing how he might come to kill King *Porſena*, diſguiſed himſelfe in THVSCANS apparell, and ſpeaking THVSCANE very perfectly, went into his campe, and came to the Kings chaire, in the which he gaue audience: and not knowing him perfectly, he durſt not aske which was he, leaſt he ſhould be diſcouered, but drew his ſword at aduenture, and ſlue him whom he tooke to be King. Vpon that they layd hold on him, and examined him. And a pan full of fire being brought for the King that intended to do ſacrifice vnto the gods, *Mutius* held out his right hand ouer the fire, and boldly looking the King full in his face, whileſt the fleſh of his hand did frie off, he neuer changed hew nor countenance: the King wondering to ſee ſo ſtrange a ſight, called to them to withdraw the fire, and he himſelfe did deliuer him his ſword againe. *Mutius* tooke it of him with his left hand, whereupon they ſay afterwards, he had giuen him the ſurname of *Scæuola*, as much to ſay, as left handed, and told him in taking of it: Thou couldeſt not *Porſena* for feare haue ouercomed me, but now through courteſie thou haſt won me. Therefore for good will I will reueale that vnto thee, which no force nor extremity could haue made me vtter. There are three hundred ROMAINS diſperſed through thy campe, all which are prepared with like minds to follow that I haue begun, onely gaping for oportunitie to put it in practiſe. The lot fell on me to be the firſt to breake the Iſe of this enterpriſe: and yet I am not ſory my hand failed to kill ſo worthy a man, that deſerueth rather to be a friend then an enemy vnto the ROMAINES. *Porſena* hearing this, did beleeue it, and euer after he gaue the more willing eare to thoſe that treated with him of peace: not ſo much (in my opinion) for that he feared the three hundred lying in waite to kill him, as for the admiration of the ROMAINES noble mind and great courage. All other writers call this man, *Mutius Scæuola*: howbeit *Athenodorus* ſurnamed *Sandon*, in a booke he wrote vnto *Octauia*, *Auguſtus* ſiſter, ſayth that he was alſo called *Opſigonus*. But *Publicola* taking king *Porſena* not to be ſo daungerous an enemy to ROME, as he ſhould be a profitable friend and ally to the ſame: let him vnderſtand that he was contented to make him iudge of the controuerſie betweene them and *Tarquine*. Whom he did many times prouoke to come and haue his cauſe heard before king *Porſena*, where he ſhould iuſtifie to his face, that he was the naughtieſt and moſt wicked man of the world, and that he was iuſtly driuen out of his countrey. *Tarquine* ſharpely anſwered, that he would make no man his iudge, and *Porſena* leaſt of all other, for that hauing promiſed him to put him againe in his Kingdome, he was now gone from his word, and had chaunged his mind. *Porſena* was very angrie with this aunſwere, iudging this a manifeſt token that his cauſe was ill. Wherefore *Porſena* being ſolicited againe by his owne ſonne *Aruns*, who loued the ROMAINES, did eaſily graunt them peace vpon condition: that they ſhould redeliuer backe againe to him the lands they had gotten before within the countrey of THVSCANE, with the priſoners alſo which they had taken in this warre, and in lieu thereof he offered to deliuer to them againe the ROMAINES, that had fled from them vnto him. To confirme this peace, the ROMAINES deliuered him hoſtages, ten of the nobleſt mens ſonnes of the city, and ſo many of their daughters: among which was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne daughter. Peace being thus concluded, *Porſena* brake his army, and withdrew his ſtrength, truſting to the peace concluded. The ROMAINES daughters deliuered for hoſtages, came downe to the riuers ſide to waſh them, in a quiet place where the ſtreame ranne but gently, without any force or ſwiftneſſe at all. When they were there, and ſaw they had no guard about them, nor any came that way, nor yet any botes going vp nor downe the ſtreame: they had a deſire to ſwimme ouer the riuer, which ranne with a ſwift ſtreame, and was maruellous deepe. Some ſay, that one *Clelia* ſwamme the riuer vpon her horſe backe, and that ſhe did embolden and encourage the other to ſwimme hard by her horſe ſide: and recouering the other bancke, and being paſt all daunger, they went and preſented themſelues before

Publicola Conſul.

The noble acts of Mutius Scæuola.

How Mutius came by the name of Scæuola.

Publicola maketh Porſena iudge betwixt them and the Tarquines.

Peace graunted the Romaines by Porſena.

The boldneſſe of Clelia and other Romaine virgines.

Publicola the Consull. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had played, but was maruellous sory, fearing least men would iudge him lesse carefull to keepe his faith, then was king *Porsena*: and that he might suspect the boldnesse of these maidens, was but a craftie sleight deuised of the ROMAINES: therefore he tooke them all againe, and sent them immediatly vnto King *Porsena*. Whereof *Tarquine* hauing intelligence, he layd an ambush for them that had the conduction of them. Who so soone as they were past the riuer, did shew themselues, and brake vpon the ROMAINES: they being farre fewer in number then the other, did yet very stoutly defend themselues. Now whiles they were in earnest fight together, *Valeria Publicolaes* daughter, and three of her fathers seruants, escaped through the midst of them, and saued themselues. The residue of the virgines remained in the middest among their swords, in great danger of their liues. *Aruns* king *Porsenas* sonne aduertised hereof, ran thither incontinently to the rescue: but when he came the enemies fled, and the ROMAINES held on their iourney to redeliuer their hostages. *Porsena* seeing them againe, asked which of them it was that began first to passe the riuer, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One pointed him vnto her, and told him her name was *Clælia*. He looked vpon her very earnestly, and with a pleasant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best horses in the stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gaue it vnto her. Those which hold opinion that none but *Clælia* passed the riuer on horseback, do alledge this to proue their opinion true. Other do deny it, saying that this THVSCANE king, did only honour her noble courage. Howsoeuer it was, they see her image on horseback in the holy streete, as they go to the pallace: and some say it is the statue of *Valeria*, other of *Clælia*. After *Porsena* had made peace with the ROMAINES, in breaking vp his campe, he shewed his noble mind vnto them in many other things, and specially in that he commanded his souldiers they should cary nothing but their armour and weapon onely, leauing his campe full of corne, victuals, and other kind of goods. From whence this custome came, that at this day when they make open sale of any thing belonging to the common-weale, the sergeant or common crier crieth, that they are king *Porsenas* goods, and taken of thankfulnesse and perpetuall memory of his bounty and liberality towards them. Further, *Porsenas* image standeth adioyning to the pallace where the Senate is vsed to be kept, which is made of great antique worke. Afterwards the SABYNES inuading the ROMAINES territory with a great force, *Marcus Valerius Publicolaes* brother, was then chosen Consull, with one *Posthumius Tubertus*. Howbeit all matters of waight and importance passed by *Publicolaes* counsell and authority, who was present at any thing that was done: and by whose meanes *Marcus* his brother wan two great battels, in the last whereof he slue thirteene thousand of his enemies, not losing one of his owne men. For which his victories, besides the honour of triumph he had, the people also at their owne charges, built him a house in the street of mount Palatine, & granted him moreouer that his dore should open outwards into the street, where al other mens doors did open inwards into their house: signifying by graunt of this honour and priuiledge, that he should alwayes haue benefit by the common-weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doores of their houses in old time, did all open outwards after that fashion: and they do coniecture it by the comedies that are played: where those that would go out of their houses, did first knocke at their doores, and make a noise within the house, least in opening their doore vpon a sudden, they might ouerthrow or hurt him that taried at the streete doore, or passed by the way, who hearing the noise, had warning straight to auoid the danger. The next yeare after that, *Publicola* was chosen Consul the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the SABYNES and LATINES would ioyne together to make warres vpon them: besides all this, there was a certaine superstitious feare ranne through the city, of some ill hap toward it, because most part of the women with child were deliuered of vnperfect children, lacking some one lim or other, and all of them came before their time. Wherefore *Publicola* looking in some of *Sybillaes* bookes, made priuate sacrifice vnto *Pluto*, and did set vp againe some feasts and solemne games that were left off, and had bene commaunded before time to be kept by the Oracle of *Apollo*. These meanes hauing a litle reioyced the city with good hope, because they thought that the anger of the gods had bene appeased: *Publicola* then began to prouide for the daungers that they were threatned withall by men, for that newes was brought him that their enemies were vp in all places, and made great preparation to inuade thē. Now there was at that time amongst the SABYNES, a great rich man called *Appius Clausius*, very strong and actiue of body, and otherwise a man of great reputation and eloquence,

The liberality of king Porsena to the Romaines.

Marcus Valerius, Posthumius Tubertus Consuls.

Marcus Valerius, the brother of Publicola, triumpheth of the Sabynes.

aboue

aboue all the reſt of his country men: but notwithſtanding he was much enuied, and could not auoide it, being a thing common to great men. He went about to ſtay thoſe intended wars againſt the ROMAINES. Whereupon, many which before tooke occaſion to murmur againſt him, did now much more increaſe the ſame: with ſaying he ſought to maintaine the power of the ROMAINES, that afterwards by their ayde he might make himſelfe tyrant & king of the country. The cõmon people gaue eaſie eare vnto ſuch ſpeeches, & *Appius* perceiuing well inough how the ſoldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complaine and accuſe him. Wherefore being well backed and ſtood to by his kinſmen, friends, and followers, he practiſed to make a ſtir among the SABYNES, which was the cauſe of ſtaying the warres againſt the ROMAINES. *Publicola* alſo for his part was very diligent, not only to vnderſtand the originall cauſe of this ſedition, but to feede on further and increaſe the ſame, hauing gotten men meete for the purpoſe, which caried *Appius* ſuch a meſſage from him: That *Publicola* knew very well he was a iuſt man, and one that would not be reuenged of his citizens to the generall hurt of his countrey, although the iniuries he receiued at their hands, deliuered him iuſt occaſion to do it: neuertheleſſe if he had any deſire to prouide for his ſafety, and to repaire to ROME, leauing them which cauſeleſſe wiſhed him ſo much euill, they would both openly and priuatly receiue him with that due honour which his vertue deſerued, and the worthineſſe of the ROMAINE people required. *Clauſus* hauing long and many times conſidered this matter with himſelfe, reſolued that it was the beſt way he could take, making vertue of neceſſity; and therefore being determined to do it, he did procure his friends to do as he did, and they got other alſo vnto them, ſo that he brought away with him out of the countrey of the SABYNES, fiue thouſand families with their wiues and children (of the quieteſt and moſt peaceable people among the SABYNES) to dwell at ROME. *Publicola* being aduertiſed thereof before they came, did receiue them at their comming to ROME with great ioy, and all manner of good curteous entertainement. For at their firſt comming, he made them all and their families free citizens, and aſſigned vnto euery perſon of them two *iugera* of land (which contained one acre, one rood, eleuen pole, and ſixtie nine parts of a poole) by the riuer of Tyber: and vnto *Appius* ſelfe he gaue fiue and twenty *iugera* (to wit, ſixteene acres and a halfe, foure pole and ſeuenty ſixe parts of a pole) and receiued him into the number of the Senatours. And thus came he firſt vnto the gouernement of the common-weale in ROME, where he did ſo wiſely behaue himſelfe, that in the end he came to be the chiefeſt man of dignity and authority in ROME, ſo long as he liued. After his death, he left behind him the family of the *Claudians*, deſcending from him: which for honour, and worthineſſe, gaue no place to the nobleſt family in ROME. But now the ſedition amongſt the SABYNES being pacified, by the departure of thoſe that were gone to ROME: the ſeditious gouernours would not ſuffer thoſe that remained to liue in peace, but ſtill cried out, it were too much ſhame for them, that *Clauſus* being a fugitiue, and become an enemy, ſhould honour their enemies abroad, that being preſent durſt not ſhew ſo much at home, and that the ROMAINES ſhould eſcape vnreuenged, who had done them ſuch apparant wrongs. So they raiſed great force and power, and went and encamped with their army neare the city of FIDENES, and layd an ambuſh hard by ROME, in certaine hidden and hollow places, where they put a two thouſand choiſe footemen, very well armed, and did appoint the next morning to ſend certaine light horſemen to runne and pray to ROME gates: commaunding them, that when the ROMAINES came out of the city to charge them, they ſhould ſeeme leiſurely to retire, vntill they had drawne them within daunger of their ambuſh. *Publicola* receiuing full intelligence of all their intention, by a traytour that fled from them vnto him, made due preparation to encounter with their priuy ambuſh, and ſo deuided his army into two parts: for he gaue his ſonne in law *Poſthumius Balbus*, three thouſand footemen, whom he ſent away by night, commaunding them the ſame night to take the hils, in the bottome whereof the SABYNES were layd in ambuſh. *Lucretius*, fellow Conſull with *Publicola*, hauing the lighteſt and luſtieſt men of the city, was appointed to make head againſt the vantcurrers of the SABYNES that minded to approch the gates. And *Publicola* with the reſt of the army, marched a great compaſſe about to incloſe his enemies behind. The next morning betimes, by chance it was a thicke miſte, and at that preſent time *Poſthumius* comming downe from the hilles, with great ſhouts, charged them that lay in ambuſh. *Lucretius* on the other ſide, ſet vpon the light horſemen of the SABYNES: and *Publicola* fell vpon their campe. So that of all ſides the SABYNES enterpriſe had very ill ſucceſſe, for they had the worſt in euery place, and the ROMAINES killed them flying,

Appius Clauſus goeth to dwell at Rome.

The family of the Claudians.

without any turning againe to make reſiſtance. Thus the place which gaue them hope of beſt ſafety, turned moſt to their deadly ouerthrow. For euery one of their companies ſuppoſing the other had bene whole and vnbroken, when a charge was giuen vpon them, did ſtraight breake, and neuer a company of them turned head toward their enemy. For they that were in the campe, ranne toward them that lay in ambuſh: and thoſe which were in ambuſh on the contrary ſide, ranne towards them that were in campe. So that in flying, the one met with the other, and found thoſe, towards whom they were flying to haue bin ſafe, to ſtand in as much need of helpe as themſelues. That which ſaued ſome that were not ſlaine, was the city of FIDENES, which was neere the campe, and ſpecially ſaued thoſe which fled thither. But ſuch as came ſhort of the city, and could not in time recouer it, were all ſlaine in the field, or taken priſoners. As for the glory of this honourable victory, albeit the ROMAINES were wont to aſcribe all ſuch great notable matters to the ſpeciall prouidence and grace of the gods, yet at that time notwithſtanding, they did iudge that this happy ſucceſſe fell out by the wiſe foreſight and valiantneſſe of the Captaine. For euery man that had ſerued in this iourney, had no other talke in his mouth, but that *Publicola* had deliuered their enemies into their hands, lame, and blind, and as a man might ſay, bound hand and feete to kill them at their pleaſure. The people were maruellouſly enriched by this victory, as well for the ſpoyle, as for the raunſome of the priſoners that they had gotten. Now *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the gouernement of the city to thoſe which were choſen Conſuls for the yeare following, died incontinently, hauing liued as honourably and vertuouſly all the dayes of his life, as any man liuing might do. The people then tooke order for his funerals, that the charges thereof ſhould be defrayed by the city, as if they had neuer done him any honour in his life, and that they had bene ſtill debters vnto him for the noble ſeruice he had done vnto the ſtate and common-weale whileſt he liued. Therefore towards his funerall charges, euery citizen gaue a peece of mony called a Quatrine. The women alſo for their part to honour his funerals, agreed among themſelues to mourne a whole yeare in blacke for him, which was a great and honourable memoriall. He was buried alſo by expreſſe order of the people, within the city, in the ſtreete called Velia; and they graunted priuiledge alſo vnto all his poſterity, to be buried in the ſelfe ſame place. Howbeit they do no more bury any of his there. But when any dye, they bring the corſe vnto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hand, doth put it vnder the place, and take it ſtraight away againe, to ſhew that they haue liberty to bury him there, but that they willingly refuſe this honour: and this done, they cary the corſe away againe.

The Sabynes ſlaine.

The death of Publicola.

His funerals.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Solon with Publicola.

NOW presently to compare these two personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them: which is not found in any other of their liues which we haue written of before. And the same is, that the one hath bene a witnesse, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the sentence that *Solon* spake to king *Cræsus*, touching *Tellus* felicity and happinesse, might haue bene better applied vnto *Publicola* then to *Tellus*: whom he iudged to be very happy, because he dyed honourably, he had liued vertuously, and had left behind him goodly children. And yet *Solon* speaketh nothing of his excellency or vertue in any of his poems: neither did he euer beare any honourable office in all his time, nor yet left any children that caried any great fame or renowne after his death. Whereas *Publicola* so long as he liued, was alwaies the chiefe man among the ROMAINES, of credit and authority: and afterwards since his death, certaine of the noblest families, & most ancient houses of ROME, in these our dayes, as the PVBLICOLES, the MESSALES, and the VALERIANS, for sixe hundred yeares continuance, do referre the glory of the nobility and auncientry of their house vnto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was slaine by his enemies, fighting valiantly like a worthy honest man. But *Publicola* died after he had slaine his enemies: which is farre more great good hap, then to be slaine. For after he as generall had honourably serued his countrey in the warres, and had left them conquerers, hauing in his life time receiued all honors and triumphs due vnto his seruice, he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accompted and esteemed, most happy and blessed. Also in wishing manner, he would his end should be lamented to his praise, in a place where he confuteth *Mimnermus*, about the continuance of mans life, by saying:

Publicola happy.

Let not my death without lamenting passe,
but rather let my friends bewaile the same:
Whose grieuous teares, and cries of out alas,
may oft resound the Eccho of my name.

If that be good happe, then most happy maketh he *Publicola*: for at his death, not onely his friends and kinsfolkes, but the whole city also, and many a thousand persons besides, did bitterly bewaile the losse of him. For all the women of ROME did mourne for him in blacke, and did most pitifully lament his death, as euery one of them had lost either father, brother, or husband:

True it is, that I couet goods to haue:
but yet so got as may me not depraue.

Solon saith this, because vengeance followed ill gotten goods. And *Publicola* tooke great heede, not onely to get his goods most iustly, but had regard that those which he had, he

ſpent moſt honeſtly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was iuſtly reputed the wiſeſt man, we muſt needes confeſſe alſo that *Publicola* was the happieſt. For what the one deſired for the greateſt and moſt perfect good a man can haue in this world, the other hath wonne it, kept it, and vſed it all his life time, vntill the houre of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done the like vnto *Solon*; ſhewing himſelfe a perfect example & looking-glaſſe, where men may ſee how to gouerne a popular ſtate: when he made his Conſulſhip void of all pride and ſtately ſhew, and became himſelfe affable, courteous, and beloued of euery body. So tooke he profit by many of his lawes: as when he ordained, that the people onely ſhould haue authoritie to chuſe and create all common officers and magiſtrates, and that they might appeale from any Iudge to the people: as *Solon* when he ſuffered them to appeale vnto the iudges of the people. Indeed *Publicola* did not create any new Senate, as *Solon* did: but he did augment the firſt number, with as many perſons almoſt as there were before. He did alſo firſt erect the office of *Quæſtores*, for keeping of all fines, taxes, and other collections of money. Becauſe the chiefeſt magiſtrate, if he were an honeſt man, ſhould not for ſo light an occaſion be taken from the care of better and more waightie affaires: and if he were wickedly giuen, and ill diſpoſed, that he ſhould haue no ſuch meane or occaſion to worke his wicked will, by hauing the treaſure of the city in his hands, and to commaund what he liſt. Moreouer in hating the tyrants, *Publicola* therein was farre more ſharpe and terrible. For *Solon* in his lawes puniſhed him that went about to make himſelfe a tyrant, yet after he was conuicted thereof by law: but *Publicola* ordained that they ſhould kill him, before the law did paſſe on him, that ſought to be King. And where *Solon* iuſtly and truely vaunteth himſelfe, that being offered to be King and Lord of ATHENS, and that with the whole conſent of the citizens, yet he did notwithſtanding refuſe it: this vaunt and glorie is as due vnto *Publicola*; who finding the dignitie of a Conſull tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and fauourable for the people, not taking vpon him all the authority he might lawfully haue done. And it ſeemeth that *Solon* knew before him, what was the true and direct way to gouerne a common-weale vprightly. For he ſaith in one place:

Publicola erected the office of Quæſtores.

Both great and ſmall of power, the better will obay,
if we too little or too much, vpon them do not lay.

The diſcharging of debts was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie. For litle preuaileth law to make equality among citizens, when debts do hinder the poore people to enioy the benefit thereof. And where it ſeemeth that they haue moſt libertie, as in that they may be choſen Iudges and officers, to ſpeake their opinion in the counſell, and giue their voyces alſo: there indeede are they moſt bound and ſubiect, becauſe they do but obey the rich in all they do commaund. But yet in this act there is a thing more wonderfull, and worthie to be noted. That commonly diſcharging of debts, was wont to breede great tumults and ſeditions in common-weales. And *Solon* hauing vſed it in a very good time (as the Phiſition ventring a daungerous medicine) did appeaſe the ſedition already begun, and did vtterly quench through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wiſedome and vertue, all the infamy and accuſation that might haue growne of that act. As for their firſt entrie into the gouernement, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble: for he went before, and followed not another; and himſelfe alone without any others helpe, did put in execution the beſt, and more part of all his notable and goodly lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* end and death much more glorious and happie: for *Solon* before he died, ſaw all his common-wealth ouerthrowne; but *Publicolaes* common-weale continued whole as he left it, vntill the broile of ciuill warres began againe among them. *Solon*, after he had made his lawes, and written them in wodden tables, leauing them without defence of any man, went his way immediatly out of the city of ATHENS. *Publicola* abiding continually in ROME gouerning the ſtate, did throughly ſtabliſh and confirme the lawes he made. Furthermore *Solon* hauing wiſely foreſeene *Pyſiſtratus* practiſes, aſpiring to make himſelfe King, he could neuer let him for all that, but was himſelfe ouercome and oppreſſed with the tyranny he ſaw ſtabliſhed in his owne ſight, and in deſpite of him: where *Publicola* ouerthrew and did put downe a mightie Kingdome, that had continued of long time, and was throughly ſtabliſhed; his vertue and deſire being equall with *Solons*, and hauing had beſides fortune fauorable, and ſufficient power to execute his vertuous and well diſpoſed mind. But as for warres and marſhall deedes, there is no compariſon to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus*

Plataian,

Plataian, doth not attribute the warres of the MEGARIANS vnto *Solon*, as we haue written it: where *Publicola* being generall of an army, and fighting himſelfe in perſon, hath wonne many great battels. And as for matters of peace and ciuill gouernement, *Solon* neuer durſt preſent himſelfe openly to perſwade the enterpriſe of SALAMINA, but vnder a counterfeit madneſſe, and as a foole to make ſport: where *Publicola* taking his aduenture from the beginning, ſhewed himſelfe without diſſimulation, an open enemy to *Tarquine*, and afterwards he reuealed all the whole conſpiracy. And when he had bene the onely cauſe and authour of puniſhing the traytours, he did not onely driue out of ROME the tyrants ſelues in perſon, but tooke from them alſo all hope of returne againe. Who hauing alwayes thus nobly and valiantly behaued himſelfe, without ſhrinking backe, or flying from ought that required force, a manly courage, or open reſiſtance: did yet ſhew himſelfe diſcreete, where wiſedome was requiſite, or reaſon and perſwaſion needfull. As when he cunningly wanne King *Porſena*, who was a dreadfull enemy vnto him, and inuincible by force: whom he handled in ſuch good ſort, that he made him his friend. Peraduenture ſome might ſtand in this, and ſay: that *Solon* recouered the Ile of SALAMINA vnto the ATHENIANS, which they would haue loſt. *Publicola* to the contrary, reſtored the lands vnto *Porſena* againe, which the ROMAINES had conquered before, within the countrey of THVSCANE. But the times in which theſe things were done, are alwayes to be conſidered of. For a wiſe gouernour of a Realme, and politicke man, doth gouerne diuerſely according to the occaſions offered, taking euery thing in his time wherein he will deale: and many times, in letting go one thing, he ſaueth the whole; and in looſing a litle, he gaineth much: as *Publicola* did, who looſing a litle peece of another mans countrey which they had vſurped, ſaued by that meanes all that was aſſuredly his owne. And whereas the ROMAINES thought he ſhould do very much for them, to ſaue their city onely, he got them moreouer, all the goods that were in their enemies campe, which did beſiege them. And in making his enemy iudge of his quarrell, he wan the victorie: winning that moreouer, which he would gladly haue giuen to haue ouercome, and haue ſentence paſſe on his ſide. For the King their enemy did not onely make peace with them, but did alſo leaue them all his furniture, prouiſion, and munition for the warres: cuen for the vertue, manhood, and iuſtice, which the great wiſedome of the Conſull perſwaded *Porſena* to beleeue to be in all the other ROMAINES.

A politicke precept.

The end of Publicolaes life.

THE LIFE OF *Themiſtocles.*

HEMISTOCLES parentage did litle aduance his glory: for his father *Neocles* was of ſmall reputation in ATHENS, being of the hundred of *Phrear*, and tribe of *Leontis*: of his mother an alien or ſtranger: as theſe verſes do witneſſe:

Abrotonon I am, yborne in Thracia,
and yet this high good hap I haue, that into Grecia
I haue brought forth a ſonne, Themiſtocles by name,
the glory of the Greekiſh blouds, and man of greateſt fame.

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his mother was not a THRACIAN, but borne in the country of CARIA: and they do not call her *Abrotonon*, but *Euterpé*. And *Neanthes* ſaith furthermore, that ſhe was of HALICARNASSVS, the chiefeſt city of all the Realme of CARIA. For which cauſe when the ſtrangers did aſſemble at *Cynoſargos* (a place of exerciſe without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortall woman:) *Themiſtocles* perſwaded diuerſe youths of the moſt honourable houſes, to go downe with him, and to annoint themſelues at *Cynoſargos*, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right & alien ſort. But ſetting a part all theſe circũſtances, he was no doubt alied vnto the houſe of the *Lycomedians*: for *Themiſtocles* cauſed the chappel of this family, which is in the village of PHLYES, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built vp againe at his owne charges: and as *Simonides* ſaith, he did ſet it forth and enrich it with pictures. Moreouer euery man doth confeſſe it, that euen from his childhood they did perceiue he was giuen to be very hote headed, ſtirring, wiſe, and of good ſpirit, and enterpriſing of himſelfe to do great things, and borne to rule weighty cauſes. For at ſuch dayes and howers as he was taken from his booke, and had leaue to play, he neuer played, nor would neuer be idle, as other children were: but they alwayes found him conning ſome oration without booke, or making it alone by himſelfe: and the ground of his matter was euer commonly, either to defend, or accuſe ſome of his companions. Whereupon his ſchoolemaiſter obſeruing him, oft ſayd vnto him: ſure ſome great matter hangeth ouer thy head my boy, for it cannot be choſen but that one day thou ſhalt do ſome notable good thing, or ſome extreme miſchiefe. Therefore when they went about to teach him any thing, onely to checke his nature, or to faſhion him with good manner and ciuility, or to ſtudy any matter for pleaſure or honeſt paſtime, he would ſlowly and careleſly learne of them.

Cynoſargos, a place of exerciſe, dedicated to Hercules.

Themiſtocles towardneſſe.

But

But if they deliuered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning ſtate, they ſaw he would beate at it maruellouſly, and would vnderſtand more then any could of his age & cariage, truſting altogether to his naturall mother wit. This was the cauſe, that being mocked afterwards by ſome that had ſtudied humanity, and other liberall ſciences, he was driuen for reuenge and his owne defence, to anſwer with great and ſtout words, ſaying, that indeed he could no skill to tune a harpe, nor a violl, nor to play of a pſalterion: but if they did put a city into his hands that was of ſmall name, weake, and litle, he knew wayes inough how to make it noble, ſtrong, and great. Neuertheleſſe, *Steſimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Anaxagoras* ſchoole, and that vnder *Meliſſus* he ſtudied natural Philoſophy. But herein he was greatly deceiued, for that he tooke no great heed vnto the time. For *Meliſſus* was captaine of the SAMIANS againſt *Pericles*, at what time he did lay ſiege vnto the city of SAMOS. Now this is true, *Pericles* was much yonger then *Themiſtocles*, and *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles* in his owne houſe. Therefore we haue better reaſon & occaſion to beleeue thoſe that write, *Themiſtocles* did determine to follow *Mneſiphilus Phrearian*. For he was no profeſſed Orator, nor naturall Philoſopher, as they termed it in that time: but made profeſſion of that which then they called wiſdome. Which was no other thing, but a certaine knowledge to handle great cauſes, and an indeuor to haue a good wit & iudgement in matters of ſtate & gouernment: which profeſſion beginning in *Solon*, did continue, & was taken vp from man to man, as a ſect of Philoſophy. But thoſe that came ſithence, haue mingled it with art of ſpeech, and by litle and litle haue tranſlated the exerciſe of deeds, vnto bare and curious words: whereupon they were called *Sophiſters*, as who would ſay, counterfeit wiſe men. Notwithſtãding, when *Themiſtocles* began to medle with the gouernment of the common-weale, he followed much *Mneſiphilus*. In the firſt part of his youth, his behauior and doings were very light & vnconſtant, as one caried away with a raſh head, and without any order or diſcretion: by reaſon whereof his maners and conditions ſeemed maruellouſly to change, and oft times fell into very ill fauored euents, as himſelf did afterwards cõfeſſe by ſaying: that a ragged colt oft times proues a good horſe, ſpecially if he be well ridden, & broken as he ſhould be. Other tales which ſome wil ſeeme to adde to this, are in my opinion but fables. As, that his father did diſinherite him, and that his mother for very care & ſorow ſhe tooke to ſee the lewd life of her ſon, did kill her ſelfe. For there are that write to the contrary, that his father being deſirous to take him from dealing in gouernment, did go and ſhew him all alongſt the ſea ſhore, the ſhipwracks and ribs of old galleys caſt here & there, whereof no reckoning was made, and ſayd to him: thus the people vſe their gouernors, when they can ſerue no longer. Howſoeuer it was, it is moſt true that *Themiſtocles* earneſtly gaue himſelf to ſtate, and was ſuddenly taken with deſire of glory. For euen at his firſt entry, becauſe he would ſet foot before the proudeſt, he ſtood at pike againſt the greateſt and mightieſt perſons, that bare the ſway and gouernment, and ſpecially againſt *Ariſtides*, *Lyſimachus* ſon, who euer encountered him, and was ſtill his aduerſary oppoſite. Yet it ſeemeth the euill will he conceiued toward him, came of a very light cauſe. For they both loued *Steſilaus*, that was borne in the city of TEOS, as *Ariſton* the Philoſopher writeth. And after this ielouſie was kindled betweene them, they alwayes tooke cõtrary part one againſt another, not only in their priuate likings, but alſo in the gouernment of the common-weale. Yet I am perſwaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions, did much increaſe the grudge and diſcord betwixt them. For *Ariſtides* being by nature a very good man, a iuſt dealer, and honeſt of life, and one that in all his doings would neuer flatter the people, nor ſerue his owne glory, but rather to the contrary would do, ſay, and counſell alwayes for the moſt benefit and commodity of the cõmon-weale, was oft times enforced to reſiſt *Themiſtocles*, & diſappoint his ambitiõ, being euer buſily mouing the people, to take ſome new matter in hand. For they report of him, that he was ſo enflamed with deſire of glory, and to enterpriſe great matters, that being but a very yong man at the battel of MARATHON, where there was no talke but of the worthineſſe of captaine *Miltiades* that had won the battell: he was found many times ſolitary alone deuiſing with himſelfe: beſides, they ſay he could take no reſt in the night, neither would go to playes in the day time, nor would keepe company with thoſe whom he was accuſtomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell thẽ that wondred to ſee ſo great alteration in his manners, and asked him what he ailed, that *Miltiades* victory would not let him ſleepe: becauſe other thought this ouerthrow at MARATHON, would haue made an end of all wars. Howbeit *Themiſtocles* was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles. Therfore he daily ſtudied how to preuent them, & how to ſee to the ſafety of GREECE, and before

Themiſtocles vuas Anaxagoras & Meliſſus ſcholler.

Mneſiphilus Phrearian.

VVhat vuiſedome vuas in old time.

How the name of Sophiſters came vp.

Themiſtocles youth.

The priuy grudge betwixt Themiſtocles and Ariſtides.

Ariſtides a iuſt man.

Themiſtocles ambition.

occaſion offered, he did exerciſe his city in feats of war, foreſeeing what ſhold folow after. Wherfore, where the citizens of ATHENS before did vſe to deuide among themſelues the reuenue of their mines of ſiluer, which were in a part of ATTICA called LAVRION, he alone was the firſt that durſt ſpeake to the people, & perſwade them, that from thenceforth they ſhould ceaſe that diſtribution among themſelues, & employ the mony of the ſame in making of galleys, to make wars againſt the ÆGYNETES. For their wars of all GREECE were moſt cruell, becauſe they were lords of the ſea, & had ſo great a number of ſhips. This perſwaſion drew the citizens more eaſily to *Themiſtocles* mind, than the threatning them with king *Darius*, or the *Perſians* wold haue done: who were farre from them, and not feared that they would come neere vnto them. So this oportunity taken of the hatred & ielouſie betweene the ATHENIANS & the ÆGYNETES, made the people to agree, of the ſaid mony to make an 100. galleys, with which they fought againſt king *Xerxes*, and did ouercome him by ſea. Now after this good beginning and ſucceſſe, he wan the citizens by degrees to bend their force to ſea, declaring vnto them, how by land they were ſcant able to make head againſt their equals, whereas by their power at ſea, they ſhould not only defend themſelues from the barbarous people, but moreouer be able to cõmand all GREECE. Herupon he made them good mariners, & paſſing ſea men, as *Plato* ſaith, where before they were ſtout & valiant ſouldiers by land. This gaue his enemies occaſion to caſt it in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike & the target, and had brought them to the banke and the ower: and ſo he got the vpper hand of *Miltiades*. Who inueyed againſt him in that, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this ſea ſeruice to paſſe, whether thereby he did ouerthrow the iuſtice of the cõmon weale or not, I leaue that to the philoſophers to diſpute. But that the preſeruation of all GREECE ſtood at that time vpon the ſea, and that the galleys only were the cauſe of ſetting vp ATHENS againe, *Xerxes* himſelf is a ſufficient witnes, beſides other proofes that might be brought thereof. For his army by land being yet whole, and vnſet on, when he ſaw his army by ſea broken, diſperſed, & ſunke, he fled ſtraight vpon it, cõfeſſing as it were that he was now too weake to deale any more with the GRECIANS, & left *Mardonius* his lieutenãt in GREECE, of purpoſe in my opinion, rather to let that the GRECIANS ſhould not follow him, then for any hope he had to ouercome them. Some write of *Themiſtocles*, that he was a very good husband for his owne profit, and carefull to looke to his things: for he did ſpend liberally, & loued oft to make ſacrifices, and honorably to receiue and entertaine ſtrangers: wherefore he had good reaſon to be careful to get, to defray his charges. Other to the cõtrary, blame him much, that he was too neere & miſerable: for ſome ſay, he wold ſell preſents of meat that were giuen him. He did aske one *Philides* on a time, which had a breed of mares, a colt of gift: who denying him flatly, he was ſo angry, that he threatned him ere it were long he wold make his houſe the horſe of wood, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning couertly to let him vnderſtand, that he wold ſhortly ſet ſtrife & quarrell betwixt him, & his neareſt kinſmẽ & familiar friẽds. It is true that he was the moſt ambitious man of the world. For whẽ he was but a yong man, & ſcantly known, he earneſtly intreated one *Epicles* borne at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the citherne, & counted at that time the cunningeſt man in all ATHENS at that inſtrumẽt, that he wold come & teach his art at his houſe: and all was no more, but that many people being deſirous to heare him play, ſhold aske for his houſe, & come thither to him. And one yeare when he went vnto the feaſt & aſſembly of the playes Olympicall, he would needs keepe open houſe for all commers, haue his tents richly furniſhed, and a great traine of ſeruants and all other furniture, only to contend with *Cimon*. This maruellouſly ſpited the GRECIANS, who thought *Themiſtocles* expences fit for *Cimons* countenance & ability, becauſe he was a yong gentleman, & of a noble houſe: but for him that was but a new come mã, & would beare a greater port, then either became his calling or ability, they thought it not onely vnallowable in him, but meere preſumption & vaineglory. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedy which was playd openly: & being ſet out therein to haue won the priſe, and the ATHENIANS being maruellous deſirous of the honor in ſuch playes, he cauſed this victory of his to be painted in a table, which he did dedicate and ſet vp in a temple, with this inſcriptiõ: *Themiſtocles Phrearian defrayed the charges: Phrynicus made it: Adimantus was chiefe ruler*. Yet notwithſtanding he was well taken of the common people, partly becauſe he would ſpeake to euery citizẽ by his name, no man telling him their names: & partly alſo becauſe he ſhewed himſelfe an vpright iudge in priuate mẽs cauſes. As one day he anſwered the Poet *Simonides*, borne in CHIO, who did requeſt an vnreaſonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was gouernour of the city.

Themiſtocles perſwaded his countrimen to make galleys.

The Athenians bent their force to ſea, by Themiſtocles perſwaſion.

Themiſtocles a good husband to looke for his profit.

Themiſtocles extremely ambitious.

citie. Thou couldeſt be no good Poet, *Simonides*, if thou didſt ſing againſt the rules of Muſicke; neither my ſelfe a good gouernour of a city, if I ſhould do any thing againſt the law. And mocking the ſame *Simonides* another time, he told him he was but a foole to ſpeake ill of the CORINTHIANS, conſidering they were lords of ſo great and ſtrong a city: and that he was not wiſe to make himſelfe to be drawne, being ſo deformed and ill fauoured. But being growne in credit, and hauing won the fauour of the people, he was ſuch an enemy to *Ariſtides*, that in the end he made him to be expulſed & baniſhed ATHENS for fiue yeares. When newes were brought that the king of PERSIA was onwards on his iourny, and comming downe to make warres vpon the GRECIANS: the ATHENIANS conſulted whom they ſhould make their generall. And it is reported, that al their common counſellers which were wont to ſpeake in matters, fearing the danger, drew backe, ſaue an orator called *Epicydes*, *Euphemides* ſon, very eloquent in ſpeech, but ſomwhat womaniſh, faint hearted, & greedy of mony, who offered himſelfe to ſue for this charge, & had ſome hope to obtaine it. Wherfore *Themiſtocles* fearing all would not be well, if it fell to this man to be generall of the army, he bought out *Epicydes* ambition with ready money, and ſo made him let fall his ſute. It fell out *Themiſtocles* was greatly commended, about that was done to the Interpreter, that came with the king of PERSIAS ambaſſadors, and demaunded the empire of the GRECIANS both by ſea and land, that they ſhould acknowledge obedience to the king. For he cauſed him to be taken, and put to death by a common conſent, for vſing the Greeke tongue in the ſeruice and cõmandement of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing alſo, that at his motion, *Arthmius* borne at ZELBA, was noted of infamy, both he, his children, and all his poſterity after him, becauſe he brought gold from the king of PERSIA, to corrupt and win the GRECIANS. But the greateſt and worthieſt act he did in thoſe parts, was this: that he pacified all ciuill wars among the GRECIANS, perſwading the cities to leaue off their quarrels vntill the wars were done, in the which they ſay *Chileus Arcadian* did helpe him more then any other man. He being now choſen generall of the ATHENIANS, went about preſently to imbarke his citizens into gallies, declaring to them they ſhould leaue their city, and go meet with the barbarous king by ſea, ſo far from the coaſt of GRECE as they could: but the people did not thinke that good. Wherfore he led great numbers of ſouldiers by land, into the country of TEMPE with the LACEDÆMONIANS, to keepe the paſſage & entry into THESSALY, againſt the barbarous people, which country ſtood yet ſound to GRECE, and not reuolted to the MEDES. Afterwards the GRECIANS comming from thence without any act done, & the THESSALIANS alſo being won ſomwhat on the kings ſide, for that all the whole country vnto BOEOTIA was at the deuotion & goodwil of the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS began then to find, how *Themiſtocles* opinion to fight by ſea was very good. Whereupon they ſent him with their nauy to the city of ARTEMISIVM, to keepe the ſtraight. There the other GRECIANS would haue had the LACEDÆMONIANS and their Admirall *Eurybiades* to haue had the authority and commandement of the reſt. But the ATHENIANS would not ſet ſaile vnder any other Admiral then their own, becauſe theirs were the greateſt number of ſhips in the army, & aboue all the other GRECIANS. *Themiſtocles* foreſeeing the dãger that was likely to fall out amongſt themſelues, did willingly yeeld the whole authority vnto *Eurybiades*, and got the ATHENIANS to agree vnto it: aſſuring them, that if they behaued themſelues valiantly in theſe wars, the other GRECIANS of their owne accord would afterward ſubmit themſelues vnto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time, the originall cauſe of the ſauing of GRECE, & did moſt aduance the honor & glory of the ATHENIANS, by making them to ouercome their enemies by force, and their friends and allies with liberality. In the meane time, *Eurybiades* ſeeing the barbarous fleete riding at anker, all alongſt the Ile of APHETES, with ſuch a great number of ſhips in the vaward, he began to be affraid. And vnderſtanding moreouer, there were other two hundred ſaile that went to caſt about the Ile of SCIATHE, & ſo to come in: he preſently would haue retired further into GRECE, and would haue drawn neerer vnto PELOPONNESVS, to the end their army by ſea might be neere their army by land, as thinking it vnpoſſible to fight with king *Xerxes* power by ſea. Wherupon the inhabitants of the Ile of EVBOEA, fearing leaſt the GRECIANS wold leaue thẽ to the ſpoile of the enemy, they cauſed *Themiſtocles* ſecretly to be ſpoken withall, and ſent him a good ſumme of money by one called *Pelagon*. *Themiſtocles* tooke the mony, as *Herodotus* writeth, and gaue it to *Eurybiades*. But there was one *Architeles* amongſt the ATHENIANS, captaine of the galley called the holy galley, that was much againſt *Themiſtocles* intended purpoſe: who hauing no money to pay

A vniuſt ſaying of Themiſtocles

Themiſtocles made Ariſtides to be baniſhed.

Epicydes an orator ſued to be generall.

Arthmius diſamed for bribing.

Themiſtocles generall of the Athenians againſt Xerxes.

his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with ſpeed from thence. *Themiſtocles* ſtirred vp then his ſouldiers more againſt him then before, inſomuch as they went aboord his gally and tooke his ſupper from him. *Architeles* being maruellous angry and offended withall, *Themiſtocles* ſent him both bread and meate in a pannier, and in the bottome thereof he had put a talent of ſiluer, bidding him for that night to ſuppe with that, and the next morning he ſhould prouide for his mariners, or elſe he would complaine, and accuſe him to the citizens that he had taken mony of the enemies. Thus it is written by *Phanias Lesbian*. Moreouer theſe firſt fights in the ſtraite of EVBOEA, betweene the GRECIANS, & the barbarous people, were nothing to purpoſe to end the wars betweene them. For it was but a taſte giuen vnto them, which ſerued the GRECIANS turne very much, by making them to ſee by experience, and the maner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of ſhips, nor the pompe & ſumptuous ſetting out of the ſame, nor the proud barbarous ſhouts and ſongs of victory, that could ſtand them to purpoſe, againſt noble hearts and valiant minded ſouldiers, that durſt grapple with them, and come to hand-ſtrokes with their enemies: and that they ſhould make no reckening of all that brauery & brags, but ſhould ſticke to it like men, and lay it on the iackes of them. The which (as it ſeemeth) the poet *Pindarus* vnderſtood very well, when he ſayd touching the battell of ARTEMISIVM:

The ſtout Athenians, haue now foundation layed
vnto the liberty of Greece, by theſe aſſaults aſſayed.

The coaſt of Artemiſium.

For out of doubt the beginning of victory, is to be hardy. This place ARTEMISIVM is a part of the Ile of EVBOEA, looking towards the North, aboue the city of ESTIÆA, lying directly ouer againſt the country which ſometimes was vnder the obedience of the PHILOCTETES, and ſpecially of the city of OLIZON. There is a litle tẽple of *Diana*, ſurnamed *Orientall*, round about the which there are trees, and a compaſſe of pillars of white ſtone, which when a man rubs with his hand, they ſhew of the colour and ſauour of ſaffron. And in one of thoſe pillars there is an inſcription of lamentable verſes to this effect:

When boldeſt blouds of Athens by their might,
had ouercome the numbers infinite
of Aſia: they then in memory,
of all their deeds, and valiant victory,
began to build, this noble monument,
and to Diane the ſame they did preſent,
for that they had the Medes likewiſe ſubdued,
and with their bloud, their hardy hands embrued.

There is a place ſeene alſo vpon that coaſt at this day, a good way into the land, in the middeſt whereof are great ſands full of blacke duſt like aſhes: and they thinke that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and old ſhipwrackes. Newes being brought what had bene done in the countrey of THERMOPYLES, how that king *Leonidas* was dead, and how that *Xerxes* had won that entry into GRECE by land: the GRECIANS then brought their whole army by ſea more into GRECE, the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retraite, as men whoſe hearts were lift vp with the glory of their former valiant deedes. Now *Themiſtocles* paſſing by thoſe places where he knew the enemies muſt of neceſſity fall vpon the lee ſhore for harborow: he did ingraue certaine words ſpoken vnto the IONIANS, in great letters in ſtone, which he found there by chaunce, or purpoſely brought thither for that purpoſe, where there was very good harbour for ſhips, and fit places alſo to lye in. Theſe were the words: that the IONIANS ſhould take the GRECIANS parts being their founders and auncеſtors, and ſuch as fought for their liberty: or at the leaſt they ſhould trouble the army of the barbarous people, and do them all the miſchiefe they could, when the GRECIANS ſhould come to fight with them. By theſe words he hoped either to bring the IONIANS to take their part, or at the leaſt he ſhould make the barbarous people iealous and miſtruſtfull of them. *Xerxes* being already entred into the vppermoſt part of the prouince of DORICA, into the countrey PHOCIDA, burning and deſtroying the townes and cities of the PHOCIANS: the other GRECIANS lay ſtill and ſuffered the inuaſion, notwithſtanding the ATHENIANS did requeſt them to meete with the barbarous army in BOEOTIA, to ſaue the countrey of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they went by ſea to ARTEMISIVM. But they would not hearken to it in no wiſe: and all was becauſe they were deſirous they ſhould draw to the ſtrait of PELOPONNESVS, and there they ſhould aſſemble the whole

Themiſtocles ſtratageme.

whole ſtrength and power of GREECE within the barre of the ſame, and make a ſtrong ſubſtantiall wall from the one ſea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angry at this deuice, and were halfe diſcouraged and out of heart, to ſee themſelues thus forſaken and caſt off by the reſt of the GRECIANS. For it was out of all ſpeech that they alone ſhould fight againſt ſo many thouſands of enemies: and therefore their only remedy was, to leaue their city, and to get them to the ſea. The people were very vnwilling to liſten hereunto, making their reckening it was needleſſe to be carefull to ouercome, or to ſaue themſelues, hauing once forſaken the temples of their gods, and the graues of their parents. Wherfore *Themiſtocles* ſeeing that neither reaſon, nor mans perſwaſion could bring the people to like his opinion: he began to frame a deuice (as men do vſe ſometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the ATHENIANS with ſignes from heauen, with oracles and anſwers from the gods. And the occaſion of *Mineruaes* dragon ſerued his turne for a celeſtiall ſigne and token, which by good fortune did not appeare in thoſe daies in the temple as it was wont to do: and the prieſts found the ſacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole and vntouched by any. Wherefore being informed by *Themiſtocles* what they ſhould do, they ſpread a brute abroad amongſt the people, that the goddeſſe *Minerua*, the protector and defender of the citie, had forſaken it, pointing them the way vnto the ſea. And againe he wan them by a Prophecie, which commanded them to ſaue themſelues in wals of wood: ſaying that the wals of wood did ſignifie nothing elſe but ſhips. And for this cauſe he ſaid, *Apollo* in his oracle called SALAMINA diuine, not miſerable nor vnfortunate, becauſe it ſhould giue the name of a moſt happy victorie which the GRECIANS ſhould get there. And ſo at the laſt they following his counſell, he made this decree, that they ſhould leaue the city of ATHENS to the cuſtodie of the goddeſſe *Pallas*, that was ladie and gouernor of the countrey, and that all thoſe which were of age to carie any weapon ſhould get them to the gallies: and for the reſt, that euery man ſhould ſee his wife, children, and bondmen placed in ſome ſure place as well as he could. After this decree was paſt and authorized by the people, the moſt part of them did conuey their aged fathers and mothers, their wiues and litle children, into the city of TROEZEN, where the TROEZNIANS receiued them very louingly and gently. For they gaue order that they ſhold be entertained of the common charge, allowing them a peece, two obulos of their money a day, and ſuffered the young children to gather fruit wherſoeuer they found it: and furthermore did hire ſchoolemaiſters at the charge of the commonwealth, to bring them vp at ſchoole. He that was the penner of this decree, was one called *Nicagoras*. The ATHENIANS at that time, had no common mony, but the Senate of the *Areopagites* (as *Ariſtotle* ſaith) furniſhed euery ſouldier with eight drachmas, which was the only meane that the gallies were armed. Yet *Clidemus* writeth, that this was a craft deuiſed of *Themiſtocles*. The ATHENIANS being come downe vnto the hauen of PIRÆA, he made as though *Pallas* target (on the which *Meduſaes* head was grauen) had bene loſt, and was not found with the image of the goddeſſe: and faining to ſeeke for it, he ranſacked euery corner of the gallies, and found a great deale of ſiluer which priuate perſons had hidden amongſt their fardels. This mony was brought out vnto the people, and by this meanes the ſouldiers that were ſhipped had wherwithall to prouide them of neceſſarie things. When time came that they were to depart the hauen, and that all the citie of ATHENS had taken ſea: one way it was a pitie to behold them: another way it made all ſorts to wonder, that conſidered the boldneſſe and courage of thoſe men, which before ſent away their fathers and mothers from them, and were nothing moued at their teares, cries, ſhrikes, and embracings of their wiues, their children, and departures, but ſtoutly and reſolutely held on their courſe to SALAMINA. Notwithſtanding, there were many old citizens left ſtill of neceſſitie in ATHENS, becauſe they could not be remoued for very extreame age, which ſtirred many with compaſſion toward them. There was beſides, a certaine pitie that made mens hearts to yerne, when they ſaw the poore dogges, beaſtes, and cattell runne vp and downe bleating, mowing, and howling out aloude after their maiſters, in token of ſorrow, when they did imbarke. Amongſt theſe, there goeth a ſtraunge tale of *Xanthippus* dogge, who was *Pericles* father: which for ſorrow his maiſter had left him behind him, did caſt himſelfe after into the ſea, and ſwimming ſtill by the gallies ſide wherein his maiſter was, he held on to the Iſle of SALAMINA, where ſo ſoone as the poore curre landed, his breath failed him, & he died preſently. They ſay, at this day the place called the dogs graue, is the very place where he was buried. Theſe were ſtraunge acts of *Themiſtocles*, that beholding the ATHENIANS ſory for the abſence of *Ariſtides*, and fearing leſt of ſpite he taking part with the barbarous nation, might haue bene

VVodden vvals ſignifie ſhippes.

The Athenians forſake Athens by Themiſtocles perſvvaſion, & go to the ſea.

Xanthippus dogge.

The dogges graue.

the ruine and destruction of the state of GRECE, being banished fiue yeares also before the wars by *Themistocles* procurement: that he did set forth a decree, that all those which had bene banished for a time, might returne home againe, to do, to say, and to giue counsell to the citizens in those things, which they thought best for the preseruation of GRECE. And also where *Eurybiades* being Generall of the GRECIANS whole army by sea, for the worthines of the city of SPARTA, but otherwise a ranke coward at time of need, would in any case depart from thence, and retire into the gulfe of PELOPONNESVS, where all the army of the PELOPONNESIANS was by land assembled: that *Themistocles* withstood him, and did hinder it all he could. At that time also it was, that *Themistocles* made so notable answers, which specially are noted & gathered together. For when *Eurybiades* said one day vnto him: *Themistocles*, those that at playes and games do rise before the cõpany, are whistled at. It is true, said *Themistocles*: but those also that tary last, do neuer win any game. Another time *Eurybiades* hauing a staffe in his hand lift it vp, as though he would haue striken him: Strike and thou wilt, said he, so thou wilt heare me. *Eurybiades* wondring to see him so patient, suffered him then to say what he would. Then *Themistocles* began to bring him to reason: but one that stood by, said vnto him: *Themistocles*, for a man that hath neither city nor house, it is an ill part to will others that haue, to forsake all. *Themistocles* turning to him, replied: We haue willingly forsaken our houses & wals, said he, cowardly beast that thou art, because we would not become slaues for feare to lose things that haue neither soule nor life. And yet our city I tell thee is the greatest of all GRECE: for it is a fleet of 200. galleys ready to fight, which are come hither to saue you if you list. But if you will needs go your waies and forsake vs the second time, you shall heare tell ere it be long, that the ATHENIANS haue another free city, and haue possessed againe as much good land, as that they haue already lost. These words made *Eurybiades* presently thinke, and feare, that the ATHENIANS would not go, and that they would forsake them. And as another *Eretrian* was about to vtter his reason against *Themistocles* opinion: he could not but answer him: Alas, and must you my maisters talke of warres too, that are like to a Sleeue? Indeed you haue a sword, but you lacke a heart. Some write, that whilst *Themistocles* was talking thus from his galley, they spied an owle flying on the right hand of the ships which came to light on one of the masts of the galleys: and that hereupon all the other GRECIANS did agree to his opinion, and prepared to fight by sea. But when the fleete of their enemies shippes shewed on the coastes of ATTICA, hard by the hauen *Phalericus*, and couered all the riuers thereabouts, as farre as any bodie could see, and that King *Xerxes* himselfe was come in person with all his armie by land, to campe by the sea side: so that his whole power both by land and sea might be seene in sight: then the GRECIANS had forgotten all *Themistocles* goodly perswasions, and beganne to incline againe to the PELOPONNESIANS, considering how they might recouer the gulfe of PELOPONNESVS, and they did grow very angry, when any man went about to talke of any other matter. To be short, it was concluded that they should saile away the next night following, and the maisters of the shippes had order giuen them to make all things readie for them to depart. *Themistocles* perceiuing their determination, he was maruellous angrie in his mind, that the GRECIANS would thus disperse themselues asunder, repairing euery man to his owne citie, and leauing the aduantage which the nature of the place, and the straight of the arme of the sea, where they lay in harbour together, did offer them: and so he bethought himselfe how this was to be holpen. Sodainely the practise of one *Sicinus* came into his mind, who being a PERSIAN borne, and taken prisoner before in the warres, loued *Themistocles* very well, and was schoole-maister to his children. This *Sicinus* he secretly sent vnto the king of PERSIA, to aduertise him that *Themistocles* (Generall of the ATHENIANS) was very desirous to becom his Maiesties seruant, and that he did let him vnderstand betimes, that the GRECIANS were determined to flie: and therefore that he wished him not to let them escape, but to set vpon them, whilest they were troubled and afraid, and farre from their armie by land, to the end that vpon a sudden he might ouerthrow their whole power by sea. *Xerxes* supposing this intelligence came from a man that wished him well, receiued the messenger with great ioy, and thereupon gaue present order to his captaines by sea, that they should imbarke their men into the other shippes at better leisure, and that presently they should put out with all possible speed, two hundred saile to follow the GRECIANS in the taile, to shut vp the foreland of the straight, and to compasse the Isles all about, that not one of his enemies shippes might escape: and so it fell out. Then *Aristides* (*Lysimachus* sonne) being the first that perceiued it, went to *Themisto-*

cles

Aristides returneth from banishment by Themistocles decree.

Notable answers of Themistocles.

The Sleeue is a fish fashioned like a sword.

Themistocles stratageme, by the which he won the battel at Salamina.

cles tent, though he was his enemy, and through his only meanes had bene baniſhed before, as ye haue heard: and calling him out, told him how they were enuironed. *Themiſtocles*, who knew well inough the goodneſſe of this man, being very glad he came at that time to ſeeke him out, declared vnto him the pollicie he had vſed by the meſſage of *Sicinus*, praying him to put too his helpe to ſtay the GREEKS, and to procure with him, conſidering his word had more authority among them, that they would fight within the ſtraight of SALAMINA. *Ariſtides* commending his great wiſedome, went to deale with the captaines of the other gallies, and to procure them to fight. For all this, they would not credit that he ſaid, vntill ſuch time as there arriued a galley of TENEDIENA, whereof one *Panetius* was captaine, who being ſtolen out of the hoſt of the barbarous armie, brought certaine newes, that the ſtraight out of doubt was ſhut vp. So that beſides the neceſſitie which did vrge them, the ſpite which the GRECIANS conceiued thereof, did prouoke them to hazard the battell. The next morning by breake of day, King *Xerxes* placed himſelfe on a maruellous ſteepe high hill, from whence he might diſcerne his whole fleete, and the ordering of his armie by ſea, aboue the temple of *Hercules*, as *Phanodemus* writeth. Which is the narrow way or channell betwixt the Iſle of SALAMINA, and the coaſt of ATTICA: or as *Aceſtodorus* ſaith, vpon the confines of the territories of MEGARA, aboue the point which they commonly call the Hornes. There *Xerxes* ſet vp a throne of gold, and had about him many ſecretaries to write all that was done in the battell. But as *Themiſtocles* was ſacrificing vnto the gods in his galley that was Admirall, they brought to him three young priſoners, faire of complexion, richly arrayed with gold and iewels, whom they ſaid were the children of *Sandace* the kings ſiſter, and of prince *Autarctus*. So ſoone as *Euphrantides* the ſoothſayer had ſeene them, and at their arriuall obſerued there roſe a great bright flame out of the ſacrifice, and at the very ſelfe ſame inſtant that one on his right hand had ſneezed: he tooke *Themiſtocles* by the hand, and willed him to ſacrifice all thoſe three priſoners vnto the god *Bacchus*, ſurnamed *Omeſtes*, as much to ſay, as the cruell *Bacchus*: for in doing it, the GRECIANS ſhould not onely be ſaued, but they ſhould haue the victorie ouer their enemies. *Themiſtocles* wondred much, to heare ſo ſtraunge and terrible a commaundement of the ſoothſayer. Neuertheleſſe, the common ſort following their cuſtom, which is, to promiſe ſafetie ſooner in the greateſt daungers, and moſt deſperate caſes, by ſtraunge and vnreaſonable, rather then by reaſonable and ordinarie meanes: they began to call vpon the god with one voice, and bringing the three priſoners neare vnto the altar, they compelled him to performe the ſacrifice in that ſort as the ſoothſayer had appointed. *Phanias Lesbian*, an excellent Philoſopher, and well ſeene in ſtories and antiquities, reporteth this matter thus. As for the number of the ſhips of the barbarous nauie: *Æſchilus* the poet, in a tragedie which he entituled the PERSIANS, knowing certainely the troth, ſaith thus:

Themiſtocles and Ariſtides conſent together to giue battell.

King Xerxes had a thouſand ſhippes I know,
amongſt the which, two hundred were (I trow)
and ſeuen: which all the reſt did ouerſaile
with ſwifter courſe. This is withouten faile.

Xerxes king of Perſia had a thouſand ſhips.

The ATHENIANS had nine ſcore, in euery one of the which there were eighteene ſouldiers, whereof foure of them were archers, and all the reſt armed men. *Themiſtocles* alſo did with no leſſe skill and wiſedome chooſe his time and place to fight, forbearing to charge his enemies, vntill the hower was come, that of ordinarie cuſtome the ſea wind aroſe, and brought in a rough tide within the channell, which did not hurt the GRECIAN gallies, being made low and ſnug, but greatly offended the PERSIAN gallies, being high cargued, heauy, and not yare of ſteredge, and made them lye ſidelong to the GRECIANS, who fiercely ſet vpon them, hauing alwaies an eye to *Themiſtocles* direction, that beſt foreſaw their aduantage. At the ſame time, *Ariamenes*, *Xerxes* Admirall, a man of great valure and worthieſt of the Kings brethren, beſtowed arrowes and darts as it were from the wals of a caſtle, charging the galley of *Aminias Decelian*, and *Soſicles Pedian*, which were ioyned and grapled with him, and fiercely entring the ſame, was by them valiantly receiued vpon their pikes, and thruſt ouer bord into the ſea. Whoſe body floting amongſt other ſhipwracks *Artemiſia* knowing, cauſed to be carried to king *Xerxes*. Now whileſt this battell ſtoode in theſe termes, they ſay that there appeared a great flame in the element toward the citie of ELEVSIN, and that a loud voice was heard through all the plaine of THRASIA vnto the ſea, as if there had bene a number of men together, that had ſong out aloude the holy ſong of *Iacchus*. And it ſeemed by litle and litle, that there roſe a cloud in the ayre from thoſe which

Ariamenes Xerxes admirall.

ſang, that left the land, and came and lighted on the galleys in the ſea. Other affirmed, that they ſawe armed men, which did reach out their hands from the Iſle of Ægina, towards the Grecian gallies: and they thought they were the Æacidæ, for whoſe helpe they all prayed before the battell was begunne. The firſt man of the Atheians that tooke any of the enemies ſhips, was *Lycomedes*, a captaine of a galley: who hauing taken very rich furniture and flags, did afterwards conſecrate them to *Apollo* laurell: as ye would ſay, victorious. The other Grecians in the front being equall in number with the barbarous ſhips, by reaſon of the ſtraightnes of the arme of the ſea wherein they fought, and ſo ſtraightned as they could not fight but by one and one, whereby the Barbarians diſorderly laied one another aboord, that they did hinder themſelues with their ouer multitude: and in the end were ſo ſore preſſed vpon by the Grecians, that they were conſtrained to flie by night, after they had fought and maintained battell vntill it was very darke. So that the Grecians wan that glorious and famous victorie: of the which may truly be affirmed that, as *Simonides* ſaith:

The Grecians victory of the Perſians nauie by ſea.

Was neuer yet, nor Greeke nor barbarous crew,
that could by ſea ſo many men ſubdew:
Nor that obtaind ſo famous victorie,
in any fight againſt their enemie.

Thus was the victory won through the valiantnes and courage of thoſe that fought that battel, but eſpecially through *Themiſtocles* great pollicie and wiſdome. After this battell *Xerxes* being mad for his loſſe, thought to fill vp the arme of the ſea, and to paſſe his armie by land, vpon a bridge, into the Iſle of Salamina. *Themiſtocles*, becauſe he would feele *Ariſtides* opinion, told him as they were talking together, that he thought beſt to go and occupie the ſtraight of Hellespont with the armie by ſea, to breake the bridge of ſhippes which *Xerxes* had cauſed to be made: to the end, ſaid he, that we may take Asia into Evrope. *Ariſtides* liked not this opinion: for we haue (ſaid he) fought all this while againſt this barbarous King, who thought but to play with vs: but if we ſhut him within Greece, and bring him to fight of neceſſitie to ſaue his life: ſuch an enemy that commaundeth ſo great an army, will no more ſtand ſtill as a looker on, and ſit at his eaſe vnder his golden pauilion, to ſee the paſtime of the battell, but will proue euery way, and be himſelfe in euery place at all aſſaies to ſaue himſelfe from ſuch a ſtraight and danger. Thus with politike care and foreſight, he may eaſily amend his former fault committed by negligence, and do well enough, when he ſhall ſee his life and kingdome both depend vpon it. Therfore *Themiſtocles*, I would thinke not beſt to breake his bridge at all, which he hath cauſed to be made; but rather if we could, to build another to it, to driue him out of Evrope as ſoone as we could. *Themiſtocles* then replyed: Seing you thinke this were good to be done, we muſt all lay our heades together, to deuiſe how he may be forced to come out as ſoone as we could. They breaking off with this reſolution, *Themiſtocles* ſent immediatly one of the Kings Eunuches, called *Arſaces*, that was one of the groomes of his chamber, whome he found out amongeſt the priſoners, and by him he ſent this meſſage vnto the King: That the Grecians hauing won the battell of him by ſea, had decreed in their counſell, how they would go to the ſtraight of Hellespont, to breake the bridge of the ſhips he had cauſed to be made there. Wherof he thought good to aduertiſe him for the good will he did beare him, and to the end he might bethinke him betimes, to get him away to the ſea within his owne dominion, and ſo paſſe backe againe into Asia as ſoone as he could, whileſt he gaue order to his allies and confederates, to ſtay following him at the poope. The barbarous King vnderſtanding theſe newes, was ſo afraid, that he hoiſſed away with all poſſible ſpeed. The further foreſight and great wiſedome of *Themiſtocles*, and *Ariſtides*, in marine cauſes, did manifeſtly appeare afterwards in the battell the Grecians fought before the citie of Platea, againſt *Mardonius*, king *Xerxes* lieutenant: who hauing but a ſmal power of the King his ſoueraignes there, did yet put the Grecians to great diſtreſſe, and in hazard to haue loſt all. Of all the townes and cities that fought in this battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that the citie of Ægina wanne the fame for valiantneſſe aboue the reſt: and of priuate men, among the Grecians, *Themiſtocles* was iudged the worthieſt man: although it was ſore againſt their willes, becauſe they enuied much his glorie. For after the battell done, all the captaines being gotten into the ſtraight of Peloponnesvs, and hauing ſworne vpon the altar of their ſacrifices, that they would giue their voyces after their conſciences, to thoſe they thought had beſt deſerued it: euery one gaue himſelfe the firſt place for worthineſſe, and the ſecond vnto *Themiſtocles*.

Ariſtides counſell vnto Themiſtocles, for the breaking of Xerxes bridge.

Themiſtocles ſtratageme.

ſtocles. The LACEDÆMONIANS caried him into SPARTA, where they iudged the honour and dignitie of valiantneſſe to their Admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wiſedome and pollicie they attributed to *Themiſtocles*. In token thereof they gaue him an oliue braunch, and the goodlieſt coach that was in their citie: and moreouer they ſent three huudred of their luſtie youths to accompany him, and conduct him out of their countrey. And they ſay, that at the next feaſts and aſſemblies of the playes Olympicall which were made after this victory, when *Themiſtocles* was once come into the ſhew place where theſe games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all caſt their eyes on him, ſhewing him to the ſtraungers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their hands did witneſſe how much they eſteemed him. Whereat he himſelfe tooke ſo great delight, that he confeſſed to his familiar friendes, he then did reape the fruite and benefite of his ſundrie and painefull ſeruices he had taken in hand, for the preſeruation of GREECE: ſo ambitious was he of nature, and couetous of honour, as we may eaſily perceiue by certaine of his deedes and notable ſayings they haue noted of him. For being choſen Admirall of ATHENS, he neuer diſpatched any cauſes priuate or publicke, howſoeuer they fell out, vntill the very day of his departure, and taking ſhippe: and all becauſe that men ſeeing him diſpatch much buſineſſe at once, and to ſpeake with ſo many perſons together, they ſhould eſteeme him to be the notabler man, and of the greater authoritie. Another time he walked vpon the ſands by the ſea ſide, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the ſea had caſt vp vppon the ſhore: and ſeeing ſome of them that had on ſtill their chaines of gold, and bracelets, he paſſed by on his way, but ſhewed them yet to a familiar friend of his that followed him, and ſaid vnto him: take thou thoſe, for thou art not *Themiſtocles*. And vnto one *Antiphates*, who in his youth had bene a goodly young boy, and at that time did ſcornefully behaue himſelfe vnto him, making no reckening of him: and now that he ſaw him in great authoritie came to ſee him, he ſayed: O my young ſonne, and friend: we are both euen at one time (but too late) growne wiſe. He ſaid the ATHENIANS did not eſteeme of him nor honour him in time of peace: but when any ſtorme of warres were towards, and they ſtoode in any daunger, they ranne to him then, as men runne to the ſhadow of a plane tree, vpon any ſodaine raine: and afterwardes when faire weather commeth againe, they cut away the braunches, and boughes thereof. There was a man borne in the Iſle of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, did caſt him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthineſſe, but for the noble citie wherein he was borne, that he had wonne ſuch glorie: Thou ſayeſt true ſaid he: but neither ſhould I euer haue wonne any great honour, if I had bene a SERIPHIAN, nor thou alſo if thou hadſt bene an ATHENIAN. Another time one of the captaines of the citie, hauing done good ſeruice vnto the commonweale, made boaſt before *Themiſtocles*, and compared his ſeruice equall with his. *Themiſtocles* to anſwer him, told him a pretie tale. That the working day brauled on a time with the holy day, repining againſt her, that he laboured for his liuing continually, and how ſhe did nothing but fill her belly, and ſpend that they had gotten. Thou haſt reaſon ſaid the holy day. But if I had not bene before thee, thou haddeſt not bene here now. And ſo, if I had not bene then: where had you my maiſters bene now? His owne ſon was a litle too ſawſie with his mother, and with him alſo, bearing himſelfe ouer-boldly of her good will, by meanes of her cockering of him. Wherupon being merily diſpoſed, he wold ſay that his ſon could do more then any man in all GREECE. For, ſaith he, the ATHENIANS command the GRECIANS, I command the ATHENIANS, my wife commandeth me, and my ſon commaundeth her. Moreouer becauſe he would be ſingular by himſelfe aboue all other men: hauing a peece of land he would ſell, he willed the cryer to proclaime open ſale of it in the market place, and withall he ſhould adde vnto the ſale, that his land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being ſuters to his daughter, he preferred the honeſter before the richer, ſaying: he had rather haue to his ſonne in lawe a man that lacked goods, then goods to lacke a man. Theſe were *Themiſtocles* pleaſant conceipts and aunſwers. But after he had done all theſe things we haue ſpoken of before, he took in hand to build againe the city and wals of ATHENS, and did corrupt the officers of LACEDÆMONIA with mony, to the end they ſhould not hinder his purpoſe, as *Theopompus* writeth. Or as all other ſay when he had deceiued them by this ſubtiltie, he went vnto SPARTA, as ambaſſadour, ſent thither of purpoſe vpon the complaints of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS did incloſe their citie againe with wals, who

Themiſtocles honored aboue al the Grecians

Themiſtocles ambitio noted.

Themiſtocles ſayings.

A pretie tale of Themiſtocles

Themiſtocles ſaying of his ſonne.

Themiſtocles built againe the vvals of the city of Athens.

were accuſed vnto the counſell of SPARTA, by an Oratour called *Poliarchus*, who was ſent thither from the ÆGINETES, of purpoſe to proſecute this matter againſt the ATHENIANS. *Themiſtocles* ſtoutly denyed it to them, and prayed them for better vnderſtanding of the troth, they would ſend ſome of their men thither to ſee it. This was but a fetch onely to win by this delay, the ATHENIANS ſo much more time to raiſe vp their wals, and that the ATHENIANS ſhould keepe as hoſtages for ſuretie of his perſon, thoſe they ſhould ſend to ATHENS, to bring backe the report thereof: and ſo it fell out. For the LACEDÆMONIANS being enformed of the troth as it was, did him no hurt, but diſſembling the miſliking they had to be thus abuſed by him, ſent him away ſafe and ſound. Afterwards he made them alſo mend and fortifie the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing conſidered the ſituation of the place, and all to encline the citie to the ſea. Wherein he did directly contrarie to all the counſell of the ancient Kings of ATHENS: who ſeeking (as they ſay) to withdraw their people from the ſea, and to accuſtome them to liue vpon the land, by planting, ſowing, and plowing their grounds, did deuiſe and giue out abroad, the fable they tell of the goddeſſe *Pallas*. And that is this, how ſhe contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the countrey of ATHENS, brought foorth and ſhewed to the Iudges the oliue tree, by meanes whereof ſhe preuailed and obtained the preheminence. Euen ſo *Themiſtocles* did not ioyne the hauen of PIRÆA, vnto the citie of ATHENS, as the Comicall poet *Ariſtophanes* ſaith: but rather ioyned the citie vnto the hauen PIRÆA, and the land vnto the ſea. By this meanes he made the people ſtrong againſt the nobility, and brought the communaltie to waxe bolder then they were before, by reaſon the rule and authoritie fell into the hands of ſaylers, mariners, pilots, ſhip-maiſters, and ſuch kind of ſeafaring men: ſo as the pulpit where all the orations were made, ſtood in the market place of PNYX, and did looke towards the ſea. But the thirtie tyrants that came in afterwards, did remooue it, and turne it towards the land: holding opinion to be ſtrong by ſea, was it that did maintaine the authoritie of the popular ſtate: and that contrariwiſe they which liue by the labour and toile of the earth, do more willingly like the gouernment of Nobilitie. *Themiſtocles* called to mind another matter alſo of greater importance, to make the citie of ATHENS of a greater power by ſea. For after the retire of *Xerxes*, and that all the fleete and nauie of the GRECIANS wintered in the hauen of PEGASES: he ſaid one day in an open aſſembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was not to be told openly. The people willed him then to impart it to *Ariſtides*: and if he thought it good, they would execute it ſpeedily. *Themiſtocles* then told *Ariſtides*: the thing he had conſidered of, was to burne the Arcenall where the GRECIANS nauie lay, and to ſet on fire all their ſhippes. *Ariſtides* hearing his purpoſe, returned to the people, and told them: how nothing could be more profitable, but withall more vniuſt, then that which *Themiſtocles* had deuiſed. The ATHENIANS then willed *Ariſtides* it ſhould be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibited their petition to the counſell of the *Amphictions* (that is the generall counſell of all the ſtates of GRECE aſſembled) how the townes and cities of GRECE which had not bene parties with the GRECIANS in the league, againſt the barbarous people, ſhould be put off wholly from this counſell. *Themiſtocles* doubting that if the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS, and the THEBANES alſo ſhould by this meanes be exempted, that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be then the greater number in voyces, and by this meanes might do what they would in this counſell: he ſpake ſo conſiderately for the cities which they would haue thus diſcharged, that he made the petitioners in the aſſembly vtterly to chaunge their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirtie cities compriſed only in the league, and yet that ſome of them were very weake and ſmal: and how it were no reaſon, that reiecting all the reſt of GRECE, the greateſt authoritie of this counſell ſhould fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefeſt cities alone. For this cauſe chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS did euer beare him extreme hatred, and did ſtir vp *Cimon* all they could, to be alwaies aduerſarie oppoſite vnto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of ſtate, and the gouernement of ATHENS. They procured him beſides the ill will and diſpleaſure of all the friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went ſayling ſtill too and fro alongſt the Iſles, exacting money of the inhabitants of the ſame. And this is to be knowne by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would haue had money) and by the anſwer they made him, as *Herodotus* writeth. Which was, how he had brought them two mightie gods: *Loue* and *Force*. And they anſwered him againe, that they alſo had two great goddeſſes, which

A ſubtill fetch of Themiſtocles

The hauen of Piræa fortified.

The equitie of the Athenians.

Themiſtocles gods, Loue and Force.

kept

kept them from giuing of him any money: *Pouertie* and *Impoſsibilitie*. And to make this good also: *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet galled him to the quicke, when he ſharpely taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were baniſhed: and how for the couetouſneſſe of money he had betraied, and forſaken his hoſt and friend. The verſes wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effect: *The Andrians goddeſſes, Pouertie, and Impoſſibilitie.*

Who liſt commend worthy Pauſanias,
Zanthippus or good Leotychides,
yet ſhall I ſeeme but light thereof to paſſe,
compared with valiant Ariſtides.
For yet was nay, the like in Athens towne,
nor neuer ſhall come none of like renowne.
Themiſtocles by right and due deſert,
is hated of Latona, for his lies;
and for he bare a traitrous wicked heart,
who like a wretch, and niggard did deuiſe,
for ſmall reward his hoſt Timocreon
to hold out of his countrey Ialiſon.
He tooke for bribe (vniuſtly yet therewhile)
of ready coine three talents faire and bright,
reuoking ſuch as pleaſd him, from exile,
and baniſhing full many a worthy wight.
Or putting them to death, without cauſe told,
he gate thereby, great heapes of coyne and gold.
But in the end (o right reward for ſuch)
this bribing wretch, was forced for to hold
a tipling booth, moſt like a clowne or ſnuch,
at holy feaſts and paſtimes manifold,
which were amongſt the people in thoſe dayes
Iſtmiciane folke, did vſe the like alwayes.
And there he ſeru'd his gueſts with cold meate ſtill,
whileſt they that taſted of his cookerie,
gan wiſh that they (to eaſe their weary will)
had neuer liued, to ſee the treacherie
of falſe Themiſtocles, and that he might
no longer liue, which wrought them ſuch deſpight.

After this, he did more openly blaſe him to the world, when he was baniſhed and condemned, in a ſong that had beginning thus:

O Muſe, let theſe my verſes be diſperſt
throughout all Grece, ſince they deſerue no leſſe:
and ſince the truth which is in them rehearſt,
deſerueth fame, whom no man ſhould ſuppreſſe.

They ſay the cauſe why this *Timocreon* was baniſhed, was, the friendſhip which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giuing them intelligence. Whereof *Themiſtocles* was one that iudicially condemned him. Wherefore when *Themiſtocles* himſelfe was accuſed afterwards of the ſame fault, *Timocreon* then made theſe verſes following againſt him:

Timocreon was not without his pheere,
which did conferre with Medes priuily,
Since others mo, the ſelfe ſame blame might beare,
mo foxes lurke in dennes, as well as I.

Beſides theſe verſes, *Themiſtocles* owne citizens for the ill will they bare him, beganne nowe with great contentment and applauſe, to hearken to thoſe that gaue out euill ſpeeches and ſclaunders of him. Therefore while he ſought waies to redreſſe all this, he was driuen to vſe ſuch meane, which more increaſed their hatred towards him. For in his orations to the

people, he did oft remember them of the good ſeruices he had done them: and perceiuing how they were offended withall, he was driuen to ſaye: Why, are ye wearie ſo often to receiue good by one man? Many of them were very angrie with him alſo, when he ſurnamed *Diana* (in the dedication of her temple he made vnto her) *Ariſtobule*, as much to ſay, as the good counſeller: meaning thereby, howe he had giuen graue and wiſe counſell, both vnto his citie, and to all the reſt of the GRECIANS. He built this temple alſo neare his houſe, in a place called *Melita*, where the hang-men doe caſt the dead bodies of thoſe that were executed, and throwe the ragges and haulters endes of thoſe that were hanged, or otherwiſe put to death by lawe. There was alſo in our dayes in the temple of *Diana Ariſtobule*, a little image of *Themiſtocles*, which ſhewed plainely, that he was not onely wiſe, and of a noble minde, but alſo of a great maieſtie and countenance in the face. In the ende the ATHENIANS baniſhed him ATHENS for fiue yeares, becauſe they would plucke downe his ouer great courage and authoritie, as they did vſe to ſerue thoſe, whoſe greatneſſe they thought to be more, then common equalitie that ought to be among citizens would beare. For this manner of baniſhment for a time, called *Oſtraciſmon*, was no puniſhment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the enuie of the people, which delighted to plucke downe their ſtomackes that too much ſeemed to exceede in greatneſſe: and by this meanes they tooke away the poiſon of his malice, with diminiſhing his glorie and honour. So *Themiſtocles* being baniſhed from ATHENS, went to dwell in ARGOS. In this meane ſeaſon, *Pauſanias* trecherie fell out, which gaue his enemies occaſion to lie heauie on his backe. But he which became his accuſer, and was partener of the treaſon, was one called *Leobotes* (*Alcmeons* ſonne) borne in a village called AGRAVLA. Beſides this, the SPARTANS alſo did ſet on his skirtes, and charged him ſorely. For *Pauſanias* neuer before reuealed to *Themiſtocles* the treaſon he had purpoſed, although he was his verie familiar friend. But after he ſaw *Themiſtocles* was baniſhed, and did take his exile verie vnpatiently: then *Pauſanias* was bolde to open his treaſon vnto him, to procure him to take his part, and ſhewed him the letters the King of PERSIA had written to him, and all to ſtirre him vp agaynſt the GRECIANS, as againſt vngratefull and vnnaturall people. Howbeit *Themiſtocles* ſhooke him off, and tolde him plainely he would be no partener of his treaſon. Notwithſtanding, he neuer reuealed it to any liuing creature, nor diſcouered the practiſe he intended: hoping either he would haue giuen it ouer, or that ſhortly it would appeare by ſome other meane, conſidering he ſo fondly aſpired to things of great daunger, and without purpoſe or poſſibilitie. After *Pauſanias* was condemned, and had ſuffered paines of death for the ſame: they found amongeſt his papers, certaine writings and letters, which made *Themiſtocles* to be very ſore ſuſpected. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS on the one ſide cryed out of him, and his enemies and ill willers at ATHENS accuſed him on the other ſide. To the which he made anſwere by letters from the beginning, and wrote vnto the people; that it was not likely that he (who ſought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to ſerue, neither had anie mind thereto) would euer haue thought in his head, to ſell his owne libertie, and the GRECIANS alſo vnto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithſtanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, ſent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the ſtates of all GREECE, to be iudged by that counſell. Whereof *Themiſtocles* hauing intelligence in time, he did conuey himſelfe into the ile of CORPHV, becauſe the citie there was greatly beholding to him, for a certaine pleaſure he had done them in times paſt. For they being at ſute and ſtrife with the CORINTHIANS, he tooke vp the mattter betweene them, and gaue iudgement on their ſide, and condemned the CORINTHIANS to pay them twentie talents damages: and did ſet downe an order, that they ſhould occupie the Ile of LEVCADE in common together, as ground that had bene inhabited with the people, aſwell of the one citie, as of the other. From thence he fled to *Epirus*, whither being followed by the ATHENIANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS, he was compelled to venter himſelfe vpon a doubtfull and verie daungerous hope. For he went to yeeld himſelfe into the hands of *Admetus*, King of the MOLOSSIANS. Who hauing heretofore made certaine requeſts vnto the ATHENIANS, and being ſhameſully denied them by meanes of *Themiſtocles* (who then was at his chiefeſt height and authoritie) the King was maruellouſly offended with him: and it was a cleere caſe in deede, that if he could then haue layed hands

Themiſtocles baniſhed for fiue yeares.

Pauſanias reuealeth his treaſon vnto Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles ſuſpected of treaſon.

Themiſtocles fled into the Ile Corphu.

hands on him, he would haue bene reuenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the present miserie of his exile, he thought he might lesse feare the Kings old quarrell and displeasure, then the fresh hate and enuie of his countrey men. Whereupon he went vnto King *Admetus*, trusting to his mercy, and became an humble suter to him in a strange extraordinarie sort. For he tooke the Kings litle yong sonne in his armes, and went and kneeled downe before the altar in his chappell: which humble manner of suing the MOLOSSIANS take to be most effectuall, and such as they dare not denie nor refuse. Some say that Queene *Phthia* her selfe, the Kings wife did enforme him of this their countrey custome and maner, and brought her litle sonne also neare vnto the altar. Other write also, that it was *Admetus* himselfe that taught and shewed him this enforcing maner of petition, only for a cloke to excuse himselfe to those that should come to demand *Themistocles* of him: that by dutie of religion he was so straightly bound and restrained, that he might not deliuer him out of his protection. In this mean time, *Epicrates Acharnian* found the meanes secretly to conuey *Themistocles* wife & children out of ATHENS, and did send them priuily vnto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused, and put to death, vpon *Cimons* accusation and motion, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Who not remembring those matters I know not how, or making as though *Themistocles* had not remembred himselfe doth say, that *Themistocles* sailed into SICILY, where he sought to matie *Hierons* daughter, the tyrant of SIRACVSA: promising him if he would let him haue her, he would assure him to conquer al GREECE for him, and to bring them vnder his obedience. But *Hieron* refusing this offer, *Themistocles* went from thence into ASIA: but that is not likely. For *Theophrastus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that *Hieron* hauing sent certaine running horses to the feast of the games Olympical, and hauing set vp a maruellous rich and sumptuous tent there: *Themistocles* made an oration to the GRECIANS, declaring vnto them how they should teare the tyrants tents in peeces, and not to suffer his horses to runne with other swift and light horses, and to carie away the prise in those holy games. *Thucydides* again declareth how he went vnto the other sea, and imbarked in the citie of PYDNE, being not knowne of neuer a man in the ship, vntill such time as the wind beganne to carie them into the Ile of NAXOS, which the ATHENIANS by chãce did besiege at that time, where being afeard to be set on land, he was forced to bewray himselfe to the maister of the ship, and the maisters mate, and wrought them, what with faire words and what with threates (by saying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they did not ignorantly receiue him in, but hired for money) so as he compelled them to saile no further, and to carie him into ASIA. As for his goods, his friends saued the most part of them, and sent them into ASIA to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate vnto the state: *Theopompus* writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred * talents. And *Theophrastus* saith, but to foure score talents only: whereas all his goods was not worth three* talents, when he beganne to goueme the state of the common weale. When he came vnto the citie of CVMA, he perceiued that all the coasts by sea were layed for him to apprehend him, and that he had many spials vpon him: among the which, these were two speciall noted men, *Ergoteles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for men that sought their gaine any way they could. For the King of PERSIA had proclaimed by sound of trumpet, two hundred talents to him that brought him *Themistocles*. Whereupon he fled vnto a litle towne of ÆOLIA, called ÆGES, where no liuing body knew him, but his host only, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richest man of all the ÆOLIANS, and knew all the noble men of authoritie that were about the King of PERSIA. *Themistocles* continued hidden certaine dayes in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of a sacrifice, one *Olbius*, schoolemaister to *Nicogenes* children, by some secret working of the gods, suddenly fell besides himselfe, and began to sing these verses out alowd:

The maner of supplication among the Molossians.

* *Three score thousand crownes.*

* *Eighteen hundred crownes.*

Do thou beleeue, what so the night thee tels,
and giue thy voice, thy counsell and conceits
Vnto the night, in darksomnesse that dwels,
thereon also thy victorie awaits.

The next night following, *Themistocles* being fast asleepe in his bed, dreamed that a snake wound it selfe round about his belly, and glided vpwards to his necke, vntill in touched his face, and suddenly then it became an Eagle, and imbraced him with his wings: and so at length did lift him vp into the aire, and caried him a maruellous way off, vntill he thought he saw a golden rodde (such as Heraulds vse to carrie in their hands) whereupon the Eagle did set him, and

Themistocles dreame.

so was deliuered of all this feare and trouble he thought himselfe in. The troth was, *Nicogenes* had this deuise in his head, how he might bring him safe to the King of PERSIAES court. The barbarous nations for the most part (and specially the PERSIANS) are of a verie strange nature, and maruellous iealous ouer their women, and that not onely of their wiues, but also of their bondwomen, and concubines: which they keepe so straightly locked vp, that no man euer seeth them abroade at any time, but are alwayes like house-doues kept within doores. And when they haue any occasion to go into the countrey, they are caried in close coaches couered all about, that no man can look into them. *Themistocles* was conueyed into one of these coches dreſt after this manner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they caried: how it was a yong GRECIAN gentlewoman of the country of IONIA, which they caried to the court for a noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampsacenian* say, he went thither after the death of *Xerxes*, and spake with his sonne there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he spake with himselfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* words do best agree with the chronicles and tables, recording the succession of times, although they be of no great certaintie. *Themistocles* being come now to the swords point (as it were) and to the extremitie of his danger: did first present him vnto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thousand footemen, and sayd vnto him: Sir, I am a GRECIAN borne, and desire to speake with the King: I haue matters of importance to open to his Maiesty, and such as I know he wil thankfully receiue. *Artabanus* answered him in this manner: My friend sir stranger, the lawes and customes of men are diuerse, and some take one thing for honest, other some another thing: but it is most honesty for all men, to keepe and obserue the lawes and manners of their owne countrey. For you GRECIANS haue the name to loue libertie, and equalitie aboue all things: and for vs, amongst all the goodly lawes and customes we haue, we esteeme this aboue the rest: to reuerence and honour our King, as the image of the god of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt fashion thy selfe after our manner to honour the King, thou maiest both see him, and speake with him: but if thou haue another mind with thee, then must thou of necessitie vse some third person for thy meane. For this is the manner of our countrey: the King neuer giueth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. *Themistocles* hearing what he said, answered him againe: My Lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare vnto the King, and the desire I haue to aduance his glorie and power, is the onely cause of my present repaire vnto his court: therefore I meane not onely to obey your lawes (since it hath so pleased the gods to raise vp the noble empire of PERSIA vnto this greatnesse) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there do at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that my selfe in person may deliuer to the King that I haue to say vnto him. Well, sayd *Artabanus*: whom then shall we say thou art? For by thy speech it seemeth, thou art a man of no meane state and condition. *Themistocles* answered him: as for that *Artabanus*, none shall know before the King himselfe. Thus doth *Phanias* report it. But *Eratosthenes*, in his booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: how *Themistocles* had accesse vnto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a woman of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. *Themistocles* being brought to his presence, after he had presented his humble dutie and reuerence to him, stood on his feete, and said neuer a word, vntill the King commaunded the interpreter to aske him what he was: and he answered: May it please your Maiestie, O noble King: I am *Themistocles* the ATHENIAN, a banished man out of my countrey by the GRECIANS, who humbly repaireth to your Highnesse, knowing I haue done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I perswade my selfe I haue done them far more good then harme. For I it was that kept the GRECIANS backe they did not follow you, whē the state of GRECE was deliuered from thraldome, & my natiue country from danger, and that I knew I stood in good state to pleasure you. Now for me, I find all mens good wils agreeable to my present miserie and calamitie: for I come determined, most humbly to thanke your highnesse, for any grace and fauour you shall shew me, and also to craue humble pardon if your maiestie be yet offended with me. And therfore licēce me (most noble King) to beseech you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witnesses of the pleasures I haue done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace vse my hard fortune, as a good occasion to shew your honourable vertue, rather then to satisfie the passion of your heat and choler. For in sauing my life, your maiestie saueth an humble suter that put himself to your mercy: and in putting me to death, you shall rid away an enemie of the GRECIANS. Hauing spoken thus these wordes, he said further:

The Persians iealous of their wiues.

How Themistocles was conueied to the King of Persias court.

The Persians honour their King as the image of the god of nature.

Themistocles talke with the King of Persia.

ther: That the gods by diuerſe ſignes and tokens had procured him to come to ſubmit himſelfe vnto him, and told the king what viſion he had ſeene in his dreame in *Nicogenes* houſe: and declared alſo the oracle of *Iupiter Dodonian*, who had commaunded him that he ſhould go vnto him that was called as a god, and how he thought it was the perſon of his Maieſtie, becauſe that god and he in troth were called both great Kings. The King hauing thus heard him ſpeake, gaue him then no preſent anſwere againe, notwithſtanding he maruellouſly wondred at his great wiſedome and boldneſſe. But afterwards amongſt his familiars the King ſaid, he thought himſelfe very happie to meete with the good fortune of *Themiſtocles* comming to him: and ſo beſought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would alwayes ſend his enemies ſuch minds, as to baniſh the greateſt and wiſeſt men amongſt them. It is reported alſo he did ſacrifice vnto the gods, to giue them thankes therefore, and diſpoſed himſelfe preſently to be merrie. Inſomuch as dreaming in the night, in the middeſt of his dreame he cried out three times together for ioy: I haue *Themiſtocles* the ATHENIAN. The next morning the king hauing ſent for the chiefeſt Lords of his Court, he made *Themiſtocles* alſo to be brought before him: who looked for no goodneſſe at all, ſpecially when he ſaw the ſouldiours warding at the Court gates, giue him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and vnderſtood his name. Moreouer, *Roxanes*, one of the captaines, as *Themiſtocles* paſſed by him going to the King (who was ſet in his chaire of ſtate, and euery man keeping ſilence) ſoftly ſighing, ſayd vnto him: O thou Greekiſh ſerpent, ſubtile and malicious, the kings good fortune hath brought thee hither. Neuertheleſſe when he came to the king, and had once againe made him a very humble and low reuerence: the king ſaluted him, and ſpake very courteouſly to him, ſaying: I am now your debter of two hundred talents, for preſenting your ſelf. It is good reaſon I ſhould deliuer you the mony promiſed him that ſhould haue brought you: but I giue you a further warrant, be bold I charge you, and ſpeake your mind freely, ſay what you think of the ſtate of GREECE. *Themiſtocles* then anſwered him: That mens words did properly reſemble the ſtories and imagerie in a peece of arras: for both in the one and in the other, the goodly images of either of them are ſeene, when they are vnfolded and laid open. Contrariwiſe they appeare not, but are loſt, when they are ſhut vp, and cloſe folded: whereupon he ſaid to the king, he muſt needes require ſome further time of anſwer. The King liked his compariſon paſſingly well, and willed him to appoint his owne time. *Themiſtocles* asked a yeare: in which time hauing pretily learned the Perſian tongue, he afterwards ſpake to the King himſelfe without any interpreter. So, ſuch as were no Courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of GREECE. But becauſe the change and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noblemen imagined he had bene ſo bold to common with the king of them alſo. Thereupon they greatly enuied him, and afterwards murmured much againſt him. For indeed the King did honour *Themiſtocles* aboue all other ſtrangers whatſoeuer they were. On a time the king had him out a hunting with him, he made him ſee his mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the Kings owne commandement he was to heare the diſputations of the wiſe men of PERSIA touching ſecret philoſophie, which they call magicke. *Demaratus* the LACEDÆMONIAN being at that time in the court of PERSIA, the king willing him to ask what gift he would, he beſought the King to graunt him this fauour: to licence him to go vp and downe the citie of SARDIS with his royall hat on his head as the kings of PERSIA do. *Mithropauſtes*, the Kings coſin, taking him by the hand, ſaid vnto him: *Demaratus*, the Kings hat thou demaundeſt, and if it were on thy head, it would couer but little wit: Nay though *Iupiter* did giue thee his lightning in thy hand, yet that would not make thee *Iupiter*. But the King gaue him ſo ſharpe a repulſe for his vnreaſonable requeſt, and was ſo angrie with him for it, that it was thought he would neuer haue forgiuen him: howbeit *Themiſtocles* was ſo earneſt a ſuter for him, that he brought him into fauour againe. And the report goeth, that the Kings ſucceſſours which haue bene ſince that time, vnder whom the PERSIANS haue had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retaine any great ſtate or perſonage of GREECE into their ſeruice, they wrote vnto him, and promiſed him they would make him greater about them, then euer was *Themiſtocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is written of him, doth alſo confirme it. For he being ſtept vp to great countenance and authoritie, and followed with great traines of ſuters after him by reaſon of his greatnes: ſeeing himſelfe one day very honorably ſerued at his table, and with all ſorts of dainty meats, he turned him to his children, & ſaid vnto them: My ſons, we ſhould haue bene vndone, if we had not bene vndone. The moſt writers do agree, that he had giuē him the reuenue of 3. cities for his

An excellent compariſon of Themiſtocles.

Themiſtocles honoured of the king of Perſia.

Demaratus fond demaund of the King.

allowance of bread, wine and victuals: to wit, MAGNESIA, LAMPSACVS, and MYVNTA. But *Neanthes Cyzicenian*, and *Phanias*, do adde two other cities more, PERCOTA, and PALESCEPSIA: the one to defray his charges of apparel, and the other for his lodging. Afterwards *Themistocles* going into the low countries towards the sea, to take order against the practises of the GRECIANS: there was a PERSIAN Lord called *Epixies* (gouernour of the high PHRYGIA) that had laid a traine to kil him (hauing of long time hired certaine murderers of PISIDIA to do it) so soon as he should come into a towne of his gouernement, called the Lions head. But as he slept on a day in his house in the after noone, the mother of the gods appeared vnto him, and sayd: *Themistocles*, go not to the Lions head, for feare thou meete with the Lion: and for this warning, I do aske thy daughter *Mnesiptolema* for my seruant. *Themistocles* waking sodainely out of his dreame, made his prayer vnto the goddesse, and turning out of the high way, fetched another compasse about. Afterwards hauing passed that towne, he tooke his lodging being benighted: but one of the beasts which caried his tent, fel by the way vnfortunatly in a riuer, and al his arras and tapestry hangings being throughly wet, his seruants were driuen to lay them out a drying by moon light. The *Pisidians* that lay in waite, and could not discerne by Moone light that they were hangings layed out to drie, thought it had bene the very tent *Themistocles* selfe did lie in: whereupon they went vnto it with their swords drawne in their hands, hoping to haue taken him sleeping. But when they were come thither, and began to lift vp a peece of the hangings, some of the people of *Themistocles* (which kept watch) perceiuing them, ran vpon them, and tooke them. So *Themistocles* hauing escaped this daunger, wondred greatly at the fauour of the goddesse which had appeared vnto him. In recompence whereof, when he was in the citie of MAGNESIA, he built a temple vnto *Dindymena*, and made his daughter *Mnesiptolema* prioresse of the same. As he passed by the citie of SARDIS for his recreation, he went to visit the temples, and offerings that had bene giuen there. So he saw an image of a maiden in copper, in the temple of the mother of the gods, being two yards high, which they called the *Hydrophora*, as much to say, as the watercarier. And it was a statue, which himselfe had heretofore dedicated and caused to be made, with the fines of those that had paid forfeitures, for stealing or turning away the water course at ATHENS, at such time as he was maister surueyer of the water workes and conduits there. Wherfore, whether *Themistocles* was sorie to see this goodly image a prisoner in the hands of the Barbarous people, or that he would shew vnto the ATHENIANS the greatnesse of his credite and authoritie through all the Kings dominions: he spake to the gouernour of LIDIA, and prayed him for his sake that he would send this image againe to ATHENS. But this barbarous gouernour was very angry with his request, and told him he would aduertise the King thereof. Then *Themistocles* began to be afeard, and was driuen to seeke to the grouernours women and concubines, whom he got for money to intreat him, and so made faire weather againe with the gouernour. But from thenceforth, he tooke better gard of him in all his doings, greatly fearing the enuie of the Barbarous people. For he progressed not vp and downe ASIA, as *Theopompus* writeth, but lay a long time in the citie of MAGNESIA, quietly enioying the Kings gracious giftes bestowed on him: where he was honoured and reuerenced for one of the greatest persons of PERSIA, whilest the King was elsewhere occupied in the affaires of the prouinces of ASIA, and had no leisure to thinke vpon those of GRECE. But when newes was brought him, that ÆGYPT was rebelled, by meanes of the fauour and assistance of the ATHENIANS, and that the GRECIANS gallies did scowre the seas euen vnto the Ile of CYPRVS, and vnto the coasts of CILICIA, and that *Cimon* had all the sea in subiection: that made him then to bend all his thoughts how to resist the GRECIANS, that their greatnesse might not turne to his harme. Then commissions went out to leauie men, to assemble captaines, and to dispatch postes vnto *Themistocles* at MAGNESIA, with the Kings letters, straightly charging him to haue an eye to the GRECIANS doings, and moreouer that he should faithfully keepe his promise he had made to him. But he, to shew that he neither maliced his citizens, nor was moued with the desire of greatnesse and authoritie he might haue growne vnto in those warres, or else for that he thought the Kings expectation would proue to a greater matter then he could end or wade through, considering GRECE was full at that time of famous captaines, and that *Cimon* amongst the rest had maruellous good fortune, and that it should be a reproch to him to staine the glorie of so many noble actes, so many triumphs, and so great victories as *Cimon* had done and wonne: he tooke a wise resolution with himselfe, to make such an end of his life, as the fame therof deserued, for he made a solemne sacrifice vnto the gods,

Themistocles had the reuenue of three cities allowed him for his diet.

Themistocles escaped murder by a vvarning he had in his sleepe.

Themistocles loue to his country.

and

and feasted at the same all his friends. And after he had taken his leaue of them all, he dranke buls bloud, as most men thinke (or as other say) poyson, which dispatcheth a man in 24. houres, and so ended his dayes in the city of MAGNESIA, after he had liued threescore and fiue yeares, & the most part of them alwayes in office, and great charge. It is written, that the King of PERSIA vnderstanding the cause and maner of his death, did more esteeme him afterwards, then he did before, and that euer after he continued to vse his friends and familiars in very good sort. For he left children behind him, which he had of *Archippa* (*Lysanders* daughter) of the towne of ALOPECIA: *Archeptolis*, *Polyeuctus*, & *Cleophantus*, of whom *Plato* the philosopher maketh mention, saying that he was a good man at armes, but otherwise that there was no goodnesse in him. His other sonnes that were elder, as *Neocles*, died being bitten with a horse: and as for *Diocles* another sonne, his grandfather *Lysander* did adopt him for his son. He had many daughters, of the which *Mnesiptolema* (which he had by a second wife) was maried vnto her halfe brother *Archeptolis*, for they were not both of one venter: another called *Italia*, was maried vnto one *Panthides* of CHIO: *Sybaris*, vnto *Nicomedes* an ATHENIAN: and *Nicomacha*, vnto *Pharsicles*, *Themistocles* nephew; vnto whom her brethren did marry her within the city of MAGNESIA, after the death of their father. This *Pharsicles* did bring vp *Asia*, which was the yongest of all his daughters. Furthermore his sumptuous tombe standeth yet in the market place of MAGNESIA. But that *Andocides* writeth of his bones, in a booke he made to his friends, is not to be credited, which was: that the ATHENIANS hauing found the ashes of his bones, did cast them vp into the aire, as a deuice to stir vp the noble men against the people. And *Phylarchus* in his history (much like vnto the fained subtilties of a tragedy) bringeth in I cannot tell what *Neocles* and *Demopolis*, for *Themistocles* sonnes, to moue the readers with compassion. Howbeit no man is so simple, but will iudge it straight a very faining and deuise. *Diodorus* the cosmographer also in a booke he hath written of tombes and monuments saith, by coniecture, rather then of any certaine knowledge: that alongst the hauen of PIRÆA, coming towards the head of *Alcimus*, there is a foreland in forme of an elbow, within the which when they haue doubled the point, the sea is alwayes calme, and there they find a great and long foundation or base, vpon the which there is as it were the forme of an altar, and that is (saith he) *Themistocles* tombe. And he supposeth that *Plato* the comicall poet doth witnesse it in these verses:

Thy graue is set and plac't, commodiously,
where passengers and marchants that come by
may visite thee, and where it may regard
all such as seeke that port to be their ward.
Sometimes also, it may reioyce to see,
the bloudy fights, vpon the sea that be.

The manner of Themistocles death.

Themistocles children.

Themistocles tombe and reliques.

And furthermore, those of MAGNESIA did institute certaine honours vnto the issue of *Themistocles*, which continue yet vnto this day. And in my time, another *Themistocles* also of ATHENS did enioy the same honours, with whom I was familiarly conuersant in the house of *Ammonius* the philosopher.

Honor done to Themistocles after his death.

The end of Themistocles life.

THE LIFE OF
Furius Camillus.

AMONGST many great matters which are ſpoken of this *Furius Camillus*, this ſeemeth moſt ſtrange and wonderfull aboue the reſt: that he hauing borne the chiefeſt offices of charge in his countrey, and hauing done many notable and worthy deedes in the ſame; as one that was choſon fiue times *Dictator*, and had triumphed foure times, and had won himſelfe the name and title of the ſecond founder of Rome, and yet neuer came to be Conſull. But the onely cauſe thereof was, that the common weale of Rome ſtood then in ſuch ſtate and ſort: The people were then at diſſention with the Senate: they would chuſe no more Conſuls, but other kind of gouernours whom they called *Tribuni militares*: theſe did all things with like power and authority as the Conſuls, yet were they nothing ſo odious vnto the people, by reaſon of the number that was of them. For it was ſome hope to them that could ill beare the rule of the ſmall number of nobility, that the gouernment of the ſtate being put into ſixe, & not into two officers hands, their rule would be the eaſier, and tollerabler. Now *Camillus* being at that time in his beſt credit and authority, and in the prime & glory of his doings, did not deſire to be made Conſul without the goodwil of the people, although whileſt he was in authority, there were many times Couſuls created. But being called and choſen to all other offices and dignities, he behaued himſelfe in ſuch ſort, that when he was alone, he made his authority common to other: and when he had companions and aſſociates, the glory of all redounded to himſelfe alone. The cauſe whereof, was his modeſty on the one ſide, for he commaunded euer without enuy: and his great wiſdome and ſufficiencie on the other ſide, for the which all others willingly gaue him place, and yeelded to him. The houſe of *Furians* being at that time of no great fame, he was the firſt that began to ſet himſelfe forwards. For in a great battell which was fought againſt the *Æques* and *Volſces*, he being but a priuate man at armes vnder the *Dictator Poſthumius Tubertus*, was the firſt that riding out of the army, aduaunced himſelfe and gaue the charge. And being runne into the thigh at that time with a ſtaffe broken vpon his thigh, he plucked the trunchen out and retired not for all that: but giuing charge againe vpon the ſtouteſt of the enemies, he fought it out ſo valiantly to the encouraging of other, that he was the chiefe cauſe they turned their backes. Whereupon, to requite his ſeruice done at that time (beſides other honors they did him) they made him *Cenſor*: an office at that time of great preheminence and dignity. In his office of Cenſorſhip, he did two notable acts. The one very honeſt: when he brought men that were not maried, to marry the women whom the wars had left widows, which were in number many.

Why Camillus neuer came to be Conſull. The authority of a few, odious to the common people.

Camillus wiſdome and modeſtie.

Camillus hurt.

many. To this he got them partly by perſwaſion, and partly by threatnings, to ſet round fines vpon their heads that refuſed. The other verie neceſſary: in that he brought the orphanes to be contributories, vnto taxes, and ſubſidies, which before payed nothing. The cauſe thereof was, the continuall wars, about the which the common-weale ſuſtained great charges, but ſpecially about the ſiege of the city of the VEIANS (which ſome call VENETIANS) that was a very ſore burthen to them at that time. For it was the capital city of all THVSCAN, the which for ſtore of armor, and number of ſouldiers, was nothing inferior to the city of ROME. For the VEIANS being growne to ſtomacke and courage in time, by reaſon of their wealth and proſperity, and for the ſundry great battels they had fought againſt the ROMAINES, that contended with them for glory and empire: and now it fell ſo out, that they finding themſelues weakned by many great ouerthrowes, which they had receiued of the ROMAINES, they did let fall their former peacockes brauery and ambition, to bid them battell any more in the field. Howbeit the inhabitants of the city of VEIES hauing raiſed the wals, and made very great high rampers, began to fortifie themſelues, and made good prouiſion for armour and munition, beſides ſtore of corne, ſhot, and other neceſſary things: they valiantly, and without feare of any thing, defended the ſiege of the ROMAINES, that continued a long time, and was no leſſe hard and painefull vnto them that did beſiege, then it was vnto thoſe that were beſieged. For where the ROMAINES were wont before-time to keepe their houſes in the winter ſeaſon, and the field onely in the ſommer time: that was the firſt time they were compelled by the captaines and *Tribuni militares*, to build forts, and to intrench their campe with a wall, euen in their enemies countrey, and to winter abroad as they were wont to lye in the the campe in ſommer. Now this ſiege had continued ſeuen yeares together. The captaines were burthened that they did not their duties, nor ſtood manfully to their charge: whereupon in the end they were diſcharged, and other captaines placed in their roomes to follow the ſiege. Among thoſe, *Camillus* was one, whom then the ſecond time they created *Tribunus militaris*. Who notwithſtanding did nothing then in that ſiege, becauſe it was his hap by lot, to make warres vpon the PHALERIANS, and the CAPENATES. Theſe people whileſt the ROMAINES were occupied otherwhere, had inuaded their country and done them great harme, during the time of their warre with the THVSCANES. But *Camillus* hauing ouerthrowne a great number of them in the field, had the reſt in chaſe, and draue them to take their city, and did ſhut them vp within their owne walles. The chance that happened at the lake of ALBANVS, about the time the THVSCANE warres were greateſt, did maruellouſly amate the ROMAINES, being no leſſe wonderful, then the moſt ſtrange and vncredible thing that could be told by man. For they could not find out the cauſe of it by common reaſon, nor any naturall ground: conſidering it was in the later end of Autumne, and ſommer was ended, & that there had not bene much raine, nor notable South-winds. And although there are many lakes, many brookes, and riuers, many ſprings, and other waters in ITALY: yet ſome of them dried vp altogether, other ran but faintly by reaſon of the drought, & all the riuers then were (as they are wont to be cõmonly in ſommer) very low, and there was ſcant any water. But the lake ALBANVS contrariwiſe, that commeth from no other place, neither runneth any whither out of it ſelfe, being enuironed all about with hils & mountaines, and where the earth is good: began to ſwell, and riſe to euery mans ſight without any cauſe at all (but ſecret and hidden vnto the gods alone) and went alwayes increaſing alongſt thoſe hils ſides, vntill ſuch time as it came to be euen with the height of the higheſt mountaine, gathering vpwards ſtill without any waues or tempeſt of weather at all. This at the firſt, made poore ſhepheards and heardmen, keeping their cattell thereabouts, maruellouſly affraid: but at the length when the earth and the waight of one of the hils (which kept in the lake as a wall, from running ouer into the field) began to breake by reaſon of the waight, and great quantity of water, that ranne ſtraight with a maruellous extreme force and violence ouer all the arable lands and grounds planted with trees, and ſo tooke his courſe into the ſea: the ROMAINES then not alone, but the whole inhabitants of ITALY were wonderfully affraid, and iudged that it was ſome ſigne and prognoſtication of ſome wonderfull thing to come. And there was no other newes currant in the campe, which lay at ſiege of the city of VEIES: in ſo much as the very brute of it flew ouer the wals of the city, vnto them that were beſieged. And as it happeneth very oft in long ſieges, that thoſe which lie in campe do oftentimes talke with them that are beſieged: there was a ROMAINE who fell acquainted, and commonly vſed to talke familiarly with one of the city, who could tell of many old and ſtraunge things done and happened, and was very

Camillus' acts in his Cenſorſhip.

The city of Veies beſieged.

The ſiege continued ſeauen yeares together

Camillus twiſe choſen Tribune of the ſoldiers.

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the lake Albanus.

skilfull aboue any other in the city, in the art of diuination, or soothsaying. The Romaine then told him one day the violent breaking out of the lake Albanvs, and perceiuing that the other after he had heard him, was as merrie as a pye at the matter, and that he gibed at their siege: he told him further, that this wonderfull chaunce was not onely happened vnto the Romaines at that time, but that they had bene acquainted with many other farre more straunge then this, which he would very willingly open vnto him, to see if there were any remedy, that though the affaires of the common-weale had but hard successe, yet he would procure that his owne priuate matters might prosper well with him. The Veian answered them, he would heare them with a goodwill, and gaue good eare vnto him, hoping to haue heard some great secret. So the Romaine training him on still from one matter to another, holding on his way, vntill he saw he was a good distance off from the gates of the city, he suddenly caught hold on him, and by strong hand caried him away with him, and with helpe of other souldiers which came running out of the campe vnto him, he brought him to the captaines. The Veian seeing himselfe thus forcibly vsed, and knowing also that fatall destiny cannot be auoided, began to declare vnto the Romaines, the ancient Oracles and prophesies touching the fortune of their city: by which it was reported vnto them, that the city of Veies should neuer be taken, vntill the enemy had caused the water of the lake Albanvs (which should breake out) to be brought backe againe, and to turne it some other way from thence, that it should not fall into the sea. This was caried vnto the Senate at Rome, to be consulted of in the counsell: and there it was determined they should send to the Oracle of *Apollo* at the city of Delphes, and aske him what they should do therein. So thither were sent great and notable men, *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Politus* and *Fabius Ambustus*: who hauing ended their iourney by sea, and receiued answer of that they demanded, returned home againe, and amongst other oracles they brought one that sayd thus: That through negligence they had omitted some ancient ceremonies in the holy dayes of the Latines. And another willed them, that they should by all possible meanes they could, keepe the water of the lake Albanvs that it fell not into the sea, and should (if it were possible) bring it backe againe into his old place: if not, that yet they should cut as many trenches and ditches as might be, that it might be drunke vp in the middest of the fields. When these oracles were vnderstood, the priests prepared all things for diuine seruice, and the people went about the water of the lake to turne it againe. After these things were done, the Senate in the tenth yeare of the warres against the Veians, put off all those that which did beare office, and created *Camillus Dictator*, who named for generall of the horsemen, *Cornelius Scipio*. And before he went in hand with any thing, he made a vow vnto the gods, that if it pleased them to grant a happy end of these wars, in honor of them he would celebrate great playes, and build a temple vnto the goddesse which the Romaines call *Matuta*.: which seemeth to be her her whom we call *Leucothea*, considering the ceremonies done in these sacrifices. For they cause a chambermaid to enter into her temple, & there they boxe her about the eares. Then they put her out of the temple, & do embrace their brothers children rather then their owne. They make many other ceremonies, and they are much like vnto those that are done vnto *Bacchus* nurces, and to the misfortunes that chanced vnto *Ino*, by reason of her husbands concubine. After all these vowes and prayers made, he entred with his army into the Falissians territories, whom he ouerthrew in a great battel, together with the Capenates also, which came to aide them. From thence he went to the siege of the city of Veies, where perceiuing to take it by assault, was not to be done without great daunger: he began to vndermine it (finding the earth all about very minable) and withall so deepe, that the enemies could perceiue nothing. Now when his mining fell out according to his good hope, he gaue an assault to the wals in all places alike about the city at one instant, to bring out all the inhabitants of the city to man the wals. Whilest they were all thus vpon the walles to make defence, *Camillus* souldiers entred secretly through the mines within the castell, hard by the temple of *Iuno*: which was the chiefe Church of all the city, and whereunto the citizens had most deuotion. They say that euen at that present time the Generall of the Thvscanes did sacrifice vnto the gods, and that his soothsayer hauing considered the intrails of the beasts offered vp in sacrifice, cried out aloud, that the gods gaue the victorie vnto him, which should happen to come vpon them in this sacrifice. The Romaines which were within the mine hearing this, brake the earth incontinently, and leaped out, crying, and making noyse with their weapons: wherewith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled vpon it, and so the Romaines tooke the intrails

The craft of a Romaine.

An Oracle brought from Delphos.

Camillus chosen Dictator.

Matuta, Leucothea.

The city of Veies taken by mining.

intrails and caried them vnto *Camillus*. And these be euen much like the Poets tales and fables. Howbeit *Camillus* hauing by this meanes taken the city, and seeing from the top of the castell the infinite goods and riches within the city, which the souldiers spoyled and made hauocke of, he wept for very pitie. And when those that were about him told him he was a happy man: he lift vp his hands vnto heauen, and made this prayer. O mighty god *Iupiter*, and you ô gods, which see and iudge mens good and ill workes: you know right well, that we haue not willingly (without wrong and cause offered vs) begun this warre, but iustly, and by compulsion, to be reuenged of a city our enemy, which hath done vs great iniuries. But if to counteruaile this our great good prosperity, and victory, some bitter aduersitie and ouerthrow be predestined vnto vs: I beseech you then (most mercifull gods) in sparing our city of Rome, and this her army, you will (with as litle hurt as may be) let it all fall and light vpon my person alone. And as he had spoken these words, and was turning on his right hand (according to the manner of the Romaines after they haue prayed vnto the gods) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somewhat troubled with the matter: but after he got vp on his feete againe, he told them that the thing he requested of the gods was happened vnto him. And that was, a litle hurt, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole city being spoiled and rifled, he was also desirous to carry *Iunos* image to Rome, to accomplish the vow he had made. And hauing sent for workemen for this purpose, he did sacrifice first vnto the goddesse, beseeching her to accept well of the Romaines good will, and that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the city of Rome. Some say, that the image aunswered, she was contented. But *Liuius* writeth, that *Camillus* made this prayer, as he touched the image, and that the assistants aunswered she was contented, and would go with a good will. Yet they which do affirme, it was the image selfe that spake, do fauor this miracle, grounding their proofe vpon the opinion of the fortune of Rome: the which, from so base and meane beginning had impossibly attained vnto so high glory & power as it had, without the singular fauour of the gods: and that hath manifestly appeared vnto the world, by sundry great proofes and examples. They bring forth also such other like wonders. As, that images haue heretofore let fall drops of swet from them: that they haue bene heard to sigh: that they haue turned: and that they haue made certaine signes with their eyes, as we find written in many ancient stories. And we could our selues also tell such like wonders, which we haue heard mē of our time affirme, which are not vncredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters, it is as dangerous to giue too much credit to them, as also to discredit them too much, by reason of the weakneſse of mans nature, which hath no certaine bounds, nor can rule it selfe, but runneth somtimes after vanity and superstition, and otherwile also despiseth and contemneth holy and diuine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, and not to go too farre in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best. Now *Camillus*, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a city that stood out with Rome, and held siege with them ten yeares together, had put him into an ouerweening or conceipt of himselfe: or that the words of the people, which did blesse and praise him, had made him looke high, and presume vpon himselfe, more then became the modesty of a ciuill magistrate, and gouernour of the common weale, and one that was subiect to the law: he shewed a stately triumph, set forth with all rich furniture, & specially for that himselfe was caried through Rome vpon his triumphant charret drawne with foure faire white coursers. This, neuer captaine nor generall before him durst vndertake to do, neither any euer after him attempted it: for they thinke it as a sacred cariage, and only meet for the king, and father of the gods. This bred him much enuy amongst the citizens, which had not bene acquainted with so great statelinesse. There was another occasiō also that made them mislike him much: which was, because he stood against the law put forth that they should deuide the city of Rome. For the *Tribunes* of the people did set out an Edict, that the Senate and people of Rome should be deuided into two parts: and that those on whom the lot should fall, should abide still in Rome, and the other should go dwell in the new wonne city of Veies. These were the reasons to perswade this: that both the one and the other sort should be richer then they were before, and should more easily keepe their lands & goods from the inuasion of their enemies, by meanes of these two great cities. The people which were multiplied now into great numbers, and had serued dutifully and dangerously, thought it the best way in the world: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumult, about their pulpet for orations, praying that this law might be put vnto the voyces

Camillus prayer when Veies was taken.

Fained wonders of images.

Plutarches iudgement of miracles.

Camillus stately triumph of the Veians.

A lawe for the people of Rome to dwell at Veies.

of the people. But the whole Senate, and wiſeſt citizens among them, iudging this motion of the Tribunes would be the deſtruction, and not the diuiſion of the city of Rome, could in no wiſe abide it ſhould go any further. Whereupon they went and prayed *Camillus* helpe: who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the law ſhould paſſe or no, did alwayes ſeeke new occaſions and lets, ſtill to delay and put off the matter, and ſtay the confirmation of this law. For theſe cauſes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall and apparant cauſe of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth part of their ſpoiles: and it was not altogether without ſome reaſon, and to ſay truly the people did him much wrong to beare him ſuch malice for that. For before he went to the city of Veies, he made a ſolemne vow to offer the tenth part vnto the gods, of the ſpoiles of the city, if he wan the ſame. But when it was taken and ſacked, whether it was that he was loth to trouble the citizens, or hauing a world of buſineſſe in his head, that he eaſily forgat his vow, he ſuffered the ſouldiers to deuide the ſpoile amongſt them, and to take the benefit to themſelues. Shortly after he was diſcharged of his charge, he did enforme the Senate of his vow. Furthermore, the ſoothſayers made report at that very time, how they knew by certaine ſignes and tokens of their ſacrifices, that the gods were offended for ſomewhat, and how they muſt of neceſſity be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate preſently made an order, where it was vnpoſſible euery man ſhould bring in againe the ſelfe ſame things he had gotten, to make a new deuiſion of euery mans ſhare: that euery one therefore vpon his oath ſhould preſent the tenth part of his gaines he had gotten by that booty. There was great trouble about it. They were driuen to vſe great extremity to the poore ſouldiers (which had trauelled ſore, and taken great paines in the warres) to make them to reſtore backe ſuch a collop out of their gaine, and the rather becauſe many of them had already ſpent it euery penny: and for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth againſt *Camillus*. But he (not knowing otherwiſe how to excuſe himſelfe) was forced to bring foorth as cold and as vnreaſonable an excuſe as he could make, which was: forſooth that he had forgotten his vow he had made. The people notwithſtanding were eger ſtill againſt him, ſaying: how he had vowed then to offer the tenth part of the enemies goods to the gods, and that now he would performe it with the tenths of the citizens goods. Neuertheleſſe, euery man hauing brought that he ſhould for his part, it was thought good they ſhould cauſe a maſſie cup of gold to be made, to ſend to the temple of *Apollo* at Delphes. And ſmall ſtore of gold being in the city of Rome, as the officers of the city were ſearching vp and downe to get it, the women of Rome of their owne voluntarie wils without motion, agreed among themſelues, that they would depart with all the iewels they had towards the making vp of this offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof, to honour them withall, the Senate ordained that they ſhould be praiſed openly with funerall orations at their buriall, as they did vſe at honourable and noble mens obſequies. For before that law, it was not the manner to praiſe women openly at their funerals. Now there were appointed three of the nobleſt men of the city to go to cary this offering, and they ſent them out in a galley well manned, ſtored alſo with good mariners, and trimly ſet forth in all triumphing manner: howbeit both in ſtorme, and calme weather, they were in danger of their liues. For after that they had ſcaped drowning very narrowly by tempeſt, when the wind was downe againe, they fell into another daunger, which they eſcaped alſo beyond all hope. For hard by the Iles of Æolvs, the galleys of the Liparians fell vpon them, as if they had bene rouers. But when the Liparians ſaw they made no reſiſtance, and intreated them, holding vp their hands, they gaue no further charge vpon them, but onely faſtened their galley vnto theirs. So when they had haled them to the ſhore, they declared they were pirats, and offered to make port ſale of the men and goods, as if they had bene a lawfull priſe: and had ſold them indeed, had not the wiſedome and authority of *Timeſitheus* letted them, who was gouernour at that time of the city, and had great ado to perſwade them to let them go. And he did not ſo leaue them, but ſent out certaine of his owne ſhips to accompany them in their iourney, who did helpe them to go and performe their offering. For which curteſie of his, the Romaines afterwards did him great honour at Rome, according to his well deſeruing. The Tribunes of the people began now to ſet a foot againſt the law for the deuiding of the inhabitants of Rome vnto the city of Veies. But the warres of the Falisces fell out happily at that time, whereby the noble men did chuſe ſuch officers as they would. So they choſe *Camillus*, *Tribunus militaris* of the ſouldiers, and fiue others to aſſiſt him, the ſeruice in that caſe requiring a Generall that caried both authority and

The chiefeſt cauſe of the coples malice againſt Camillus.

A cup of gold ſent to Delphes. The Ladies of Rome gaue their iewels towards the making of it.

VVhat time vvomens praiſes began at funerals in Rome.

Camillus choſen Tribune of the ſouldiers.

and reputation among them, as an old experienced ſouldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the election, *Camillus* immediatly entred the territories of the FALISCES with the ROMAINES army, where he layd ſiege vnto the city of the FALERIANS, being very well fortified, victualled and ſtored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no ſmall attempt to win this city, and that it would not be done in a ſhort time, he politickely ſought (whatſoeuer came of it) to keepe his country men occupied about ſome thing, and to ſtay them for going home, leaſt by repairing to ROME, they ſhould haue many occaſions to rebell, and raiſe ſome ciuill diſſention. For the ROMAINES did wiſely vſe this remedy, to diſperſe abroad like good phiſitions, the humors which troubled the quiet ſtate of their common-weale at home. But the FALERIANS truſting in the ſituation of their city, which was very ſtrong in all parts, made ſo litle accompt of the ſiege, that thoſe which kept not watch vpon the wals, walked vp and downe in their gownes in the city, without any weapon about them, and their children went to ſchoole, the ſchoole-maiſter alſo would commonly leade them abroad out of the city a walking, to play and paſſe the time by the towne wals. For the whole city had one common ſchoole-maiſter, as the GRECIANS alſo haue, which do bring vp their children from litle ones in company together, becauſe one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This ſchoole-maiſter ſpying his time to do the FALERIANS a ſhrewd turne, did accuſtomably take all his ſcholers out of the city with him, to play not farre from the wals at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the city againe after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroad thus once or twiſe, he trained them out euery day a litle further, to make them to be bold, perſwading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day hauing gotten all the citizens children with him, he led them within the watch of the ROMAINES campe, and there deliuered all his ſcholers into their hands, and prayed them they would bring him vnto their Generall. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he began to tell him that he was ſchoole-maiſter vnto all theſe children, neuertheleſſe that he did more eſteeme to haue his grace and fauor, then regard his office he had by this name and title. *Camillus* hearing what he ſayd, and beholding his treacherous part, he ſayd to thoſe that were about him: Warre of it ſelfe ſurely is an euill thing, for in wars many iniuries and miſchiefes are done: neuertheleſſe, among good men there is a law and diſcipline, which doth forbid them to ſeeke victory by wicked and traiterous meanes, and that a noble and worthy generall ſhould make war, and procure victory, by truſting to his owne valiantneſſe, and not by anothers vileneſſe and villany. Therfore he commanded his ſergeants to teare the cloths off the backe of this vile ſchoole-maiſter, and to bind his hands behind him: and that they ſhould giue the children rods & whips in their hands, to whip the traytor backe againe into the city, that had betraied them, & grieued their parents. Now when the FALERIANS heard newes that the ſchoole-maſter had thus detrayed them, all the city fell a weeping (as euery man may thinke for ſo great a loſſe) and men & women ran together one in anothers necke, to the towne wals, and gates of the city, like people out of their wits, they were ſo troubled. When they came thither, they ſaw their children bringing their ſchoole-maiſter backe againe, ſtarke naked and bound, whipping of him, and calling *Camillus* their father, their god, and their ſauiour: ſo that not only the fathers and mothers of the children, but all other the citizens alſo in generall, did conceiue in themſelues a wonderfull admiration and great loue, of the wiſdome, goodneſſe, and iuſtice of *Camillus*. So that euen preſently they called a counſell, and there it was concluded they ſhould ſend ambaſſadors forthwith vnto him, to put their liues and goods to his mercy & fauor. *Camillus* ſent their ambaſſadors vnto ROME, where audience being giuen vnto thē by the Senate, the ambaſſadors ſaid: Becauſe the ROMAINES preferred iuſtice aboue victory, they taught them to be better contented to ſubmit themſelues vnto them, then to be their owne men at liberty: cōfeſſing their vertue did more ouercome them, then any force or power could do. The Senate diſpatched letters vnto *Camillus*, giuing him commiſſion to do and determine as he thought good. So he hauing taken a certaine ſum of mony of the FALERIANS, did furthermore make peace & league with all the reſt of the FALISCES: and thereupon returned backe againe to ROME. But the ſouldiers grudged maruellouſly at it. For they ſtood in hope to haue had the ſacking of the city. When there was no remedy, but they muſt needs returne home empty handed, they began to accuſe *Camillus* to the reſt of the citizens, as ſoone as they came to ROME, ſaying: he loued not the common people, and how for ſpite he diſappointed their army of the ſpoile. On the other ſide, the Tribunes of the people began to reuiue the law for the deuiding of the inhabitants of ROME, and were ready to paſſe

Camillus beſiegeth the Falerians.

Camillus worthy act to the ſchoolemaiſter, betraying the Falerians children.

A noble ſaying of Camillus, & wiſe precept for warres.

Valiantneſſe to be preferred before villany.

The Falicians by their ambaſſadours do yeeld themſelues & goods vnto Camillus.

The meſſage of the ambaſſadours of the Faliſcians vnto the Romaines.

Camillus tooke a ſumme of money of the Falerians, and made peace with all the reſt of the Faliſces.

it by the voices of the people. *Camillus* not fearing the ill will of the commons, did boldly speake, and do in open presence, all he could against it. So that plainely he was the chiefest cause, that the people against their wils (intreate what they could) were driuen to let it alone. But withall they were so spitefull against him, that notwithstanding his sorow and misfortune for the death of his sonne (dying of a sickenesse) was great: they would not of malice once take pity or compassion of him. The losse whereof (albeit he was of a very good and courteous nature) was so grieuous, and made him so vnquiet, that being accused before the people, he stirred not once out of his house, but was locked vp with the women, which lamented for his sonne departed. He that did accuse him, was one *Lucius Apuleius*, burthening him that he had stolne and taken away part of the spoile of the THVSCANES: and sayd they had seene certaine brasen gates at his house, which had bene brought out of THVSCANE. Now the people were so maliciously bent against him, that euery man might see, if they could once take him in a trip, vpon any aduantage whatsoeuer, they would doubtlesse haue condemned him. Wherefore calling together his friends and souldiers that had serued vnder him in the warres, or that had taken charge with him, which were many in number: he earnestly besought them, that they would not suffer him thus vilely to be condemned, through false and vniust accusations layd against him, nor to be so scorned and defamed by his enemies. His friends hauing layd their heads together, and consulted thereupon, made him answer: how for his iudgement they could not remedy it, but if he were condemned, they would all ioyne together with a very good wil, to helpe to pay his fine. But he being of mind not to beare such an open shame and ignominy, determined in choler to leaue the city, & to exile himselfe from it. And after he had taken his leaue of his wife & children, bidding them farewell: he went out of his house to the gates of the city, and sayd neuer a word. When he came thither, he stayed suddenly, and returning backe againe, he lift vp his hands towards the Capitoll, and made his prayers vnto the gods: that if it were of very spite and malice, and not of iust deseruing, that the common people compelled him thus shamefully to forsake the city, that the ROMAINES might quickly repent them, and in the face of the world might wish for him, and haue need of him. After he had made these prayers against the citizens (as *Achilles* did against the GRECIANS) he went his way, and was condemned for his contempt, in the summe of fifteene thousand *Asses* of the ROMAINE coyne, which make of Greekish mony, a thousand fiue hundred *Drachmas* of siluer: for an *As* was a litle peece of mony, whereof ten of them made a ROMAINE peny. Howbeit there was not a ROMAINE of any vnderstanding, but beleeued certainly that some great punishment would follow them incontinently, and that the wrong and iniury they had done him would be quickly requited, with some most sharpe and terrible reuenge, not onely vnpleasant to thinke vpon, but further most notable to be spoke of through the world. There fel out so suddenly vpon it, such mischiefe toward the city of ROME, and the present time also brought forth such occasion of daunger and destruction thereof, to their shame and infamy: that it was vncertaine whether it happened by chance, or else it was the handy worke of some god, that would not suffer vertue recompenced with ingratitude, to passe vnreuenged. Their first token that threatned some great mischiefe to light vpon them, was the death of *Iulius*, one of the Censors: for the ROMAINES do greatly reuerence the office of a Censor, and esteeme it as a sacred place. The second token that happened a litle before *Camillus* exile, was: that one *Marcus Cæditius*, a man but of meane quality, and none of the Senators (but otherwise a faire conditioned honest man, and of good conscience) told the *Tribuni militares* of a thing that was to be well considered of. For he sayd that the night before, as he was going on his way in the new streete, he heard one call him aloud: and returning backe to see what it was, he saw no liuing creature, but onely heard a voyce bigger thē a mans, which said vnto him: *Marcus Cæditius*, go thy way to morrow morning to the *Tribuni militares*, and bid them looke quickly for the GAVLES. The *Tribunes* were mery at the matter, and made but a iest at his warning, and straight after followed the condemnation of *Camillus*. Now as touching the GAVLES: they came (as they say) of the CELTÆ, whose country not being able to maintaine the multitudes of them, they were driuen to go seeke other countries to inhabit in: and there were amongst them many thousands of young men of seruice and good souldiers, but yet more women and litle children by a great number. Of these people, some of them went towards the North sea, passing the mountaines RIPHEI, and did dwell in the extreme parts of EVROPE. Other of them remained betweene the mountaines PIRENEI, and the greatest mountaines of the ALPES, neere vnto the SENONES, and the CELTORII. There they

Lucius Apuleius accused Camillus.

The equity of the Romaines, who would not peruert the lawe though they dearly loued Camillus: but willingly offered to pay his fine.

Camillus prayed before his departure out of Rome.

Camillus exileth himselfe from Rome.

Tokens of the warres of the Gaules.

The originall beginning of the Gaules.

continued

continued a long time, vntill they fortuned in the end to taſte of the wine, which was firſt brought out of ITALY vnto them. Which drinke they found ſo good, and were ſo delighted with it, that ſuddenly they armed themſelues, and taking their wiues and children with them, they went directly towards the ALPES, to go ſeeke out the country that brought forth ſuch fruit, iudging all other countries in reſpect of that, to be but wild and barren. It is ſayd, that the firſt man which brought wine vnto them, and that did procure them to paſſe into ITALY, was a nobleman of THVSCAN called *Arron*, and otherwiſe of no ill diſpoſed nature: howbeit he was ſubiect to this misfortune following. He was tutor vnto an orphan child, the richeſt that was at that time in all the countrey of THVSCAN, and of complexion was wonderfull faire: he was called *Lucumo*. This orphan was brought vp in *Arrons* houſe of a child, and though he was growne to mans ſtate, yet he would not go from him, faining he was well, and to his liking. But indeed the cauſe was, that he loued his miſtreſſe (*Arrons* wife) whom ſecretly he had enioyed a long time, and ſhe him, that made him like his continuance there. Howbeit in the end, loue hauing ſo poſſeſſed them both, that neither party could withdraw from other, much leſſe conceale it: the young man ſtole her away from him, and kept her ſtill by force. *Arron* put him in ſute, but he preuailed not: for *Lucumo* ouerweyed him with friends, money, gifts, and charges. But he tooke it ſo grieuouſly, that he left his countrey: and hauing heard talke of the GAVLES, he went vnto them, and was their guide to bring them into ITALY. So they conquered at their firſt comming all that countrey which the THVSCANES held in old time, beginning at the foote of the mountaines, and ſtretched out in length from one ſea vnto the other, which enuironeth ITALY, as the names themſelues do witneſſe. For they call yet that ſea which looketh vnto the North, the Adriaticke ſea: by reaſon of a city built ſometime by the THVSCANS, which was called *Adria*. The other, which lieth directly ouer againſt the South, is called the THVSCANE ſea. All that countrey is well planted with trees, and hath goodly pleaſant paſtures for beaſts and cattell to feed in, and is notably watered with goodly running riuers. There was alſo at that time eighteene faire great cities in that countrey, all of them very ſtrong and well ſeated, as well for to enrich the inhabitants thereof by trafficke, as to make them to liue delicately for pleaſure. All theſe cities the GAVLES had won, and had expulſed the THVSCANES, but this was done long time before. Now the GAVLES being further entred into THVSCAN, did beſiege the city of CLVSIVM. Thereupon the CLVSIANS ſeeking aide of the ROMAINES, beſought them they would ſend letters and ambaſſadors vnto theſe barbarous people in their fauour. They ſent vnto them three of the beſt and moſt honorable perſons of the city, all three of the houſe of the *Fabians*. The GAVLES receiued them very courteouſly, becauſe of the name of ROME: and leauing to aſſault the city, they gaue them audience. The ROMAINE ambaſſadours did aske them, what iniury the CLVSIANS had done vnto them, that they came to make warres with them. *Brennus* king of the GAVLES, hearing this queſtion, ſmiled, and anſwered them thus: The CLVSIANS do vs wrong in this: they being but few people together, and not able to occupy much land, do notwithſtanding poſſeſſe much, and will let vs haue no part with them, that are ſtrangers, and out of our country, and ſtand in need of ſeate and habitation. The like wrong was offered vnto you ROMAINES in old time, by thoſe of ALBA, by the FIDENATES, and the ARDEATES: and not long ſithens, by the VEIANS, and the CAPENATES: and partly by the FALISCES and the VOLSCES: againſt whom ye haue taken, and do take armes at all times: and as oft as they will let you haue no part of their goods, ye impriſon their perſons, rob and ſpoile their goods, and deſtroy their cities: and in doing this, ye do them no wrong at all, but follow the oldeſt law that is in the world, which euer leaueth vnto the ſtronger, that which the weaker cannot keepe and enioy; beginning with the gods, and ending with beaſts: the which haue this property in nature, that the bigger and ſtronger haue euer the vantage of the weaker and leſſer. Therefore, leaue your pity to ſee the CLVSIANS beſieged, leaſt you teach vs GAVLES to take compaſſion alſo of thoſe you haue oppreſſed. By this anſwer the ROMAINES knew very well, there was no way to make peace with king *Brennus*. Wherfore they entred into the city of CLVSIVM, and incouraged the inhabitants to ſallie out with them vpon theſe barbarous people: either becauſe they had a deſire to proue the valiantneſſe of the GAVLES, or elſe to ſhew their owne courage and manhood. So the citizens went out, & skirmiſhed with them hard by the wals: in the which one of the *Fabians*, called *Quintus Fabius Ambuſtius*, being excellently well horſed, and putting ſpurs to him, did ſet vpon a goodly bigge perſonage of the GAVLES, that had aduanced himſelfe farre before all the troupe of his companions.

Arron a Thuſcane the procurer of the Gaules comming into Italy.

Lacke of iuſtice the cauſe of the deſtruction & conqueſt of Thuſcane by the Gaules. The power of the Thuſcanes in old time.

Cluſium a city of Thuſcan beſieged by the Gaules.

Brennus king of the Gaules.

Fabius Ambuſtius a Romaine breaketh the common lawe of all nations.

He was not knowne at the first encounter, aswell for the sudden meeting and skirmishing together, as for that his glistering armour dimmed the eyes of the enemies. But after he had slaine the GAVLE, and came to strip him, *Brennus* then knew him, and protested against him, calling the gods to witnesse, how he had broken the law of armes, that comming as an ambassadour, he had taken vpon him the forme of an enemy. Hereupon *Brennus* foorthwith left skirmishing, and raising the siege from CLVSIVM, marched with his army vnto ROME gates. And to the end the ROMAINES might know, that the GAVLES were not well pleased for the iniury they had receiued: to haue an honest colour to begin warres with the ROMAINES, he sent an Herauld before to ROME, to demaund liuerie of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the meane time, he himselfe came marching after, by small iourneys to receiue their answer. The Senate hereupon assembled, and many of the Senatours blamed the rashnesse of the *Fabians*: but most of all, the priests called *Fæciales*. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned religion, and the honour of the gods: declaring how the Senate, in discharge of all the residue of the city of the offence committed, should lay the whole waight and burthen of it vpon him alone, that onely had done the fact. *Numa Pompilius*, the iustest and most peaceable of all the Kings of ROME that had bene, was he that first erected the Colledge of these *Fæciales*, and did ordaine that they should be the keepers of peace, and the iudges to heare and allow all the causes, for the which they should iustly begin any warres. Neuertheless, the Senate in the end turned ouer the ordering of the matter, vnto the whole will and iudgement of the people, before whom these priests *Fæciales* did also accuse *Fabius Ambustus*. The people made so litle account of their propounded religion, and honour of the gods in that case: that in stead of deliuering of this *Fabius* vnto the enemy, they did chuse him for one of the Tribunes of the souldiers with his brothers. The GAVLES vnderstanding this, were so furious and angry thereat, that they would no longer linger their iournies, but marched with all speed vnto ROME. The people that dwelt by the high wayes where they should passe by, were maruellously affraid to see the multitude of them, and their braue and vniuersall furniture: and beginning to doubt the fury of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroy all the champion countrey before them, & afterwards would take all the strong cities. They contrariwise did take nothing at all out of the filds, neither did any hurt or displeasure vnto any body: but passing by their cities, cried out they went to ROME, and would haue no wars but with the ROMAINES, and how otherwise they desired to be friends with all the world. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards ROME, the Tribunes of the souldiers brought their army to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the GAVLES, for they were 40000. footmen: howbeit most part of them were raw soldiers, that had neuer serued in the wars before. They were very careless of the gods, and dissolute in matters of religion: for they passed neither for good signes in their sacrifices, neither to aske counsell of their soothsayers, which the ROMAINES were religiously wont to do, before they gaue any battell. To make the matter worse, the number of the captaines hauing power & authority alike, did asmuch (or more then the rest) disorder and confound their doings. For oft times before, in farre lesser matters and dangers then these, they did vse to chuse speciall officers that had sole and soueraine authority, which they called *Dictators*: knowing very well of how great importance it is, in dangerous times to haue but one head and general, to command all, and to haue supreme authority of iustice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliuer account of his doings to any. The iniury also which they had too vngratefully done to *Camillus*, brought great mischiefe & inconuenience then vpon them. For the captaines after him, durst no more command the people roughly, but euer after did flatter them much. When their army was now brought into the field, they escaped themselues by a litle riuer called *Allia*, about the eleuenth stone from ROME, and not farre from the place where the same riuer falleth into *Tyber*. Thither came the barbarous army to them, who ouerthrew them in battell, by their disorder and lacke of gouernment. For the left point or wing of their battell was broken off at the first by the GAVLES, who charged them so furiously, that they draue them headlong into the riuer. The right wing then retiring out of the plaine, before they had any charge giuen, and hauing gotten certaine hils hard by them: they had litle hurt, & most of them sauing themselues, did recouer ROME againe. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night vnto the city of VEIES, thinking ROME had bene lost, and all the city put to the sword. This ouerthrow was on the longest day in sommer, the Moone being at the full: and the day before fortuned the great

Brennus reproueth Fabius for breaking the lawe of armes.

Numa Pompilius erected the Colledge of the Fæciales.

The Gaules march towards Rome.

The Romaines army were 40000. footemen.

Too many rulers of an army do confound all order, and putteth the army in perill.

Allia fl.

The battell at the riuer of Allia where the Gaules wan the field of the Romaines.

great slaughter of the *Fabians*, of the which were slaine by the THVSCANES in one day 300. all of a name. The very day it selfe was afterwards called *Alliade*, of the name of the litle riuer, by the which the second ouerthrow was giuen. But for the difference of daies, that some of them are naturally vnfortunate, or that *Heraclitus* the Philosopher had reason to reproue the Poet *Hesiodus*, for making some dayes good, & some daies ill, as though he vnderstood they were not all of one nature: we haue written and declared our opinion thereof in other places. Yet, because the matter deliuereth present occasion to speake of the same, peraduenture it will not be amisse to alledge a few examples of it onely. It fortuned the BOEOTIANS on a time to win two honorable victories, on the first day of the moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the ATHENIANS call *Hecatombeon*) that is now the moneth of Iune, by either of the which they did still restore the GRECIANS to their liberty. One was the battell of LEVCTRES: the other was the battell of GERASTE, which was 200. yeares before, when they ouercame *Lattamias*, and the THESSALIANS in battell. The PERSIANS contrarily were ouercome in battell by the GRECIANS the 6. day of August, at the iorney of MARATHON. The third day, at the battel of PLATEES. And on the selfe same day, neere vnto MYCALA. On the fiue and twentieth day, at the fight of ARBELES, the ATHENIANS wan the battell by sea, neere vnto the Ile of NAXOS, vnder the charge & gouernment of *Chabrias*, about the full of the Moone, in the moneth of August. And on the twentieth of the same moneth, they wan the battell of SALAMINA: as we haue written more amply in our history of difference of daies. The moneth of Aprill also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For *Alexander* the great, ouercame the generall of the king of PERSIA, at the field of GRANICA, in the said moneth. The CARTHAGINIANS also were vanquished in CICILE by *Timoleon*, on the seuen and twentieth day thereof. On which day also it is thought the city of TROY was taken: as *Ephorus*, *Calisthenes*, *Damastes*, and *Phylarchus*, haue written in their histories. Now contrariwise: the moneth of Iuly, which the BOEOTIANS call *Panemus*, hath not bene gracious to the GRECIANS. For on the seuenth day of the same, they were ouerthrowne by *Antipater* at the battell of CRANON, which was their vtter destruction. They had before also lost a battell, the same moneth, neere vnto the city of CHÆRONEA, by king *Phillip*. On the same day also, and in the very selfe moneth & yeare, those which came into ITALY with king *Archidamus* were slaine euery one of them, by the barbarous people of the countrey. The CARTHAGINIANS also feare the 27. day of the same moneth, as the day which had before time brought them into many great and sorowfull calamities. Contrarily also, I know very well, how about the feast of mysteries, the city of THEBES was destroyed by *Alexander*, and that the ATHENIANS were compelled to receiue a garison of souldiers into their city, about the 20. day of August, at which time they made the holy procession of the mysteries of *Iacchus*. And on the selfe day the ROMAINES lost their army, and their generall *Cæpio*, who was slaine by the CIMBRES. And how afterwards vnder the leading of *Lucullus*, they ouercame king *Tigranes*, and the ARMENIANS. And that *Attalus*, & *Pompey* also, died both on the selfe same day they were borne. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, vnto whom after like reuolutions of time, there happened notable chances of good or ill. But to returne againe vnto our historie. The day of this ouerthrow, is one of those which the ROMAINES take for one of the vnfortunatest daies that euer came vnto them. And by reason of that day, they reckon two other dayes of euery moneth very vnfortunate, engendred through feare and superstition, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) vpon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter, we haue written in more largely and exquisitly in the booke we made, of the ceremonies & customes of the ROMAINES. Now after this battel lost, if the GAVLES had hotly pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could haue saued ROME from being taken, and the inhabitants thereof from being put vnto the sword: for the ROMAINES that fled from the battel, brought such a feare vpon those that receiued them, and filled the whole city of ROME with such griefe and trembling, that they wist not what to do. The barbarous people againe, beleeuing litle their victory was so great as it was, fell to make good cheere for so great a ioy receiued, & deuided among thē the spoile of their enemies goods they found in the campe. So gaue they time & leisure by this meanes, to the multitude of people that fled out of ROME, to seeke them some place of safety: & to such as remained still, they left good hope to saue thēselues, and to make some prouision for defence. Thereupon they al fortified themselues within mount Capitoll, and storing it with all kind of victuall, armor, and munition, they wholly did forsake the rest of the city. But the first worke they tooke in hand was this: They did bring into their sayd

Three hundred of a name slaine in one day.

The Romaines superstition in obseruing of dayes.

The holy fire. fort, part of their ſacred reliques: and the profeſſed *Veſtals* brought thither alſo their holy fire and all other their holy monuments. Some writers ſay, that they had nothing elſe in keeping, but the ſempiternall fire, and were ſo conſecrated by king *Numa*, who did firſt inſtitute, that the fire ſhould be worſhipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the moſt motiue and quickeſt *The force of fire.* ſubſtance that is of all naturall things: notwithſtanding, that generation alſo is a mouing, or at the leaſt not done without motion. For we ſeee, that all other ſubſtance which lacketh heate, remaineth idle, and without action, and ſtirreth not, no more then doth a dead thing, which craueth the force and heate of fire: as the ſoule it ſelfe recouering heate, beginneth ſomewhat to moue, and diſpoſeth it ſelfe to do, and ſuffer ſomething. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they ſay) a man of great learning and vnderſtanding, who for his wiſedome was reported to talke many times with the *Muſes*, did conſecrate the ſame as a moſt ſacred thing, and commaunded that they neuer ſhould ſuffer that fire to go out, but to keepe it, as they would preſerue the liuely image of the eternall God, the onely King and maker of the world. Other ſay, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and ſacred things, ſignifying a kind and maner of purification: which opinion the GREECIANS hold alſo: howbeit behind the ſame fire, there were certaine hidden things, which in no caſe any might ſeee, but thoſe holy *Veſtall Nuns*. Many alſo hold an opinion, that the *Palladium* of TROY (as much to ſay as, as *Pallas* image) is hidden alſo there, which was brought by *Æneas* into ITALY. Other do report alſo, that *Dardanus*, at that time when he firſt began to build the city of TROY, brought thither the holy images of the gods of SAMOTHRACIA, and he did offer them vp there: and how *Æneas* after the city was taken, did ſteale them away, and kept them vntill he came to dwell in ITALY. Some other alſo, that take vpon them to know more therein then the common ſort do, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is empty and ſtandeth open, the other is full and faſt locked vp, howbeit they are not to be ſeene but by theſe holy *Nunnes*. Other thinke alſo, that theſe imaginers inuented that they ſpake of their owne heads, becauſe the *Veſtall Nuns* did caſt all that they could put in at that time, into two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the temple of *Quirinus*: and therefore that very place carieth the ſurname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they caried about them the moſt precious things they had, and fled alongſt the riuer. Where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying alſo, and hauing brought away his wife and litle children, & other houſhold ſtuffe he had in a cart, by chance he lighted vpon the *Veſtall Nunnes* in the way. But ſo ſoone as he perceiued theſe holy *Nunnes* (carying the bleſſed reliques and iewels in their armes, dedicated vnto the ſeruice of the gods) all alone, and that they were weary with going a foot: he cauſed his wife and his children to come out of the cart, and tooke downe all his goods alſo, & willed them to get them vp, & flye into ſome city or towne of GREECE. Thus, me thought I could not well paſſe ouer with ſilence, *Albinus* reuerence & deuotion he ſhewed vnto the gods, in ſo dangerous a time and pinch of extremity. Furthermore the prieſts of other gods, and the moſt honourableſt old men of the city of ROME (that had bene Conſuls before time, or had paſt the honour of triumph) had not the heart to forſake ROME: but putting on all their moſt holy robes and veſtments, did vow, & as it were willingly ſacrificed themſelues vnto the fortune that ſhould befall them for the ſafety of their countrey. And vſing certaine words and prayers which *Fabius chiefe biſhop of Rome.* their high Biſhop *Fabius* had taught them, they went euen thus apparelled into the great market place, and did ſit them downe there, in chaires of iuory, expecting the goodwill & pleaſure of the *Rome taken by the Gaules.* gods what ſhould become of them. But within three daies after, *Brennus* came to ROME with his army: who finding the gates of the city all open, and the wals without watch, he doubted ſome deuiſe in it, and feared ſome priuy ambuſh had bene layd, as one hardly beleeuing to haue found the ROMAINES of ſo baſe a mind, as to forſake their city. After being enformed of the troth, he entred into ROME by the gate *Collina*, and tooke the ſame litle more then 360. yeares after it was firſt builded: if it be true at the leaſt that there hath remained any certaine chronicles of thoſe times vnto this preſent day, conſidering the trouble and confuſion of that time hath made many things more certaine then that, doubtfull vnto vs. But ſo it was, that the rumour ranne to GREECE incontinently how ROME was taken, but yet withall ſomewhat doubtfully and vncertainly. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) ſaith in a certaine booke he wrote of the ſoule, that there was newes come from the Weſt part, that an army which came from the HYPERBORIANS had taken a city of GREECE called ROME, ſituated in that countrey neare the great ſea. But I wonder not that *Heraclides* (who hath written ſo many other fables and lyes) did

amplifie

amplifie the true newes of the taking of ROME, with adding too of his owne deuice, of the HYPERBORIANS, and by the great sea. It is a most true tale, that *Aristotle* the Philosopher had certaine knowledge it was taken by the GAVLES: howbeit he saith also it was recouered againe afterwards by one called *Lucius*: where indeed it was, by *Marcus Camillus*, and not by *Lucius*. But all this in manner is spoken by coniecture. Moreouer *Brennus* being entred ROME, did appoint part of his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into mount Capitol. And he with the residue of his army, marched on towards the market place, where when he saw the auncient Senatours set so grauely in their chaires and spake neuer a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw their enemies come armed against them, neither chaunged countenance nor colour at all, but leaned softly on their staues they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing afraid nor abashed, but looked one vpon another, he maruellously wondred at it. This their so straunge maner at the first did so dampe the GAVLES, that for a space they stood still, and were in doubt to come neare to touch them, fearing lest they had bene some gods: vntill such time as one of them went boldly vnto *Marcus Papyrius*, & laid his hand faire and softly vpon his long beard. But *Papyrius* gaue him such a rap on his pate with his staffe, that he made the bloud run about his ears. This barbarous beast was in such a rage with the blow, that he drew out his sword and slue him. The other soldiers also killed all the rest afterwards: and so the GAVLES continued many daies spoiling and sacking all things they found in the houses, and in the end did set them all a fire, and destroyed them euery one, for despite of those that kept the fort of the Capitoll, and would not yeeld vpon their summons, but valiantly repulsed them when they scaled the wals. For this cause they raced the whole citie, and put all to the sword that came in their hands, young and old, man, woman and child. Now this siege continuing long, and the ROMAINES holding them out very stoutly, victuals began to grow scant in the campe of the GAVLES, insomuch as they were driuen of force to seeke it abroad without the citie. Hereupon they deuided themselues, whereof some remained still with the King at the siege of the Capitoll: and the rest went a forraging and spoiling all the champion countrey and villages thereabouts, scattered as it were by bands and companies, some here some there, fearing nothing, nor passing vpon watch or ward, they liued in such securitie of their victorie. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them, went by fortune towards the citie of ARDEA where *Camillus* dwelt, liuing like a priuate man, medling with no matters of state from the time of his exile, vntill that present time. But then he began not to bethinke himselfe as a man that was in safetie, and might haue escaped the hands of his enemies, but rather sought to deuise and find out all the meanes he could to subdue them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon, considering that the inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in number to set vpon them, although faint hearted, and cowardly, by reason of the slouth and negligence of their gouernours and captaines, who had no manner of experience in the wars: he began to cast out these words among the young men: That they should not thinke the ROMAINES misfortune fell vpon them, through the valiantnesse of the GAVLES, nor that their calamitie (who had refused good counsell) had hapned vnto them by any work or act of the GAVLES, hauing done nothing for their part to make them carry away the victorie: but that they shold think it was no other thing, but fortune alone, that would needes shew her power. Therefore, that it were now a notable and honourable enterprise (although somewhat daungerous) to driue these strangers and barbarous people out of their countrie: considering that the only end of their victorie was, but to destroy and consume as fire, all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good lustie heart and courage vnto them, he would with oportunitie and place, assure them the victory without any danger. The young men were pleased with these words of life and comfort. Wherupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter also vnto the magistrates and counsellers: and hauing drawne them by perswasion vnto this enterprise, he armed all that were of age to cary armour, and would not suffer a man to go out of the citie, for feare lest the enemies (which were not far off) should haue intelligence of the same. Now after the GAVLES had run ouer all the champion country, and were loden with all sorts of spoiles, they did encampe themselues negligently in open fields, and neuer charged watch nor ward: but hauing their full cariage of wine laid them downe to sleepe, and made no noise at all in their camp. *Camillus* being aduertised thereof by his seuerall skouts, caused the ARDEANS with as litle noise as might be, forthwith to go out into the fields: and hauing marched somewhat roundly the distance betweene the citie and the campe of the GAVLES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his souldiers

Aristotles testimony of the taking of Rome

The maiestie of the old Senators set in the market place of Rome.

The city of Rome raced by the Gaules.

The city of Ardea.

Camillus words vnto the Ardeans in excuse of the Romaines.

Camillus perswadeth the Ardeans to take armes against the Gaules.

make great ſhouts and cries, and the trumpets to be ſounded on euery ſide, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the loud noiſe they made, could hardly be made to wake, they were ſo deadly drunke. Yet there were ſome notwithſtanding, that for feare to be taken tardy, did buſtle vp at this ſudden noiſe: and coming to themſelues, fell to their weapons to reſiſt *Camillus*, which were ſlaine by and by. The reſt and the greateſt number of them lay here and there ſcattered in the midſt of the field without any weapon dead aſleepe, ſtarke drunk with wine, and were put to the ſword and neuer ſtrake ſtroke. Thoſe that fled out of the campe that night (which were but few in number) were ouerthrowne alſo the next day, by the horſemen which followed and killed them, as they tooke them ſtragling here and there in the fields. The brute of this victory was blowne abroad incontinently through all the towns and villages therabouts, which cauſed many yong men to come and ioyne themſelues to *Camillus*: but ſpecially the ROMAINES deſired the ſame, that had ſaued themſelues in the city of VEIES, after the battell loſt at ALLIA, who made their mones among themſelues there, ſaying: O gods what a captaine hath fortune taken from the citie of ROME? What honor hath the city of ARDEA by the valiantnes and worthy deedes of *Camillus*: and in the meane ſeaſon his naturall city that brought him forth, is now loſt and vterly deſtroyed? We, for lack of a captaine to lead vs, are ſhut vp here within others wals, and do nothing but ſuffer ITALIE in the meane ſpace to go to ruine and vtter deſtruction before our eyes. Why then do we not ſend to the ARDEANS for our captaine? or why do we not arme our ſelues to go vnto him? For he is now no more a baniſhed man, nor we poore citizens: ſince our city is poſſeſſed with the foraine power of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counſel, and ſent vnto *Camillus* to beſeech him to be their captaine, & lead them. But he made anſwer, he would in no caſe conſent vnto it, vnleſſe they that were beſieged in the Capitoll had lawfully firſt confirmed it by their voices. For thoſe (ſaid he) ſo long as they remaine within the city, do repreſent the ſtate & body therof. Therfore if they cõmanded him to take this charge vpon him, he wold moſt willingly obey thẽ: if otherwiſe they miſliked of it, that then he would not meddle againſt their goodwils & commandement. They hauing receiued this anſwer, there was not a ROMAINE amongſt thẽ, but greatly honored & extolled the wiſdome and iuſtice of *Camillus*. But now they knew not how to make them priuy vnto it, that were beſieged in the Capitoll: for they ſaw no poſſibilitie to conuey a meſſenger to thẽ: conſidering the enemies were lords of the city, and laid ſiege to it. Howbeit there was one *Pontius Cominius* among the yong men (a man of a meane houſe, but yet deſirous of honor and glory) that offred himſelfe very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he took no letters to cary to them that were beſieged, for feare leſt they might be intercepted, and ſo they ſhold diſcouer *Camillus* intention: but putting on an ill fauoured gown vpon him, he conueyed certain peeces of cork vnder it, and trauelling at noone daies kept on his way without feare vntill he came to ROME, bringing dark night with him. And becauſe he could not paſſe by the bridge, for that the barbarous people kept watch vpon it, he wrapped ſuch clothes as he had about his necke (which were not many nor heauy) & tooke the riuer, & ſwimming with theſe ſtorkes he had brought, at the length he got ouer to the other ſide where the city ſtood. Thẽ taking vp thoſe lanes alwaies where he thought the enemies were not, ſeeing fire, & hearing noiſe in other places, he went to the gate Carmental, where he found more ſilence then in other places: on the which ſide alſo, the hill of the Capitol was more ſteep & vpright, by reaſon of the great rockes that were hard to clime vp vpon. But he digged and crept vp ſo long amongſt thẽ, that he got vp with great pain vnto the wal of the fortreſſe, on the which ſide alſo the enemy kept no watch: and ſaluting the watch of the Capitol, he told them what he was. So they plucked him vp vnto them, & brought him to the magiſtrats that ruled then: who cauſed the Senate to aſſemble preſently, to whom he told the newes of *Camillus* victory, which they had not heard of before: & therwith alſo he did declare vnto them, the determination of the ROMAIN ſoldiers that were abroad, which was, to make *Camillus* their captain and generall, and did perſwade them alſo to grant him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whom the citizens gaue their conſents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitol, conſulted thereupon amongſt themſelues, and ſo did chuſe *Camillus Dictator*, & returned the meſſenger *Pontius Cominius* backe againe the ſelfe ſame way he came vnto them. His fortune in returning backe was like vnto his comming thither: for the enemies neuer ſaw him. And ſo he brought report to them that were abroad, of the Senates decree and conſent, wherof they were all marueilous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of general vpon him, and found there were twenty thouſand

Camillus ſlue the Gaules hard by Ardea.

Pontius Cominius got vp into the Capitoll at Rome.

Camillus choſen Dictator the ſecond time.

ſand good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aide alſo of their allies and confederates, and prepared daily to go and ſet vpon the enemies. So was *Camillus* choſen now *Dictator* the ſecond time, and went into the citie of VEIES where he ſpake with the ROMAINE ſouldiers that were there, and leauied a great number of the allies beſides, to go fight with the enemies as ſoone as he could. But whilſt *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certaine of the barbarous people in ROME, walking out by chaunce on that ſide of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten vp the night before: ſpied in diuers places the prints of his feet and hands, as he had griped and gotten hold, ſtill digging to get vp, and ſaw the weeds and herbes alſo growing vpon the rockes, and the earth in like maner flat troden downe. Whereupon they went preſently vnto the king to let him vnderſtand the ſame: who foorthwith came to view the place. And hauing conſidered it well, he did nothing at that time: but when darke night was come, he called a company of the lighteſt GAVLES together, and that vſed moſt to dig in mountaines, and ſaid vnto them: Our enemies themſelues do ſhew vs the way how to take them, which we could not haue found out but by themſelues. For they hauing gone vp before vs, do giue vs eaſily to vnderſtand it is no impoſſible thing for vs to clime vp alſo. Wherfore we were vtterly ſhamed, hauing alreadie begunne well, if we ſhould faile alſo to end well: and to leaue this place as vnuincible, For if it were eaſie for one man alone, by digging to clime vp to the height thereof: much leſſe is it hard for many to get vp one after another, ſo that one do helpe another. Therefore Sirs, I aſſure you, thoſe that do take paines to get vp, ſhall be honourably rewarded, according to their iuſt deſert. When the King had ſpoken theſe words vnto the GAVLES, they fell to it luſtily euery man to get vp: and about midnight, they began many of them to dig, and make ſteps vp to the rocke one after another, as ſoftly as could poſſibly, with catching hold the beſt they could, by the hanging of the rocke, which they found very ſteepe, but neuertheleſſe eaſier to clime, then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the formoſt of them being come to the top of the rocke, were now readie to take the wall, and to ſet vpon the watch that ſlept: for there was neither man nor dog that heard thē. It chanced then there were holy goeſe kept in the temple of *Iuno*, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: but victuals being very ſtraight and ſcant at that time euen to find the men, the poore geeſe were ſo hard handled, and ſo litle regarded, that they were in maner ſtarued for lacke of meat. This fowle indeed naturally is very quicke of hearing, and ſo is ſhe alſo very feareful by nature: and being in maner famiſhed with their hard allowance they were ſo much the more waking and eaſier to be afraid. Vpon this occaſion therefore, they heard the comming of the GAVLES, and alſo began to run vp and downe and cry for feare: with which noiſe they did wake thoſe that were within the caſtle. The GAVLES being bewrayed by theſe fooliſh geeſe, left their ſtealing vpon them, and came in with all the open noiſe and terrour they could. The ROMAINES hearing this larum, euery man tooke ſuch weapon as came firſt to his hand, and they ran ſuddenly to reſcue that place from whence they vnderſtood the noiſe: among thoſe, the formoſt man of all, was *Marcus Manlius*, a man that had bene Conſul, who had a luſty body, and as ſtout a hart. His hap being to meet with two of the GAVLES together, as one of them was lifting vp his axe to knock him on the head, he preuented him, and ſtrake off his hand with his ſword, and clapt his target on the others face ſo fiercely, that he threw him backward downe the rocke: and comming afterwards vnto the wall with others that ran thither with him, he repulſed the reſt of the GAVLES that were gotten vp, who were not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the ROMAINES hauing eſcaped this danger, the next morning they threw the captaine downe the rocks from the caſtle, who had charge of the watch the night before: and gaue *Manlius* in recompence of the good ſeruice he had done, a more honorable then profitable reward, which was this: Euery man of them gaue him halfe a pound of the countrey wheat, which they call *Far*, and the fourth part of the meaſure of wine, which the GRECIANS call *Cotile*: and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of euery man by the day. After this repulſe, the GAVLES began to be diſcouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them, and durſt no more forage abroad in the fields for feare of *Camillus*: and partly alſo for that the plague came amongſt them, being lodged amongſt heapes of dead bodies, lying in euery place aboue ground without burial, and amongſt burnt houſes deſtroyed, where the aſhes being blowne very high by the wind and vehemency of heat, did giue a drie piercing aire, that did marueilouſly poiſon their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greateſt cauſe of all their miſchiefe was, the chaunge of their wonted diet. Who comming out of a freſh

The Gaules clime vp to the Capitol in the night.

The holy geeſe ſaued the Capitoll.

Marcus Manlius repulſeth the Gaules from the Capitoll.

The Gaules vexed with the plague at Rome.

country, where there were excellent pleasant places to retire vnto, to auoid the discommodity of the parching heat of the sommer, were now in a naughty plaine country for them to remain in, in the latter season of the yere. All these things together did heape diseases vpon them, besides the long continuance of the siege about the Capitoll (for it was then about the seuenth moneth) by reason wherof there grew a maruellous death in their campe, through the great numbers of them that died daily, and lay vnburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the GAVLES, the poore besieged ROMAINES were nothing holpen the more, the famine still did grow so fast vpon them. And because they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were grown almost vnto a despaire: and send vnto him they could not, the GAVLES kept so straight watch vpon them in the city. Wherupon both parties finding themselues in hard state, first the watch of either side began to cast out words of peace amongst themselues: and afterwards by consent of the heads, *Sulpitius*, Tribune of the soldiers, came to parle with *Brennus*. In which parle it was articled: that the ROMAINES should pay a thousand pound waight of gold, and that the GAVLES should incontinently after the receipt of the same, depart out of their city, and all their territories. This decree being passed by oath from both, the gold was brought. And when it came to be weyed, the GAVLES at the first priuily began to deale falsly with them: but afterwards they openly stayed the ballance, and would not let them wey no more, whereat the ROMAINES began to be angry with them. Then *Brennus*, in scorne and mockerie to despite them more, pluckt off his sword, girdle and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was weyed. *Sulpitius* seeing that, asked him what he meant by it. *Brennus* answered him: What can it signifie else, but sorrow to the vanquished? This word euer after ran as a common prouerbe in the peoples mouths. Some of the ROMAINES tooke this vile part of theirs in such scorn, that they wold needs take the gold from them againe by force, and so returne into their hold, to abide the siege still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrarie, and thought it best with patience to put vp this scorne of theirs, and not to thinke it was a shame to pay more then they had promised: but only to pay it by compulsion as they did, by misfortune of time, was to thinke it rather necessarie, the honourable. And as they were debating the matter thus, aswell amongst themselues, as with the GAVLES: *Camillus* came to ROME gates with his army, and vnderstanding all what had passed betweene them, he commanded the rest of the army to march faire and softly after him in good order, and he in the meane season with the best choise men he had, went before with all speed. Assoone as the other ROMAINES within the citie had spied him, they showted out for ioy, and receiued him euery one with great reuerence, without any more words, as their soueraigne captaine and prince, who had power ouer them all. And *Camillus* taking the gold out of the scales, gaue it vnto his men, and commanded the GAVLES presently to take vp their scales, and to get them going: for, saith he, it is not the ROMAINES maner to keepe their country with gold, but with the sword. Then *Brennus* beganne to be hote, and told him it was not honorably done of him, to breake the accord that had passed betweene them before by oath. Whereunto *Camillus* stoutly answered him againe, that accord was of no validity: for he being created *Dictator* before, all other officers and magistrates whatsoeuer, and their acts, by his election were made of no authority. And seeing therefore they had dealt with men, that had no power of themselues to accord to any matter, they were to speake to him, if they required ought: for he alone had absolute authoritie to pardon them if they repented, and would aske it: or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the dammages and losse his countrey had by them sustained. These words made *Brennus* madde as a march hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their swords of all sides, & laid lustily one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could set no battell in order. But *Brennus* suddenly remembring himselfe that it was no euen match for him, retired with his men about him into his campe, before he had lost many of his people. The next night following, he departed out of ROME with all his army, and went to encampe himself about a threescore furlongs from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the city of the GABIANS. *Camillus* with his whole army well appointed, went after him immediatly, and shewed at his campe by the breake of day. The ROMAINES hauing taken hart againe vnto them, did lustily giue them battell: the same continued long, very cruell and doubtfull, vntill the GAVLES at the length were ouerthrown, and their campe taken with great slaughter. As for those that did escape the furie of the battell, they were killed, some by the ROMAINES selues, who hotly followed the chase after the battell broken: the residue of them, and the greatest part were

The Romaines vvent about to redeeme their libertie of the Gaules vvith gold.

Camillus came to Rome vvith his armie.

Camillus speaketh stoutly to Brennus king of the Gaules.

Camillus ouerthroweth the army of the Gaules.

were ſlaine by thoſe of the cities and villages nere abouts, that did ſet vpon them as they fled ſcatteringly here and there in the fields. And thus was the city of ROME ſtrangely againe recouered that was before ſtrangely won and loſt, after it had continued ſeuen moneths in the hands of the barbarous people. For they entred ROME about the fifteenth day of Iuly: and they were driuen out againe, about the thirteenth day of February following. So *Camillus* triumphed as beſeemed him, and as one that had ſaued and deliuered his countrey out of the hands of their enemies, and ſet ROME again at liberty. Thoſe that had bene abroad all the time of this ſiege, came into ROME againe, following his triumphing chariot: and thoſe that had bene beſieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to haue died by famine) went and preſented themſelues before him, and each one embraced other, in weeping wiſe for ioy. The prieſts and miniſters of the temples alſo, preſented their holy iewels, whole and vndefaced, which ſome of them had buried in the ground within the city ſelfe: and other ſome had caried away with them, when they fled out of ROME. All theſe the people did as gladly ſee, as if the gods themſelues had returned home againe into their citie. After they had ſacrificed vnto the gods, and rendred them moſt humble thankes, and had purged their citie, as they had bene taught by men experienced in thoſe matters for ſatisfaction of the gods, *Camillus* began againe to build vp the temples that were there before, hard by the which he built another new one alſo to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Caeditius* heard the voice warne him of the coming of the GAVLES. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the prieſts great paine and trauell, the ſituations of theſe temples were with much ado found out againe. But when they were to build againe all the reſt of the citie, that was wholy burnt and deſtroyed to the ground: the people had no mind to it, but euer ſhrinked backe, to put any hand to the worke, for that they lacked all things neceſſarie to begin the ſame. Furthermore, weighing their late and long ſuſtained trouble and miſeries, they were fitter to take their eaſe and reſt, then to begin new labour and toyle, to kill their harts and bodies altogether. For neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reach to the charge of it. Wherefore diſpoſing their minds to dwell in the citie of VEIES, which remained whole, vntouched, and furniſhed of all things to receiue them, they deliuered to the pratling Orators (whoſe tongues did neuer ceaſe to ſpeake *placentia* to the people) trimme occaſion to ſet this matter abroach. So they gaue good eare, and were willing to heare certaine ſeditious words ſpoken againſt *Camillus*, which were theſe: That for his priuate ambition he would depriue them of a citie well furniſhed alreadie, and would againſt their willes compell them to lodge in their owne houſes, wholly burnt and pulled downe. And moreouer, how he would make them to raiſe vp againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the end the people might call him, not onely Captaine and Generall of the ROMAINES, but the founder of ROME alſo, and ſo drowne *Romulus* honourable title thereof. The Senate conſidering of this matter, and fearing ſome tumult among the people: they would not ſuffer *Camillus* to leaue his Dictatorſhip before the end of the yeare, notwithſtanding no man euer enioyed that office aboue ſixe moneths. Then *Camillus* for his part did much indeuour himſelfe, to comfort and appeaſe the people, praying them all he could to tarie: and further pointed with his finger vnto the graues of their auncеſtours, and put them in mind alſo of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and ſanctified by King *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongſt many other tokens drawne out of holy and diuine things, he forgat not to bring for example, the head of a man found new and freſh, in making the foundations of the Capitoll, as if that place by fatall deſtinie had bene once choſen to be the head and chiefe of all ITALIE. And moreouer, that the holy fire of the goddeſſe *Veſta* (which ſince the wars had bin kindled againe by the holy *Veſtal Nuns*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forſake their naturall city: beſides the great ſhame and diſhonour it would be vnto them, to ſee it inhabited in time to come by vnknowne ſtrangers, or elſe to be left a common field and paſture, for beaſts and cattell to graze in. Such ſorrowfull examples and griefes, the honeſt naturall borne citizens, did euer blow into the peoples eares, aſwell priuately as openly. The people againe to the contrary, did make their hearts to yerne for pitie, when they laid before their eyes their penurie and pouerty they ſuſtained: and beſought them alſo not to enforce them to gather and ioyne together againe the broken peeces of a ſpoiled city (as of a ſhipwracke that had caſt them naked into the ſea, hauing only ſaued bare life and perſons) ſince that they had another citie neare at hand and ready to receiue them. So *Camillus* counſell was, that the Senat ſhould conſult vpon this matter, and deliuer their abſolute opinion herin: which was done. And

Rome was ſeuen moneths in the hands of the Gaules.

Camillus triumphed of the Gaules.

The buſie headed Orators ſtirre the people to tumult againſt Camillus

Camillus Dictatorſhip proroged.

Camillus perſwaded the people what he could to dwel in Rome and to leaue Veies.

in this counsell, he himselfe brought foorth many probable reasons, why they should not leaue in any case, the place of their naturall birth and countrey: and so did many other Senatours in like case, fauouring that opinion. Last of all, after these perswasions, he commanded *Lucius Lucretius* (whose manner was to speake first in such assemblies) that he should stand vp and deliuer his opinion, and that the rest also in order as they sate, should say their minds. So euery man keeping silence, as *Lucretius* was ready to speake, at that present time there passed by their counsell house, a captaine with his band that warded that day, who spake aloud to his ensigne bearer that went formost, to stay, and set downe his ensigne there: for, said he, here is a very good place for vs to dwell in. These words being heard vp into the Senate house, euen as they stood all in a doubt and maze what would be the resolution of this matter: *Lucretius* began to say, that he most humbly thanked the gods; and allowed of the captaines iudgement, and so euery one of the rest in their order, said as much. Moreouer there was a wonderfull change and alteration of mind so dainly among the common people: for euery man did perswade and encourage his fellow liuely to put his hand to this work. Insomuch as tarying for no diuision or appointing out of streets, nor setting out euery man his place he should build in, they fell to worke of all hands, euery one chosing that place he liked best, and was most commodious for their building, without any other order or diuision amongst them. Whereupon, they running to this building on a head, the streets were confused on heaps together, and their houses all built out of order and vniformitie. For the report goeth, that the whole citie (aswell common as priuate buildings) was built vp new againe in a yeare. But the surueiors, to whom *Camillus* had giuen charge to find out all the holy places where the temples had bene ouerthrowne: as they went about mount *Pallatine*, they came by chance to the place, where the chappell of *Mars* had stood, which the GAVLES had wholy burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and surueying euery corner, did find by chance *Romulus* augures crooked staffe hidden vnder a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the ends, and they call it *Lituus*, which soothsayers do vse to quarter out the regions of the element, when they will behold the flying of birds to tell of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skilfull in this art, did vse this staffe: and after he was taken away from all mens sights, the priests tooke it, and kept it as a holy relique, suffering no creature to lay hands on it. Now whē they found this staffe whole & vnbrokē, where all things else were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a maruellous ioy thereat: for they interpreted this to be a signe of the euerlasting continuance of the city of ROME. But before they could make an end of all their building, there grew a new war againe vpon them. For at one very instant, all the ÆQVES, the VOLCSES, and the LATINES, entred with all their might and maine into the territories of the ROMAINES. The THVSCANES also went then and besieged SVTRIVM, that was in league and amity with the ROMAINES. The *Tribuni militares* got them straight to the field with their army, and encamped about mount *Martian*. The LATINES besieged them so straightly, that their army stood in great danger to be ouerthrowne, and they were driuen to send to ROME for a new supply. Therupon the ROMAINES did choose *Camillus Dictator* againe the third time. The occasion of this war is reported two maner of waies: whereof I will declare the first, which I do conceiue to be but a tale. They say the LATINES sent vnto the ROMAINS, to demand some of their free maides in mariage: which they did either to make a quarrell of warre, or else as desirous indeed to ioyne both the peoples againe by new mariages. The ROMAINES were amazed very much at this, and sore troubled, as not knowing how to answer them, they were so afraid of warres. For they were yet scant new setled at home, and dreaded much lest this demand of their daughters, was but a summons made to giue them hostages, which they finely cloaked vnder the name of alliance in mariage. Some say that there was at that time a bond maid called *Tutola*, or as some say, *Philotis*, that went vnto the Senat, and counselled them they shold send her away with some other faire maides slaues, dressed vp like gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this deuice, and chose such a number of bond maids as she desired to haue, and trimming them vp in fine apparell, begawded with chaines of gold and iewels, they sent them forth to the LATINES, who were encamped not far from the city. When night was come, the other maids hid their enemies swords. But this *Tutola*, or *Philotis* (call her as you will) did clime vp to the top of a wild fig tree, from which she shewed a burning torch vnto the ROMAINES, hauing made shift to hang somwhat behind her, to keepe the light from sight of the enemies. For this signall the Senate of ROME had secretly appointed her to set vp, which was the cause that the issuing

Rome is built againe.

Rome was new built againe in a yere.

Romulus augures staffe found whole after Rome was burnt.

Camillus chosen Dictator the third time.

Tutola, or Philotis craft and subtiltie.

issuing out of the souldiers, being commanded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being pressed by their captains, they called one another, and there was great a do to put them in order of battell. Thus they went to take their enemies sleeping, who nothing mistrusting the same, were slaine the most part of them within their campe. This was done on the fift day of the moneth called then *Quintilis*, and now is named *Iuly*: at which time they do yet celebrate a certain feast in remembrance of that act. For first of al, going out of the city, they cal aloud many of their fellowes names which are most common: as *Caius*, *Marcus*, and *Lucius*, shewing thereby how one of them called another after that sort, as they went in great haste out of the city. Afterwards all the maide-seruants of the citie being trimly apparelled, go playing vp and downe the towne, pleasantly iesting with those they meet: and in the end they make as though they fought together, in token that they did help the ROMAINES at that time to destroy the LATINES. Then they are feasted, sitting vnder bowers made with wild figge tree boughes: and this feast is called *Nonæ Capratinæ*, by reason of the wild figge tree (as some thinke) from the top whereof, the bond maide shewed to the ROMAINES the burning torch. For the ROMAINES cal the wild figge tree, *Caprificus*. Other say, that all these things are done and spoken, in remembrance of the mischance that happened vnto *Romulus*, whē he was taken out of their sight, the same day without the gates of the citie, at which time there arose a sodain mist and dark cloud. Or as some other say, that then was the eclypse of the Sun: and they hold opinion that the day was named *Nonæ Capratinæ*, because *Capra* in the ROMAINE tongue, signifieth a goate. *Romulus* vanished out of mens sights, as he was making an oration vnto his people, neare vnto the place which is called goat marsh, as we haue mentioned more at large in his life. The seeond occasion and beginning of this war (according to the opinion of most writers) was, that *Camillus* being chosen *Dictator* the third time, and knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their army were straightly besieged by the LATINES and VOLSCES, he was enforced to arme all the old men, who for very age were priuiledged from further seruice in warres. And hauing fetched a great compasse about mount *Martian*, because he would not be seen of his enemies, he came to lodge his camp behind them, where he raised fiers, to make the ROMAINES know that were besieged, how he was come: which as soone as they perceiued, they tooke to them courage againe, and determined to fight. But the LATINES and VOLSCES kept within their camp, and did intrench and fortifie themselues with a wall of wood, which they laid a crosse, because they saw they were beset both before and behind: and determined to tarie the releefe of a new supply, aswell of their owne, as of some further aide besides from the THVSCANS: which thing *Camillus* perceiuing, and fearing least they should serue him, as he had already handled them, by compassing of him againe behind, he thought it necessarie to preuent this. So considering the inclosure and fortification of their camp was all of wood, and that euery morning commonly, there came a great wind from the side of the mountaines, he made prouision of a number of fire brands. And leading out his armie into the fields by breake of day, he appointed one part of them to giue charge vpon the enemies on the one side, with great noise and shouting: and he with the other part determined to raise fire on the contrarie side, from whence the wind should come, looking for oportunitie to do the same. When he saw the Sunne vp, and the wind beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the side of the hils, and that the skirmish was begun on the other side: then he gaue a signall vnto the companie he led with him, to set vpon the enemies, and made them throw into the inclosure of their campe, diuers pots and dartes with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in this inclosure of wood, and trees laid ouerthwart, did raise straight an exceeding great flame in the aire, and still got way inwards into the LATINES campe. Whereupon the LATINES being vnprouided of present remedy to quench the flame, and seeing their camp a fire all about their eares, they gathered themselues together at the first in a very small roome. Neuertheless, they were inforced in the end to get them into the field, and there they found their enemies ready armed, and in battell ray. So as few of those escaped that came into the field, and their fellowes that remained within their campe, were burnt to death with fire, vntill the ROMAINES themselues came to quench it for greedinesse of their spoile & goods. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his son in the camp, to keepe the prisoners and spoiles: and he himself, with the rest of the army, went to inuade his enemies country, where he took the city of ÆQVES. Then after he had ouercome the VOLSCES, he led his army presenty from thence vnto the city of SVTRIVM. For he had not yet heard of their misfortune. Therfore he hasted himself to aid thē, because he thought they were yet besieged by

Rome deliuered from wars by Tutola the bondmaide.

The maidens feast, called Nonæ Capratinæ.

Camillus stratageme against the Latines and Volsces.

Camillus slue the Latines.

Camillus tooke the citie of AEquas.

the THVSCANS. But such was their hard fortune, that they had alreadie yeelded vp their citie by composition, and saued no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backes. So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the way as they were wandring abroad, lamenting their miserie with their wiues and litle yong children: whose miserie went to the very heart of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he saw the ROMAINES weepe for pitie also, to see the mone that these vnfortunate people made vnto him, and that it grieued them heartily to behold their great mischance: he determined with himselfe not to deferre reuenge, but presently to go the selfe same day before the citie of SVTRIVM, imagining that he should find the THVSCANS out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good cheere, because they had newly taken a wealthy rich citie, where they had left neuer an enemie in the same to hurt them, neither feared any abroade to come neare to assault them. And in deede it fell out rightly as he gessed. For he had not only passed through the territories of the citie, without any intelligence giuen to the enemies within the same: but he was come to the very gates, and had taken the walles before they heard any thing of his comming, by reason they neither kept watch nor ward, but were dispersed abroade in the citie, in euery house, eating and drinking drunke together. Insomuch as when they knew their enemies were alreadie within the citie, they were so full fraught with meate and wine, that the most of their wits serued them not so much as to flie, but taried vntill they were slaine or taken, like beasts in the houses.

Camillus wan the citie of Sutrium.

Thus was the citie of SVTRIVM twise taken in one day. And it chaunced that those which had won it, lost it: and those which had lost it, recouered it againe by *Camillus* meanes. Who deserued both the honour and entrie of triumph into ROME: the which wan him no lesse good will and glorie, then the two first before had done praise, and gotten fame. For euen his greatest enemies that most spited and enuied his former noble actes, ascribing them rather to fortune that fauoured him, then to his valiantnesse or worthinesse: were forced now by this deed of his to confesse, that his wisedome and valiantnesse deserued praise and commendation to the skies. *Camillus* of all his enemies had one most bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the first man that gaue the GAVLES the repulse that night they had entred the walles of the Capitoll, & had thought to haue taken it: wherupon they gaue him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He aspiring to be the chiefe of the citie, and finding no direct way to exceed the glory of *Camillus*, tooke the broade high way of them that practise tyrannie. For he began to flatter the common people, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke vpon him to defend their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their creditours. Sometimes he tooke the debters out of the creditours hands, and caried them away by force, that for lacke of abilitie to pay, were by rigour of the law condemned to be bond slaues. But by this practise, in short time he got him a maruellous number of such needie followers, and poore men, that the noble men and honest citizens were afraid of the insolent parts they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumults they daily stirred vp in the market place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they did chuse *Quintus Capitolinus Dictator*: who caused the said *Manlius* immediatly to be apprehended, and committed him to prison. Whereupon the people began to change their apparell: which they were neuer wont to do, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing least some commotion would rise hereupon, they did set him at libertie againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but did still stirre vp the commons, more boldly and seditiously then before. Then was *Camillus* chosen againe *Tribunus militaris*, and *Manlius* was accused in his time of office. But when this matter came to pleading, the sight of the Capitoll troubled his accusers much. For the very place it selfe where *Manlius* had repulsed the GAVLES by night, and defended the Capitoll, was easily seene from the market place, where the matter was a hearing: and he himselfe pointing with his hand, shewed the place vnto the gods, and weeping tenderly, he laid before them the remembrance of the hazard of his life, in fighting for their safetie. This did moue the iudges hearts to pitie, so as they knew not what to do, but many times they did put ouer the hearing of his case vnto another day, and neither would they giue iudgement, knowing he was conuicted by manifest proofes: neither could they vse the seuerity of the law vpon him, because the place of his so notable good seruice was euer still before their eyes. Wherefore *Camillus* finding the cause of delay of iustice, did make the place of iudgement to be remoued without the citie, into a place called the wood *Petelian*, from whence they could not see the Capitoll. And there the accusers gaue apparent euidence against him: and the iudges

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus moueth sedition.

Flatterie and hypocrisie winneth the multitude and common people.

Manlius clapt in prison by Q. Capitolinus Dictator.

Camillus chosen againe Tribunus militaris

considering

considering all his wicked practises, conceiued a iust cause to punish him, as he had deserued. So they gaue sentence of death against him: that he should be caried to the mount Capitol, and there to be throwne downe headlong the rockes thereof. Thus, one and the selfe place was a memorie both of his notable good seruice, and also of his miserable and vnfortunate end. Besides all this, they razed his house, and built in the same place a temple to the goddesse they call *Moneta*: and made a law also, that no *Patrician* from thenceforth should dwell any more in the mount Capitol. *Camillus* after this, being called again to take the office of *Tribunus militaris* the sixt time: he sought to excuse himselfe, aswell for that he saw he was well stept in yeares, as also for that he feared fortunes spite, or some mishap, after he had obtained such glorie for his noble actes and seruice. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sickenesse, which troubled him much at that time. But the people would allow no excuse by any meanes, but cried out, they did not desire he should fight on foote nor on horsebacke, but that he should onely giue counsel, and commaund: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the armie with one of his companions named *Lucius Frurius*, against their enemies the PRÆNESTINES, and the VOLSCES; who ioyning together, did inuade the confines of the ROMAINES friends. So he led his armie out immediatly to the field, and camped as neare the enemie as he could: being minded for his part to draw the wars out in length, that he might fight afterwads (if need required) whē he had recouered strength. But *Frurius* contrarily coueting glory, was wholy bent to hazard the battell, whatsoeuer perill came of it: and to this end he stirred vp, and incouraged the Captaines of euery priuate band. Wherfore *Camillus* fearing lest they should think, for ill will he bare the yong men, that he went about to hinder and take away the means to win their honor, and to do some noble act: suffered *Frurius* against his will to put his men in order of battel, and he in the meane season by reason of his sickenesse, remained with a few about him in the campe. So went *Lucius* vpon a head to present battell to the enemie, and so was he as headily also ouerthrowne. But *Camillus* hearing the ROMAINES were ouerthrowne, sick as he was vpon his bed, got vp, and taking his housholde seruants with him, he went in haste to the gates of the campe, and passed thorough those that fled, vntill he came to meete with the enemies that had them in chase. The ROMAINES seeing this that were alreadie entred into the campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they saw him, they gathered together, and put themselues againe in array before him, and perswaded one another not to forsake their Captaine. So their enemies hereupon stayd their chasing, and would pursue no further that day. But the next morning, *Camillus* leading his armie into the field, gaue them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victorie hard, he entred amongst them that fled into their camp pelmell, or hand ouer head, and slue the most part of them euen there. After this victory, he was aduertised how the THVSCANS had taken the city of SVTRIVM, and had put to the sword all the inhabitants of the same, which were ROMAINE citizens. Whereupon he sent to ROME the greatest part of his armie, and keeping with him the lightest and lustiest men, went and gaue assault vnto the THVSCANS, that now were harbored in the citie of SVTRIVM. Which when he had won again, he slue part of them, and the other saued themselues by flight. After this, he returned to ROME with an exceeding spoile, confirming by experience, the wisedome of the ROMAINES, who did not feare the age nor sickenesse of a good captaine that was expert and valiant, but had chosen him against his will, though he was both old and sicke: and preferred him far before the yonger and lustier that made sute to haue the charge. Newes being brought vnto the Senate, that the THVSCVLANIANS were reuolted, they sent *Camillus* thither again, willing him of fiue other companions to take out one he liked best, euery of the which desired to be chosen, and made their sute vnto him for the same. But he refusing al other, did chuse againe *Lucius Frurius* beyond all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needes would against his will hazard battell, in which he was ouerthrowne. Howbeit *Camillus*, hauing a desire (as I thinke) to hide his fault and shame he had receiued; did of courtesie preferre him before all other. Now the THVSCVLANIANS hearing of *Camillus* comming against them, subtilly sought to colour the fault they had alreadie committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plough, other to keepe the beastes, as if they had bene in best peace: and did set the gates of the citie wide open, sent their children openly to schoole, their artificers wrought their occupation in their shoppes, the men of hauiour and honest citizens walked in the market place in their long gownes, and the officers and gouernours of the citie went vp and

Marcus Manlius Capitolinus put to death

Lucius Frurius gaue battell to the Prænestines and Volsces, and was ouerthrowne.

Camillus woan the field of the Prænestines and Volsces.

Camillus slue the Thuscans at Sutrium.

Camillus sent againe against the Thusculanians.

The craft of the Thusculanians

downe to euery houſe, commanding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMAINES, as if they had ſtood in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit al theſe fine fetches could not make *Camillus* beleeue, but that they had intent to rebell againſt the ROMAINES: yet they made *Camillus* pitie them, ſeeing they repented them of that they had determined to do. So he commaunded them to go to ROME to the Senate, to craue pardon for their fault: and he himſelfe did helpe them, not onely to purge their citie of any intent of rebellion, but alſo to get them the priuiledge and fredome of ROME. And theſe be the chiefeſt acts *Camillus* did in the ſixt time of his Tribuneſhip. After this, one *Licinius Stolo* moued great ſedition in the citie, betweene the common people and the Senate. For he would in any caſe that of the two Conſuls, which were choſen yearely, the one of them ſhould be a commoner, and not that both of them ſhould be of the auncient noble families, called *Patricians*. The Tribunes of the people were choſen, but the election of the Conſuls, the people ſtaid: ſo that the common wealth went to decay, and declined to greater troubles, then euer it did before, for lacke of gouernement. But to ſuppreſſe this, the Senate created *Camillus* the fourth time *Dictator*: but this was ſore againſt his will, becauſe it miſliked the people much. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the people, for that they hauing ſerued him in many warres and battels, might boldly and truly ſay vnto him: that he had done more notable actes by them in the warres, then he had done by the *Patricians* in peace. Yet was he created *Dictator* in deſpite, to rule the people, and of enuie in the noble men towards them. Thus neceſſitie did vrge him, either by force to ſuppreſſe the people, if he were the ſtronger in this diſſention: or elſe that he himſelfe ſhould be ſuppreſſed, if he became the weaker. *Camillus* notwithſtanding, preparing to preuent this miſchiefe, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to preferre the paſſing of their law by voices of the people: he gaue warning by proclamations ſet vpon poſts, that the ſame very day he would muſter the people: and all was but to draw them from the market place into the field of *Mars*, and did ſet great penalties vpon thoſe that ſhould be lacking at the muſters, and would preſume to diſobey. The Tribunes of the people on the contrary part, did withſtand his threats, and ſware they would condemne *Camillus* ſelf in fifty thouſand Drachmas of ſiluer, if he did not let the people alone, but would go about to diſturb them for giuing their voices to ſuch a law as they liked of. *Camillus* perceiuing this, and fearing to be condemned and baniſhed once againe, which would fall out very ill for him, being now an old man, and one that had done ſo many great and notable acts, or els for that he thought himſelfe not ſtrong enough to withſtand the force of the people: he kept his houſe that day, fayning himſelfe to be ſicke, and certaine other dayes following, and in the end he gaue vp his office. Thereupon the Senate choſe in his place another *Dictator*, who named the ſame *Licinius Stolo* Generall of the horſemen, that was the authour and furtherer of all this ſedition: and beſides did ſuffer him to preferre another law, and to paſſe it by voices of the people, that aboue all other lawes, did moſt trouble the *Patricians*. Which law did forbid any citizen of ROME, to haue, or occupie aboue fiue hundred *iugera*, which amount to 330. acres and a halfe, 12. pole, and 121. parts of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* aloft, and of great eſtimation at that time: for that he had in deſpite of the Senate eſtabliſhed this law. Howbeit ſhortly after it was found out, that himſelf had more number of acres then his owne law permitted: by reaſon whereof, he receiued the iuſt puniſhment of his own deuiſed forfeiture. Yet the moſt weightie matter of all this diſſention that began firſt, and moſt of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Conſuls, remained ſtill vndetermined. But while theſe matters were thus in talk, the ROMAINES had certaine intelligence, how the GAVLES were departed once againe from the Adriatick ſea, and were comming with a great power ſtraight vnto ROME: vpon report of which news, the wars folowed immediatly. For the GAVLES deſtroyed the champion countrey as they went: and the poore countrey men that could not recouer ROME, were ſcattered here and there amongſt the mountaines. The feare of this did ſomewhat appeaſe the diſſention. The people then aſſembling with the Senate, and the baſer ſort with the noble, did all with one voice and aſſent chuſe *Camillus Dictator* the fift time. He was now a very old man, lacking litle of foureſcore yeares: but neuerthe leſſe, conſidering the neceſſitie and preſent daunger, without framing any excuſe, or ſtarting as he had before, he vndertooke the charge. Now that he had taken it vpon him, he preſently leauied men, and prepared his armie. And knowing very well how the fierceneſſe of theſe barbarous GAVLES conſiſted in downe right blowes with their ſwordes, with which they would ſtike off heads and ſhoulders of men at a blow, mangling them like butchers, without any art or skill of fight: he

Great ſedition moued in Rome by Licinius Stolo.

Camillus created Dictator the fourth time

Licinius Stolo made a law for enioying of lands.

Stolo the firſt offender of the ſame lawe.

The Gaules come againe to Rome.

Camillus choſen Dictator the fift time.

How Camillus appointed his ſouldiers with armour and weapon to fight with aduantage againſt the Gaules.

caused

caused yron sallets, & morians to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the outside as could be, that their swords lighting on them, should either slide off, or breake. Moreouer, he caused their shields to haue barres made about them of copper, because the wood selfe was not able to abide their blowes. Furthermore, he did teach his souldiers to carie long Iauelins or punchion staues, wherewith they might wound their enemies lifting vp their swords to strike them. Now when the GAVLES were come neare ROME, hauing pitched their campe vpon the riuer of *Anian*, and being full loden and stuffed with all kinds of spoile and booties: then *Camillus* brought his armie also into the field, and went to lodge on a litle hill which was easie to get vpon, where there were many litle caues, so that the most of his armie was all hidden and couered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those high places for an aduantage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increase this opinion more in his enemies, and to make them the bolder, did suffer them to come and spoile euen to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept himselfe quiet in his campe and well fortified: vntill such time as he spied occasion of aduantage, that the best part of their armie were scattered here and there, a forraging all about the fields: and those which remained in their campe, fell to eating and drinking as they vsed carelesly at all houres. Then *Camillus* sent very early before day, his lightest armed men, to vexe and trouble the barbarous people in comming out of their camp, and to let them in any case from putting their men in order of battell: and he at the breake of day came downe into the plaine, and did set his other men being well armed, in good array, which were a great number, and lustie fellowes, and were not as the barbarous people thought, few, and fearefull. This at the very first discouraged the hearts of the GAVLES maruellously, because they thought themselues dishonoured, that the ROMAINES should charge them first. Afterwards also *Camillus* vaunt-guard did set vpon the GAVLES, and that on a sodaine, before they had leisure to put themselues in battell, or to order their troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chance. In the end also, *Camillus* came vpon the neckes of them, with all his whole force and armie together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding vp their naked swordes aloft in their hands. But the ROMAINES thrusting with their armed Iauelins, receiued their enemies blowes vpon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their swords (their blades being very sharpe and thinne ground, and of so soft a temper) that they bowed againe, and stood crooked vnreasonably: and furthermore, hauing pierced their shields through with their punching staues, the GAVLES armes were so clogd and wearied with them, the ROMAINES plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their swordes and shields, and flying in, closed with the ROMAINES and caught hold of their iauelins, thinking by plaine force to haue wrested them out of their hands. Howbeit they perceiuing then the GAVLES were naked, fell straight to their swordes: and so was the slaughter of their first rankes very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the plaine: because *Camillus* had caused all the hilles and mountaines about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither did they retire towards their camp, for that it was vnfortified, and also knew wel inough it would be easily taken. This battell (as they say) was thirteene yeares after their taking of ROME before. But after that field, the ROMAINES courages were good enough against these barbarous GAVLES, whom they stood in feare of before: thinking the first time they came, that they had not ouercome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongst them, or through some other strange chaunce. For they did so feare them at that time, that they made a law, how their priests should be exempted from warres, so it were not against the GAVLES. This ouerthrow was the last marshal act *Camillus* did in the wars. For, the taking of the citie of VELITRES, was an accident depending vpon this iourney: because they yeelded straight vnto him, without striking any stroke. But the seditiousnesse of the people of ROME about gouernement, and the chusing of the yeare Consuls, was the hardest matter he euer had in hand. For they returning home to ROME strong and of great power, by their late obtained victorie: would in any case haue one of the Consuls to be chosen of a commoner, which was directly against their ancient custome. But the Senate stoutly withstood it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by meanes of his authoritie, which was great then, that they should maintaine and continue their auncient dignitie, and prerogatiue of their nobilitie. But as *Camillus* was set in his chaire in the market place, where he heard and dispatched causes, there came a sergeant to him, sent from the Tribunes of the people, who commaunded him to follow him,

Anies fl.

Camillus slue the Gaules againe.

The Romaines how they exempted priestes from the warr.

and therewithall layd violent hands vpon him, as he would haue caried him away by force. This made such a terrible tumult and vprore, that the like was neuer seene before in the market place. For *Camillus* friends draue the sergeant backe behind the chaire. The common people cried out againe to the sergeant from beneath, Pull him out of his chaire. This so amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not well what to say to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne vp his office, but taking those Senators he had about him, he went vnto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept: and there, before he would go into it, he returned backe againe vnto the Capitoll, and made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would please them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vow and promise (if these tumults and troubles might be pacified) that he would build a temple of *Concord*. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and diuersitie of opinions among them: yet in the end, the easiest way did carie it, and that was to graunt the common peoples desire, that a commoner should be chosen Consull with a noble man. The *Dictator* hauing openly published to the people the Senates decree, confirming their desire: the common people were so ioyfull, that at that present they let fall all their malice against the Nobilitie and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his house, with great shouts of ioy, and clapping of hands. The next morning all the people being assembled together in the market place, it was there decreed: that the temple of *Concord* should be built at the common-wealths charge (according to the vow *Camillus* had made) in such a place, as it might be seene from the market place selfe, where all the assemblies for matters of counsell were made. And further, it was ordered that one day more should be added to the feasts of the LATINES: and that from thenceforth they should solemnize foure festiuall dayes, and should presently make generall sacrifices vnto the gods, in euery temple of the citie, to giue them thankes: and in token of ioy they should all weare garlands vpon their heads for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election, there were chosen two Consuls, *Marcus AEmilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextus* of the *Plebeians* or commoners. And this was the last act that euer *Camillus* did. For the next yeare after the plague was in ROME, and tooke away an infinite number of the people that died, besides many Magistrates and Officers of the citie that departed: among whom, *Camillus* also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had liued a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life, and was ripe for death: yet the ROMAINES made more mone and lamentation for his death alone, then for all the rest the plague had already consumed.

Sedition at Rome about choosing of Consuls.

Policie to yeeld to necessitie.

A commoner chosen Consull with a noble man.

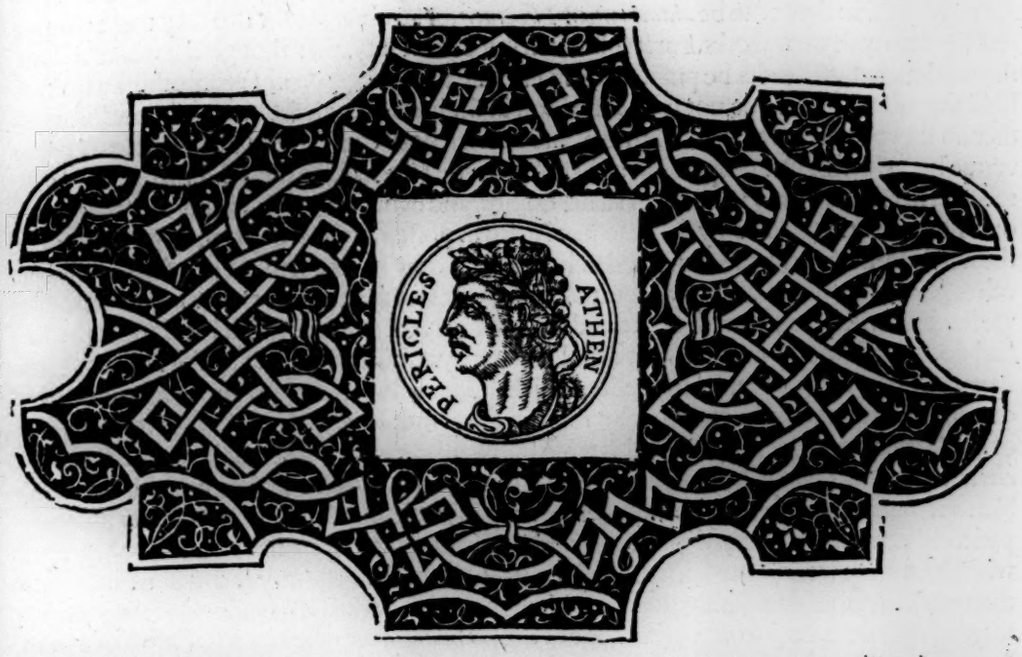
Marcus AEmilius, Lucius Sextus Consuls.

Camillus died of the plague.

The end of Furius Camillus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Pericles.*



CÆSAR seeing in ROME one day certaine rich and wealthy ſtrangers, hauing litle dogs and monkies in their armes, and that they made maruellous much of them, he asked thē if the women in their country had no children: wiſely reprouing them by this queſtion, for that they beſtowed their naturall loue and affection vpon brute beaſts, which they ſhould with all kindneſſe and loue beſtow vpon men. Nature in like caſe alſo, hauing planted in our minds a naturall deſire to learne & vnderſtand, we are in reaſon to reproue thoſe that vainly abuſe this good deſire, fondly diſpoſing it to learne things vaine and vnprofitable: and to caſt behind them in the meane ſeaſon things honeſt and neceſſarie to be learned. For as touching our outward ſenſe, which with paſſion receiueth impreſſion of the thing it ſeeth, peraduenture it will be neceſſarie to conſider indifferently the thing ſeene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtfull vnto him: but ſo fareth it not with our vnderſtanding, for euery man may at his pleaſure turne and diſpoſe that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reaſon whereof we muſt alwaies employ to the beſt part, and that not only to conſider and looke vpon the thing, but alſo to reape the benefite & commodity of the thing we ſee. For like as the eye is moſt delighted with the lighteſt and freſheſt colors: euen ſo we muſt giue our minds vnto thoſe ſights, which by looking vpon them do draw profit and pleaſure vnto vs. For ſuch effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or reade them, they do print in our harts an earneſt loue and deſire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we eſteeme, neither are we alwaies diſpoſed to deſire to do the things we ſee well done: but contrarily oftentimes, when we like the work, we miſlike the workman, as commonly in making theſe perfumes and purple colours. For both the one and the other do pleaſe vs well: but yet we take perfumers and dyers to be men of a meane occupation. Therefore *Antiſthenes* aunſwered one very wiſely, that told him *Iſmenias* was an excellent player of the flute. But yet he is a naughty man, ſaid he: otherwiſe he could not be ſo cūning at the flute as he is. Euen ſo did *Philip* king of MACEDON ſay to his ſonne *Alexander* the great on a time: that at a certaine feaſt had ſung paſſing ſweetly, and like a maiſter of muſicke: Art thou not aſhamed ſon to ſing ſo well? It is enough for a King to beſtow his leiſure ſometime to heare muſitians ſing, and he doth much honor to the Muſes to heare the maſters of the ſcience otherwhile, when one of them ſingeth to excell another. But he that perſonally ſhall beſtow his time, exer-

VVit alwaies to be employed to good things

Antiſthenes ſaying of a flute player.

ciſing any meane ſcience: bringeth his paines he hath taken in matters vnprofitable, a witneſſe againſt himſelfe, to prooue that he hath bene negligent to learne things honeſt and profitable. And there was neuer any yong gentleman nobly borne, that ſeeing the image of *Iupiter* (which is in the city of PISA) deſired to become *Phidias*: nor *Polycletus*, for ſeeing of *Iuno* in the citie of ARGOS: nor that deſired to be *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilocus*, for that they tooke pleaſure ſomtime to reade their works. For it followeth not of neceſſity, that though the worke delight, the workman muſt needes be praiſed. So in like caſe, ſuch things do not profite thoſe which behold them, becauſe they do not moue affection in the harts of the beholders to follow them, neither do ſtir vp affection to reſemble them, and much leſſe to conforme our ſelues vnto them. But vertue hath this ſingular propertie in all her actions: that ſhe maketh the man that knoweth her to affect her ſo, that ſtraight he liketh all her doings, and deſireth to follow thoſe that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we only deſire to haue them in poſſeſſion: but of vertue, we chiefly loue the deeds. Wherfore we are contented to haue goods from other men: but good deeds we wold other ſhould haue from vs. For vertue is of this power, that ſhe alloureth a mans mind preſently to vſe her, that wiſely conſidereth of her, and maketh him very deſirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the only vnderſtanding and knowledge of vertuous deedes, which ſuddenly bringeth vnto him a reſolute deſire to do the like. And this is the reaſon, why me thought I ſhould continue ſtill to write on the liues of noble men, and why I made alſo this tenth booke: in the which are contained the liues of *Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, who maintained wars againſt *Hannibal*. For they were both men very like together in many ſundry vertues, and ſpecially in curteſie and iuſtice: and for that they could patiently beare the follies of their people, and companions that were in charge of gouernement with them, they were maruellous profitable members for their country. But if we haue ſorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you ſhall eaſily iudge that reade our writings of their liues. *Pericles* was of the tribe of the *Acamantides*, of the town of CHOLARGVS, and one of the beſt and moſt ancient families of the city of ATHENS, both by his father and mother. For *Xantippus* his father (who ouercame in battell the lieutenants of the king of PERSIA in the iourny of MYCALA) maried *Agariſte* that came of *Cliſthenes*, he who draue out of ATHENS *Pyſiſtratus* offſpring, and valiantly ouerthrew their tyranny. Afterwards he eſtabliſhed lawes, and ordained a very graue forme of gouernment, to maintaine his citizens in peace and concord together. This *Agariſt* dreamed one night that ſhe was brought to bed of a Lion: and very ſhortly after ſhe was deliuered of *Pericles*, who was ſo well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, ſauing that his head was ſomewhat too long and out of proportion to the reſt of his body. And this is the onely cauſe why all the ſtatues and images of him almoſt, are made with a helmet on his head: becauſe the workmen as it ſhould ſeeme (and ſo it is moſt likely) were willing to hide the blemiſh of his deformitie. But the ATTICAN Poets did call him *Schinocephalos*, as much to ſay as, headed like an onion. For thoſe of ATTICA do ſomtime name that which is called in the vulgar toung *Scilla*, that is to ſay, an onion of *Barbarie*, *Schinos*. And *Cratinus* the Comicall Poet in his comedy he intituled *Chirones*, ſaid:

The power of vertue.

Pericles ſtocke.

Pericles mothers dreame.

Pericles had a long head.

Old Saturne he, and dreadfull dire Debate,
begotten haue, betweene them carnally,
this tyrant here, this heauy iolting pate,
in court of gods ſo tearmed worthely.

And againe alſo in that which he nameth *Nemeſis*, ſpeaking of him, he ſaith:

Come Iupiter, come Iupiter,
Come iolt head, and come inkeeper.

And *Teleclides* mocking him alſo, ſaith in a place:

Sometimes he ſtands amaz'd when he perceiues,
that hard it were ſufficiently to know,
in what eſtate his gouernment he leaues.
And then will he be ſeldome ſeene below,
ſuch heauie heapes within his braines do grow.
But yet ſometimes out of that monſtrous pate,
he thundreth faſt, and threatneth euery ſtate.

And *Eupolis* in a comedy which he intituled *Demi*: being very inquiſitiue, & asking particularly

larly of euery one of the Oratours (whom he fained were returned out of hell) when they named *Pericles* the laſt man vnto him, he ſaid:

Truly thou haſt now brought vnto vs here that dwell,
the chiefe of all the captaines that come from darkſome hell.

And as for muſicke, the moſt authors write, that *Damon* did teach him muſicke, of whoſe name (as men ſay) they ſhould pronounce the firſt ſillable ſhort. Howbeit *Ariſtotle* ſaith, that he was taught muſicke by *Pythoclides*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that this *Damon* was a man of deepe vnderſtanding, and ſubtill in matters of gouernment: for, to hide from the people his ſufficiencie therein, he gaue it out he was a muſitian, and did reſort vnto *Pericles* as a maiſter wreſtler or fencer: but he taught him how he ſhould deale in matters of ſtate. Notwithſtanding, in the end he could not ſo cunningly conuey this matter, but the people ſaw his harping and muſicke, was only a vizer to his other practiſe: wherefore they did baniſh him ATHENS for fiue yeares, as a man that buſily tooke vpon him to change the ſtate of things, and that fauoured tyrannie. And this gaue the Comicall Poets matter to play vpon him finely, among which *Plato* in a comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him: *Pericles ſtudies and teachers.*

O Chiron, tell me firſt: art thou indeed the man,
which did inſtruct Pericles thus? make anſwer if thou can.

He was ſometime alſo ſcholer to the Philoſopher *Zenon*, who was borne in the citie of ELEA, and taught naturall Philoſophie, as *Parmenides* did: but his profeſſion was to thwart and contrarie all men, and to alledge a world of obiections in his diſputation, which were ſo intricate, that his aduerſary replying againſt him, knew not how to anſwer him, nor to conclude his argument. The which *Timon Phliaſius* witneſſeth in theſe words: *Zenon Eleat.*

Zenon was ſubtill ſure, and very eloquent,
and craftily could wind a man by way of argument,
if ſo he were diſpoſed, his cunning to deſcrie,
or ſhew the ſharpneſſe of his wit to practiſe pollicie.

But *Anaxagoras Clazomenian* was he that was moſt familiar and conuerſant with him, and did put in him the maieſty and grauity he ſhewed in all his ſayings, and doings, who did farre excell the common courſe of ordinarie Orators that pleaded before the people: and to be ſhort, he it was that did faſhion his manners, altogether to carie that graue countenance which he did. For they called *Anaxagoras* in his time, *Nus*, as much to ſay, as vnderſtanding. Either becauſe they had his ſingular wit and capacitie in ſuch great admiration, being growne to ſearch out the cauſe of naturall things: or that he was the firſt man, who did aſcribe the diſpoſition and gouernement of this world, not vnto fortune or fatall neceſſitie, but vnto a pure, ſimple, and vnderſtanding mind, which doth ſeparate at the firſt mouing cauſe, the ſubſtance of ſuch like parts as are medled and compounded of diuerſe ſubſtances, in all other bodies through the world. *Pericles* made maruellous much of *Anaxagoras*, who had fully inſtructed him in the knowledge of naturall things, and of thoſe ſpecially that worke aboue in the ayre and firmament. For he grew not only to haue a great mind and an eloquent tongue, without any affectation, or groſſe countrey termes: but to a certaine modeſt countenance that ſcantly ſmiled, very ſober in his gate, hauing a kind of ſound in his voice that he neuer loſt nor altered, and was of very honeſt behauiour, neuer troubled in his talke for any thing that croſſed him, and many other ſuch like things, as all that ſaw them in him, and conſidered them, could but wonder at him. But for proofe hereof, the report goeth, there was a naughtie buſie fellow on a time, that a whole day together did nothing but raile vpon *Pericles* in the market place, and rayle him to his face, with all the villanous words he could vſe. But *Pericles* put all vp quietly, and gaue him not a word againe, diſpatching in the meane time matters of importance he had in hand, vntill night came, that he went ſoftly home to his houſe, ſhewing no alteration nor ſemblance of trouble at all, though this lewd varlet followed him at the heeles, with words of open defamation. And as he was ready to enter in at his owne dores, being darke night, he commanded one of his men to take a torch, and to bring this man home to his houſe. Yet the Poet *Ion* ſaith, that *Pericles* was a very proud man, and a ſtately, and that with his grauitie and noble mind, there was mingled a certaine ſcorne and contempt of other: and contrarily, he greatly praiſeth the ciuilitie, humanitie and courteſie of *Cimon*, becauſe he could faſhion himſelfe to all companies. But letting paſſe that which the Poet *Ion* ſaid: who would that vertue ſhould be full of tragicall diſcipline, bringing in with *Pericles manners and behauiour.* *Pericles patience.*

it, a certaine ſatyricall diſcourſe to moue laughter. Now *Zenon* contrariwiſe did counſell all thoſe that ſaid *Pericles* grauitie was a preſumption, and arrogancie: that they ſhould alſo follow him in his preſumption. For to counterfeit in that ſort things honeſt and vertuous, doth ſecretly with time breed an affection and deſire to loue them, and afterwards with cuſtome euen effectually to vſe and follow them. So *Pericles* by keeping *Anaxagoras* companie, did not onely profite himſelfe in theſe things, but he learned beſides to put away all ſuperſtitious feare, of celeſtiall ſignes and impreſſions ſeene in the ayre. For to thoſe that are ignorant of the cauſes thereof, ſuch ſights are terrible, and to the godly alſo fearefull, as if they were vtterly vndone: and all is, becauſe they haue no certaine knowledge of the reaſon that naturall Philoſophie yeeldeth, which in ſtead of a fearefull ſuperſtition, would bring a true religion accompanied with aſſured hope of goodneſſe. Some ſay a man brought *Pericles* one day from his farme out of the countrey, a Rammes head that had but one horne, and that the Prognoſticator *Lampon* conſidering this head, that had but one ſtrong horne in the middeſt of his forehead, interpreted, that this was the ſignification thereof. That being two tribes and ſeuerall factions in the city of ATHENS touching gouernment, the one of *Pericles*, and the other of *Thucydides*: the power of both ſhould be brought into one, and ſpecially into his part, in whoſe houſe this ſigne did happen. Further, it is ſaid that *Anaxagoras* being preſent, did cauſe the Rammes head to be clouen in two peeces, and ſhewed vnto them that ſtood by, that the braine of this Ramme did not fill the pan of his natural place, but incloſed it ſelfe in all parts, being narrow like the point of an egge, in that part where the horne tooke his firſt roote of budding out. So *Anaxagoras* was maruellouſly eſteemed at that preſent by all thoſe that ſtood by: but ſo was *Lampon*, ſoone after that *Thucydides* was driuen away, and that the gouernment of the whole common weale fell into the hands of *Pericles* alone. And it is not to be wondred at (in my opinion) that the naturall Philoſopher and the Prognoſticator did rightly meete together in troth: the one directly telling the cauſe, and the other the end of the euent as it fell out. For the profeſſion of the one, is to know how it commeth: and of the other, wherefore it commeth, and to foretell what it betokeneth. For where ſome ſay, that to ſhew the cauſe, is to take away the ſignification of the ſigne: they do not conſider that in ſeeking to aboliſh by this reaſon the wonderfull tokens and ſignes in the ayre, they do take away thoſe alſo which are done by art. As the noiſe of baſons, the lights of fire by the ſea ſide, and the ſhadowes of needles or points of dyals in the ſunne: all which things are done by ſome cauſe and handiworke, to be a ſigne and token of ſome thing. But this argument peraduenture may ſerue better in another booke. And now againe to *Pericles*. Whileſt he was yet but a young man the people ſtood in awe of him, becauſe he ſomewhat reſembled *Pyſiſtratus* in his countenance: and the ancienteſt men of the city alſo were much afeard of his ſoft voice, his eloquent tongue, and readie vtterance, becauſe in thoſe he was *Pyſiſtratus* vp and downe. Moreouer he was very rich and wealthie, and of one of the nobleſt families of the citie, and thoſe were his friends alſo that caried the only ſway and authoritie in the ſtate: whereupon, fearing leſt they would baniſh him with the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon*, he would not meddle with gouernment in any caſe, although otherwiſe he ſhewed himſelfe in warres very valiant and forward, and feared not to venter his perſon. But after that *Ariſtides* was dead, that *Themiſtocles* was driuen away, and that *Cimon* being euer in ſeruice in the warres as Generall in forraine countries, was a long time out of GREECE: then he came to leane to the tribe of the poore people, preferring the multitude of the poore communaltie, aboue the ſmall number of Nobilitie and rich men, the which was directly againſt his nature. For of himſelfe he was not popular, nor meanely giuen: but he did it (as it ſhould ſeeme) to auoid ſuſpition, that he ſhould pretend to make himſelfe King. And becauſe he ſaw *Cimon* was inclined alſo to take part with the Nobilitie, and that he was ſingularly beloued and liked of all the honeſter ſort: he to the contrarie enclined to the common people, purchaſing by this meanes ſafetie to himſelfe, and authoritie againſt *Cimon*. So he preſently beganne a new courſe of life, ſince he had taken vpon him to deale in matters of ſtate: for they neuer ſawe him afterwards at any time go into the citie, but to the market place, or to the Senate houſe. He gaue vp going to all feaſtes where he was bidden, and left the entertainement of his friends, their companie and familiaritie. So that in all his time wherein he gouerned the commonweale, which was a long time, he neuer went out to ſupper to any of his friendes, vnleſſe it were that he was once at a feaſt at his nephew *Euryptolemus* mariage: and then he taried there no longer, but while the ceremonie was a doing, when they offer wine to the gods, and ſo he roſe

The benefite of naturall Philoſophie.

What was ſignified by the Rammes head that had but one horne, and was found in Pericles ground.

Pericles liked to Pyſiſtratus.

Pericles firſt beginning to deale in the commõwealth.

Too much familiarity breedeth contempt.

roſe from the table. For theſe friendly meetings at ſuch feaſtes, do much abaſe any counterfeit maieſtie or ſet countenance: and he ſhall haue much ado to keepe grauity and reputation, ſhewing familiaritie to euery knowne friend in ſuch open places. For in perfect vertue, thoſe things truely are euer moſt excellent, which be moſt common: and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable vnto ſtraungers, then their daily conuerſation is to their friends. *Pericles* now to preuent that the people ſhould not be glutted with ſeeing him too oft, nor that they ſhould come much to him: they did ſee him but at ſome times, and then he would not talke in euery matter, neither came much abroad among them, but reſerued himſelfe (as *Critolaus* ſaid they kept the SALAMINIAN galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importance. And in the meane ſeaſon, in other matters of ſmall moment, he dealt by meanes of certaine Orators his familiar friends, amongſt whom *Ephialtes* (as they ſay) was one: he who tooke away the authoritie and power from the court of *Areopagus*, and did giue too much liberty to the people, as *Plato* ſaid. Vpon which occaſion, as the Comicall Poets ſay, he became ſo ſtout and head-ſtrong, that they could no more hold him backe, then a young vnbridled colt: and tooke ſuch a courage vpon him, that he would obey no more, but inuaded the Iſle of EVBOEA, and ſet vpon the other Ilands. *Ephialtes an Orator.*

Pericles alſo becauſe he would faſhion a phraſe of ſpeech, with a kind of ſtile altogether agreable to the manner of life and grauitie he had taken vpon him: he gaue himſelfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagoras*, ſhadowing his reaſons of natural Philoſophie, with artificiall Rhetoricke. For hauing obtained a deepe vnderſtanding by ſtudying of Philoſophie, and a readie way effectually to end any matter he vndertooke to proue, (beſides that nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacitie, as the deuine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to ſerue his purpoſe) he did ſo artificially compaſſe it with eloquence, that he farre paſſed all the Orators in his time. And for this cauſe was he (as they ſay) ſurnamed *Olympius*, as much to ſay, as heauenly or diuine. But ſome are of opinion he had that ſurname, by reaſon of the common buildings and ſtately workes he raiſed vp in the city of ATHENS, that did much ſet forth the ſame. Other thinke it was giuen him for his great authority and power he had in gouernment, as well in wars as in peace. But it is no maruell that this glory was giuen him, conſidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the Comedies the Poets cauſed to be played in thoſe times (in which there were many words ſpoken of him, ſome in earneſt, ſome in ſport and ieaſt) do witneſſe that he had that ſurname giuen him, chiefly for his eloquence. *VVhy Pericles was ſurnamed Olympius.*

For it is reported, that he thundred and lightned in his orations to the people, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an anſwer *Thucydides, Mileſius* ſon, ſhould pleaſantly make concerning the force of *Pericles* eloquence. *Thucydides* was a noble man, and had long time contended againſt *Pericles* in matters of the common-weale. *Archidamus*, king of LACEDÆMON, asked *Thucydides* on a time: whether he or *Pericles* wreſtled beſt. *Thucydides* made him aunſwer: When I haue giuen him an open fall before the face of the world, he can ſo excellently denie it, that he maketh the people beleeue he had no fall at all, and perſwadeth them the contrarie of that they ſawe. Notwithſtanding he was euer very graue and wiſe in ſpeaking. For euer when he went vp into the pulpit for orations to ſpeake to the people, he made his prayers vnto the gods, that nothing might eſcape his mouth, but that he might conſider before, whether it would ſerue the purpoſe of his matter he treated on: yet are there none of his workes extant in writing, vnleſſe it be ſome few lawes he made, and but very few of his notable ſayings are brought to light, ſaue onely theſe. He ſaid on a time, that they muſt take away the citie of ÆGINA, becauſe it was a ſtrawe lying in the eye of the hauen PIRÆA. And another time, he ſaid that he ſawe the warres a farre off, comming from PELOPONNESVS. Another time, as he tooke ſhippe with *Sophocles* (his companion in commiſſion with him as Generall of the armie) who commended a faire young boy they met as they came to the hauen: *Sophocles*, ſaid he, a gouernour muſt not onely haue his hands, but alſo his eyes cleane. And *Steſimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall oration he made in the praiſe of thoſe that were ſlaine in the warre of SAMOS: he ſaid they were immortall as the gods. For we do not ſee the goddes (ſaid he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happineſſe they enioy, we do coniecture they are immortall: and the ſame things are in thoſe that dye in ſeruice, and defence of their countrey. Now where *Thucydides* doth write the gouernement of the Commonweale vnder *Pericles* to be as a gouernment of Nobilitie, and yet had apparance of a popular ſtate: it is true that in effect it was a Kingdome, becauſe one alone did

Thucydides, Pericles aduerſarie.

Pericles ſayings.

Pericles commonwealth.

rule and gouerne the whole ſtate. And many other ſay alſo, he was the firſt that brought in the cuſtome to deuide the enemies landes wonne by conqueſt among the people, and of the common money to make the people ſee playes and paſtimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this cuſtome was ill brought vp. For the common people that before were contented with litle, and got their liuing painefully with ſweat of their browes, became now to be very vaine, ſumptuous, and riotous, by reaſon of theſe things brought vp then. The cauſe of the alteration doth eaſily appeare by thoſe things. For *Pericles* at his firſt comming, ſought to winne the fauour of the people, as we haue ſaid before, onely to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But comming farre ſhort of his wealth and abilitie, to carie out the port and charge that *Cimon* did, entertaining the poore, keeping open houſe to all commers, clothing poore old people, breaking open beſides all incloſures and pales through all his landes, that euery one might with more libertie come in, and take the fruites thereof at their pleaſure: and ſeeing himſelfe by theſe great meanes out-gone farre in goodwill with the common people, by *Demonides* counſell and procurement (who was borne in the Iſle of Ios) he brought in this diſtribution of the common money, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. And hauing wonne in a ſhort time the fauour and goodwill of the common people, by diſtribution of the common treaſure, which he cauſed to be deuided among them, aſwell to haue place to ſee theſe playes, as for that they had reward to be preſent at the iudgements, and by other ſuch like corruptions: he with the peoples helpe, did inueigh againſt the court of the *Areopagites*, whereof he neuer was any member. For it neuer came to be his happe to be yearely gouernour, nor keeper of the lawes, nor King of the ſacrifices, nor maiſter of the warres: all which were offices choſen in auncient time by lot. And further, thoſe on whom the lot fell, if they had behaued themſelues well in their office, they were called forwards, and raiſed to be of the body of this court of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* now by theſe meanes hauing obtained great credite and authoritie amongſt the people, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in ſuch ſort, that he pluckt many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe: and in time made *Cimon* to be baniſhed Athens, as one that fauoured the Lacedæmonians, and contraried the commonwealth and authoritie of the people. Notwithſtanding he was the nobleſt and richeſt perſon of all the citie, and one that had wonne ſo many glorious victories, and had ſo repleniſhed Athens with the conquered ſpoiles of their enemies, as we haue declared in his life: ſo great was the authoritie of *Pericles* amongſt the people. Now the baniſhment wherwith he was puniſhed (which they called *Oſtraciſmon*) was limited by the law for ten yeres. In which ſpace the Lacedæmonians being come downe with a great army into the country of Tanagra, the Athenians ſent out their power preſently againſt them. There *Cimon* willing to ſhew the Athenians by his deeeds, that they had falſly accuſed him for fauouring the Lacedæmonians: did arme himſelfe, and went on his country mens ſide, to fight in the company of his tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to depart thence as a baniſhed man. And this was the cauſe that *Pericles* fought that day more valiantly then euer he did, and he wanne the honour and name to haue done more in the perſon of himſelfe that day, then any other of all the armie. At that battell alſo, all *Cimons* friends, whom *Pericles* had burdened likewiſe to fauour the Lacedæmonians doings, died euery man of them that day. Then the Athenians repented them much that they had driuen *Cimon* away, and wiſhed he were reſtored, after they had loſt this battell vpon the confines of the countrey of Attica: becauſe they feared ſharpe wars would come vpon them againe at the next ſpring. Which thing when *Pericles* perceiued, he ſought alſo to further that the common people deſired: wherefore he ſtraight cauſed a decree to be made, that *Cimon* ſhould be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he aduiſed that peace ſhould be made betweene both cities: for the Lacedæmonians did loue *Cimon* very wel, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other gouernours. Some notwithſtanding do write, that *Pericles* did neuer paſſe his conſent to call him home againe, before ſuch time as they had made a ſecret agreement amongſt themſelues (by meanes of *Elpinice*, *Cimons* ſiſter) that *Cimon* ſhould be ſent out with an army of two hundred galleys, to make warres in the king of Persia his dominions, and that *Pericles* ſhould remaine at home with the authoritie of gouernement within the citie. This *Elpinice*, (*Cimons* ſiſter) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at ſuch time as he was accuſed before the Iudge of treaſon. For *Pericles* was one of the committies, to whom this accuſation was referred by the people. *Elpinice* went vnto him, and beſought him

The good deeds of Cimon.

Pericles large diſtribution diminiſhed the Areopagites authoritie.

Pericles cauſeth Cimon to be baniſhed Athens.

The Oſtraciſmon.

Pericles calleth Cimon from exile.

him not to do his worſt vnto her brother. *Pericles* anſwered her merily: Thou art too old *Elpinice*, thou art too old to go through with theſe matters. Yet when this matter came to iudgement, and that his cauſe was pleaded: he roſe but once to ſpeake againſt him (for his owne diſcharge as it were) and went his way when he had ſaid, doing leſſe hurt to *Cimon* then any other of his accuſers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited now, who accuſeth *Pericles* that he had cauſed the orator *Ephialtes* to be ſlaine by treaſon (that was his friend, and did alwayes counſell him, and take his part in all kind of gouernment of the common weale) only for the iclouſie and enuy he did beare to his glory? I can but muſe why *Idomeneus* ſhould ſpeake ſo ſlanderouſly againſt *Pericles*, vnleſſe it were that his melancholy humour procured ſuch violent ſpeech: who though peraduenture he was not altogether blameleſſe, yet he was euer nobly minded, and had a naturall deſire of honor, in which kind of men ſuch furious cruel paſſions are ſeldom ſeene to breed. But this orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to thoſe that took part with the Nobilitie, becauſe he would ſpare or pardon no man for any offence whatſoeuer committed againſt the peoples authoritie, but did follow and perſecute them with all rigour to the vttermoſt: his enemies laid waite for him by meanes of one *Ariſtodicus* TANAGRIAN, and they killed him by treaſon, as *Ariſtotle* writeth. In the meane *Cimon* died in the Ile of CYPRVS, being generall of the army of the ATHENIANS by ſea. Wherefore thoſe that tooke part with the Nobility, ſeeing *Pericles* was now growne very great, and that he went before all other citizens of ATHENS, thinking it good to haue ſome one to ſticke on their ſide againſt him, and to leſſen thereby ſomewhat his authoritie, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raiſed vp againſt him, one *Thucydides*, of the towne of ALOPECIA, a graue wiſe man, and father in law to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had leſſe skill of warres then *Cimon*, but vnderſtood more in ciuill gouernement then he, for that he remained moſt part of his time within the city: where continually inueighing againſt *Pericles* in his pulpit for oratiõs to the people, in ſhort time he had ſtirred vp a like companie againſt the faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the gentlemen and richer ſort (which they call Nobilitie) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their eſtate and dignitie was obſcured, and troden vnder foot. Moreouer he did ſeparate them from the people, and did aſſemble them all as it were into one body, who came to be of equall power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will ſay) a counterpoiſe into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a litle ſecret grudge onely betweene theſe two factions, as an artificiall flower ſet in the blade of a ſword, which made thoſe ſhew a litle, that did leane vnto the people: and the other alſo ſomewhat that fauoured the Nobilitie. But the contention betweene theſe two perſons, was as a deep cut, which deuided the citie into two factions: of which the one was called the Nobilitie, and the other the communaltie. Therefore *Pericles* giuing yet more libertie vnto the people, did all things that might be to pleaſe them, ordaining continuall plaies and games in the citie, many feaſtes, bankets, and open paſtimes to entertaine the commons with ſuch honeſt pleaſures and deuiſes: and beſides all this, he ſent yerely an armie of threeſcore gallies vnto the warres, into the which he put a great number of poore citizens that tooke pay of the ſtate for nine moneths of the yere, and thereby they did learne together, and practiſe to be good ſea men. Furthermore he ſent into the countrie of CHERRONESVS, a thouſand free men of the citie to dwell there, and to deuide the lands amongſt them: fiue hundred alſo into the Ile of NAXOS: into the Ile of ANDROS, two hundred and fiftie: into THRACIA, a thouſand to dwell with the BISALTES: and other alſo into ITALY, when the citie of SYBARIS was built againe, which afterwards was ſurnamed the city of the THVRIANS. All this he did to rid the citie of a nũber of idle people, who through idleneſſe began to be curious, and to deſire chaunge of things, as alſo to prouide for the neceſſitie of the poore townes-men that had nothing. For, placing the naturall citizens of ATHENS neere vnto their ſubiects and friends, they ſerued as a garriſon to keepe them vnder, and did ſuppreſſe them alſo from attempting any alteration or chaunge. But that which delighteth moſt, and is the greateſt ornament vnto the citie of ATHENS, which maketh ſtrangers moſt to wonder, and which alone doth bring ſufficient teſtimonie, to confirme that which is reported of the auncient power, riches, and great wealth of GREECE, to be true and not falſe: are the ſtately and ſumptuous buildings, which *Pericles* made to be built in the citie of ATHENS. For it is the onely act of all other *Pericles* did, and which made his enemies moſt to ſpite him, and which they moſt accuſed him for, crying out vpon him in all counſels and aſſemblies: that the people of ATHENS were openly defamed, for carying away the ready mony of all

Pericles moderation vnto Cimon.

The murther of Ephialtes.

Thucydides Pericles aduerſarie in the cõmonwealth.

Apolticie care for idle perſons

Sumptuous buildings erected by Pericles.

GRECE, which was left in the Ile of DELOS to be safely kept there. And although they could with good honestie haue excused this fact, saying, that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the end to lay it vp in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safetie: yet was this too ouergreat an iniury offered vnto all the rest of GRECE, and too manifest a token of tyrannie also, to behold before their eyes, how we do employ the money, which they were inforced to gather for the maintenance of the warres against the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and setting forth our city, like a glorious woman, all to be gauded with gold and precious stones, and how we do make images, and build vp temples of wonderfull and infinite charge. *Pericles* replied to the contrary, and declared vnto the ATHENIANS, that they were not bound to make any account of this money vnto their friends and allies, considering that they fought for their safety, and that they kept the barbarous people far from GRECE without troubling them to set out any one man, horse or ship of theirs, the mony onely excepted, which is no more theirs that paid it, thē theirs that receiued it, so they bestow it to that vse they receiued it for. And their city being already well furnished, and prouided of all things necessary for the warres, it was good reason they should employ and bestow the surplus of the treasure in things which in time to come (and being throughly finished) would make their fame eternall. Moreouer he said that whilest they continue building, they should be presently rich, by reason of the diuersitie of works of all sorts, and other things which they should haue need of: and to compasse these things the better, and to set them in hand, all maner of artificers and workmen (that would labor) should be set a worke. So should all the towne-men, and inhabitants of the city, receiue pay and wages of the common treasure: and the citie by this meanes should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintaine it selfe. For such as were strong, and able men of body, and of yeares to cary weapon, had pay and entertainement of the common-wealth, which were sent abroade vnto the warres: and other that were not meete for warres, as craftes-men, and labourers: he would also they should haue part of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupie the common people with great buildings, and deuises of workes of diuerse occupations, which could not be finished of long time: to the end that the citizens remainiug at home, might haue a meane and way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselues, as well as those that went to the wars, & serued on the sea, or els that lay in garrison to keepe any place or fort. For some gained by bringing stuffe: as stones, brasse, iuory, gold, ebany, and cypres. Other got, to work and fashion it: as carpenters, grauers, founders, casters of images, masons, hewers of stone, diers, goldsmiths, ioyners working in iuory, painters, men that set in sundry colours of peeces of stone or wood, & turners. Other gained to bring stuffe, and to furnish them, as merchants, mariners, and shipmaisters, for things they brought them by sea. And by land other got also: as cart-makers, cariers, carters, cord-makers, sadlers, coller-makers, and pyoners to make wayes plaine, and miners, and such like. Furthermore euery science & craft, as a captain hauing souldiers, had also their army of the workmen that serued them, labouring truly for their liuing, who serued as aprentises and iourneymen vnder the workemaisters: so the worke by this meanes did disperse abroad a common gaine to all sorts of people and ages, what occupation or trade soeuer they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnesse and sumptuousnesse, being of excellent workmanship, and for grace and beautie not comparable: because euery workeman in his science did striue what he could to excell others, to make his worke appeare greatest in sight, and to be most workmanly done in shew. But the greatest thing to be wondred at, was their speed and diligence. For where euery man thought those workes were not likely to be finished in many mens liues and ages, and from man to man: they were all done and finished, whilest one onely gouernour continued still in credite and authoritie. And yet they say, that in the same time, as one *Agatarchus* boasted him selfe, that he had quickly painted certaine beasts: *Zeuxis* another painter hearing him, answered: And I contrarily do reioyce, that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly slight and sodaine drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe colours, nor giue perfect beauty to the worke: but length of time, adding to the painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the colours to continue for euer. For this cause therefore the workes *Pericles* made, are more wonderfull: because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and haue continued so long a season. For euery one of those which were finished vp at that time, seemed then to be very auncient touching the beauty thereof: and yet for the grace and continuance of the same,

Diuerse artificers at Athens.

it

it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finiſhed, there is ſuch a certain kind of flouriſhing freſhneſſe in it, which letteth that the iniury of time cannot impaire the ſight therof. As if euery of thoſe foreſaid workes, had ſome liuing ſpirit in it, to make it ſeeme yong and freſh: and a ſoule that liued euer, which kept them in their good continuing ſtate. Now the chiefe ſurueyour general of al theſe works, was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent workmaſters in euery ſcience & occupation. For the temple of *Pallas*, which is called *Parthénon* (as a man would ſay, the temple of the virgine, and is ſurnamed *Hecatompedon*, for that it is a hundred foote euery way) was built by *Ictinus*, and *Callicrates*: and the chappell of *Eleuſin* (where the ſecret ceremonies of the myſteries were made) was firſt founded by *Coræbus*, who raiſed vp the firſt pillars in order, ſtanding beneath on the ground, and did ſet them vp vnto the maiſter chaptrels. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, borne in the towne of XYPETA, turned the arches ouer, and then did ſet the pillars in order alſo which are aboue: and *Xenocles* of the towne of CHOLARGEA, was he that made the lanterne or top of the ſteeple which couereth the ſanctuary: but the long wall which *Socrates* heard *Pericles* himſelfe giue order for the building of it, was done by *Callicrates*, who vndertooke the worke. *Cratinus* the Poet, in a comedie he made, laugheth at this worke, to ſee how ſlowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, ſaying:

Pericles long a go, did end this worke begunne;
and build it high, with glorious words: if ſo it had bene done.
But as for deedes (in deede) he built nothing at all,
but let it ſtand: as yet it ſtands, much liker for to fall.

And as for the Theater or place appointed for muſicke, where they heare all muſitions play, and is called *Odeon*: it is very well made within with diuers ſeates and degrees, and many ranges of pillars, but the top of the roofe is altogether round, which is ſomewhat hanging downeward round about of it ſelfe, comming together into one point. And it is ſaid that this was made after the patterne and faſhion of King *Xerxes* royall pauilion, and that *Pericles* was the firſt deuiſer and maker of it. Wherefore *Cratinus* in another place of his comedie he maketh of the THRACIANS, doth play very pretily vpon him, ſaying: *The Odeon.*

Pericles here doth come, Dan Iupiter ſurnamed;
(and onions head) which hath in his great noddle finely framed
The plot of Odeon, when he deliuered was
from baniſhment, and dangers deepe, wherein he long did paſſe.

Pericles was the firſt that made maruellous earneſt labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the feaſt called *Panathenaa*, they would ſet vp games for muſicke. And he himſelfe being choſen ruler of theſe games, as iudge to reward the beſt deſeruer: ordained the manner the muſitions ſhould euer after keepe in their ſinging, playing on their flutes, or vpon the citherne, or other inſtruments of muſicke. So the firſt games that euer were for muſick, were kept within the *Odeon*: and ſo were the other after them alſo, euer celebrated there. The gate and entring into the caſtle was made and finiſhed within the ſpace of fiue yeares, vnder the charge of *Meneſicles*, that was maiſter of the workes. And whileſt theſe gates were a building, there happened a wonderfull chance, which declared very well that the goddeſſe *Minerua* did not miſlike the building, but that it pleaſed her maruellouſly. For one of the moſt painefulleſt workemen that wrought there, fell by miſchance from the height of the caſtle to the ground, which fal did ſo ſore bruſe him, and he was ſo ſick withal, that the phiſitions and ſurgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very ſory for his miſchance, the goddeſſe appeared to him in his ſleep in the night, & taught him a medicine, with the which he did eaſily heale the poore bruſed man, and that in ſhort time. And this was the occaſion why he cauſed the image of the goddeſſe *Minerua* (otherwiſe called of health) to be caſt in braſſe, and ſet vp within the temple of the caſtle, neare vnto the altar which was there before, as they ſay. But the golden image of *Minerua* was made by *Phidias*, and grauen round about the baſe: who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reaſon of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commanded all the other workmen. And this made the one to be greatly enuied, and the other to be very ill ſpoken of. For their enemies gaue it out abroade, that *Phidias* receiued the gentlewomen of the citie into his houſe, vnder colour to go ſee his workes, and did conuey them to *Pericles*. Vpon this brute, the Comicall poets taking occaſion, did caſt out many ſlaunderous ſpeeches againſt *Pericles*, accuſing him that he kept one *Menippus* wife, who was his friend and lieutenant in the warres: *Pericles erected games for muſicke.* *The Poets raiſe vp ſlaunders againſt Pericles.*

and burdened him further, that *Pyrilampes*, one of his familiar friends also, brought vp foule, and specially peacockes, which he secretly sent vnto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we must not wonder at those Satyres, that make profession to speake slaunderously against all the world, as it were to sacrifice the iniuries and wrongs they cast vpon honorable & good men, to the spite and enuy of the people, as vnto wicked spirits: considering that *Stesimbrotus* THASIAN durst falsly accuse *Pericles* of detestable incest, and of abusing his owne sons wife. And this is the reason, in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of auncient things, by the monuments of historiographers: considering long processe of time, doth vtterly obscure the truth of matters, done in former times. For euery written historie speaking of men that are aliue, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention: sometime for hate and enuy, sometime for fauour or flatterie, doth disguise and corrupt the truth. But *Pericles* perceiuing that the orators of *Thucydides* faction, in their common orations did stil crie out vpon him, that he did vainely waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed vpon the workes, all the whole reuenue of the citie: one day when the people were assembled together, before them all he asked them, if they thought that the cost bestowed were too much. The people answered him: a great deale too much. Well, said he then, the charges shall be mine (if you thinke good) and none of yours: prouided that no mans name be written vpon the workes, but mine onely. When *Pericles* had said so, the people cried out aloud, they would none of that (either because that they wondred at the greatnesse of his mind, or else for that they would not giue him the only honour and praise to haue done so sumptuous and stately works) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any cost. But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, and putting it to an aduenture which of them should banish other, with the banishment of *Ostracismon*: *Pericles* got the vpper hand, and banished *Thucydides* out of the citie, and therewithal also ouerthrew the contrarie faction against him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the citie againe to vnitie and concord, he found then the whole power of ATHENS in his hands, and all the ATHENIANS matters at his disposing. And hauing all the treasure, armour, galleys, the Iles, and the sea, and a maruellous seigniorie and kingdome (that did enlarge it selfe partly ouer the GRECIANS, and partly ouer the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of nations subiect vnto them, with the friendship of Kings, and with the alliance of diuers other Princes and mightie Lords: then from that time forward he beganne to change his manners towards the people, and not so easily to giue place and frame himselfe to the peoples wils and desires, no more then as it were to contrary winds. Furthermore he altered his ouer gentle and popular manner of gouernement which he vsed vntill that time, as too delicate and too effeminate an harmony of musicke, and did conuert it vnto an imperious gouernement, or rather to a kingly authoritie: but yet held still a direct course, and kept himselfe euer vpright without fault, as one that did, said, and counselled that, which was most expedient for the common-weale. He many times brought on the people by perswasions and reasons, to be willing to gaunt that he preferred vnto them: but many times also, he draue them to it by force, and made them against their wils do that, which was best for them. Folowing therein the deuise of a wise phisition: who in a long and changeable disease, doth graunt his pacient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sort: and another time also, he doth giue him a sharpe or bitter medicine that doth vexe him, though it heale him. For (as it falleth out commonly vnto people that enioy so great an empire) many times misfortunes did chance, that filled the full of sundry passiõs, the which *Pericles* alone could finely steere and gouerne with two principall rudders, feare, and hope: brideling with the one, the fierce and insolent rashnesse of the common people in prosperitie, and with the other comforting their griefe and discouragement in aduersitie. Wherein he manifestly proued, that Rhetoricke and Eloquence (as *Plato* saith) is an art which quickneth mens spirits at her pleasure, & her chiefest skill is, to know how to moue passions and affections throughly, which are as stops and sounds of the soule, that would be plaid vpon with a fine fingred hand of a cunning maister. All which, not the force of eloquence only brought to passe, as *Thucydides* witnesseth: but the reputation of his life, and the opinion & confidence they had of his great worthinesse, because he would not any way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any couetousnes in him. For, when he had brought his citie not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authoritie exceeded many Kings and tyrants, yea euen those which by their willes and testaments might haue

The noble saying of Pericles.

Thucydides banished by Pericles.

Pericles power.

Pericles somewhat altereth the common-vsuale.

The force of eloquence.

Pericles commended for his good life and worthinesse.

haue left great poſſeſſions to their children: he neuer for all that increaſed his fathers goods & patrimony left him, the value of a grote in ſiluer. And yet the hiſtoriographer *Thucycidides* doth ſet forth plainely inough, the greatneſſe of his power. And the Comicall poets alſo of that time do report it maliciouſly vnder couert words, calling his familiar friends, the new *Pyſiſtratides*, ſaying, how they muſt make him ſweare and proteſt he would neuer be King: giuing vs thereby to vnderſtand, that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular gouernement. And *Telecli-des* (amongſt other) ſaith, that the ATHENIANS had put into his hands the reuenue of the townes and cities vnder their obedience, and the towns themſelues, to bind the one, and looſe the other, and to pull downe their wals, or to build them againe at his pleaſure. They gaue him power, to make peace and alliance: they gaue all their force, treaſure, and authority, and all their goods wholy into his hands. But this was not for a litle while, nor in a geere of fauour, that ſhould continue for a time: but this held out forty yeares together, he being alwayes the chiefe of his city amongſt the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Mironides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, and the *Thucydides*. For after he had preuailed againſt *Thucydides*, and had baniſhed him, he yet remained chiefe áboue all other, the ſpace of fifteene yeares. Thus hauing attained a regall dignity to commaund all, which continued as aforeſaid, where no other captaines authority endured but one yeare: he euer kept himſelfe vpright from bribes and mony, though otherwiſe he was no ill husband, and could warily looke to his owne. As for his lands and goods left him by his parents, that they miſcaried not by negligence, nor that they ſhould trouble him much, in buſying himſelf to reduce them to a value: he did ſo husband them, as he thought was his beſt and eaſieſt way. For he ſold in groſſe euer the whole yeares profit and cõmodity of his lands, and afterwads ſent to the market daily to buy the cates, and other ordinarie prouiſion of houſhold. This did not like his ſonnes that were men growne, neither were his women contented with it, who would haue had him more liberall in his houſe: for they complained of his ouerhard and ſtraight ordinary, becauſe in ſo noble and great a houſe as his, there was neuer any great remaine left of meate, but all things receiued into the houſe, ranne vnder accompt, and were deliuered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his, was kept vpright in this good order, by one *Euangelus*, ſteward of his houſe, a man very honeſt and skilful in all his houſhold prouiſion: and whether *Pericles* had brought him vp to it, or that he had it by nature, it was not knowne. But theſe things were farre contrary to *Anaxagoras* wiſedome. For he deſpiſing the world, and caſting his affection on heauenly things: did willingly forſake his houſe, and ſuffered all his land to run to layes and to paſture. But (in my opinion) great is the diuerſitie betwixt a contemplatiue life, and a ciuill life. For the one employeth all his time vpon the ſpeculation of good and honeſt things: and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no need of any exteriour help or inſtrument. The other applying all his time vpon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men: he thinketh that he needeth riches, as an inſtrument not onely neceſſary but alſo honeſt. As, looke vpon the example of *Pericles*: who did relieue many poore people. And *Anaxagoras* ſpecially among other: of whom it is reported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of ſtate at that time, hauing no leiſure to thinke vpon *Anaxagoras*, he ſeeing himſelfe old and forſaken of the world, laid him downe, and couered his head cloſe, determining to ſtarue himſelf to death with hunger. *Pericles* vnderſtanding this, ran preſently to him as a man halfe caſt away, and prayed him as earneſtly as he could, that he would diſpoſe him ſelfe to liue, being not onely ſory for him, but for himſelfe alſo, that he ſhould looſe ſo faithfull and wiſe a counſeller, in matters of ſtate and gouernement. Then *Anaxagoras* ſhewed his face, and told him: O *Pericles*, thoſe that will ſee by the light of a lampe, muſt put oyle to it, to make the light burne. Now began the LACEDÆMONIANS to grow iealous of the greatneſſe of the ATHENIANS, wherefore *Pericles* to make the ATHENIANS hearts greater, and ſo draw their minds to great enterpriſes: ſet downe an order they ſhould ſend ambaſſadours to perſwade al the GRECIANS (in what part ſoeuer they dwelt in EVROPE, or ASIA, as well the litle as the great cities) to ſend their deputies vnto ATHENS, to the generall aſſembly that ſhould be holden there to take order for the temples of the gods which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching the ſacrifices they had vowed for the preſeruation of GREECE, when they gaue battel vpon them: and touching ſea matters alſo, that euery man might ſaile in ſafety where he would, and that all might liue together in good peace and loue one with another. To performe this commiſſion, twenty perſons were ſent of this ambaſiate, euery one of them being fifty yeares of age and vpward. Wherof fiue of them went to the DORIANS, dwelling in ASIA, and to the inhabitants of

Pericles free from giftes taking.

Pericles good husbandrie.

Anaxagoras a mathematicia.

Great diuerſity betwixt contemplatiue and ciuill life.

Anaxagoras determined to famiſh himſelf to death.

Anaxagoras ſaying to Pericles.

Pericles appointeth a generall counſell to be holden at Athens.

the Iles, euē vnto the Iles of LESBOS, & of the RHODES. Fiue other went through al the country of HELLESPONT, & of THRACIA, vnto the city of BIZANTIVM. Other fiue were commanded to go into BOEOTIA, into PHOCIDES, and through all PELOPONNESVS, & from thence by the country of the LOCRIANS, into the vpland country ioyning to it, vntil they came into the country of ACARNANIA, and of AMBRACIA. And the other fiue went first into the Ile of EVBOEA, and from thence vnto the OETÆIANS, and through all the gulfe of MALEA, vnto the PHTIOTES, vnto the ACHAIANS, and the THESSALIANS: declaring to all the people where they came, the ATHENIANS commission, perswading them to send vnto ATHENS, and to be present at the counsell which should be holden there, for the pacification and vnion of all GREECE. But when all came to all, nothing was done, and the said cities of GREECE did not assemble, by practise of the LACEDÆMONIANS (as it is reported) who were altogether the let: for the first refusall that was made of their summons, was at PELOPONNESVS. This haue I written to make *Pericles* noble courage to be knowne, and how profound a wise man he shewed himselfe vnto the world. Furthermore, when he was chosen General in the warres, he was much esteemed, because he euer tooke great regard to the safety of his souldiers. For by his good will he would neuer hazard battell, which he saw might fall out doubtfull, or in any thing daungerous: and moreouer, he neuer praised them for good generals, neither would he follow them that had obtained great victories by hazard, howsoeuer other did esteeme or commend them. For he was wont to say, that if none but himselfe did leade them to the shambles, as much as lay in him, they should be immortall. And when he saw *Tolmides*, the sonne of *Tolmæus* (trusting to his former victories, and the praise and commendation of his good seruice) did prepare vpon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the countrey of BOEOTIA, and had procured also a thousand of the lustiest and most valiant men of the citie, to be contented to go with him in that iourney, ouer and aboue the rest of the army he had leauied: he went about to turne him from his purpose, and to keepe him at home, by many perswasions he vsed to him before the peoples face, and spake certaine words at that time, that were remembred long after, and these they were: That if he would not beleeue *Pericles* counsell, yet that he would tary time at the least, which is the wisest counseller of men. These words were pretily liked at that present time. But within few dayes after, when news was brought that *Tolmides* self was slaine in a battel he had lost, neare vnto the citie of CORONEA, wherein perished also, many other honest and valiant men of ATHENS: his wordes spoken before, did then greatly increase *Pericles* reputation and good wil with the common people, because he was taken for a wise man, and one that loued his citizens. But of all his iourneys he made, being Generall ouer the army of the ATHENIANS, the iourney of CHERRONESVS was best thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefite and preseruation of all the GRECIANS inhabiting in that countrey. For besides that he brought thither a thousand citizens of ATHENS to dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the cities with so many good men) he did fortifie the barre also, which did let it from being of an Ile, with a fortification he drew from one sea to another: so that he defended the country against all the inuasions and piracies of the THRACIANS inhabiting thereabouts, aud deliuered it of extreame warre, with the which it was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them, who only liued vpon piracie & robbing on the seas. So was he likewise much honored and esteemed of strangers, when he did enuiron all PELOPONNESVS, departing out of the hauen of PEGES, on the coast of MEGARA, with a fleet of a hundred gallies. For he did not only spoile the townes all alongst the sea side, as *Tolmides* had done before him: but going vp further into the maine land, farre from the sea, with his souldiers he had in the gallies, he draue some of them to retire within their walles, he made them so afraid of him: and in the country of NEMEA, he ouercame the SICYONIANS in battell, that taried him in the field, & did erect a pillar for a notable mark of his victorie. And imbarking in his ships a new supply of souldiers which he took vp in ACHAIA, being friends with the ATHENIANS at that time, he passed ouer to the firme land that lay directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the riuer of *Achelous*, he inuaded the countrey of ACHARNANIA, where he shut vp the OENEADES within their walles. And after he had laid waste and destroyed all the champion countrey, he returned home againe to ATHENS: hauing shewed himselfe in this iourney, a dreadfull captaine to his enemies, and very carefull for the safetie of his souldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this iourney (by chaunce or otherwise) vnto the souldiers vnder his charge. And afterwardes, going with a great

Pericles loued the safety of his owen inwarres.

Time, the best counseller.

Tolmides slaine in the field.

Pericles iourneys.

Achelous fl.

great nauy maruellous well appointed vnto the Realme of PONTVS, he did there gently vse and intreat the cities of GREECE, and granted them all that they required of him: making the barbarous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the great force and power of the ATHENIANS, who sailed without feare all about where they thought good, keeping all the coasts of the sea vnder their obedience. Furthermore, he left with the SINOPIANS thirteene galleys, with certaine number of soldiers vnder captaine *Lamachus*, to defend them against the tyrant *Timesileus*: who being expulsed and driuen away with those of his faction, *Pericles* caused proclamation to be made at ATHENS, that sixe hundred free men of the citie, that had any desire to go, without compulsion, might go dwell at SINOPA, where they should haue deuided among them the goods and lands of the tyrant and his followers. But he did not follow the fooliſh vaine humors of his citizens, nor would not yeeld to their vnsatiable couetousnesse, who being set on a iolitie to see themselues so strong, and of such a power, and besides, to haue good lucke, would needs once againe attempt to conquer ÆGYPT, and to reuolt all the countries vpon the sea coasts, from the empire of the king of PERSIA: for there were many of them whose minds were maruellously bent to attempt the vnfortunate enterprise of entring SICILIA, which *Alcibiades* afterwards did much pricke forward. And some of them dreamed besides, of the conquest of THVSCAN, and the empire of CARTHAGE. But this was not altogether without some likelihood, nor without occasion of hope, considering the large bounds of their Kingdome, and the fortunat estate of their affaires, which fell out according to their own desire. But *Pericles* did hinder this going out, and cut of altogether their curious desire, employing the most part of their power and force, to keepe that they had already gotten: iudging it no small matter to keepe downe the LACEDÆMONIANS from growing greater. For he was alwaies an enemie to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he shewed himselfe in many things, but specially in the war he made, called the holy warre. For the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing put the PHOCIANS from the charge of the temple of *Apollo*, in the city of DELPHES, which they had vsurped, and hauing restored the DELPHIANS again vnto the same: so soone as they were gone thence, *Pericles* went also with another army, and restored the PHOCIANS in againe. And whereas the LACEDÆMONIANS had caused to be grauen in the forehead of a Wolfe of brasse, the priuiledge the DELPHIANS had granted them, to be the first that should make their demands of the oracle: he hauing attained the like priuiledge of the PHOCIANS, made his image also to be grauen on the right side of the same image, of the brasen Wolfe. Now how wisely *Pericles* did gouerne GREECE by the power of the ATHENIANS, his deeds do plainly shew. For first of all, the countrey of EVBOEA did rebell, against whom he brought the army of the ATHENIANS. And suddenly in the necke of that, came newes from another coast, that the MEGARIANS also were in armes against them: and how they were already entred into the country of ATTICA with a great army, led by *Pliſtonax* King of LACEDÆMON. This occasion drew him homeward againe, and so he marched backe with speed into his country, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entred into the territories of ATTICA. He durst not offer them battell, being so great a number of valiant soldiers: but hearing that king *Pliſtonax* was yet but a yong man, and was ruled altogether by *Cleandrides* counsell and direction (whom the *Ephores* had placed about him to counsell and direct him) he sought priuily to corrupt *Cleandrides*. When he had won him soone with his money, he perswaded him to draw backe the PELOPONNESIANS out of their countrey of ATTICA: and so he did. But when the LACEDÆMONIANS saw their army cassed, and that the people were gone their way, euery man to his owne city or towne, they were so mad at it, that the king was condemned in a great sum. The king being vnable to answer his fine, which was so extreme great, he was driuen to absent himselfe from LACEDÆMON. *Cleandrides* on the other side, if he had not fled in time, euen for spite had bene condemned to death. This *Cleandrides* was *Gylippus* father, that afterwards ouercame the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, in whom it seemed nature bred couetousnes, as a disease inheritable by succession from the father to the son. For he being shamefully conuicted also, for certaine vile parts he had plaid, was likewise banished from SPARTA: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lyſander*. And *Pericles* deliuering vp the account of his charge, and setting downe an article of the expence of tenne talents he had employed, or should employ in needfull causes: the people allowed them him, neuer asking question how, nor which way, nor whether it was true that they were bestowed. Now there are certaine writers (amongst whom the Philosopher *Theophraſtus* is one) who write that *Pericles* sent

Pericles wold not follow the couetousnesse of the people.

The enterprise of Sicilia.

Pericles an enemy to the Lacedæmonians

Pliſtonax king of Lacedæmon.

Cleandrides corrupted by Pericles.

Gylippus ouercame the Athenians at Syracusa in Sicily.
Gylippus robbed part of the treasure Lysander sent him withall to Sparta.

Pericles vvise pollicie in forraine entertainment.

yearely vnto SPARTA ten talents, with the which he entertained those that were in authoritie there, because they should make no wars with them: not to buy peace of them, but time, that he might in the meane season, with better commodity, and that leysure, prouide to maintaine the wars. After that, as the army of the PELOPONNESIANS were out of the country of ATTICA, he returned against the rebels, and passed into the Ile of EVBOEA with fifty saile, and fiue thousand footmen well armed: and there he ouercame all the cities that had taken armes against him, and draue away the *Hyppobotes*, who were the most famous men of all the CHALCIDIANS, as well for their riches, as for their valiantnes. He draue away also all the HESTIÆIANS, whom he chased cleane out of all the country, and placed in their city, onely the citizens of ATHENS. And the cause why he dealt so rigorously with them was, because they hauing taken a galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in her. And peace being concluded afterwards betweene the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS for thirty yeares: he proclaimed open wars against those of the Isle of SAMOS, burdening them, that they being commaunded by the ATHENIANS, to pacifie the quarrels which they had against the MILESIANS, they would not obey. But because some hold opinion, that he tooke vpon him this warre against SAMOS, for the loue of *Aspasia*: it shall be no great digression of our story, to tell you by the way, what manner of woman she was, and what a maruellous gift and power she had, that she could entangle with her loue the chiefest rulers and gouernors at that time of the commonweale, and that the Philosophers themselues did so largely speake and write of her. First of all, it is certaine that she was borne in the city of MILETVM, and was the daughter of one *Axiochus*: she following the steps and example of an old curtisan of IONIA, called *Thargelia*, gaue her selfe only to entertaine the greatest persons and chiefest rulers in her time. For this *Thargelia* being passing faire, and carying a comely grace with her, hauing a sharpe wit and pleasant tong, she had the acquaintance and friendship of the greatest persons of all GREECE, and wanne all those that did haunt her company, to be at the king of *Persiaes* commaundement. So that she sowed through all the cities of GREECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MEDES: for they were the greatest men of power and authoritie of euery city that were acquainted with her. But as for *Aspasia*, some say that *Pericles* resorted vnto her, because she was a wise woman, and had great vnderstanding in matters of state and gouernement. For *Socrates* himselfe went to see her sometimes with his friends: and those that vsed her company also, brought their wiues many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine were, to entertaine such as would warme them by her fire. *Æschines* writeth, that *Lysicles* a grasier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbish nature, came to be the chiefe man of ATHENS, by frequenting the company of *Aspasia*, after the death of *Pericles*. And to *Platoes* booke intituled *Menexenus*, although the beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in that, this story is written truely: that this *Aspasia* was repaired vnto by diuers of the ATHENIANS, to learn the art of rhetorick of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely that the affection *Pericles* did beare her, grew rather of loue, then of any other cause. For he was maried vnto a kinswoman of his owne, and that before was *Hipponicus* wife, by whom she had *Callias*, surnamed the rich: and had afterwards by *Pericles*, *Xantippus* and *Paralus*. But not liking her company, he gaue her with her owne goodwill and consent vnto another, and maried *Aspasia* whom he dearely loued. For euer when he went abroad, and came home againe, he saluted her with a kisse. Whereupon in the auncient Comedies, she is called in many places, the new *Omphale*, and somtimes *Deianira*, and sometimes *Iuno*. But *Cratinus* plainly calleth her whore in these verses:

Pericles maketh vvarre vvith the Samians.

Aspasia a passing vvise vvoman.

The description of Aspasia. Thargelia.

Callias the rich

Pericles maried Aspasia the famous curtisan.

His Iuno she him brought, Aspasia by name,
which was indeed an open whore, and past all kind of shame.

And it seemeth that he had a bastard: for *Eupolis* in a comedie of his called *Demosij*, bringeth him in, asking *Pironides* thus:

I pray thee is my bastard sonne yet aliue?

And then *Pironides* answered him:

A perfect man long since, he surely had bene found,
if that this lewd and naughty whore, his vertue had not drownd.

To conclude, this *Aspasia* was so famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought against king *Artaxerxes* his brother, for the empire of PERSIA) called *Aspasia* his best beloued of all his concubines, which before was called *Milito*, and was borne in PHOCIDES, being *Hermotimus* daughter. And

Cyrus

Cyrus being ſlaine in the field, *Aſpaſia* was caried to the King his brother, with whom afterwards ſhe was in great fauor. As I was writing this life, this ſtory came in my mind: and me thought I ſhould haue dealt hardly, if I ſhould haue left it vnwritten. But to our matter againe. *Pericles* was charged that he made warres againſt the SAMIANS, on the behalfe of the MILESIANS, at the requeſt of *Aſpaſia*; for theſe two cities were at wars together, for the citie of PRIENA, but the SAMIANS were the ſtronger. Now the ATHENIANS commanded them to lay aſide their armes, and to come & plead their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refuſed it vtterly. Wherfore *Pericles* went thither and tooke away the gouernment of the ſmall number of Nobility, taking for hoſtages, fiftie of the chiefeſt men of the citie, and ſo many children beſides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of LEMNOS. Some ſay euery one of theſe hoſtages offered to giue him a talent: and beſides thoſe, many other offered him the like, ſuch as wold not haue the ſoueraigne authority put into the hands of the people. Moreouer *Piſſuthnes* the PERSIAN, lieutenant to the king of PERSIA, for the goodwill he bare thoſe of SAMOS, did ſend *Pericles* ten thouſand crownes to releaſe the hoſtages. But *Pericles* neuer tooke penny: and hauing done that he determined at SAMOS, and eſtabliſhed a popular gouernment, he returned againe to ATHENS. Notwithſtanding, the SAMIANS rebelled immediatly after, hauing recouered their hoſtages againe by meanes of this *Piſſuthnes* that ſtale them away, and did furniſh them alſo with all their munition of warre. Wherupon *Pericles* returning againſt them once more, he found them not idle, nor amazed at his comming, but reſolutely determined to receiue him, and to fight for the ſeignorie by ſea. So there was a great battell fought betweene them, neare the Ile of TRACIA. And *Pericles* wan the battell: hauing with 44. ſaile onely nobly ouercome his enemies, which were three ſcore and ten in number, wherof twenty of them were ſhips of war. And ſo following his victory forthwith, he wan alſo the port of SAMOS, and kept the SAMIANS beſieged within their owne citie: where they were yet ſo bold, as they wold make ſallies out many times, and fight before the wals of the citie. But when there arriued a new ſupply of ſhips bringing a greater aide vnto *Pericles*: then were they ſhut vp of all ſides. *Pericles* then taking three-ſcore galleys with him, lanched out into the ſea, with intent (as ſome ſay) to go meete certaine ſhips of the PHOENICIANS (that came to aide the SAMIANS) as far from SAMOS as he could: or as *Steſimbrotus* ſaith, to go into CYPRVS, which me thinketh is not true. But whatſoeuer was his intent, he committed a foule fault. For *Meliſſus* (the ſon of *Ithagenes*, a great Philoſopher) being at that time generall of the SAMIANS, perceiuing that few ſhips were left behind at the ſiege of the city, and that the captaines alſo that had the charge of them were no very expert men of war, perſwaded his citizens to make a ſallie vpon them. Wherupon they fought a battel, and the SAMIANS ouercame: the ATHENIANS were taken priſoners, and they ſunke many of their ſhips. Now they being lords againe of the ſea, did furniſh their city with all maner of munition for wars, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Ariſtotle* writeth, that *Pericles* ſelfe was once ouercome in a battell at ſea by *Meliſſus*. Furthermore the SAMIANS, to be euen with the ATHENIANS for the iniury they had receiued of them before: did brand them in the forehead with the ſtampe of an owle, the owle being then the ſtampe of their coine at ATHENS, euen as the ATHENIANS had branded the SAMIAN priſoners before with the ſtampe of *Samæna*. This *Samena* is a kind of ſhip amongſt the SAMIANS, low afore, and well laid out in the mid-ſhip, ſo that it is excellent good to riſe with the waues of the ſea, and is very ſwift vnder ſaile: and it was ſo called, becauſe the firſt ſhip that was made of this faſhion, was made in the Iſle of SAMOS, by the tyrant *Polycrates*. It is ſaid that the Poet *Ariſtophanes*, couertly conueying the ſtampe of the SAMIANS, ſpeaking merily in a place of his Comedies, ſaith:

Piſſuthnes the Perſian.

A good proofe that Pericles was not couetous.

Pericles victorie againſt the Samians.

Meliſſus a Philoſopher, generall of the Samians.

The owle, the ſtampe of the coyne of Athens.

Samæna a kind of ſhippe.

The Samians are great learned men.

Pericles being aduertiſed of the ouerthrow of his armie, returned preſently to the reſcue. *Meliſſus* went to meet him, and gaue him battell: but he was ouerthrowne, and driuen back into his city, where *Pericles* walled them in round about the citie, deſiring victorie rather by time and charge, then by danger, and loſſe of his ſouldiers. But when he ſaw that they were wearie with tract of time, and that they would bring it to hazard of battell, and that he could by no meanes withhold them: he then deuided his armie into eight companies, whom he made to draw lots, and that company that lighted vpon the white beane, they ſhould be quiet and make good cheare, while the other ſeuen fought. And they ſay that from thence it came, that when any haue made good cheare, and taken pleaſure abroad, they do yet cal it a white day, becauſe of the white

The vvittie ſaying of Ariſtophanes of the Samians.

beane. *Ephorus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that it was there, where firſt of all they began to vſe engines of warre to plucke downe great wals, and that *Pericles* vſed firſt this wonderfull inuention: and that *Artemon* an enginer was the firſt deuiſer of them. He was caried vp and downe in a chaire, to ſet forward theſe workes, becauſe he had a lame legge: and for this cauſe he was called *Periphoretos*. But *Heraclides Ponticus* confuteth *Ephorus* therein, by the verſes of *Anacreon*, in the which *Artemon* is called *Periphoretos*, many yeares before this warre of SAMOS began: and ſaith this *Periphoretos* was a maruellous tender man, and ſo fooliſhly afeard of his owne ſhadow, that the moſt part of his time he ſtirred not out of his houſe, and did ſit alwaies hauing two of his men by him, that held a copper target ouer his head, for feare leſt any thing ſhould fall vpon him. And if vpon any occaſion he were driuen to go abroad out of his houſe: he would be caried in a litle bed hanging neare the ground, and for this cauſe he was ſurnamed *Periphoretos*. At the laſt, at nine moneths end, the SAMIANS were compelled to yeeld. So *Pericles* tooke the city & raſed their wals to the ground: he brought their ſhips away, and made them pay a maruellous great tribute, whereof part he receiued in hand, and the reſt payable at a certaine time, taking hoſtages with him for aſſurance of payment. But *Duris* the SAMIAN dilateth theſe matters maruellous pitifully, burdening the ATHENIANS, and *Pericles* ſelfe with vnnaturall cruelty: whereof neither *Thucydides*, nor *Ephorus*, nor *Ariſtotle* himſelfe maketh mention. And ſure I cannot beleeue it is true that is written: That he brought the captaines of the gallies, and the ſoldiers themſelues of SAMIA, into the market place of the city of MILETVM, where he made them to be bound faſt vnto boords for the ſpace of tenne dayes, and at the end of the ſame, the poore men halfe dead, were beaten downe with clubbes, and their heads paſhed in peeces: and afterwards they threw out their bodies to the crowes, and would not burie them. So *Duris* being accuſtomed to ouerreach, and to lye many times in things nothing touching him, ſeemeth in this place out of all reaſon to aggrauate the calamities of his countrey, onely to accuſe the ATHENIANS, and to make them odious to the world. *Pericles* hauing won the citie of SAMOS, he returned againe to ATHENS, where he did honorably burie the bones of his ſlaine citizens in this warre: and himſelfe (according to their manner and cuſtome) made the funerall oration, for the which he was maruellouſly eſteemed. In ſuch ſort, that after he came downe from the pulpit where he made his oration, the ladies and gentlewomen of the citie came to ſalute him, and brought him garlands to put vpon his head, as they do to noble conquerers when they returne from games, where they haue wonne the prize. But *Elpinicé* comming to him, ſaid: Surely *Pericles*, thy good ſeruice done, deſerueth garlands of triumph: for thou haſt loſt vs many a good and valiant citizen, not fighting with the MEDES, the PHOENICIANS, and with the barbarous people as my brother *Cimon* did, but for deſtroying a citie of our owne nation and kindred. *Pericles* to theſe words, ſoftly anſwered *Elpinicé*, with *Archilochus* verſe, ſmiling:

When thou art old, paint not thy ſelfe.

But *Ion* writeth, that he greatly gloried, and ſtood much in his own conceipt, after he had ſubdued the SAMIANS, ſaying: *Agamemnon* was ten yeares taking of a citie of the barbarous people: and he in nine moneths only had won the ſtrongeſt citie of the whole nation of IONIA. Indeed he had good cauſe to glory in his victorie: for truely (if *Thucydides* report be true) his conqueſt was no leſſe doubtfull, then he found it daungerous. For the SAMIANS had almoſt bene lords of the ſea, and taken the ſeignorie thereof from the ATHENIANS. After this, the wars of PELOPONNESVS being hote againe, the CORINTHIANS inuading the Ilanders of CORPHV: *Pericles* did perſwade the ATHENIANS to ſend aide vnto the CORPHIANS, and to ioyne in league with that Iland, which was of great power by ſea, ſaying: that the PELOPONNESIANS (before it were long) would haue war with them. The ATHENIANS conſented to his motion, to aide thoſe of CORPHV. Whereupon they ſent thither *Lacedæmonius* (*Cimons* ſon) with ten gallies onely for a mockerie: for all *Cimons* family and friends, were wholly at the LACEDÆMONIANS deuotion. Therefore did *Pericles* cauſe *Lacedæmonius* to haue ſo few ſhips deliuered him, and further, ſent him thither againſt his will, to the end that if he did no notable exploit in this ſeruice, that they might then the more iuſtly ſuſpect his goodwill to the LACEDÆMONIANS. Moreouer whileſt he liued, he did euer what he could to keepe *Cimons* children backe from riſing: becauſe that by their names they were no naturall borne ATHENIANS, but ſtraungers. For the one was called *Lacedæmonius*, the other *Theſſalus*, and the third *Elius*: and the mother to all them three, was an ARCADIAN woman borne. But *Pericles* being blamed for that he

Artemon Periphoretos a timerous man.

The Samians do yeeld to Pericles.

Elpinicé.

Pericles taunt to an old woman.

Cimons ſonnes.

ſent

ſent but ten galleys only, which was but a ſlender aide for thoſe that had requeſted them, and a great matter to them that ſpake ill of him: he ſent thither afterwards a great number of other galleys, which came when the battell was fought. But the CORINTHIANS were maruellous angry, and went and complained to the counſell of the LACEDÆMONIANS, where they laid open many grieuous complaints and accuſations againſt the ATHENIANS, and ſo did the MEGARIANS alſo: alleadging that the ATHENIANS had forbidden them their hauens, their ſtaples and all trafficke of merchandiſe in the territories vnder their obedience, which was directly againſt the common lawes and articles of peace, agreed vpon by oath among all the GRECIANS. Moreouer, the ÆGINETES finding themſelues very ill and cruelly handled, did ſend ſecretly to make their mone and complaints to the LACEDÆMONIANS, being afraid openly to complaine of the ATHENIANS. While theſe things were a doing, the city of POTIDÆA, ſubiect at that time vnto the ATHENIANS (and was built in old time by the CORINTHIANS) did rebell, and was beſieged by the ATHENIANS, which did haſten on the warres. Notwithſtanding this, ambaſſadors were firſt ſent vnto ATHENS vpon theſe complaints: and *Archidamus*, king of the LACEDÆMONIANS did all that he could to pacifie the moſt part of theſe quarrels and complaints, intreating their friends and allies. So as the ATHENIANS had had no wars at all, for anie other matters wherewith they were burdened, if they would haue graunted to haue reuoked the decree they had made againſt the MEGARIANS. Whereupon, *Pericles*, that aboue all other ſtood moſt againſt the reuocation of that decree, and that did ſtir vp the people, and made them ſtand to that they had once decreed, and ordered againſt the MEGARIANS: was thought the originall cauſe and author of the PELOPONNESIAN warres. For it is ſaid that the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent ambaſſadors vnto ATHENS for that matter only. And when *Pericles* alledged a law that did forbid them to take away the table whereupon before time had bene written any common law or edict: *Poliarces*, one of the LACEDÆMON ambaſſadors, ſaid vnto him: Well, ſaid he, take it not away then, but turne the table onely: your law I am ſure forbiddeth not that. This was pleaſantly ſpoken of the ambaſſadour, but *Pericles* could neuer be brought to it for all that. And therefore it ſeemeth he had ſome ſecret occaſion of grudge againſt the MEGARIANS: yet as one that would finely conuey it vnder the common cauſe and cloke, he tooke from them the holy lands they were breaking vp. And to bring this to paſſe, he made an order, that they ſhould ſend an herauld to ſummon the MEGARIANS to let the land alone, and that the ſame herauld ſhould go alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to accuſe the MEGARIANS vnto them. It is true that this ordinance was made by *Pericles* meanes, as alſo it was moſt iuſt and reaſonable: but it fortuned ſo, that the meſſenger they ſent thither died, and not without ſuſpition that the MEGARIANS made him away. Wherfore *Charinus* made a law preſently againſt the MEGARIANS: that they ſhould be proclaimed mortall enemies to the ATHENIANS for euer, without any hope of after reconciliation. And alſo if any MEGARIAN ſhould once put his foote within the territories of ATTICA, that he ſhould ſuffer the paines of death. And moreouer, that their captains taking yearely their ordinary oath, ſhould ſweare among other articles, that twiſe in the yeare they ſhould go with their power, and deſtroy ſome part of the MEGARIANS land. And laſtly, that the herauld *Anthemocritus* ſhould be buried by the place called then the gates *Thriaſienes*, and now called *Dipylon*. But the MEGARIANS ſtoutly denying, that they were any cauſe of the death of this *Anthemocritus*: did altogether burthen *Aſpaſia* and *Pericles* with the ſame, alleadging for proofe thereof, *Ariſtophanes* verſes the Poet, in his Comedie he intituled the *Acharnes*, which are ſo common, as euery boy hath them at his toungs end.

The Athenians accuſed at Lacedæmon.

Pericles author of the vvars againſt Peloponneſus.

Pericles malice againſt the Megarians.

The young men of our land (to drunken bibbing bent)
ran out one day vnrulily, and towards Megara went:
From whence in their outrage, by force they tooke away,
Simetha noble curtiſan, as ſhe did ſport and play.
Wherewith enraged all (with pepper in the noſe)
the proud Megarians came to vs, as to their mortall foes,
And tooke by ſtealth away of harlots eke a paire,
attending on Aſpaſia, which were both young and faire.

But in very deed, to tell the originall cauſe of this warre, and to deliuer the troth thereof, it is very hard. But all the hiſtoriographers together agree, that *Pericles* was the chiefeſt authour of the warre: becauſe the decree made againſt the MEGARIANS, was not reuoked backe againe.

Yet ſome hold opinion, that *Pericles* did it of a noble mind and iudgement, to be conſtant in that he thought moſt expedient. For he iudged that this commandement of the LACEDÆMONIANS was but a triall, to proue if the ATHENIANS would grant them: and if they yeelded to them in that, then they manifeſtly ſhewed that they were the weaker. Other contrarily ſay, that it was done of a ſelfe-will and arrogancie, to ſhew his authoritie and power, and how he did deſpiſe the LACEDÆMONIANS. But the ſhrewdeſt proofe of all, that bringeth beſt authoritie with it, is reported after this ſort. *Phidias* the image-maker (as we haue told you before) had vndertaken to make the image of *Pallas*: and being *Pericles* friend, was in great eſtimation about him: but that procured him many ill willers. Then they being deſirous to heare by him what the people would iudge of *Pericles*, they intiſed *Menon*, one of the workemen that wrought vnder *Phidias*, and made him come into the market place to pray aſſurance of the people that he might openly accuſe *Phidias*, for a fault he had committed about *Pallas* image. The people receiued his obedience, and his accuſation was heard openly in the market place, but no mention was made of any theft at all: becauſe that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counſell and deuiſe) had from the beginning ſo laid on the gold vpon the image, that it might be taken off and weyed euery whit. Whereupon *Pericles* openly ſaid vnto his accuſers, take off the gold and wey it. The glorie of his works did purchaſe him this enuy. For he hauing grauen vpon the ſcutchion of the goddeſſe, the battell of the AMAZONS, had cut out the portraitnre of himſelfe maruellous liuely, vnder the perſon of an old bald mã, lifting vp a great ſtone with both his hands. Further, he had cut out *Pericles* image, excellently wrought and artificially, ſeeming in manner to be *Pericles* ſelfe, fighting with an AMAZON in this ſort: the AMAZONS hand being lift vp high, holdeth a dart before *Pericles* face, ſo paſſing cunningly wrought, as it ſeemed to ſhadow the likeneſſe and reſemblance of *Pericles*: and yet notwithſtanding appeareth plainely to be *Pericles* ſelfe on either ſide of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt vp in priſon, and there died of a ſicknes, or elſe of poiſon (as ſome ſay) which his enemies had prepared for him: and all to bring *Pericles* into further ſuſpition, and to giue them the more cauſe to accuſe him. But howſoeuer it was, the people gaue *Menon* his freedome, and ſet him free for paiment of all ſubſidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gaue the captains charge they ſhould ſee him ſafely kept, and that he took no hurt.

Phidias the image-maker.

And about the ſame time alſo *Aſpaſia* was accuſed, that ſhe did not beleeue in the gods: and her accuſer was *Hermippus*, maker of the Comedies. He burdened her further, that ſhe was a bawd to *Pericles*, and receiued citizens wiues into her houſe, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diopithes* at the ſame time made a decree, that they ſhould make ſearch and enquirie for heretikes that did not beleeue in the gods, and that taught certaine new doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things aboue in the element, turning the ſuſpition vpon *Pericles*, becauſe of *Anaxagoras*. The people did receiue and confirm this inquiſition: and it was moued alſo then by *Dracontides*, that *Pericles* ſhould deliuer an account of the mony he had ſpent, vnto the hands of the *Prytanes*, who were treaſurers of the common fines and reuenues, and that the Iudges deputed to giue iudgement, ſhould giue ſentence within the citie vpon the altar. But *Agnon* put that word out of the decree, and placed in ſtead thereof, that the cauſe ſhould be iudged by the 15. hundred Iudges, as they thought good, if any man brought this action for theft, for battery, or for iniuſtice. As for *Aſpaſia*, he ſaued her, euen for the very pity & cõpaſſion the Iudges took of him, for the teares he ſhed in making his humble ſute for her, all the time he pleaded her caſe: as *Æſchines* writeth. But for *Anaxagoras*, fearing that he could not do ſo much for him: he ſent him out of the city, & himſelfe did accompany him. And furthermore, ſeeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for *Phidias* fact, and for this cauſe fearing the iſſue of the iudgment: he ſet the wars a fire againe, that alwaies went backward, and did but ſmoke a litle, hoping by this means to weare out the accuſations againſt him, and to root out the malice ſome did beare him. For the people hauing waighty matters in hand, and very dangerous alſo: he knew they wold put all into his hands alone, he hauing won already ſuch great authority & reputation among them. And theſe be the cauſes why he would not (as it is ſaid) ſuffer the ATHENIANS to yeeld vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing: howbeit the truth cannot certainely be knowne. But the LACEDÆMONIANS knowing well, that if they could weed out *Pericles*, and ouerthrow him, they might then deale as they would with the ATHENIANS: they commanded them they ſhould purge their city of *Cylons* rebellion, becauſe they knew well inough that *Pericles* kin by the mothers ſide were to be touched withall, as *Thucydides* declareth. But this practiſe fell out contrary to their hope and expectation,

Aſpaſia accuſed.

Prytani, treaſurers of the common fines.

that

that were ſent to ATHENS for this purpoſe. For, weening to haue brought *Pericles* into further ſuſpition and diſpleaſure, the citizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiance in him then before, becauſe they ſaw his enemies did ſo much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before King *Archidamus* entred with the army of the PELOPONNESIANS into the country of ATTICA, he told the ATHENIANS, that if King *Archidamus* fortuned to waſte and deſtroy all the country about, and ſhould ſpare his lands and goods for the old loue and familiaritie that was betweene them, or rather to giue his enemies occaſion falſly to accuſe him: that from thenceforth, he gaue all the lands and tenements he had in the country, vnto the common wealth. So it fortuned that the LACEDÆMONIANS with all their friends and confederates, brought a maruellous army into the countrey of ATTICA, vnder the leading of King *Archidamus*: who burning and ſpoiling all the country he came alongſt, they came vnto the towne of ACHARNES, where they encamped, ſuppoſing the ATHENIANS would neuer ſuffer them to approach ſo neare, but that they would giue them battell for the honour and defence of their countrey; and to ſhew that they were no cowards. But *Pericles* wiſely conſidered how the daunger was too great to hazard battell, where the loſſe of the citie of ATHENS ſtood in perill, ſeeing they were threeſcore thouſand footmen of the PELOPONNESIANS, and of the BOEOTIANS together: for ſo many was their number in the firſt voyage they made againſt the ATHENIANS. And as for thoſe that were very deſirous to fight, and to put themſelues to any hazard, being mad to ſee their country thus waſted and deſtroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* hid comfort & pacifie them with theſe words: That trees being cut and hewne downe, did ſpring againe in ſhort time: but men being once dead, by no poſſibilitie could be brought againe. Therefore he neuer durſt aſſemble the people in counſell, fearing leſt he ſhould be inforced by the multitude, to do ſomething ſtill againſt his will. But as a wiſe Pilote, when he ſeeth a ſtorme comming on the ſea, doth ſtraight giue order to make all things ſafe in the ſhippe, preparing euery thing ready to defend the ſtorme, according to his art and skill, not hearkening to the paſſengers fearefull cries and pitifull teares, who thinke themſelues caſt away: euen ſo did *Pericles* rule all things according to his wiſedome, hauing walled the city ſubſtantially about, and ſet good watch in euery corner: and paſſed not for thoſe that were angry and offended with him, neither would be perſwaded by his friends earneſt requeſts and intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threats nor accuſations againſt him, nor yet reckoned of all their fooliſh ſcoffing ſongs they ſung of him in the citie, to the ſhame and reproch of his gouernment, ſaying that he was a cowardly captaine, and that for daſtardlineſſe he let the enemies take al, and ſpoile what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one that moſt defamed him, and began to enter into ſome pretie credite and fauour with the common people, for that they were angry, and miſliked with *Pericles*: as appeareth by theſe ſlaunderous verſes of *Hermippus*, which were then abroade:

The Lacedæmonians inuade Attica.

An excellent compariſon to ſtay the ſouldiers deſire to fight

Cleon accuſeth Pericles.

O King of Satyres thou, who with ſuch manly ſpeach,
of bloudy warres and doughty deeds, doſt dayly to vs preach:
Why art thou now afraid to take thy launce in hand,
or with thy pike againſt thy foes, couragiouſly to ſtand?
Since Cleon ſtout and fierce, doth dayly thee prouoke,
with biting words, with trenchant blades, and deadly daunting ſtroke.

All this notwithſtanding, *Pericles* was neuer mooued any thing, but with ſilence did patiently beare all iniuries and ſcoffings of his enemies, and did ſend for all that a nauie of a hundred ſaile vnto PELOPONNESVS, whither he would not go in perſon, but kept himſelfe at home, to keepe the people in quiet, vntill ſuch time as the enemies had raiſed their campe, and were gone away. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angry at this war: he comforted the poore people againe, with cauſing a certaine diſtribution to be made amongſt them of the common treaſure, and diuiſion alſo of the lands that were got by conqueſt. For after he had driuen all the ÆGINETES out of their conntrey, he cauſed the whole Ile of ÆGINA to be deuided by lot amongſt the citizens of ATHENS. And then it was a great comfort to them in this aduerſitie, to heare of their enemies hurt and loſſe in ſuch manner as it did fall out. For their army that was ſent by ſea vnto PELOPONNESVS, had waſted and deſtroyed a great part of the champion country there, and had ſacked beſides many ſmall cities and townes. *Pericles* ſelfe alſo entring into the MEGARIANS countrey by land, did waſte the whole country all afore him. So the PELOPONNESIANS receiuing by ſea as much hurt and loſſe at the ATHENIANS hands,

Note Pericles pollicie to pacifie the peoples anger.

AEgina wonne by the Athenians.

as they before had done by land vnto the ATHENIANS: they had not holden out warres so long with the ATHENIANS, but would soone haue giuen ouer (as *Pericles* had told them before) had not the gods aboue secretly hindred mans reason and pollicie. For first of all there came such a sore plague among the ATHENIANS, that it tooke away the flower of ATHENS youth, and weakened the force of the whole citie besides. Furthermore the bodies of them that were left aliue being infected with this disease, their hearts also were so sharply bent against *Pericles*, that the sickenesse hauing troubled their braines, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the patient against his phisition, or children against their father, euen to the hurting of him, at the prouocation of his enemies: who bruted abroade, that the plague came of no cause else, but of the great multitude of the country men that came into the city on heapes, one vpon anothers necke in the heart of the sommer, where they were compelled to lie many together, smothered vp in litle tents and cabines, remaining there all day long, cowring downewards, and doing nothing, where before they liued in the countrey in a fresh open ayre, and at libertie. And of all this, (say they) *Pericles* is the only cause, who procuring this war, hath pent and shrouded the country men together within the walles of a citie, employing them to no manner of vse nor seruice, but keeping them like sheep in a pinfold, maketh one to poison another with the infection of their plague sores running vpon them, and giuing them no leaue to change aire, that they might so much as take breath abroad. *Pericles* to remedy this, and to do their enemies a litle mischief, armed a hundred and fifty ships, and shipped into them a great number of armed footmen and horsemen also. Hereby he put the citizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, seeing so great a power. But when he had shipped all his men, and was himselfe also in the admirall ready to hoise sayle: sodainely there was a great eclypse of the Sunne, and the day was very darke, that all the army was striken with a maruellous feare, as of some dangerous and very ill token towards them. *Pericles* seeing the maister of his gally in a maze withall, not knowing what to do, cast his cloake ouer the maisters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harme or no. The maister answered him, he thought it none. Then said *Pericles* againe to him: There is no difference betweene this and that, sauing that the body which maketh the darknesse is greater, then my cloke which hideth thy eyes. These things are thus disputed of in the schooles of the philosophers. But *Pericles* hoising saile notwithstanding, did no notable nor speciall seruice, answerable to so great an army and preparation. For he laying siege vnto the holy citie of EPIDAVRVM, whē euery man looked they should haue taken it, was compelled to raise his siege for the plague that was so vehement: that it did not onely kill the ATHENIANS themselues, but all other also (were they neuer so few) that came to them or neare their campe. Wherefore perceiuing the ATHENIANS were maruellously offended with him, he did what he could to comfort them, and put them in heart againe: but all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them: for by the most part of voices, they depriued him of his charge of General, and condemned him in a maruellous great fine and summe of money, the which those that tell the least, do write, that it was the summe of fifteene talents: and those that say more, speake of fiftie talents. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was *Cleon*, as *Idomeneus*, or *Simmias* say, or as *Theophrastus* writeth: yet *Heraclides Pōticus* saith, one *Lacratidas*. Now his common griefes were soone blowen ouer: for the people did easily let fall their displeasures towards him, as the waspe leaueth her sting behind her with them she hath stung. But his owne priuate affaires and houshold causes were in very ill case: both for that the plague had taken away many of his friends and kinsemen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in disgrace. For *Xantippus* (*Pericles* sonne and heire) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and hauing married a young woman very prodigall and lauish of expence, the daughter of *Isander*, sonne of *Epilychus*, he grudged much at his fathers hardnesse, who scantly gaue him mony and but a litle at a time. Whereupon he sent on a time to one of his fathers friends in *Pericles* name, to pray him to lend him some money, who sent it vnto him. But afterwardes when he came to demaund it againe, *Pericles* did not onely refuse to pay it him, but further also he put him in sute. But this made the young man *Xantippus* so angrie with his father, that he spake very ill of him in euery place where he came: and reported in way of mockery, how his father spent his time when he was at home, and what talke he had with the Sophisters, and the maister Rhetoritians. For a mischaunce fortuning on a time, at the game of the throwing of the dart, who should throw best, that he that threw, did vnfortunately kill one *Epitimius* a THESSALIAN: *Xantippus* went pratling vp and downe the towne, that his father

Plague at Athens.

Accusations against Pericles.

An eclypse of the Sunne.

Pericles hard fortune.

Pericles deprived of his charge.

Pericles home troubles.

father *Pericles* was a whole day disputing with *Protagoras* the Rhetoritian, to know which of the three by law and reason should be condemned for this murther. The dart: he that threw the dart: or the deuiser of the game. Moreouer *Stesimbrotus* writeth, that the brute that ranne thorough the citie, how *Pericles* did keepe his wife, was sowne abroade by *Xantippus* himselfe. But so it is, this quarrell and hate betwixt the father and the sonne continued without reconciliation vnto the death. For *Xantippus* died in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne sister also: moreouer he lost at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinsfolkes, and those specially that did him greatest pleasure in gouerning of the state. But al this did neuer pull downe his countenance, nor any thing abate the greatnesse of his mind, what misfortunes soeuer he had sustained. Neither saw they him weep at any time, nor mourne at the funerals of any of his kinsmen or friends, but at the death of *Paralus*, his yongest and lawful begotten sonne: for, the losse of him alone did onely melt his heart. Yet he did striue to shew his naturall constancie, and to keepe his accustomed modestie. But as he would haue put a garland of flowers vpon his head, sorrow did so pierce his heart when he saw his face, that then he burst out in teares and cried amaine: which they neuer saw him do before all the dayes of his life. Furthermore the people hauing proued other captaines and gouernours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of iudgement & authority sufficient, for so great a charge: in the end, of themselues they called him againe to the pulpit for orations to heare their counsels, and to the state of a captaine also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept himselfe close in his house, as one bewailing his late grieuous losse and sorrow. Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familiar friends, perswaded him to shew himself vnto the people: who did excuse themselues vnto him, for their ingratitude towards him. *Pericles* then taking the gouernement againe vpon him, the first matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to reuoke the statute he had made for base borne children, fearing least his lawful heires would faile, and so his house and name should fal to the ground. But as for that law, thus it stood: *Pericles* when he was in his best authoritie, caused a law to be made, that they onely should be counted citizens of ATHENS, which were naturall ATHENIANS borne by father and mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the king of ÆGYPT hauing sent a gift vnto the people of ATHENS, of 40. thousand bushels of corne, to be distributed among the citizens there: many by occasion of this law were accused to be base borne, & specially men of the baser sort of people, which were not knowne before, or at the least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were falsly and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon so it fell out, that there were no lesse then fiue thousand of them conuicted and sold for slaues: and those that remained as free men, and were iudged to be naturall citizens, amounted to the number of fourteene thousand and fortie persons. Now this was much misliked of the people, that a law enacted, and that had bene of such force, should by the selfe same maker and deuiser of the same be againe reuoked and called in. Howbeit *Pericles* late calamitie that fortuned to his house, did breake the peoples hardened hearts against him: who thinking these sorrowes smart, to be punishment enough vnto him for his former pride, and iudging that by Gods diuine iustice and permission, this plague and losse fell vpon him, and that his request also was tollerable: they suffered him to enrole his base borne sonne in the register of the lawfull citizens of his family, giuing him his owne name, *Pericles*. It is the selfesame *Pericles*, who after he had ouercome the PELOPONNESIANS in a great battell by sea, neare vnto the Iles of ARGINVSES, was put to death by sentence of the people, with other captaines his companions. Now was *Pericles* at that time infected with the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, but more temperatly: which by long space of time, with many alterations and chaunges, did by litle and litle decay and consume the strength of his body, and ouercame his senses and noble mind. Therefore *Theophrastus* in his morals declareth, in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners do chaunge with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions do so alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that *Pericles* in his sickenesse shewed a friend of his that came to see him, I cannot tell what a preseruing charme, that the women had tied (as a carkanet) about his necke, to let him vnderstand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply such a foolish bable to him. In the end, *Pericles* drawing fast vnto his death, the Nobilitie of the citie, and such his friends as were left aliue, standing about his bed, beganne to speake of his vertue, and of the great authoritie he had borne, considerig the greatnesse of his noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne nine foughten

Pericles constancie.

A lawe at Athens for base borne children.

Pericles the base borne put to death.

Pericles sickenesse.

A philosophicall question touching the change of mens manners by misfortunes.

Pericles death.

battels being Generall of the ATHENIANS, and had set vp so many tokens and triumphs in honour of his country) they reckened vp among themselues all these matters, as if he had not vnderstood them, imagining his senses had bene gone. But he contrarily being yet of perfect memorie, heard all what they had said, and thus he began to speake vnto them: That he maruelled why they had so highly praised that in him, which was common to many other captaines, and wherin fortune dealt with them in equalitie alike, & all this while they had forgotten to speake of the best and most notable thing that was in him, which was, that no ATHENIAN had euer worne blacke gowne through his occasion. And sure so was he a noble and worthy person. For he did not onely shew himselfe mercifull and courteous, euen in most weightie matters of gouernment among so enuious people and hatefull enemies: but he had this iudgement also to thinke, that the most noble acts he did were these, that he neuer gaue himself to hatred, enuy, nor choler, to be reuenged of his most mortal enemy, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had committed vnto him such absolute power & sole gouernment among them. And this made his surname be *Olympius* (as to say, diuine or celestiall) which otherwise for him had bene too proud and arrogant a name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great libertie he had kept cleane hands and vndefiled: euen as we esteeme the gods authors of all good, and causers of no euill, and so worthy to gouerne and rule the whole monarchy of the world. And not as Poets say, which do confound our wits by their follies, and fond fainings, and are also contrary to themselues, considering that they call heauen (which containeth the gods) the euerlasting seate, which trembleth not, and is not driuen nor moued with winds, neither is darkned with cloudes, but is alwayes bright and cleare, and at all times shining equally with a pure bright light, as being the onely habitation and mansion place of the eternall God, onely happy and immortall: and afterwards they describe it themselues, full of dissentions, of enmities, of anger, and passions, which do nothing become wise and learned men. But this discourse peraduenture would be better spoken of in some other booke. Now the troubles the ATHENIANS felt immediatly after *Pericles* death, made them then lament the losse of so noble a member. For those who vnpatiently did brooke his great authoritie while he liued, because it drowned their owne: when they came after his death to proue other speakers and gouernours, they were compelled then to confesse, that no mans nature liuing could be more moderate nor graue, with lenitie and mercy, then was his. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called monarchie, did then most plainely appeare vnto them, to haue bene the manifest ramper and bulwarke of the safety of their whole state and common-weale: such corruption and vice in gouernement of the state did then spring vp immediatly after his death, which when he was aliue, he did euer suppresse and keepe vnder, in such sort, that either it did not appeare at all, or at the least it came not to that head and libertie, that such faults were committed, as were vnpossible to be remedied.

A notable saying of Pericles at his death.

Pericles diuinely called Olympius.

The Athenians lamented the losse of Pericles being dead.

The end of Pericles life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Fabius Maximus.

HAVING already declared vnto you ſuch things worthy memory as we could collect, and gather of the life of *Pericles*: it is now good time we ſhould proceede to write alſo of the life of *Fabius Maximus*. It is ſaid the firſt *Fabius*, from whom the houſe and family of the *Fabians* did deſcend (being the greateſt and nobleſt houſe of all other in Rome) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he got of a *Nymph* (or as other ſay, a woman of the countrey by the riuer of Tyber.) And ſome ſay, that the firſt of this houſe, were called at the beginning *Fodians*, becauſe they did hunt wild beaſts, with pitfals and ditches. For vnto this preſent the Romaines cal ditches, *Foſſæ*: and to dig *Fodere*. Since that time, the two ſecond letters haue bene chaunged, and they haue called them *Fabians*. But howſoeuer it was, this is certaine, that many noble men haue come out of that houſe: and among other, there was one of that houſe called *Fabius Rullus*, whom the Romaines for his noble acts did ſurname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whoſe life we haue now in hand, was the fourth lineally deſcended of the ſame line, and he was ſurnamed *Verrucoſius*, becauſe of a certaine birth-marke he had vpon one of his lips, like a litle wart. And he was alſo ſurnamed *Ouicula*, a litle lambe, for his ſoftneſſe, ſlowneſſe, and grauity of his doings whileſt he was a child. But becauſe of nature he was dull, ſtil, and very ſilent, and that he was ſeldome ſeene to play at any paſtime among the boyes, and for that they ſaw he was but of ſlow capacitie, and hard to learne and conceiue, and withall that the boyes might do to him what they would, he was ſo lowly to his fellowes: this made men iudge that looked not into him, that he would proue a very foole and idiot. Yet other were of contrary opinion of him: who conſidering more deeply the man, perceiued in his nature a certaine ſecret conſtancie and the maieſtie of a lion. But *Fabius* ſelfe when he was called to ſerue the common-weale, did quickly ſhew to the world, that which they tooke for dulneſſe in him, was his grauity, which neuer altered for no cauſe or reſpect: and that which others iudged fearefulneſſe in him, was very wiſedome. And where he ſhewed himſelf not haſtie, nor ſodaine in any thing: it was found in him an aſſured and ſetled conſtancy. Wherefore when he came to conſider the great ſoueraigntie of their common-weale, and the continuall warres it was in: he did vſe his body to all hardneſſe, and brought vp himſelfe therewithal, that he might be the better able to ſerue in the field: and he gaue himſelfe much to eloquence alſo, as a neceſſary inſtrument to perſwade ſouldiers vnto reaſon. His tongue likewiſe did agree with his conditions, and manner of life. For he had no maner of affectation, nor counterfeit fineneſſe in his ſpeech, but his words

Fabius Rullus Maximus called Verrucoſus and Ouicula.

were euer very graue and profound, and his ſentences euen grafted in him by nature, and (as ſome ſay) were much like *Thucydides* ſayings. As appeareth in a funerall oration he made before the people in the praiſe of his ſonne, who died when he came out of his Conſulſhip, which is yet extant to be ſeene. Now as for him, hauing bene fiue times choſen Conſull, in his firſt yeare of his Conſulſhip, he triumphed ouer the LIGVRIANS (which be people of the mountaines, and vpon the coaſt of GENVA) who being ouerthrowne by him in a great battell, where they had loſt many men, they were compelled to go their way, and to take the ALPES for their ſuccour, and durſt no more appeare vpon the borders of ITALY, whereupon they did confine. *Hannibal* entring ITALY afterwards with a great army, and hauing wonne the firſt battell neare vnto the riuer of TREBIA: he paſſed further, and went through THVSCAN, waſting and deſtroying all the countrey as he paſſed by. This made ROME quake for feare. Beſides they ſaw many ſignes and tokens, ſome common vnto them, as thundring, lightning, and ſuch other like: but other alſo more ſtrange, neuer ſeene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certaine targets were waxen all bloudy of themſelues, and that about the citie of ANTIVM they found wheate eares, which were all bloudy when they were reaped: that there fell from heauen, burning ſtones all in a flame of fire: and in the countrey of the PHALERIANS how the element ſeemed to open, and many litle written ſcroles fell downe vpon the ground, in one of the which were written theſe words, word for word: *Mars doth now handle his weapons.* But all theſe ſignes and wonders did nothing appaule nor daunt the boldneſſe of *Caius Flaminius*, Conſull then: who beſides the naturall great courage, and aſpiring mind he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reaſon increaſed in him, by the wonderfull good ſucceſſe he had before. For, notwithſtanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellow Conſull ſtood againſt his intent: he for all that did giue battell to the GAVLES, in deſpite of them all, and wanne the victory. Likewiſe, though all theſe ſignes and wonders in the ayre, did greatly trouble and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he ſaw no apparant cauſe to be troubled withall. But he vnderſtanding the ſmal number of his enemies, & the lack of mony that was among them: gaue counſell, and was of opinion they ſhould patiently forbeare a litle, and not to hazard battell againſt a man, whoſe armie had bene long trained in warres, and by many foughten fields was growne valiant and expert. Moreouer, he thought good they ſhould ſend aide to their ſubiects, and other their allies and confederates, as need required, to keepe their cities ſtill vnder their obedience: and in the meane ſeaſon by tract of time, to weare out *Hannibals* force and power, which was like ſtraw ſet on fire, that ſtraight giueth forth a blaſe, and yet hath no ſubſtance to hold fire long. When *Fabius* had thus ſaid inough to perſwade *Flaminius*, yet it would not ſinke into *Flaminius* head: for, ſaid he, I will not tarie vntill the warres come to ROME gates, neither will I be brought to fight vpon the walles of the city, to defend it, as *Camillus* did, that fought within the citie ſelfe in old time. Whereupon he commanded his captaines to ſet out their bands to the field, and he himſelfe tooke his horſe-backe: which vpon the ſodaine, without any cauſe was ſo afeard, and tooke ſo on with himſelfe, that he caſt the Conſull to the ground with his head forward. For all this fall he would not change his mind, but held on his iourney toward *Hannibal*, and preſented him battell in THVSCAN, by the lake called *Thraſimena*, which is the lake of PERVSIA. This battell was ſo fiercely fought on both ſides, that notwithſtanding there was ſuch a terrible earthquake therewhile, that ſome cities were ouerthrowne and turned topſie turuey, ſome riuers had their ſtreames turned againſt their courſe, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in ſunder, and brokē open: yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any ſuch thing at al. *Flaminius* the Conſul ſelf was ſlaine at that battel, after he had in his owne perſon done many a valiant act, and many of the worthieſt gentlemen and valianteſt ſouldiers of his army lay dead about him: the reſidue being fled, the ſlaughter was great, for the bodies ſlaine were fifteene thouſand, & ſo many priſoners left aliue. After this ouerthrow, *Hannibal* made all the ſearch he could poſſible to find the body of *Flaminius*, to bury him honourably, becauſe of his valiantneſſe: but he could neuer be found amongſt the dead bodies, neither was it euer heard what became of it. Now as touching the firſt ouerthrow at TREBIA, neither the General that wrote it, nor the poſt that brought the firſt newes to ROME, told the troth of it as it was, but fained that the end was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the beſt. But of this battell, ſo ſoone as the *Prætor Pomponius* had receiued the newes, he called all the people to counſell, where without diſguiſing or diſſembling at all, he plainly ſaid thus vnto them: My Lords, we haue loſt the battel, our army is ouerthrown, and

Fabius fiue times Conſull.

Hannibal deſtroyeth the countrey of Thuſcan.

Wonders.

Flaminius raſhneſſe.

Fabius wiſe counſell.

The Romaines ſlaine by the lake of Thraſimena.

Flaminius the Conſull ſlaine.

and the Consull himselfe is slaine in the field: wherefore, consider what you haue to do, and prouide for your safety. These words spoken to the people, as it had bene a boysterous storme of weather that had fallen on them from the sea to put them in daunger, did so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole citie for feare, that they were all in a maze, and knew not what to determine. Yet in the ende they all agreed that it stood them vpon to haue a chiefe magistrate, called in Latine *Dictatura*, that should be a man of courage, and could stoutly vse it without sparing or fearing any person. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the onely man meete to be chosen, as he, whose noble courage and graue behauiour was aunswerable, to the dignitie and soueraignetie of the office: and moreouer, that to his grauitie and wisedome there was ioyned (by reasonable age) strength of body, and valiantnesse with experience. This counsell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was chosen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* generall of the horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would graunt him he might haue his horse in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expressely forbidden by an auncient order. Either because they thought the chiefest force of their armie did consist in their footemen, which caused the making of this law: whereby the Generall should be amongst them in the day of the battell, and in no wise should forsake them. Or else because the authoritie of this magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King: yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the *Dictator* should haue absolute power ouer the people. *Fabius* at his first comming, because he would shew the maiestie and dignitie of his office, that euery man should be the more obedient and ready at his commaundement: when he went abroad, he had foure and twenty sergeants before him, carying the bundels of rods, and axes. And when one of the Consuls came to him, he sent a sergeant to command his bundell of rods that were caried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignitie to be layd aside: and that he should come and speake with him, as a priuate man. And first to make a good foundation, & to begin with the seruice of the gods: he declared vnto the people, that the losse they had receiued, came through the rashnesse and wilfull negligence of their captaine, who made no reckoning of the gods nor religion: and not through any default and cowardlinesse of the souldiers. And for this cause he did perswade them not to be affraid of their enemies, but to appease the wrath of the gods, and to serue and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but did confirme their valiancie with true religion and godlinesse: and besides did vtterly take away and asswage their feare of their enemies, by giuing them certaine hope and assurance of the ayde of the gods. Then were the holy bookes of the *Sibylles* prophesies perused, which were kept verie secret, and therein they found certaine auncient prophesies and oracles, which spake of the present misfortunes of the time. But what were contained therein, it is not lawfull to be vttered to any person. Afterwards the *Dictator*, before the open assemblie of the people, made a solemne vow vnto the gods, that he would sacrifice all the profits and fruits that should fall the next yeare, of sheepe, of sowes, of milch-kine, and of goats in all the mountaines, champion countrey, riuers, or medowes of ITALIE. And he would celebrate playes of musicke, and shew other sights in the honour of the gods, and would bestow vpon the same the summe of three hundreth three and thirtie Sestercians, and three hundreth three and thirtie ROMAINE pence, and a third part ouer. All which sum reduced into GRECIAN mony, amounteth to foure score & three thousand, fiue hundreth, and foure score and three siluer drachmas, and two oboles. Now it were a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this summe so precisely, and why he did deuide it by three, vnlesse it were to extoll the power of the number of three: because it is a perfect number by the nature, and is the first of the odde numbers, which is the beginning of diuerse numbers, and containeth in it selfe the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers vnited and ioyned together. So *Fabius* hauing brought the people to hope, and trust to haue the ayde and fauour of the gods: made them in the end the better disposed to liue well afterwards. Then *Fabius* hoping after victory, and that the gods would send good lucke and prosperity vnto men through their valiantnesse and wisedome: did straight set forwards vnto *Hanniball*, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolued to weare out his strength and power, by delayes and tract of time: and to increase his pouertie by the long spending of his owne money, and to consume the small number of his people, with the great number of his souldiers. *Fabius* camped alwaies in the strong and high places of the mountaines, out of all danger of his enemies horse-

Fabius Dictator.

The Dictator might not ride in the warres.

The maiesty of Fabius the Dictator.

Fabius religion.

The Sibylles bookes of prophesies.

Fabius vow.

Fabius doings against Hanniball.

men, and coasted still after the enemy: so that when *Hannibal* stayed in any place, *Fabius* also stayed: if *Hannibal* remoued, he followed him straight, and would be alwayes neere him, but neuer forsooke the hils, neither would he come so neere him, as that he should be inforced to fight against his will. Yet alwayes he followed the enemy at his taile, and made him euer afeard of him, thinking still that he sought to get the vantage, to giue the charge vpon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this sort, he became disliked of euery body: for euery man both in his owne campe, and abroad, spake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better then a rancke coward, *Hannibal* onely excepted. But he perceiuing his great reach and pollicy, and foreseeing his manner of fight, saw there was no remedie, but by plaine force or slight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delay would ouerthrow the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handie strokes with him: wherein onely consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his souldiers should fall away, and dye, and his money waxe scant, and himselfe should grow the weaker. Thereupon *Hannibal* began to bethinke him, and deuise all the stratagemes and pollicies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wrestler, to seeke out all the trickes he could to giue his aduersarie the fall. For suddenly, he would go and giue alarum to his campe: by and by againe he would retire. Another time he would remoue his campe from one place to another, and giue him some aduantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring deuise out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for *Fabius*, he continued still resolute in his first determination: that delay of fight was the best way so to ouerthrow him. Howbeit *Minutius*, generall of his horsemen, did trouble him much: for he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and braying of a lustie courage, crept into opinion with the souldiers, by his hot fury and desire to fight. Which wrought much in them, and so stirred vp their courages, that they mocked *Fabius* altogether; and called him *Hannibals* schoole-maister: and contrariwise they commended *Minutius*, for a valiant captaine, and worthy ROMAINE. This made *Minutius* looke high, and haue a proud opinion of himselfe, mocking *Fabius* because he euer lodged on the hils, with saying, the *Dictator* would make them goodly sports, to see their enemies waste and burne ITALIE before their faces. Moreouer, he asked *Fabius* friends, whether he would in the end lodge his campe in the skie, that he did climbe vp so high vpon mountaines, mistrusting the earth: or else that he was so affraide, his enemies would find him out, that he went to hide himselfe in the cloudes. *Fabius* friends made report of these iests, and aduised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare such reprochfull words as were spoken of him. But *Fabius* aunswered them: If I should yeeld to that you counsell me, I should shew my selfe a greater coward then I am taken for now: by leauing my determination, for feare of their mockes and spitefull wordes. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearefull and iealous, of the welfare and safetie of his countrey: but otherwise to be afeard of the wagging of euery straw, or to regard euerie common prating, it is not the part of a worthy man of charge, but rather of a base minded person, to seeke to please those whom he ought to commaund and gouerne, because they are but fooles. After this, *Hannibal* chaunced to fall into a great errour: for intending to leaue *Fabius* to bring his armie into the plaines, where there was plentie of victuals, and store of pasture to feede his horse and cattell: he commanded his guides to bring him straight after supper, into the plaine of CASINVM. They mistaking his words, and not vnderstanding well what he sayd, because his ITALIAN tongue was but meane, tooke one thing for another, and so brought him and his armie to the ende of a field neere the citie of CASILINVM, through the middest of the which runneth a riuer, the ROMAINES call *Vulturnus*. Now the countrey lying by it, was a valley compassed in with mountaines round about, sauing that the riuer went to the sea: where leauing his owne bankes, it spreadeth abroad into the marrishes, and banckes of sand verie deepe, and in the end fell into that part of the sea which is most daungerous, and where was neither succour nor couert. *Hannibal* being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a sacke, *Fabius* that knew the countrey, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereabouts, followed him steppe by steppe, and stopped his passage, where he should haue come out of the valley, with foure thousand footemen, which he planted there to keepe the straight, and disposed the rest of his army vpon the hangings of the hilles, in the most apt and fit places all about. Then with his light horsemen he gaue a charge, vpon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all *Hannibals* armie by and by out of order, and so there were slaine

Minutius generall of the horsemen, despised Fabius counsell.

Hannibal fell into great errour.

Casilinum a citie.

Vulturnus fl.

Hannibal set vpon by Fabius.

ſlaine eight hundreth of his men. Whereupon *Hanniball* would haue remooued his campe thence immediatly, and knowing then the fault his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the daunger wherein they had brought him: he roundly truſſed them vp, and hung them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the tops of the hils, and to win them from their ſtrength, he ſaw it was vnpoſſible, and out of all hope. Wherfore, perceiuing his ſouldiers both affraid and diſcouraged, for that they ſaw themſelues hemmed in on all ſides, without any order to eſcape, *Hanniball* determined to deceiue *Fabius* by a deuiſe. He cauſed ſtraight two thouſand oxen to be choſen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their ſpoiles, and tied to their hornes light bundels of reedes, and ſallow faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of vines: and commaunded the drouers that had the charge of them, that when they ſaw any ſignall or token lift vp in the ayre in the night, they ſhould then ſtraight ſet fire on thoſe bundels and bunches, and driue vp the beaſts to the hils, toward the wayes where the enemies lay. Whileſt theſe things were a preparing, he on the other ſide ranged his army in order of battell, and when night came, cauſed them to march faire and ſoftly. Now theſe beaſts, whileſt the fire was but litle that burnt vpon their hornes, went but faire and ſoftly vp the hill from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driuen: in ſo much as the heardmen that were on the top of the mountaines, wondered maruellouſly to ſee ſuch flames and fires about the hornes of ſo many beaſts, as if it had bene an army marching in order of battell with lights and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the ſtumpes, and that the force of the fire did frie their very fleſh: then beganne the oxen to fight together, and to ſhake their heads, whereby they did ſet one another on fire. Then left they their ſoft pace, and went no more in order as they did before, but for the extreme paine they felt, began to runne here and there in the mountaines, carying fire ſtill about their hornes, and in their tailes, and ſet fire of all the boughes and coppeſies they paſſed by. This was a ſtrange ſight to looke vpon, and did much amaze the Romaines that kept the paſſages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne here and there with torches in their hands. Whereupon they were in a maruellous feare and trouble, ſuppoſing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to enuiron them on all ſides: ſo as they durſt no more keepe the paſſages which they were commaunded, but forſaking their ſtraights, began to flye towards their maine and great campe. Thereupon *Hannibals* light horſemen immediatly poſſeſſed the ſtraights that were kept: by reaſon whereof, all the reſt of his army marched out at their eaſe and leyſure, without feare or daunger, notwithſtanding that they were loden and troubled with maruellous great ſpoiles, and of all kind of ſorts. *Fabius* then perceiued very well the ſame night, that it was but a ſlight of *Hanniball*: for ſome of the oxen that fled here and there fell vpon his army. Whereupon fearing to fall vpon ſome ambuſh by reaſon of the darke night, he kept his men in battell raye, without ſtirring, or making any noyſe. The next morning by breake of day, he began to follow his enemie by the tracke, and fell vpon the taile of the rereward, with whom he skirmiſhed within the ſtraights of the mountaines: and ſo did diſtreſſe ſomewhat *Hannibals* army. *Hanniball* thereupon ſent out of his vauntgard a certaine number of Spaniards (very luſtie and nimble fellowes, that were vſed to the mountaines, and acquainted with climing vp vpon them) who comming downe, and ſetting vpon the Romaines that were heauie armed, ſlue a great number of them, and made *Fabius* to retire. Thereupon they deſpiſed *Fabius* the more, and thought worſe of him then they did before: becauſe his pretence and determination was not to be brought to fight with *Hanniball*, but by wiſedome and pollicy to ouerthrow him, whereas he himſelfe by *Hanniball* was firſt finely handled and deceiued. *Hanniball* then to bring *Fabius* further in diſliking and ſuſpition with the Romaines, commaunded his ſouldiers when they came neare any of *Fabius* lands, that they ſhould burne and deſtroy all round about them, but gaue them in charge in no wiſe to medle with *Fabius* lands, nor any thing of his, & did purpoſely appoint a garriſon to ſee that nothing of *Fabius* ſhould miſcarie, nor yet take hurt. This was ſtraight caried to Rome, which did thereby the more incenſe the people againſt him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes neuer ceaſed crying out vpon him in their orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* ſpeciall procurement and perſwaſion: who of himſelfe had no cauſe to miſlike with *Fabius*, but only becauſe he was *Minutius* kinſman (generall of the horſemen) and thought that the ill opinion they bare to *Fabius*, would turne to the praiſe and aduancement of *Minutius*. The Senate alſo were much offended with *Fabius*, for the compoſition he made with *Hanniball*,

Hannibals ſtratageme.

Hannibals craftineſſe againſt Fabius.

Fabius changeth prisoners with Hannibal.

touching the prisoners taken of either side. For it was articled betweene them, that they should change prisoners, deliuering man for man, or else two hundreth and fiftie siluer drachmas for a man, if the one chaunced to haue moe prisoners then the other. When exchange was made betweene them, it appeared that *Hanniball* had left in his hands of Romaine prisoners, two hundred and fortie moe then *Fabius* had to exchange of his. The Senate commanded there should be no money sent to redeeme them, and greatly found fault with *Fabius* for making this accord: because it was neither honourable, nor profitable for the common-weale, to redeeme men that cowardly suffered themselues to be taken prisoners of their enemies. *Fabius* vnderstanding it, did patiently beare this displeasure conceiued against him by the Senate. Howbeit hauing no mony, and meaning to keepe his word, & not to leaue the poore citizens prisoners behind him: he sent his son to Rome, with commission to sell his lands, and to bring him money immediatly. The young man went his way to Rome, and sold his fathers farmes, and brought him money forthwith to the campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the prisoners, and sent their ransome vnto *Hanniball*. Many of the prisoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay him their ransome: but he would neuer take any thing againe, and gaue them all their ransome freely.

Fabius redeemeth the prisoners with his money.

Afterwards being called to Rome by the priests to do certaine solemne sacrifices, he left the army in charge with *Minutius*, to gouerne the same in his absence, with condition not to set vpon the enemy, nor to fight with him at all: the which not onely by his authority he did expressely forbid him, but also as his very friend, he did warne and intreate him in no wise to attempt. Howbeit *Minutius* litle regarding his commandements or requests, so soone as *Fabius* backe was turned, began to be somewhat lustie, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongst the rest, *Minutius* perceiuing *Hanniball* had sent a great part of his army abroad to forrage and get victuals, came and set vpon them that remained behind, and draue them into their campe, with great slaughter, and did put them in a maruellous feare that were saued, as men that looked for no lesse, but to haue bene besieged in their campe. Afterwards also, when their whole army came together againe, he retired backe in spite of them all, and lost not a man. This exploit set *Minutius* in a pride, and brought the souldiers to be more rash then they were before. The newes of this ouerthrow went with speed to Rome, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, sayd: he was more afeard of *Minutius* prosperity, then of his owne aduersitie. But the common people reioyced maruellously, and made great shew of ioy vp and downe the market place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going vp into the pulpit, made an oration vnto the people, in the which he highly magnified *Minutius*, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardlinesse, but with flat treason. Furthermore, he did accuse the Nobility and greatest men of Rome, saying: that from the first beginning they had layd a plot to draw these warres out at length, onely to destroy the peoples power and authority, hauing brought the whole common-weale to the state of a monarchie, and into the hands of a priuate person: who by his remissenesse and delayes, would giue *Hanniball* leysure to plant himselfe in Italie, and by time giue open passage to the Carthaginians, at their pleasure to send *Hanniball* a second ayde and armie, to make a full conquest of all Italie. *Fabius* hearing these words, rose vp straight, and spake to the people, and taried not about the aunswering of the accusations the Tribune had burthened him withall, but prayed them they would dispatch these sacrifices and ceremonies of the gods, that he might speedily returne againe to the campe, to punish *Minutius*, for breaking his commandement, in fighting with the enemie. He had no sooner spoken these words, but there arose a maruellous tumult and hurley burly presently among the people, for the daunger *Minutius* stood in then, because the *Dictator* had absolute power and authority to imprison and put to death whom he thought good, without ordinarie course of law or araignement. Moreouer, they did iudge, since *Fabius* had of late left his accustomed mildnesse and affabilitie, that he would grow to such seueritie in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appease him. Wherefore euery man held their peace for feare, sauing only *Metellus* the Tribune: he hauing authority by vertue of his office, to say what he thought good, and who only of all other kept still his place and authority, when any *Dictator* was chosen. Then all the officers that were put downe, instantly besought the people not to forsake *Minutius*, nor to suffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* did of late to his sonne, who stroke off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and ouercome them, for breaking his commandement. And began to perswade them further,

Minutius reshaesse.

Fabius accused of treason by Metellus the Tribune.

The cruelty of Manlius Torquatus to his sonne after his victory.

further, to take this tyrannicall power of the Dictatorſhip from *Fabius*: and to put their affaires into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them ſafely to paſſe. The people were tickled maruellouſly with theſe ſeditious words, but yet they durſt not force *Fabius* to reſigne his Dictatorſhip, though they bare him great grudge, and were angry with him in their harts. Howbeit they ordained that *Minutius* thenceforth ſhould haue equall power and authority with the *Dictator* in the warres; a thing that was neuer ſeene nor heard of before, and yet the very ſame done in that ſort againe, after the battell of CANNES. For *Marcus Iunius* being at that time *Dictator* in the campe, they did chuſe another *Dictator* at ROME, which was *Fabius Buteo*, to name and create new Senators in the place of thoſe that were ſlaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and reſtored the full number againe of the counſell of the Senate, he diſcharged the ſelfe ſame day the ſergeants that caried the axes before him, and ſent away the traine that waited vpon him, and did ſo put himſelfe in preaſe of the people in the market place, and followed his owne peculiar buſineſſe as a priuate perſon. Now the ROMAINES imagined, that when *Fabius* ſhould ſee how they had made *Minutius* equall in authority with him, it would grieue him to the heart for very anger: but they came ſhort to iudge of his nature, for he did not thinke that their folly ſhould hurt or diſhonour him at all. But as wiſe *Diogenes* anſwered one that ſayd vnto him, looke, they mocke thee: tuſh (ſayd he) they mocke not me. Meaning thereby, that he tooke them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke euery thing quietly, that the people offered him, and did comfort himſelfe with the Philoſophers rules and examples: who did maintaine, that an honeſt and wiſe man, can no way be iniured nor diſhonored. For all the diſpleaſure he receiued by the peoples folly, was in reſpect of the commonwealth: becauſe they had put a ſword into a mad mans hand, in giuing *Minutius* authority to follow his raſh humor, and fond ambition in the wars. Wherefore, fearing leaſt he being blinded with vaine glory, and preſumptuous opinion of himſelfe, ſhould raſhly (and vpon a head) haſten to do ſome great hurt before he came to the campe, he departed ſuddenly out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the campe, where he found *Minutius* ſo proud and ſtout, that he was not to be dealt with. For he would needs haue the authority to commaund the whole army when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not conſent to that, but deuided the one halfe of the army betweene them: thinking it better he ſhould alone command the one halfe, then the whole army by turnes. So he choſe for himſelfe, the firſt and third legion: and gaue vnto him, the ſecond and fourth, and deuided alſo betweene them the aide of their friends. And when *Minutius* made his boaſt, that the maieſty of the higheſt magiſtrate was brought lower for his ſake: *Fabius* told him that he might thinke, if he were wiſe, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would needes contend againſt his companion, yet he ſhould haue a ſpeciall regard and conſideration, that hauing wonne now the citizens good wils, by whom he was ſo much honored, he ſhould haue no leſſe care of their health and ſafety, then he had, who was now troden vnder foote, and ill intreated by them. *Minutius* tooke his leſſon for a counterfeit mocke, after old mens maners and faſhion: & ſo taking the one halfe of the army vnto him, went and lodged alone by himſelfe. *Hannibal* hearing of their iarre and ſquaring together, ſought ſtraight oportunity to make their diſcord finely to ſerue his turne. Now there was a hil betweene both their campes not very hard to be won, and it was an excellent place to lodge a campe ſafely in, and was very fit and commodious for all things. The fields that were about it, did ſeeme a far off to be very plaine and euen ground, becauſe they had no couert of wood to ſhadow them, yet were there many ditches and litle vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might eaſily haue taken it at his pleaſure if he had liſted, did let it alone in the middeſt betweene them, for a baite to draw out his enemies to battell. Now when *Hannibal* ſaw *Fabius* and *Minutius* lodged aſunder, he placed certaine bands in the night among thoſe ditches and vallies. Afterwards the next morning by breake of day, he ſent a ſmall number of men openly to win this hill: hoping by this pollicy to traine *Minutius* out to the field, as it fell out indeed. For firſt *Minutius* ſent thither his light horſemen, and afterwards all his men at armes: and laſtly perceiuing that *Hannibal* himſelfe came to releeue his men that were vpon the hill, he himſelfe marched forward alſo with all the reſt of his army in order of battell, and gaue a hote charge vpon them that defended the hill, to driue them thence. The fight continued equall a good ſpace betweene them both, vntill ſuch time as *Hannibal* ſaw his enemie come directly within his daunger, and ſhewed the rereward of his battell naked vnto his men, whom before he had layd in

The Dictator and generall of the horſemen made equall in authority.

Diogenes words.

Minutius pride.

Hannibal laid an.buſh for Minutius.

ambuſh: he ſtraight raiſed the ſignall he had giuen them. They vpon that diſcouered all together, and with great cries did ſet vpon the rereward of the ROMAINES, & ſlue a great number of them at the firſt charge: and did put the reſt in ſuch a feare and diſorder, as it is vnpoſſible to expreſſe it. Then was *Minutius* raſh brauery and fond boaſts much cooled, when he looked firſt vpon one captaine, then vpon another, and ſaw in none of them any courage to tary by it, but rather that they were all ready to run away. Which if they had done, they had bene caſt away euery man: for the NVMIDIANS finding they were the ſtronger, did diſperſe themſelues all about the plaine, killing all ſtraglers that fled. *Minutius* ſouldiers being brought to this danger and diſtreſſe, which *Fabius* foreſaw they would fall into, and hauing vpon this occaſion his army ready ranged in order of battell, to ſee what would become of *Minutius*, not by report of meſſengers, but with his owne eyes: he got him to a litle hill before his campe, where when he ſaw *Minutius* & all his men compaſſed about on euery ſide, and euen ſtaggering and ready to flie, & heard beſide their cries not like men that had harts to fight, but as men ſcared, & ready to flie for feare to ſaue themſelues: he clapped his hand on his thigh, and fetched a great ſigh, ſaying to thoſe that were about him: O gods, how *Minutius* is gone to caſt himſelfe away, ſooner then I looked for, and later then he deſired? But in ſpeaking theſe words, he made his enſignes march on in haſte, crying out aloud: O my friends, we muſt diſpatch with ſpeed to ſuccour *Minutius*: for he is a valiant man of perſon, and one that loueth the honor of his country. And though with ouermuch hardineſſe he hath ventred too farre, and made a fault, thinking to haue put the enemies to flight: time ſerueth not now to accuſe him, we will tell him of it hereafter. So he preſently brake the NVMIDES, and diſperſed them, that lay waiting in the fields for the ROMAINES, which they thought would haue fled. Afterwards he went further, & did ſet vpon them that had giuen charge vpon the rereward of *Minutius* battel, where he ſlue them that made head againſt him. The reſidue, fearing leaſt they ſhould fall into the danger they had brought the ROMAINES vnto: before they were enuironed in of all ſides, did turne taile ſtraight to *Fabius*. Now *Hanniball* ſeeing this change, and conſidering how *Fabius* in perſon, with more courage then his age required, did make a lane in the middeſt of thoſe that fought againſt the ſide of the hill, to come to the place where *Minutius* was: he made the battell to ceaſe, and commanded to ſound the retreate, & ſo drew backe his men againe into his campe, the ROMAINES being very glad alſo they might retire with ſafety. They ſay *Hanniball* in his retiring, ſaid merrily to his friends: haue not I told you (Sirs) many a time and oft, of the hanging cloud we ſaw on the top of the mountaines, how it wold breake out in the end with a tempeſt that would fall vpon vs? After this battell, *Fabius* hauing ſtript thoſe that were left dead in the field, retired againe to his owne campe, and ſpake not an ill word of *Minutius* his companion. *Minutius* then being come to his campe, aſſembled his ſouldiers, and ſpake thus to them: My friends, not to erre at all, enterpriſing great matters, it is a thing paſſing mans nature: but to take warning hereafter, by faults that are paſt and done, it is the part of a wiſe and valiant man. For my ſelfe, I acknowledge I haue no leſſe occaſion to praiſe fortune, then I haue alſo cauſe to complaine of her. For that which long time could neuer teach me, I haue learned by experience in one litle peece of a day: and that is this. That I am not able to command, but am my ſelfe fitter to be gouerned and commanded by another: and that I am but a foole to ſtand in mine owne conceipt, thinking to ouercome thoſe, of whom it is more honour for me to confeſſe my ſelfe to be ouercome. Therefore I tell you, that the *Dictator Fabius* henceforth ſhall be he, who alone ſhall command you in all things. And to let him know that we do all acknowledge the fauour which we haue preſently receiued at his hands, I will leade you to giue him thanks, and will my ſelfe be the firſt man to offer to obey him in all that he ſhall command me. Theſe words being ſpoken, he commanded his enſigne-bearers to follow him, & he himſelfe marched formoſt towards *Fabius* campe. When he came thither, he went directly to the *Dictators* tent: whereat euery man wondered, not knowing his intent. *Fabius* came out to meete him. *Minutius* after he had ſet downe his enſignes at his feete, ſaid with a loud voice; ô father: and his ſouldiers vnto *Fabius* ſouldiers; ô maiſters, which name the bondmen that are infranchiſed, do vſe to them that haue manumiſſed them. Afterwards euery man being ſilent, *Minutius* began aloud to ſay vnto him: My lord *Dictator*, this day you haue won two victories. The one of *Hanniball*, whom valiantly you haue ouercome: the ſecond, of my ſelfe your companion, whom alſo your wiſedome and goodneſſe hath vanquiſhed. By the one, you haue ſaued our liues: and by the other, you haue wiſely taught vs. So haue we alſo bene ouercome in two ſorts: the one by *Hanniball* to our ſhame, and the other by

Fabius foreſight in the warre.

Fabius reſcueth Minutius generall of the horſemen.

The great modeſty of Fabius.

Minutius oration to his ſouldiers.

The wiſedome of Minutius acknowledging his fault.

Minutius words to Fabius.

you

your ſelfe, to our honor and preſeruation. And therefore do I now call you my father, finding no other name more honorable to call you by, wherewith I might honor you: acknowledging my ſelfe more bound vnto you for the preſent grace and fauour I haue receiued of you, then vnto my naturall father that begot me. For by him only I was begotten: but by you, mine, and all theſe honeſt citizens liues haue bene ſaued. And hauing ſpoken theſe words, he embraced *Fabius*: and ſo did the ſouldiers alſo, hartily embrace together, and kiſſe one another. Thus the ioy was great through the whole campe, and one were ſo glad of another, that the teares trickled downe their cheekes for ioy. Now when *Fabius* was afterwards put out of his office of Dictatorſhip, there were new Conſuls choſen againe: the two firſt followed directly *Fabius* former order he had begun: for they kept themſelues from giuing *Hannibal* any battell, and did alwayes ſend ayd to their ſubiects & friends, to keepe them from rebellion: vntill that *Terentius Varro* (a man of meane birth, and knowne to be very bold and raſh) by flattering of the people, wan credit among them to be made Conſull. Then they thought that he by his raſhneſſe and lacke of experience, would incontinenty hazard battell: becauſe he had cried out in all the aſſemblies before, that this war would be euerlaſting, ſo long as the people did chuſe any of the *Fabians* to be their generals, and vanted himſelfe openly, that the firſt day he came to ſee his enemies, he would ouerthrow them. In giuing out theſe braue words, he aſſembled ſuch a power, that the Romaines neuer ſaw ſo great a number together, againſt any enemy that euer they had: for he put into one campe, 88000. fighting men. This made *Fabius* and the other Ronaines, men of great wiſedome and iudgement, greatly affraid: becauſe they ſaw no hope for Rome to riſe againe, if it fortuned that they ſhould looſe ſo great a number of goodly youth. Therefore *Fabius* talked with the other Conſull, called *Paulus Æmilius*, a man very skilfull and expert in wars, but ill beloued of the common people, whoſe furie he yet feared, for that they had condemned him a litle before to pay a great fine to the treaſury: and after he had ſomewhat comforted him, he began to perſwade and encourage him to reſiſt the fond raſhneſſe of his companion, telling him, that he ſhould haue aſmuch to do with *Terentius Varro* for the preſeruation and ſafety of his countrey, as to fight with *Hanniball* for defence of the ſame. For they were both Marſhall men, and had a like deſire to fight: the one becauſe he knew not wherein the vantage of his ſtrength conſiſted, and the other becauſe he knew very well his weakneſſe. You ſhall haue reaſon to beleeue me better, for matters touching *Hanniball*, then *Terentius Varro*: for I dare warrant you, if you keepe *Hanniball* from battel but this yeare, he ſhall of neceſſity, if he tarry, cõſume himſelfe, or elſe for ſhame be driuen to flie with his army. And the rather, becauſe hitherto (though he ſeeme to be lord of the field) neuer one yet of his enemies came to take his part: and moreouer becauſe there remaines at this day in his campe not the third part of his army, he brought with him out of his countrey. Vnto theſe perſwaſions, the Conſull (as it is reported) anſwered thus: When I looke into my ſelfe, my lord *Fabius*, me thinkes my beſt way were rather to fall vpon the enemies pikes, then once againe to light into the hands & voices of our citizens. Therefore, ſith the eſtate of the common-wealth ſo requireth it, that it behoueth a man to do as you haue ſayd, I will do my beſt indeuour to ſhew my ſelfe a wiſe captaine, for your ſake onely, rather then for all other that ſhould aduiſe me to the contrary. And ſo *Paulus* departed from Rome with this mind. But *Terentius* his cõpanion wold in any caſe, they ſhould command the whole army by turnes, each his day by himſelfe: & went to encampe hard by *Hanniball*, by the riuer of Avfide, neere vnto the village called Cannes. Now when it came to his day to cõmand by turnes, early in the morning he cauſed the ſignal of battell to be ſet out, which was a coate-armour of skarlet in graine, that they did lay out vpon the pauilliõ of the generall: ſo that the enemies at the firſt ſight, began to be affeard, to ſee the luſtines of this new come Generall, and the great number of ſouldiers he had alſo in his hoaſt, in compariſon of them that were not halfe ſo many. Yet *Hanniball* of a good courage, commanded euery man to arme, and to put themſelues in order of battell: and himſelfe in the meane time taking his horſe backe, followed with a few, gallopped vp to the top of a litle hill not very ſteepe, from whence he might plainely diſcerne all the Romaines campe, and ſaw how they did range their men in order of battell. Now one *Giſcon* (a man of like ſtate and nobility as himſelfe) being with him at that time, told him, that the enemies ſeemed a farre off to be a maruellous number. But *Hanniball* rubbing his forehead, anſwered him: Yea, ſayd he, but there is anothet thing more to be wõdred at then you thinke of *Giſcon*. *Giſcon* ſtraight asked him: What? mary ſaith he, this: that of all the great number of ſouldiers you ſee yonder, there is not a man of them called *Giſcon* as

The raſhneſſe of Terentius Varro.

Terentius Varro, Paulus Æmilius Conſuls.

The Romaines campe vnder Terentius Varto, 88000. men.

Fabius counſell to Paulus Æmilius.

Auſidius ſl.

you are. This merry answer deliuered contrary to their expectation that were with him, looking for some great waighty matter, made them all laugh a good. So downe the hill they came laughing aloud, and told this prety ieast to all they met as they rode, which straight from one to another ran ouer all the campe, in so much as *Hannibal* himselfe could not hold from laughing. The CARTHAGINIAN souldiers perceiuing this, began to be of a good courage, imagining that their generall would not be so merily disposed as to fall a laughing, being so neere daunger, if he had not perceiued himselfe a great deale to be the stronger, and that he had good cause also to make no reckoning of his enemies. Furthermore, he shewed two pollicies of a skilfull captaine in the battell. The first was, the situation of the place, where he put his men in order of battell, so as they had the wind on their backes: which raging like a burning lightning, raised a sharpe dust out of the open sandy vally, and passing ouer the CARTHAGINIANS squadron, blew full in the ROMAINES faces, with such a violence, that they were compelled to turne their faces, and to trouble their owne rankes. The second pollicy was, the forme and order of his battell. For he placed on either side of his wings, the best and valiantest souldiers he had in all his army: and did fill vp the middest of his battell with the worst of his men, which he made like a point, and was farther out by a great deale, then the two wings of the front of his battell. So he commaunded those of the wings, that when the ROMAINES had broken his first front, and followed those that gaue backe, whereby the middest of his battell should leaue an hollow place, and the enemies should come in still increasing within the compasse of the two wings: that then they should set vpon them on both sides, and charge their flankes immediatly, and so inclose them in behind. And this was cause of greater slaughter. For when the middle battell began to giue backe, and to receiue the ROMAINES within it, who pursued the other very hotly, *Hannibals* battell changed her forme: and where at the beginning it was like a point, it became now in the middest like a cressant or halfe Moone. Then the captaines of the chosen bands that lay out in both the wings, made their men to turne, some on the left hand, & some on the right, & charged the ROMAINES on the flankes, and behind, where they were all naked: so they killed all those that could not saue themselues by flying before they were enuironed. They say also, that there fell out another mischiefe by misfortune, vnto the horsemen of the ROMAINES, and by this occasion. The horse of *Paulus Æmilius* the Consull being hurt, did throw his maister on the ground: whereupon those that were next him, did light from their horse backes to helpe him. The residue of the horsemen that were a great way behind him, seeing them light, thought they had bene all commaunded to light: hereupon euery man forsooke their horse, and fought it out on foote. *Hannibal* when he saw that, said: yea mary, I had rather haue them so, then deliuered me bound hand and foote. But for these matters, the historiographers do delate more at large. Furthermore, of the two Consuls, *Varro* saued himselfe by his horse, with a few following him, within the city of VENVSA. *Paulus* being in the middest of the throng of all the army, his body full of arrowes that stucke fast in his wounds, and his heart sore loden with grieuous sorrow and anguish, to see the ouerthrow of his men: was set downe by a rocke, looking for some of his enemies, to come and rid him out of his paine. But few could know him, his head and face was on such a gore-bloud: insomuch as his friends & seruants also passed by him & knew him not. And there was but one yong gentleman of a noble house of the *Patricians*, called *Cornelius Lentulus*, that knew him, who did his best endeuor to saue him. For he lighted on foote presently, and brought him his horse, praying him to get vp vpon him, to proue if he could saue himselfe for the necessity of his countrey, which now more then euer had need of a good and wise captaine. But he refused the gentlemans offer & his intreatie, & compelled him to take his horse backe againe, though the teares ran downe his cheeks for pity: and raising himselfe vp to take him by the hand, he sayd vnto him: I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, & witnesse with me, that *Paulus Æmilius* euen to his last houre hath followed his counsell, and did neuer swarue from the promise he made him: but that first he was forced to it by *Varro*, and afterwards by *Hannibal*. When he had deliuered these words, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and running againe into the fury of the slaughter, there he died among his slaine companies. It is thought there were slaine at this battell, 50000 ROMAINES, and 4000 taken prisoners: and other 10000 that were taken prisoners in two campes after the battell. When this noble victory was gotten, *Hannibals* friends gaue him counsell to follow his good fortune: and to enter ROME after the scattered number that fled thither: so as within few dayes following he might sup in their Capitoll. A man cannot easily gesse what was the cause that stayed him, that he

Hannibals stratagemes at the battell of Cannes.

Hannibals order of battell at Cannes.

The slaughter of the Romaines at the battell of Cannes.

Paulus Æmilius slaine at the battell of Cannes.

50000. Romaines slaine at the battell of Cannes.

he went not, vnleſſe it was (as I thinke) ſome good fortune, or fauourable God toward the Romaines that withſtood him, and made him afeard and glad to retire. Whereupon they ſay, that one *Barca* a Carthaginian, in his anger ſayd to *Hanniball*: Sir, you haue the way to ouercome, but you cannot vſe victory. Notwithſtanding, this victory made a maruellous chaunge for him: for hereupon, all Italy in maner came in to ſubmit themſelues to him, where before he had no towne at commandement, nor any ſtorehouſe or port through all Italy: yea he did maruellous hardly, and with much ado victuall his army with that he could daily rob and ſpoile, hauing no certaine place to retire vnto, nor grounded hope to entertaine theſe wars, but kept the field with his army, remouing from place to place, as they had bin a great number of murtherers & theeues together. For the moſt part of the country, did yeeld immediatly vnto him: as the city of Capua, being the chiefeſt and greateſt city of all Italy but Rome, and did receiue *Hanniball*, and were at his deuotion. Thus we may plainely ſee, that as the poet *Euripides* ſaith: It is a great miſchiefe not onely to be driuen to make triall of friends, but proofe alſo of captaines wiſedome. For that which before they accounted cowardlineſſe and faint heart in *Fabius*, immediatly after the battell, they thought it more then mans reaſon, and rather an heauenly wiſedome and influence, that ſo long foreſaw the things to come, which the parties ſelues that afterwards felt them, gaue little credit vnto before. Vpon this occaſion, Rome repoſed incontinently all their hope and truſt in *Fabius*, and they repaired to him for counſell, as they would haue run vnto ſome temple or altar for ſanctuary. So as the firſt and chiefeſt cauſe of ſtaying the people together from diſperſing theſelues abroad, as they did when Rome was taken by the Gaules, was the only opinion & confidence they had in *Fabius* wiſdome. For where before he ſeemed to be a coward, and timerous, when there was no danger nor misfortune happened: then when euery man wept and cried out for ſorow, which could not helpe, and that all the world was ſo troubled that there was no order taken for any thing, he contrarily went alone vp and downe the city very modeſtly, with a bold conſtant countenance, ſpeaking curteouſly to euery one, and did appeaſe their womaniſh cries & lamentations, & did forbid the common aſſemblies and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corſe at their burials. Then he perſwaded the Senate to aſſemble in counſell, and did comfort vp thoſe that were magiſtrates, and he alone was the only force and power of the city: for there was not a man that bare any office, but did caſt his eye vpon *Fabius*, to know what he ſhould do. He it was that cauſed the gates of the city ſtraight to be warded, and to keepe thoſe in for going their way, that would haue forſaken the city. He moreouer did appoint the time & place of mourning, and did command whoſoeuer was diſpoſed to mourne, that he ſhould do it priuatly in his owne houſe, and to continue only but 30 daies. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the city might be cleane from ſuch vncleane things. So the feaſt of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leaue off the ſacrifices and proceſſion they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* day: then by their ſmall number that were left, and ſorow of thoſe that remained, to let their enemies vnderſtand their exceeding great loſſe. For the gods delight to be ſerued with glad and reioyſing hearts, and with thoſe that are in proſperity. But all this notwithſtanding, whatſoeuer the prieſts wold haue done, either to pacifie the wrath of the gods, or to turne away the threatnings of theſe ſiniſter ſignes, it was forthwith done. For they did ſend to the oracle of *Apollo*, in the city of Delphes, one of *Fabius* kinſmen ſurnamed *Pictor*. And two of the *Veſtall Nuns* being defloured: the one was buried aliue according to the law and cuſtome, and the other made her ſelfe away. But herein the great courage and noble clemency of the Romaines, is maruellouſly to be noted and regarded. For the Conſull *Terentius Varro* returning backe to Rome, with the ſhame of his extreme misfortune & ouerthrow, that he durſt not looke vpon any man: the Senate notwithſtanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the city to meete him, & did honorably receiue him. Nay furthermore, thoſe that were the chiefe magiſtrates and Senators, among whom *Fabius* was one, when ſilence was made, they commended *Varro* much: becauſe he did not deſpaire of the preſeruation of the common-weale after ſo great a calamity, but did returne againe to the city, to helpe to reduce things to order, in vſing the authority of the law, & the ſeruice of the citizens, as not being altogether vnder foot, but ſtanding yet in reaſonable termes of good recouery. But when they vnderſtood that *Hanniball* after the battell was gone into other parts of Italy: then they began to be of good cheere againe, & ſent a new army and generals to the field, among which, the two chiefe generals were *Fabius Maximus*, & *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in maner, wan alike glory and reputation. For *Marcellus* (as we haue declared

All Italy reuolted and ſubmitted themſelues to Hanniball.

Fabius conſtancy after the ouerthrow at Cannes.

Fabius order for mourning.

The magnanimity of the Romaines after the ouerthrow at Cannes.

Fabius Maximus, and Claudius Marcellus generals.

in his life) was a man of ſpeedy execution, of a quicke hand, of a valiant nature, & a right martiall man, as *Homer* calleth them, that valiantly put themſelues in any danger: by reaſon whereof, hauing to deale with another captaine alike venturous and valiant as himſelfe, in all ſeruice and execution, he ſhewed the ſelfe boldneſſe and courage that *Hanniball* did. But *Fabius* perſiſting ſtill vpon his firſt determination, did hope that though he did not fight with *Hanniball*, nor ſtirre him at all, yet continuall warres would conſume him and his army in the end, and bring them both to nought: as a common wreſtler that forceth his body aboue his naturall ſtrength, doth in the end become a lame and bruſed man. Hereupon *Poſidonius* writeth, that the one was called the ROMAINES ſword, and the other their target. And that *Fabius* conſtancy and reſoluteneſſe in wars to fight with ſecurity, and to commit nothing to hazard and danger, being mingled with *Marcellus* heate and fury, was that only, which preſerued the ROMAINES empire. For *Hanniball* meeting alwaies in his way the one that was furious, as a ſtrong running ſtreame, found that his army was continually turmoyled & ouerharried, and the other that was ſlow as a litle prety riuer, he found that his army ran ſoftly vnder him without any noiſe, but yet continually by litle & litle it did ſtill conſume & diminiſh him, vntil he ſaw himſelfe at the laſt brought to that paſſe, that he was weary with fighting with *Marcellus*, and affraid of *Fabius*, becauſe he fought not. For during all the time of theſe wars, he had euer theſe two captaines almoſt againſt him, which were made either Prætors, Conſuls, or Proconſuls: for either of them both had bene fiue times before choſen Conſull.

Poſſidonius words of Fabius and Marcellus.

Yet as for *Marcellus*, *Hanniball* had layd an ambuſh for him in the fift & laſt yeare of his Conſulſhip, where he ſet vpon him on a ſudden, and ſlue him. But as for *Fabius*, he layd many baites for him, and did what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambuſhes, and other warlike pollicies to entrap him, but he could neuer draw him within his danger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a litle trouble, and was in good hope then to haue made him fall vpon his ambuſh he had layd for him: and by this pollicy. He had counterfeited letters written & ſent vnto him from the city of METAPONT, to pray him to come to them, and they would deliuer their city into his hands: and withall, that ſuch as were priuy to the contents of the ſame, deſired no other thing but his repaire thither. Theſe letters pretily quickned *Fabius*: inſomuch as he was determined one night to haue taken part of his army, & to haue gone to them. But becauſe the ſignes of the birds did promiſe him no good ſucceſſe, he left off his purpoſe. Soone after he vnderſtood they were counterfeit letters, made by *Hannibals* fine deuiſe to haue drawne him out, & to haue entrapped him, for whom himſelfe lay in perſon in ambuſh neare the city, looking and waiting for his comming: but the gods who would haue him ſaued, were onely to be thanked for his happy ſcape.

Marcellus ſlaine by an ambuſh of Hannibals.

Hannibals ambuſh layd for Fabius.

Furthermore, concerning the reuolt of the cities that were ſubiect vnto him, & the riſing of their allies and friends againſt them: *Fabius* thought it farre better to intreat them curteouſly, making them aſhamed without occaſion to rebell againſt them, rather then openly to ſuſpect them, and to deale ſtraightly with thoſe that were ſo to be ſuſpected. Now for this matter, it is reported that *Fabius* had a ſouldier in his campe that was a MARSIAN borne by nation, a valiant man of his perſon, & alſo of as noble a houſe, as any that were of all the allies of the ROMAINES: who had practiſed with other his fellowes of the band he ſerued in, to go ſerue the enemy. *Fabius* hearing of this practiſe he went about, gaue him no ill countenance for it, but calling him to him, he ſaid: I muſt confeſſe there is no reckoning made of you, as your good ſeruice doth deſerue: wherefore for this time (ſaith he) I blame the pety captaines only, which in ſuch ſort do beſtow their goodwill and fauour at aduenture, and not by deſert. But henceforth it ſhall be your owne fault if you do not declare your mind vnto me, and betweene you and me make me priuy of your lacke and neceſſity. When he had ſpoken theſe words to him, he gaue him a very good horſe for ſeruice, and did reward him with other honorable gifts, as men of good ſeruice and deſert haue commonly beſtowed on him. And this did ſo incourage the ſouldier thencefoorth, that he became a very faithfull and ſeruiceable ſouldier to the ROMAINES. For *Fabius* thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of horſes, and ſuch like as take vpon them to tame brute beaſts, ſhould ſooner make them leaue their ſauage and churliſh nature by gentle vſage and manning of them: then by beating, and ſhackling of them. And ſo a gouernour of men, ſhould rather correct his ſouldier by patience, gentleneſſe, & clemency: then by rigour, violence, or ſeuerity. Otherwiſe he ſhould handle them more rudely, and ſharply, then husbandmen do figge-trees, oliue-trees, and wild pomegarnets: who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, do alter their hard and wild nature, and cauſe them in the end to bring forth good figs, oliues and pomgarnets. Another time certaine

Fabius lenity in correcting of faults.

Note how Fabius reclaimed an euill ſouldier.

Neceſſary rules for a captaine

captaines

captaines of his brought him word, that there was one of their ſouldiers which would euer go out of the campe, and leaue his enſigne. He asked them, what maner of man he was. They aunſwered him all together that he was a very good ſouldier, & that they could hardly find out ſuch another in all their bands as he: and therewithall they told him of ſome notable ſeruice they had ſeene him do in perſon. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent enquiry to know what the cauſe was that made him go ſo oft out of the campe: in the end, he found he was in loue with a yong woman, and that to go ſee her was the cauſe he did ſo oft leaue his enſigne, and did put his life in ſo great danger, for that ſhe was ſo farre off. When *Fabius* vnderſtood this, he ſent certaine ſouldiers (vnknowing to the ſouldier) to bring the woman away he loued, and willed them to hide her in his tent, and then called he the ſouldier to him, that was a LVCANIAN borne, and taking him aſide, ſayd vnto him thus: My friend, it hath bene told me, how thou haſt lyen many nights out of the campe, againſt the law of armes, and order of the ROMAINES, but therewithall I vnderſtand alſo that otherwiſe thou art an honeſt man, and therefore I pardon thy faults paſt, in conſideration of thy good ſeruice: but from henceforth I will giue thee in cuſtody to ſuch a one, as ſhall make me accompt of thee. The ſouldier was blanke when he heard theſe words. *Fabius* with that, cauſed the woman he was in loue with to be brought forth, and deliuered her into his hands, ſaying vnto him: This woman hereafter ſhall aunſwere me thy body to be forth comming in the campe amongſt vs: and from henceforth thy deeds ſhall witneſſe for the reſt, that thy loue vnto this woman, may be no cloke of thy departing out of the campe for any wicked practiſe or intent. Thus much we find written concerning this matter. Moreouer, *Fabius* after ſuch a ſort, recouered againe the city of TARENTVM, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMAINES, which they had loſt by treaſon. It fortuned there was a yong man in his campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a ſiſter within TARENTVM, which was very faithfull to him, and loued him maruellous dearely: now there was a captaine, a BRVTIAN borne, that fell in loue with her, & was one of thoſe to whō *Hanniball* had committed the charge of the city of TARENTVM. This gaue the yong ſouldier the TARENTINE, very good hope, and way, to bring his enterpriſe to good effect: whereupon he reuealed his intent to *Fabius*, and with his priuity fled from his campe, and got into the city of TARENTVM, giuing it out in the city, that he would altogether dwell with his ſiſter. Now for a few daies at his firſt comming, the BRVTIAN captaine lay alone by himſelfe, at the requeſt of the maid his ſiſter, who thought her brother had not knowne of her loue: and ſhortly after the yong fellow tooke his ſiſter aſide, and ſaid vnto her: My good ſiſter, there was a great ſpeech in the ROMAINES campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefeſt captaines of the garriſon: I pray thee if it be ſo, let me know what he is: for ſo he be a good fellow, and an honeſt man (as they ſay he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all things topſi-turuey, regardeth not of what place or calling he is of, and ſtill maketh vertue of neceſſity, without reſpect of ſhame. And it is a ſpeciall good fortune, at ſuch time as neither right nor reaſon rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His ſiſter hearing him ſpeake theſe words, ſent for the BRVTIAN captaine to bring him acquainted with her brother, who liked well of both their loues, and indeuored himſelfe to frame his ſiſters loue in better ſort towards him, then it was before: by reaſon whereof, the captaine alſo began to truſt him very much. So this yong TARENTINE ſaw it was very eaſie to win and turne the mind of this amorous and mercenary man, with hope of great gifts that were promiſed him, and *Fabius* ſhould performe. Thus do the moſt part of writers ſet downe this ſtory. Howbeit ſome writers ſay, that this woman who wan the BRVTIAN captaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRVTIAN borne, whom *Fabius* it is ſayd, kept afterwards for his concubine: and that ſhe vnderſtanding the captaine of the BRVTIANS (who lay in garriſon within the city of TARENTVM) was alſo a BRVTIAN borne, and of her owne natiue country, made *Fabius* priuy to her intent, & with his conſent, ſhe comming to the wals of the city, ſpake with this BRVTIAN captaine, whom ſhe handled in ſuch ſort, that ſhe wan him. But whileſt this geare was a brewing, *Fabius*, becauſe he would traine *Hanniball* out of thoſe quarters, wrote vnto the ſouldiers of RHEGIO, which belonged to the ROMAINES, that they ſhould enter the borders of the BRVTIANS, and lay ſiege to the city of CAVLONIA, and raſe it to the ground. Theſe RHEGIAN ſoldiers were about the number of 8000, and the moſt of them traytors, and runnagates, from one campe to another: and the worſt ſort of them, and moſt defamed of life, were thoſe that *Marcellus* brought thither out of SICILE, ſo that in looſing them all, the loſſe were nothing to the common-weale, and the ſorrow much leſſe. So *Fabius* thought, that putting theſe fellowes out for a pray to *Hanniball* (as a ſtale to

How Fabius won Tarentum againe.

Tarentum won by a womans meanes.

draw him from thoſe quarters) he ſhould plucke him by this meanes from TARENTVM: and ſo it came to paſſe. For *Hanniball* incontinently went thence with his army to intrap them: and in the meane time *Fabius* went to lay ſiege to TARENTVM, where he had not lien ſix daies before it, but the yong man (who together with his ſiſter had drawne the BRVTIAN captaine to this treaſon) ſtale out one night to *Fabius*, to enforme him of all, hauing taken very good markes of that ſide of the wall the BRVTIAN captaine had taken charge of, who had promiſed him to keepe it ſecret, and to ſuffer them to enter, that came to aſſault that ſide. Yet *Fabius* would not ground his hope altogether vpon the BRVTIANS executing this treaſon, but went himſelfe in perſon to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: and in the meane ſeaſon, he gaue a generall aſſault to all parts of the city (as well by ſea as by land) with great ſhouts & cries. Then the BRVTIAN captaine ſeeing all the citizens and garriſon run to that part, where they perceiued the noiſe to be greateſt: made a ſignall vnto *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then cauſed ſcaling ladders to be brought a pace, wherupon himſelfe with his cõpany ſcaled the wals, and ſo wan the city. But it appeareth here, that ambition ouercame him: for firſt he commaunded they ſhould kill all the BRVTIANS, becauſe it ſhould not be knowne he had won the city by treaſon. But this bloudy pollicy failed him: for he miſſed not only of the glory he looked for, but moſt deſeruedly he had the reproch of cruelty and falſhood. At the taking of this city, a maruellous number of the TARENTINES were ſlaine, beſides there were ſold 30000 of the chiefeſt of them, and all the city was ſacked: and of the ſpoile thereof was caried to the common ſtore treaſure at ROME, 3000 talents. It is reported alſo, that when they did ſpoile and carie away all other ſpoiles left behind, the recordor of the city asked *Fabius*, what his pleaſure was to do with the gods, meaning the tables, and their images: and to that *Fabius* anſwered him: Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their gods that be angrie with them. This notwithſtanding, he caried from thence *Hercules* ſtatue, that was of a monſtrous bigneſſe, and cauſed it to be ſet vp in the Capitoll, and withall did ſet vp his owne image in braſſe on horſe backe by him. But in that act he ſhewed himſelfe farre harder hearted then *Marcellus* had done, or to ſay more truly, thereby he made the world know how much *Marcellus* curteſie, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at: as we haue written in his life. Newes being brought to *Hanniball*, that TARENTVM was beſieged, he marched preſently with all ſpeed poſſible to raiſe the ſiege: and they ſay he had almoſt come in time, for he was within forty furlongs of the city when he vnderſtood the troth of the taking of it. Then ſayd he out aloud, Sure the ROMAINES haue their *Hanniball* to: for as we wan TARENTVM, ſo haue we loſt it. But after that, to his friends he ſayd priuatly (and that was the firſt time they euer heard him ſpeake it) that he ſaw long before, and now appeared plainly, that they could not poſſibly with this ſmall power keepe ITALY. *Fabius* made his triumph and entry into ROME the ſecond time, by reaſon of taking this city: & his ſecond triumph was much more honorable then the firſt, as of a valiant captaine that held out ſtill with *Hanniball*, and eaſily met with all his fine pollicies, much like the ſlight trickes of a cunning wreſtler, which caried not now the former roughneſſe and ſtrength any more, becauſe that his army was giuen to take their eaſe, and growne to delicaſie, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly alſo for that it was ſore waſted and diminiſhed, through the ſundry foughten battels and blowes they had bene at. Now there was one *Marcus Liuius* a ROMAINE, that was gouernour of TARENTVM at that time, when *Hanniball* tooke it, and neuertheleſſe kept the caſtell ſtill out of *Hannibals* hands, and ſo held it vntill the city came againe into the hands of the ROMAINES. This *Liuius* ſpited to ſee ſuch honour done to *Fabius*, ſo that one day in open Senate, being drowned with enuy and ambition, he burſt out and ſaid: that it was himſelfe, not *Fabius*, that was cauſe of taking of the city of TARENTVM again. *Fabius* ſmiling to heare him, anſwered him openly: Indeed thou ſaieſt true, for if thou hadſt not loſt it, I had neuer won it again. But the ROMAINES in all other reſpects did greatly honor *Fabius*, and ſpecially for that they choſe his ſon Conſull. He hauing already taken poſſeſſion of his office, as he was diſpatching certaine cauſes touching the wars, his father (whether it was for debility of his age, or to proue his ſon) tooke his horſe to come to him, and rode through the preaſe of the people that thronged about him, hauing buſineſſe with him. But his ſon ſeeing him comming a farre off, would not ſuffer it, but ſent an officer of his vnto him, to cõmand him to light off his horſe, and to come on foote if he had any thing to do with the Conſull. This commandement miſliked the people that heard it, and they all looked vpon *Fabius*, but ſayd not a word: thinking with themſelues, that the Conſull did great wrong to his fathers greatneſſe. So he

Fabius tooke the city of Tarentum.

Fabius ambition cauſe of fowle murder.

Fabius ſecond triumph.

Fabius witty anſwer.

A ſtraunge commaundement of the ſonne to the father.

he lighted ſtraight, and went a good round pace to embrace his ſonne, and ſayd vnto him: You haue reaſon ſonne, and do well to ſhew ouer whom you command, vnderſtanding the authority of a Conſull, which place you haue receiued. For it is the direct courſe, by the which we and our anceſters haue increaſed the ROMAINE empire: preferring euer the honor and ſtate of our countrey, aboue father, mother, or children. And truly they ſay, that *Fabius* great grandfather being the greateſt and moſt noble perſon of ROME in his time, hauing fiue times bene Conſull, & had obtained many triumphs, for diuerſe honorable and ſundry victories he had won: was contented after all theſe, to be his ſonnes lieutenant, and to go to the warres with him, he being choſen Conſull. And laſt of all, the Conſull his ſonne returning home to ROME a conqueror, in his triumphing chariot drawne with foure horſes, he followed him on horſebacke alſo, in troope with the reſt: thinking it honor to him, that hauing authority ouer his ſon in the right of a father, and being alſo the nobleſt man of all the citizens, ſo taken and reputed, neuertheleſſe he willingly ſubmitted himſelfe to the law and magiſtrate, who had authority of him. Yet beſides all this, he had far more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then thoſe already ſpoken of. But it fortuned that this ſon of *Fabius* died before him, whoſe death he tooke patiently, like a wiſe man, and a good father. Now the cuſtome being at that time, that at the death of a noble man, their neereſt kinſman ſhould make a funerall oration in their praiſe at their obſequies: he himſelfe made the ſame oration in honor of his ſon, & did openly ſpeake it in the market place, and moreouer wrote it, and deliuered it out abroad. About this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was ſent into SPAINE, who draue out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had ouerthrowne them in many battels, and had conquered many great cities, and greatly aduanced the honor and eſtimation of the ſtate of ROME: for the which at his returne, he was aſmuch, or rather more honored, beloued and eſteemed, then any other that was in the city of ROME. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Conſull, conſidered that the people of ROME looked for ſome great matter at his hands, aboue all other. Therefore he thought, to take vpon him to fight againſt *Hannibal* in ITALY, he ſhould but folow the old maner, and tread too much in the ſteps of the old man: whereupon he reſolued immediatly to make warres in AFRICKE, and to burne and deſtroy the country euen vnto CARTHAGE gates, and ſo to transferre the wars out of ITALY into LIBYA, procuring by all poſſible deuiſe he could, to put it into the peoples heads, & to make thē like of it. But *Fabius* contrarily, perſwading himſelfe that the enterpriſe this yong raſh youth tooke in hand, was vtterly to ouerthrow the cōmon-weale, or to put the ſtate of ROME in great daunger: deuiſed to put ROME in the greateſt feare he could poſſible, without ſparing ſpeech or deed he thought might ſerue for his purpoſe, to make the people change from that mind. Now he could ſo cunningly worke his purpoſe, what with ſpeaking and doing, that he had drawne all the Senate to his opinion. But the people iudged, it was the ſecret enuie he bare to *Scipioes* glory, that drew him to encounter this deuiſe, only to blemiſh *Scipioes* noble fortune, fearing, leaſt if he ſhold happen to do ſome honorable ſeruice (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwiſe to draw *Hanniball* out of ITALY) that then it would appeare to the world, he had bene too ſoft, or too negligent, to draw this war out to ſuch a length. For my part, me thinkes the only matter that moued *Fabius* from the beginning to be againſt *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the ſafety of the common-weale, by reaſon of the great danger depending vpon ſuch a reſolution. And yet I do thinke alſo, that afterwards he went further then he ſhould, contending too ſore againſt him (whether it was through ambition or obſtinacie) ſeeking to hinder and ſuppreſſe the greatneſſe of *Scipio*: conſidering alſo he did his beſt to perſwade *Craſſius*, *Scipioes* companion in the Conſulſhip, that he ſhould not graunt vnto him the leading of the army, but if he thought good to go into AFRICKE, to make wars vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that he ſhould rather go himſelfe. And moreouer, he was the let that they gaue him no mony for maintenance of theſe wars. *Scipio* hereupon being turned ouer to his owne credit, to furniſh himſelfe as he could, he leauied great ſums of mony in the cities of THVSCAN, who for the great loue they bare him, made contribution towards his iourny. And *Craſſius* remained at home, both becauſe he was a ſoft and no ambitious nor contentious man of nature: as alſo, becauſe he was the chiefeſt prelate and high biſhop, who by the law of their religion, was conſtrained to keepe ROME. *Fabius* ſeeing his labour loſt that way, tooke againe another courſe to croſſe *Scipio*, deuiſing to ſtay the yong men at home, that had great deſire to go this iourney with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all aſſemblies of the Senate and people, that *Scipio* was not contented only to flie *Hanniball*, but that he would carie with him beſides

The father obeyeth his ſons authority, and commendeth him.

Scipio Conſull.

Fabius was againſt the counſell and deuiſe of Scipio African.

Craſſius, high biſhop of Rome.

the whole force of ITALY that remained: alluring the youth with ſweete baites of vaine hope, and perſwading them to leaue their wiues, their fathers, mothers, and their countrey, euen now when their enemy knocked at ROME gates, who did euer conquer, and was yet neuer conquered. Theſe words of *Fabius* did ſo dampe the ROMAINES, that they appointed *Scipio* ſhould furniſh his iourney onely with the army that was in SICILIA, ſauing that he might ſupply to them if he would, 300 of the beſt ſoldiers that had ſerued him faithfully in SPAINE. And ſo it doth appeare euen to this preſent, that *Fabius* both did and ſaid all things, according to his wonted maner, and naturall diſpoſition. Now *Scipio* was no ſooner arriued in AFRICKE, but newes were brought to ROME incontinently, of wonderfull exploits, and noble ſeruice done beyond meaſure: and of great ſpoiles taken by him, which argued the troth of the newes. As, the king of the NVMIDIANS taken priſoner, two campes of the enemies burnt and deſtroyed at a time, with loſſe of a great number of people, armor, & horſes, that were conſumed in the ſame: letters & poſts for life running in the necke one of another from CARTHAGE to call *Hanniball* home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vaine hope that would neuer haue end, haſting himſelfe with all ſpeed poſſible to come to the reſcue of his country. Theſe wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of ſuch renowne and fame within ROME, that there was no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithſtanding deſiſted not to make a new requeſt, being of opinion they ſhould ſend him a ſucceſſor, alledging no other cauſe nor reaſon, but a common ſpeech of euery body: that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, ſo great exceeding proſperity and good ſucceſſe, becauſe it is a rare matter to ſee one man happie in all things. Theſe words did ſo much miſlike the people, that they thought him an enuious troubleſome man, or elſe they thought his age had made him fearefull: and that his courage failed with his ſtrength, fearing *Hanniball* more doubtfully then he needed. For now though *Hanniball* was forced to leaue ITALIE, and to returne into AFRICKE, yet *Fabius* would not graunt, that the peoples ioy & ſecurity they thought they were in, was altogether cleare, and without feare and miſtruſt: but gaue it out that then they were in greateſt daunger, and that the common-weale was breeding more miſchiefe now then before. For when *Hanniball* (ſaid he) ſhall returne home into AFRICKE, and come before CARTHAGE wals, the ROMAINES ſhall be leſſe able to abide him there, then they haue bene before: & *Scipio* moreouer, ſhall meete with an army yet warme, and embrued with the bloud of ſo many Prætors, Dictators, and Conſuls of ROME, which they haue ouercome, and put to the ſword in ITALY. With theſe vncomfortable ſpeeches, he ſtill troubled and diſquieted the whole city, perſwading them that notwithſtanding the warre was transferred out of ITALY into AFRICKE, yet that the occaſion of feare was no leſſe neere vnto ROME, then it was euer before. But within ſhort ſpace after, *Scipio* hauing ouercome *Hanniball* in plaine battell in the field, and troden vnder foote the glory and pride of CARTHAGE, he brought a greater ioy to ROME, then they euer looked for: and by this noble victorie of his, he ſhored vp againe the declining ſtate of the empire of ROME, which a litle before was falling downeright. Howbeit *Fabius* liued not to the end of this warre, nor euer heard while he liued the ioyfull newes of *Hannibals* happy ouerthrow, neither were his yeares prolonged to ſee the happy aſſured proſperity of his country: for about that time that *Hanniball* departed out of ITALY, a ſickneſſe tooke him, whereof he died. The ſtories declare, that the THEBANES buried *Epaminondas*, at the common charges of the people: becauſe he died in ſo great pouerty, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the houſe but a litle iron ſpit. Now the ROMAINES buried not *Fabius* ſo, at the common charge of the city, but euery man of beneuolence gaue towards his funerall charges, a peece of coine that caried the leaſt value of their currant mony: not for that he lacked ability to bring him to the ground, but only to honor his memory: in making his obſequies at their charges, as of one that had bene their common father. So had his vertuous life, an honourable end and buriall.

The famous acts done in Africke by Scipio Africanus

The death of Fabius Max. The funerals of Epaminondas.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Pericles with Fabius.*

HERE haue you heard what is written of theſe two great perſons. And for as much as they haue both left behind them, many noble examples of vertue, aſwell in martiall matters, as in ciuill gouernement, let vs begin to compare them together. Firſt of all, *Pericles* began to gouerne the commonweale, at what time the people of Athens were in their chiefeſt proſperity, & of greater power and wealth, then euer they had bene of before or ſince. The which might ſeeme to be a cauſe of the continuall maintenance of the ſame in ſecurity without daunger of falling, not ſo much for their worthineſſe, as for their common power and felicity: where contrariwiſe *Fabius* acts fell out in the moſt diſhonourable and vnfortunate time, that euer happened to his countrey, in the which he did not onely keepe the city in good ſtate from declining, but raiſed it vp, and deliuered it from calamity, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimons* great good fortune and ſucceſſe, the victories and triumphs of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valiant deeds of armes of *Tolmides*, gaue good cauſe to *Pericles*, to entertaine his city in feaſts, and playes, whileſt he did gouerne the ſame: and he did not find it, in ſuch ill caſe and diſtreſſe that he was driuen to defend it by force of armes, or to conquer that againe which before was loſt. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he ſaw before him many ouerthrowes, great flying away, much murder, great ſlaughters of the generals of the Romaine armies, the lakes, the plaines, the woods filled with ſcattered men, the people ouercome, the flouds and riuers running all a gore-bloud (by reaſon of the great ſlaughter) and the ſtreame carying downe the dead bodies to the maine ſea: did take in hand the gouernement of his country, and by a courſe farre contrary to all other, he did ſo vnderprop and ſhore vp the ſame, that he kept it from falling flat to the ground, amongſt thoſe ruines and ouerthrowes other had brought it to before him. Yet a man may ſay alſo, that it is no matter of ſo great difficulty to rule a city already brought low by aduerſitie, & which compelled by neceſſity, is contented to be gouerned by a wiſe man: as it is to bridle and keepe vnder the inſolency of a people, puft vp with pride, and preſumption of long proſperity, as *Pericles* found it amongſt the Athenians. The great multitude alſo of ſo many grieuous calamities, as lighted on the Romaines neckes at that time, did plainly ſhew *Fabius* to be a graue and a conſtant man, which would neuer giue way vnto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could euer be remoued from that he had at the firſt determined. The winning and recouering againe of Tarentvm, may well be compared to the taking of Samos, which *Pericles* wan by force: and the cities of Campania, vnto the Ile of Evboea: excepting the city of Capva, which the Conſuls *Fuluius* and *Appius* recouered againe. But it ſeemeth that *Fabius* neuer wan battel, ſaue that only for which he triumphed the firſt time: where *Pericles* ſet vp nine triumphs, of battels and victories he had won, aſwell by ſea as by land. And ſo alſo, they cannot alledge ſuch an act done by

by *Pericles*, as *Fabius* did, when he rescued *Minutius* out of the hands of *Hannibal*, and saued a whole army of the ROMAINES: which doubtlesse was a famous act, and proceeded of a noble mind, great wisedome, and an honorable hart. But *Pericles*, againe did neuer commit so grosse an error as *Fbaius* did when he was outreached, and deceiued by *Hannibals* fine stratageme of his oxen: who hauing found his enemy by chance to haue shut himselfe vp in the straight of a vally, did suffer him to escape in the night by a subtilty, & in the day by pluine force: for he was preuẽted by ouermuch delay, and fought withall by him he kept incloſed. Now if it be requisite, a good captaine do not only vse well that he hath in his hands, but that he wisely iudge also what will follow after, then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in such sort, as *Pericles* sayd they wold come to passe: for with ambitiõ to imbrace too much, they ouerthrow their estate. But the ROMAINES contrariwise, hauing sent *Scipio* into AFRICKE to make wars with the CARTHAGINIANS, wan all that they tooke in hand: where their generall did not ouercome the enemy by fortune, but by valiantnesse. So that the wisdom of the one is witnessed, by the ruine of his country: and the error of the other testified, by the happy euent of that he would haue let. Now the fault is alike in a generall, to fall into danger, for lacke of forecast: as for cowardlinesse to let slip a fit oportunity offered, to do any notable peece of seruice. For like default & lacke of experience, maketh the one too hardy, and the other too fearfull. And thus much touching the wars. Now for ciuill gouernment: it was a foule blot to *Pericles*, to be the author of wars. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for that he wold not haue them yeeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any respect. And yet me thinkes *Fabius Maximus* also would no more giue place vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, but stood firme and bold in all danger, to maintaine the empire of his country against them. But the goodnesse & clemency *Fabius* shewed vnto *Minutius*, doth much condemne *Pericles* accusations and practises, against *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: both of them being noble and good men, and taking part with the Nobility, whom he expulsed out of ATHENS, and banished for a time. So was *Pericles* power and authority in the commonweale greater: by reason whereof he did euer foresee, that no generall in all his time did rashly attempt any thing hurtfull vnto the commonweale, except *Tolmides* only: who fled from him, and in despite of him went to fight with the BOEOTIANS where he was slaine. As for all other generals, they wholly put themselues into his hands, and did obey him for the greatnesse of his authority. But *Fabius*, although for his part he neuer committed any fault, and that he went orderly to worke in all gouernment: yet becausse he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was defectiue. For if *Fabius* had caried like authority in ROME, as *Pericles* did in ATHENS: the ROMAINES had not fallen into so great misery as they did. And for liberality: the one shewed it, in refusing the mony offered him: and the other, in giuing vnto those that needed, and redeeming his poore captiue countrey men. And yet *Fabius* might dispend no great reuenue, for his whole receipts came only to sixe talents. But for *Pericles*, it is hard to say how rich he was, who had comming in to him, great presents by his authority, as well of the subiects, as of the friends and allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and strange Princes: yet he neuer tooke bribe for all that, of any person liuing. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of temples, the stately workes and common buildings: put all the ornaments together that euer were in ROME, before the times of the *Cæsars*, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith *Pericles* did beautifie and adorne the city of ATHENS. For neither in quality nor quantity was there any proportion or like comparison, betweene the exceeding sumptuousnesse of the one, and of the other.

The gift of a good generall.

The faults of generals.

The comparison betwixt Pericles and Fabius for ciuill gouernement.

Fabius reuenue.

The buildings of Rome nothing comparable to Pericles vvorkes.

The end of Fabius Maximus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Alcibiades.*

ALCIBIADES by his fathers ſide, was anciently deſcended of *Euryſaces*, that was the ſonne of *Aiax*, and by his mothers ſide of *Alcmæon*: for his mother *Dinomacha*, was the daughter of *Megacles*. His father *Clinias* hauing armed, & ſet forth a galley at his owne proper coſts & charges, did win great honour in the battell by ſea, that was fought alongſt the coaſt of ARTEMISIVM, and he was ſlaine afterwards in another battell fought at CORONEA, againſt the BOEOTIANS. His ſonne *Alcibiades* tutors, were *Pericles*, and *Ariphron Xantippus* ſonnes: who were alſo his neere kinſmen. They ſay, and truly, that *Socrates* good will and friendſhip did greatly further *Alcibiades* honor. For it appeareth not, neither was it euer written, what were the names of the mothers of *Nicias*, of *Demoſthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thraſibulus*, and of *Theramenes*: all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrary, we find the nource of *Alcibiades*, that ſhe was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his ſchoolemaiſter was called *Zophyrus*: of the which, *Antiſthenes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beauty, it made no matter if we ſpake not of it, yet I will a litle touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull faire, being a child, a boy, and a man, and that at all times, which made him maruellous amiable, and beloued of euery man. For where *Euripides* ſaith, that of all the faire times of the yeare, the Autumne or latter ſeaſon is the faireſt: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proued true in *Alcibiades*, though in few other: for he was paſſing faire euen to his latter time, and of good temperature of body. They write of him alſo, that his tongue was ſomewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gaue a certaine naturall pleaſant grace in his talke: which *Ariſtophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that did counterfeit a liſping grace with his tongue:

Alcibiades ſtocke.

Alcibiades tutors.

The mothers of famous men neuer knowne what they were.

Alcibiades beauty.

Alcibiades liſped by nature.

**The equiuocation of theſe 2. Greeke words* Κορα *and* Κολα, *is hard to be expreſſed in Engliſh, inſtead whereof I haue ſet flatling blowes, for flattering browes, obſeruing the grace of liſping as neere as I could, like to the Latine and French tranſlations, likewiſe Theolus for Theorus.*

This Alcibiades, with his fat liſping tongue,
into mine eares, this truſty tale, and ſong full often ſung:
Looke vpon Theolus (quoth he) lo there he bowes,
behold his comely crow-bright face with fat and flatling blowes.*
The ſonne of Clinias, would liſpe it thus ſomewhiles,
and ſure he liſped neuer a lye, but rightly hit his wiles.

And *Archippus* another poet alſo, mocking the ſonne of *Alcibiades*, ſaith thus:

Becauſe he would be like his father euery way,
in his long trailing gowne he would go ietting day by day.
And counterfaite his ſpeech, his countenance and face:
as though dame nature had him giuen, therein a perfect grace.
To liſpe and looke aſide, and hold his head awry,
euen as his father lookt and liſpt, ſo would he prate and pry.

For his manners they altered and changed very oft with time, which is not to be wondered at, ſeeing his maruellous great proſperity, as alſo aduerſitie that followed him afterwards. But of all the great deſires he had, and that by nature he was moſt inclined to, was ambition, ſeeking to haue the vpper hand in all things, and to be taken for the beſt perſon: as appeareth by certaine of his deeds, and notable ſayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wreſtling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to haue giuen him the fall: he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit ſo hard, as he would haue eaten it off. The other feeling him bite ſo hard, let go his hold ſtraight, and ſaid vnto him: what *Alcibiades*, biteſt thou like a woman? No marie do I not (quoth he) but like a lyon. Another time being but a litle boy, he playd at skailes in the middeſt of the ſtreet with other of his companions, & when his turne came about to throw, there came a cart laden by chance that way: *Alcibiades* prayed the carter to ſtay awhile, vntill he had played out his game, becauſe the skailes were ſet right in the high way where the cart ſhould paſſe ouer. The carter was a ſtubborne knaue, and would not ſtay for any requeſt the boy could make, but draue his horſe on ſtill, in ſo much as other boyes gaue backe to let him go on: but *Alcibiades* fell flat to the ground before the cart, and bad the carter driue ouer and he durſt. The carter being affraid, plucked backe his horſe to ſtay them: the neighbours flighted to ſee the danger, ran to the boy in all haſte crying out. Afterwards when he was put to ſchoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his maſters that taught him any thing, ſauing that he diſdained to learne to play on the flute or recorder: ſaying, that it was no gentlemanly quality. For, ſaid he, to play on the violl with a ſticke, doth not alter mans fauour, nor diſgraceth any gentleman: but otherwiſe, to play on the flute, his countenance altereth and chaungeth ſo oft, that his familiar friends can ſcant know him. Moreouer, the harpe or violl doth not let him that playeth on them, from ſpeaking, or ſinging as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth ſo hard to it, that it taketh not only his words from him, but his voyce. Therefore, ſayd he, let the children of the THEBANS ploy on the flute, that cannot tell how to ſpeake: as for the ATHENIANS, we haue (as our forefathers tell vs) for protectors and patrones of our countrey, the goddeſſe *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one in old time (as it is ſayd) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne ouer his eares, that played vpon a flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging theſe reaſons, partly in ſport, and partly in good earneſt, did not onely himſelfe leaue to learne to play on the flute, but he turned his companions minds alſo quite from it. For theſe words of *Alcibiades*, ran from boy to boy incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reaſon to deſpiſe playing on the flute, and that he mocked all thoſe that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fell out at ATHENS, that teaching to play on the flute, was put out of the number of honeſt and liberall exerciſes, and the flute it ſelfe was thought a vile inſtrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accuſations *Antiphon* wrote againſt *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a boy, he fled out of his tutors houſe, into the houſe of *Democrates* one of his louers, and how *Ariphron* one of his tutors thought to haue made a beadle cry him through the city: but *Pericles* wold not ſuffer him, ſaying: that if he were dead, they ſhould know it but one day ſooner by crying of him: and if he were aliue, that it would be ſuch a ſhame to him while he liued, that he had bin better he had neuer bene heard of againe. The ſame *Antiphon* accuſeth him further, that he had killed a ſeruant of his that attended on him, in the wreſtling place of *Sibyrtius*, with a blow of a ſtaffe. But there is no reaſon to credit his writing, who confeſſeth he ſpeaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did beare him. Now ſtraight there were many great and rich men that made much of of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his goodwill. But *Socrates* loue vnto him had another end and cauſe, which witneſſed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceiuing that vertue did appeare in him, and was ioyned with the other beauty of his face and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chiefeſt of the city, as of ſtrangers, ſeeking to entiſe him by flattery, & by many other pleaſures: he tooke vpon him to protect him from them all, and not to ſuffer ſo goodly an ympe to looſe the

Alcibiades ambitious.

Alcibiades ſtudies.

A vile thing to play on a flute.

Socrates loue to Alcibiades.

the hope of the good fruit of his youth. For fortune doth neuer ſo intangle nor ſnare a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let & hinder him ſo, that philoſophy ſhold not take hold on him with her free, ſeuere, & quicke reaſons. So *Alcibiades* was at the beginning, aſſaied with all delights, & ſhut vp as it were in their company that feaſted him with all pleaſures, only to turne him that he ſhould not hearken to *Socrates* words, who ſought to bring him vp at his charge, & to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithſtanding, hauing a good naturall wit, knew what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refuſing the company of all his rich friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kind of familiar friendſhip with *Socrates*. Whom when he had heard ſpeake, he noted his words very well, that they were no perſwaſions of a man ſeeking his diſhoneſty, but one that gaue him good counſell, and went about to reforme his faults and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and preſumption that was in him: then, as the common prouerke ſaith,

Like to the crauen cocke, he drooped downe his wings,
which cowardly doth runne away, or from the pit out flings.

And did thinke with himſelf, that all *Socrates* loue & following of yong men, was indeed a thing ſent from the gods, and ordeined aboue for them, whom they would haue preſerued, and put into the pathway of honor. Therefore he began to deſpiſe himſelfe, and greatly to reuerence *Socrates*, taking pleaſure of his good vſing of him, and much imbraced his vertue: ſo as he had (he wiſt not how) an image of loue grauen in his hart, or rather (as *Plato* ſaith) a mutuall loue, to wit, an holy and honeſt affection towards *Socrates*. Inſomuch as all the world wondred at *Alcibiades*, to ſee him commonly at *Socrates* boord, to play, to wreſtle, and to lodge in the wars with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other welwillers, who could not ſo much as haue a good looke at his hands, and beſides became dangerous to ſome, as it is ſayd he was vnto *Anytus*, the ſon of *Anthemion*, being one of thoſe that loued him well. *Anytus* making good cheere to certaine ſtraungers his friends that were come to ſee him, went and prayed *Alcibiades* to come and make merie with them: but he refuſed to go. For he went to make mery with certaine of his companions at his owne houſe, and after he had well taken in his cups, he went to *Anytus* houſe to counterfeit the foole amongſt them, and ſtaying at the hall doore, and ſeeing *Anytus* table and cubberd full of plate of ſiluer and gold, he commanded his ſeruants to take away halfe of it, and cary it home to his houſe. But when he had thus taken his pleaſure, he would come no neerer into the houſe, but went his way home. *Anytus* friends and gueſts miſliking this ſtraunge part of *Alcibiades*, ſayd it was ſhamefully and boldly done ſo to abuſe *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, ſaid *Anytus*: for he hath left vs ſome, where he might haue taken all. All other alſo that made much of him, he ſerued after that ſort, ſauing a ſtranger that came to dwel in Athens: who being but a poore man as the voice went, ſold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred ſtateres, which he brought vnto *Alcibiades*, and prayed him to take it at his hands. *Alcibiades* began to be mery, and being very glad to vnderſtand his goodwill towards him, tooke his honeſt offer, & prayed him to come to ſupper to him: ſo he welcomed him very hartily, and made him good cheere. When ſupper was done, he gaue him his mony againe, and commanded him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the farmes and lands of the city are wont to be let out to thoſe that bid moſt, & charged him he ſhould outbid all. The poore man would faine haue excuſed himſelfe, ſaying, the farmes were too great for him to hire: but *Alcibiades* threatned to whip him, if he would not do it. For beſides the deſire he had to pleaſure him, he bare a priuate grudge againſt the ordinary farmers of the city. The next morning the ſträger was ready in the market place, where they did cry out the letting of their farmes, and he raiſed one to a talent more then all other did offer. The other farmers were as mad with him as they could be, that they all did ſet vpon him, crying out: let him put in ſuretie ſtraight, ſuppoſing he could haue found none. The ſtranger was maruellous blanke thereat, and began to ſhrinke backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out aloud to the officers that ſate there to take the beſt offers: I will be his ſurety, ſaith he, put me in the booke, for he is a friend of mine. The farmers hearing him ſay ſo, were at their wits end, and wiſt not what to do. For they being alwayes accuſtomed to pay their yearely rent as it went before, by the helpe of the reſt of the yeares that followed after: perceiuing now that they ſhould not be able to pay the arrerages of the rents due to the common-weale, and ſeeing no other remedie, they prayed him to take a peece of money, and to leaue the bargaine. Then *Alcibiades* would in no wiſe he ſhould take leſſe then a talent, which they gaue him willingly. So *Alcibiades* ſuffered the ſtranger then to depart, and made him gaine by his deuiſe. Now *Socrates* loue which he bare him,

Alcibiades inſolency vnto Anytus.

Alcibiades liberall fact.

though it had many mighty and great aduerſaries, yet it did ſtay much *Alcibiades*, ſometime by gentle nature, ſometime by his graue counſell and aduiſe: ſo as the reaſon thereof tooke ſo deepe roote in him, and did ſo pierce his heart, that many times the teares ranne downe his cheekes. Another time alſo being caried away with the entiſement of flatterers, that held vp his humour with all pleaſure and delights, he ſtole away from *Socrates*, and made him run after him to fetch him againe, as if he had bene a ſlaue that had runne away from his maiſters houſe: for *Alcibiades* ſtood in awe of no man but of *Socrates* onely, and indeed he did reuerence him, and did deſpiſe all other. And therefore *Cleanthes* was wont to ſay, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but that he gaue his other louers hold, which *Socrates* neuer ſought for: for to ſay truly, *Alcibiades* was much giuen ouer to luſt and pleaſure. And peraduenture it was that *Thucydides* meant of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of body, and diſſolute of life. Thoſe that marred *Alcibiades* quite, did ſtill pricke forward his ambition and deſire of honour, and did put him in the head to thruſt himſelf into great matters betimes, making him beleue that if he did but once begin to ſhew himſelfe to deale in matters of ſtate, he would not onely blemiſh and deface all other gouernours, but farre excell *Pericles*, in authority and power among the GRECIANS. For like as iron by fire is made ſoft, to be wrought in any forme, and by cold alſo is ſhut and hardened againe: euen ſo *Alcibiades* being puffed vp with vanity and opinion of himſelfe, as oft as *Socrates* tooke him in hand, was made faſt and firme againe by his good perſwaſions, in ſo much that when he ſaw his owne fault and folly, and how farre wide he had ſtrayed from vertue, he became ſuddenly very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growne to mans ſtate, he went into a grammer ſchoole, and asked the ſchoolemaiſter for one of *Homers* bookes. The ſchoolemaiſter anſwered him, he had none of them: *Alcibiades* vp with his fiſt and gaue him a good boxe on the eare, and went his way. Another grammarian told him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, why what meaneſt thou, to ſtand teaching litle children their abce, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teach yong men, not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, deſirous to ſpeake with him: aunſwer was made him, he was not at leyſure now, for that he was buſily occupied by himſelfe, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the ATHENIANS. Why, ſayd he, going his way, it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no accompt at all. Moreouer, being but a young boy, he was at the iourney of POTIDÆA, where he lay ſtill with *Socrates*, who would neuer let him be from him in all battels and skirmiſhes he was in: among which there was one, very hote and bloudy, where they both fought valiantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurt. But *Socrates* ſtepped before him, and did defend him ſo valiantly before them all, that he ſaued him and his weapon out of the enemies hands. So the honor of this fight out of doubt, in equity and reaſon, was due vnto *Socrates*: but yet the captaines would faine haue iudged it on *Alcibiades* ſide, becauſe he was of a noble houſe. But *Socrates*, becauſe he would increaſe his deſire of honour, and would pricke him forward to honeſt and commendable things, was the very firſt that witneſſed *Alcibiades* had deſerued it: and therefore prayed the captaines to iudge him the crowne and complet armor. Afterwards, in the battell of DELION, the ATHENIANS hauing receiued the ouerthrow, *Socrates* retired with a few other on foot. *Alcibiades* being on horſe backe, and ouertaking him, would not go from him, but kept him company, and defended him againſt a troupe of his enemies that followed him, and ſlue many of his company. But that was a prety while after, and before he gaue a boxe on the eare vnto *Hipponicus*, *Callias* father: who was one of the greateſt men of power in the city, being a noble man borne, & of great poſſeſſions, which was done vpon a brauery & certaine luſtineſſe, as hauing layd a wager with his companions he would do it, and for no malice or quarrell that he bare the man. This light part was ſtraight ouer all the city, and euery one that heard it, ſayd it was lewly done. But *Alcibiades* the next morning went to his houſe, and knocking at his gate was let in: ſo he ſtripping himſelfe before him, deliuered him his body to be whipped, and puniſhed at his pleaſure. *Hipponicus* pardoned him, and was friends with him, and gaue him his daughter *Hipparete* afterwards in mariage. Howbeit ſome ſay, it was not *Hipponicus* that gaue her to him, but *Callias* ſonne, with ten talents of gold with her. Afterwards at the birth of the firſt child he had by her, he asked ten talents more, ſaying: they were promiſed him vpon the contract, if his wife had children. But *Callias* fearing leaſt this was an occaſion ſought of him to lye in waite to kill him for his goods: declared openly to the people, that he made him his heire generall, if he died without heires ſpeciall of his body. This gentlewoman *Hipparete* being an honeſt

Alcibiades ranne from Socrates.

Alcibiades giuen to pleaſure.

Alcibiades ſtrake a ſchoolmaſter, becauſe he had not Homer in his ſchoole.

Alcibiades firſt ſouldier fare with Socrates.

Alcibiades ſaued by Socrates

Alcibiades ſaued Socrates life after the ouerthrow at the battell of Delion.

Alcibiades maried.

honeſt true wife to *Alcibiades*, miſliking her husband did ſo much miſuſe her, as to entertaine cõmon light ſtrũpets, aſwell citizens as ſtrangers: ſhe went abroad one day to her brothers houſe, & told him of it. *Alcibiades* paſſed not for it, & made no further reckoning of the matter: but only bad his wife, if ſhe would, preſent her cauſe of diuorce before the Iudge. So ſhe went thither her ſelfe, to ſue the diuorce betweene thẽ, according to the law: but *Alcibiades* being there alſo, tooke her by the hand, & caried her through the market place home to his houſe, & no man durſt meddle betweene them, to take her from him. And ſo ſhe continued with him all the daies of her life, which was not long after: for ſhe died, when *Alcibiades* was in his iourny he made to EPHESVS. This force *Alcibiades* vſed, was not thought altogether vnlawfull, nor vnciuill, becauſe it ſeemeth that the law was grounded vpon this cauſe: that the wife which wold be diuorced from her huſband, ſhould go her ſelf openly before the Iudge to put vp her complaint, to the end, that by this meanes, the husband might come to ſpeake with his wife, and ſeeke to ſtay her if he could. *Alcibiades* had a maruellous faire great dog, that coſt him three ſcore and ten minas, and he cut off his taile that was his chiefe beauty. When his friends reproued him, and told him how euery man blamed him for it: he fell a laughing, and told them he had that he ſought. For, ſaith he, I would haue the ATHENIANS rather prate vpon that, then they ſhould ſay worſe of me. Moreouer, it is ſayd, the firſt time that *Alcibiades* ſpake openly in the common-weale, and began to deale in matters, was vpon a gift of mony he gaue vnto the people, and not of any pretence or former purpoſe he had to do it. One day as he came through the market place, hearing the people very loud, he asked what the matter was: they told him it was about mony certaine men had giuen to the people. Then *Alcibiades* went to them, and gaue them mony out of his owne purſe. The people were ſo glad at that, as they fell to ſhouting and clapping of their hands, in token of thankfulneſſe: and himſelfe was ſo glad for company, that he forgat a quaile he had vnder his gowne, which was ſo afeard of the noiſe, that ſhe tooke her flight away. The people ſeeing the quaile, made a greater noiſe then before, and many roſe out of their places to run after her: ſo that in the end, it was taken vp by a maſter of a ſhip called *Antiochus*, who brought him the quaile againe, & for that cauſe *Alcibiades* did loue him euer after. Now albeit the nobility of his houſe, his goods, his worthines, and the great number of his kinſmen and friends made his way open to take vpon him gouernement in the cõmonweale: yet the only way he deſired to win the fauor of the cõmon people by, was the grace of his eloquence. To proue he was eloquent, all the Comicall poets do teſtifie it: & beſides thẽ, *Demoſthenes* the prince of orators alſo doth ſay, in an oration he made againſt *Medias*, that *Alcibiades* aboue all other qualities he had, was moſt eloquent. And if we may beleeue *Theophraſtus*, the greateſt ſearcher of antiquities, and beſt hiſtoriographer aboue any other philoſopher: he hath written, that *Alcibiades* had as good a wit to deuiſe & conſider what he would ſay, as any man that was in his time. Howbeit ſometimes ſtudying what he ſhould ſay, as alſo to deliuer good words, not hauing them very readily at his toungs end, he many times tooke breath by the way, and pauſed in the middeſt of his tale, not ſpeaking a word, vntill he had called it to mind, that he would ſay. His charge was great, and much ſpoken of alſo, for keeping of running horſes at games: not only becauſe they were the beſt and ſwifteſt, but for the number of coaches he had beſides. For neuer priuate perſon, no nor any prince, that euer ſent ſeauen ſo well appointed coaches, in all furniture vnto the games Olympicall, as he did: nor that at one courſe hath borne away the firſt, the ſecond, and the fourth priſe, as *Thucydides* ſaith: or as *Euripides* reporteth, the third. For in that game, he excelled all men in honour and name that euer ſtriued for victory therein. For *Euripides* pronounced his praiſe, in a ſong he made of him, as followeth:

Hipparete ſueth to be diuorced from Alcibiades.

Alcibiades great dogge.

Alcibiades largeſſe.

Alcibiades comming into the common vvealth.

Alcibiades maruellous eloquent.

Alcibiades wit and imperfection.

Alcibiades victory at the games Olympicall.

O ſonne of Clinias, I will reſound thy praiſe:
for thou art bold in martiall deeds, and ouercom'ſt alwayes.
Thy victories therewith, do farre exceed the reſt,
that euer were in Greece ygot, therefore I compt them beſt.
For at th'Olympike games, thou haſt with chariots wonne
the firſt priſe, ſecond, third and all, which there in race were ronne.
With praiſe and litle paine, thy head hath twiſe bene crownd,
with oliue boughes for victory, and twiſe by trumpets ſound,
The Heraulds haue proclaim'd thee victor by thy name:
aboue all thoſe which ranne with thee, in hope to get the game.

Howbeit the good affection diuers cities did beare him, cõtending which ſhold gratifie him beſt,

did much increaſe his fame and honor. For the EPHESIANS did ſet vp a tent for him, very ſumptuouſly and richly furniſhed. Thoſe of the city of CHIO, furniſhed him with prouander for his horſe, & gaue him muttons beſides, & other beaſts to ſacrifice withall. They of LESBOS alſo ſent him in wine & other prouiſion of victuals, to helpe him to defray the great charges he was at in keeping open houſe, & feeding ſuch a number of mouths daily. Yet the ſpite they did beare him, or rather his breach of promiſe which he often made, with this magnificence & ſtate he ſhewed, gaue the people more cauſe to ſpeake of him then before. For they ſay there was one *Diomedes* at ATHENS, a friend of *Alcibiades*, and no ill man, who deſired once in his life to win a game at the playes Olympical. This mã being enformed that the ARGIVES had a coach excellẽtly furniſhed, belõging to the cõmonweale, and knowing that *Alcibiades* could do very much in the city of ARGOS, becauſe he had many friends in the ſame: he came to intreat *Alcibiades* to buy this coach for him. *Alcibiades* therupon bought it, but kept it to himſelf, not regarding *Diomedes* requeſt he had made. *Diomedes* ſeeing that, fell ſtarke mad for anger, and called the gods & men to witneſſes, that *Alcibiades* did him open wrong: and it ſeemeth, that there fell out ſute in law vpon the ſame. For *Iſocrates* wrote an oration, and drew a plea in defence of *Alcibiades*, being yet but a child, touching a couple of horſes: yet in this plea, his aduerſarie was called *Tiſias*, & not *Diomedes*. Furthermore, *Alcibiades* being yet but a yong man, when he came to practiſe and pleade publickly, he put all other orators to ſilence, but only two that were euer againſt him: the one was *Phæax* the ſonne of *Eraſiſtratus*, & the other *Nicias* the ſon of *Niceratus*. Of theſe two, *Nicias* was a man growne, and had won the name and reputation of a good captaine. And *Phæax* began alſo to come forward as he did, being of a good and honorable houſe: but he lacked many things, and among other, eloquence ſpecially. For, he could more properly talke and diſcourſe among his friends priuatly, thẽ he had any good grace to open a matter openly before the people. For he had, as *Eupolis* ſaith:

Alcibiades a breaker of promiſe.

Alcibiades aduerſaries in the common-vvealth vvhen he came to pleade.

Phæax lacked eloquence.

Words enow, but no eloquence.

There is a certaine oration extant in writing againſt *Alcibiades* & *Phæax*: where among other accuſations is brought in, how *Alcibiades* was ordinarily ſerued in his houſe, with gold & ſiluer plate that belonged to the commonweale, and which were vſed to be borne for ſtate & magnificence, in ſolemne proceſſions before them, and how he vſed them as boldly, as if they had bin his owne. Now there was one *Hyperbolus* in ATHENS at that time, borne in the village of PERITHOIDE: of whom *Thucydides* maketh mention, as of a naughty wicked man, ſeruing as a fit ſubiect and matter to all the taunts and mockes of the Comicall poets of that time: but he was ſo impudent a perſon, and cared ſo litle what men ſayd of him, that he paſſed not though he were defamed, neither did any thing grieue him, whatſoeuer they reported of him: which ſome do call boldneſſe, and courage, being no better indeed then plaine impudency, extreme madneſſe, and deſperate folly. He would neuer pleaſe any man: snd if the common people had any grudge to any noble man or magiſtrate, whom they would any way accuſe, *Hyperbolus* wicked toung was their inſtrumẽt to vtter their ſpite. Now the people (by *Hyperbolus* procurement) being aſſembled, were ready to proceed to the baniſhment of *Oſtraciſmon* by moſt voices. The maner & cuſtome of this kind of baniſhment was for a time to baniſh out of their city ſuch a one, as ſeemed to haue too great authority & credit in the city: and that was, rather to ſatisfie their enuy, then for to remedy their feare. And becauſe it was manifeſt it would fall out to one of them three to be baniſhed (to wit, *Alcibiades*, *Nicias*, or *Phæax*) *Alcibiades* found meanes to ioyne all their three factions in one, becomming friends one to another: & hauing conferred with *Nicias* about it, he made *Hyperbolus* ſelfe to be baniſhed, who was the chiefe inſtrument to prepare the way of their baniſhment. Howbeit other ſay, he ſpake not with *Nicias* about it, but with *Phæax*, & ioyning his part with *Phæax*, he cauſed *Hyperbolus* to be baniſhed, who feared nothing leſſe: for it was neuer ſeene before, that a man of meane countenance, and of ſmall authority, fell into the hap of this baniſhment: As *Plato* the comicall poet teſtifieth, ſpeaking of *Hyperbolus*:

The manner of the puniſhment of the Oſtraciſmon.

Hyperbolus baniſhed for ten yeares.

Although for his deſert, this paine to him is due,
or greater puniſhment prepar'd, the which might make him rue:
Yet ſince he was by birth, a perſon meane and baſe,
ſuch puniſhment therefore did ſeeme (for him) too great of grace.
Since Oſtraciſmon was, not made at firſt to be,
nor yet deuiſd as puniſhment, for ſuch meane folke as he.

But of this matter, we haue ſpoken more at large before: and now to returne againe to *Alcibiades*.

Nicias

Nicias had great reputation among ſtrangers, and his enemies grieued at it no leſſe, then at the honour the citizens ſelues did vnto him. For his houſe was the common Inne for all LACEDÆMONIANS when they came to ATHENS, and they euer lay with him: moreouer he had very well entertained the LACEDÆMON priſoners that were take at the fort of PYLE. And afterwards whē peace was concluded betweene LACEDÆMON and ATHENS, and their priſoners redeliuered home againe by *Nicias* meanes only and procurement, they loued him more then euer they did before. This was blowne abroad through GREECE, that *Pericles* had kindled the wars amongſt them, and *Nicias* had quenched it: ſo ſome called this peace *Nicium*, as one would ſay, *Nicias* worke. But *Alcibiades* ſtomaking this, and enuying *Nicias* glory, determined to breake the peace whatſoeuer came of it. Wherefore to compaſſe this matter, knowing firſt of all that the ARGIVES had no liking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but were their mortall enemies, and that they did but ſeeke matter to fall out with them: he ſecretly put them in hope of peace and league with the ATHENIANS. Moreouer he did perſwade them to it, both by letters and word of mouth, ſpeaking with the magiſtrates, and ſuch as had greateſt authority and credit amongſt the people: declaring vnto them, that they ſhold not feare the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yeeld to them at all, but to ſticke to the ATHENIANS, who would ſoone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwards whē the LACEDÆMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had redeliuered the city of PANACTVM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and ſpoyled, contrary to the league: *Alcibiades* perceiuing how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earneſt againſt them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in diſgrace with the people, & charged him with many matters of great likelihood. As at that time when he was generall: that he would neuer take any of the LACEDÆMONIANS, when they were ſhut vp within the Ile of SPHACTERIA, and much leſſe diſtreſſe thē when he might: and moreouer that when other had taken them priſoners by force, that he had found the meanes to deliuer thē, and ſend them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDÆMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friend, he did not his duty to diſſwade the people from making of league offenſiue and defenſiue with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe alſo, if there were any people of GREECE that had a deſire to become friends and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he did the beſt he could to let them, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in diſgrace with the people, for the cauſes aboueſayd: in the middeſt of this ſtir, ambaſſadours came by chance from LACEDÆMON to ATHENS, who at their comming gaue very good words, ſaying they had full power and commiſſion to compound all controuerſies, vnder reaſonable and equall conditions. The Senate heard them, and receiued them curteouſly, & the people the next day ſhould aſſemble in counſell to giue them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing much, he went to labor the ambaſſadors, and ſpake with them apart in this ſort. What meane you, my Lords of SPARTA: do ye not know that the Senate hath alwayes accuſtomed to be gracious and fauourable vnto thoſe that ſue vnto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a proud nature, and deſirous to imbrace all great matters? If therefore at the firſt ſight, ye do giue them to vnderſtand that you are come hither with full power, to treat freely with them in all maner of cauſes: do you not thinke that they will make you ſtretch your authority, to grant them all that they will demaund? Therefore, my Lords ambaſſadors, if you looke for indifferency at the ATHENIANS hands, and that they ſhall not preaſe you too farre againſt your wils, to graunt them any thing of aduantage: I would wiſh you a litle to couer your full commiſſion, and in open maner to propound certaine articles, and reaſonable capitulations of peace, not acquainting them otherwiſe with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will aſſure you of my goodwill in fauour of the LACEDÆMONIANS. When he had told them this tale, he gaue them his faithful promiſe, and vowed as it were to performe his word. Hereupon *Alcibiades* turned the ambaſſadours from the truſt they repoſed in *Nicias*, and wanne them on his ſide: in ſo much as they gaue credit to no man but to him, wondering much at his great wiſedome and ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were aſſembled to giue the ambaſſadors audience: they were ſent for, and brought into the market place. There *Alcibiades* gently asked them, what was the cauſe of their comming. They aunſwered: that they were come to treate of peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then began *Alcibiades* to be angry with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he any to them: calling them vnfaithfull, vnconſtant, and fickle men, that were come neither to do, nor ſay any thing worth the hearing.

Nicias peace. Alcibiades breaketh the peace of the Græcians.

Alcibiades beguileth the Lacedæmonians.

The Senate alſo were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: where at *Nicias* was ſo aſhamed and amazed withall, that he could not tell what to ſay, to ſee ſo ſudden a chaunge, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* malice and ſubtill practiſe with the ambaſſadors. So the ambaſſabors of LACEDÆMON were diſpatched without any thing done, and *Alcibiades* choſen Generall: who preſently brought the ARGIVES, the ELIANS, & the MANTINEANS in league with the ATHENIANS. Though no man did commend this practiſe of his, in working it after this ſort: yea it was a maruellous thing of him to deuiſe to put all PELOPONNESVS in armes, & to procure ſuch a number of ſouldiers againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he did before the city of MANTINEA, and to ſhift off the miſeries of war and hazard of battell, ſo farre from ATHENS. Which if the LACEDÆMONIANS did win, could not profit them much: and if they loſt it, they could hardly ſaue their city of SPARTA. After this battell of MANTINEA, the thouſand men whom the city by an ancient order did keepe continually in pay, aſwell in peace as in war, within the city of ARGOS, thinking now oportunity ſerued them very trimly: attempted to take the ſoueraigne authority from the common people, and to make themſelues Lords of the city. And to bring this to paſſe, the LACEDÆMONIANS comming in the meane time, did aide them in their purpoſe, and ſo did put downe the gouernment of the people: notwithſtanding immediatly after the people tooke armes againe, and became the ſtronger. *Alcibiades* comming thither euen at that time, did warrant them the victorie, and ſo ſet vp againe the authority of the people.

Alcibiades choſen generall.

Then he perſwaded them to make their wals longer to ioyne the city to the ſea, to the end they might more eaſily be aided by ſea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them alſo from ATHENS, many carpenters, maſons, ſtone-hewers, & other workmen: and to conclude, he ſhewed them by all the meanes and wayes he could, that he did beare goodwill vnto them, and thereby wan himſelfe no leſſe fauour particularly among them, then generally he did good vnto his country. He did perſwade alſo the citizens of PATRAS to ioyne their towne to the ſea, by making long wals, which they built out euen to the cliffes of the ſea. And when one ſaid vnto them, alas, poore people of PATRAS, what do you meane? the ATHENIANS will eate you out: *Alcibiades* anſwered him, it may well be, but it ſhall be by litle & litle, beginning firſt at the feet: but the LACEDÆMONIANS will deuoure you all at once, & begin at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* did make the city of ATHENS ſtrong by ſea, yet he did not leaue to perſwade the ATHENIANS alſo, to make themſelues ſtrong by land. For he did put the young men oftentimes in mind of the oath they were made to ſweare in AGRAVLOS, and did aduiſe them to accompliſh it indeed. Which was, that they ſhould take all corne-fields, vines, and oliue-trees, to be the borders & confines of ATTICA, whereby they were taught to reckon all land theirs, that was manured, and did bring forth fruite. Yet with all theſe goodly deeds and faire words of *Alcibiades*, and with this great courage and quickneſſe of vnderſtanding, he had many great faults & imperfections. For he was too dainty in his fare, wantonly giuen vnto light women, riotous in bankets, vaine and womaniſh in apparell: he ware euer a long purple gowne that ſwept the market place as he walked vp and downe, it had ſuch a traine, and was too rich and coſtly for him to weare. And following theſe vaine pleaſures and delights, when he was in his galley, he cauſed the plankes of the poope thereof to be cut and broken vp, that he might lye the ſofter: for his bed was not layd vpon the ouerlop, but lay vpon girthes ſtrained ouer the hole, cut out and faſtened to the ſides, and he caried to the warres with him a gilded ſcutchion, wherein he had no cognizance, nor ordinary deuiſe of the ATHENIANS, but only had the image of *Cupid* in it, holding lightning in his hand. The noblemen, and beſt citizens of ATHENS perceiuing this, they hated his faſhions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afeard withall of his raſhneſſe and inſolency: he did ſo contemne the lawes and cuſtomes of their country, being manifeſt tokens of a man that aſpired to be king, and would ſubuert and turne all ouer-hand. And as for the goodwill of the common people towards him, the poet *Ariſtophanes* doth plainly expreſſe it in theſe words:

The vvalles brought to the ſea by the Argiues.

Alcibiades vyot.

The people moſt deſire, what moſt they hate to haue:
and what their mind abhorres, euen that they ſeeme to craue.

And in another place he ſayd alſo, aggrauating the ſuſpition they had of him:

For ſtate or common weale, much better ſhould it be,
to keepe within the country none ſuch lyons lookes as he:
But if they needs will keepe, a lyon to their coſt,
then muſt they needs obey his will, for he will rule the roſt.

For

For to say truely: his curtesies, his liberalities, and noble expences to shew the people so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memory of his auncestors, the grace of his eloquence, the beauty of his person, the strength and valiantnesse of his body, ioyned together with his wisedome and experience in martiall affaires: were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the ATHENIANS did patiently endure all his light parts, and did couer his faults, with the best words and termes they could, calling them youthfull, and gentlemens sports. As when he kept *Agartharcus* the painter prisoner in his house by force, vntill he had painted all his wals within: and when he had done, did let him go, and rewarded him very honestly for his paines. Againe, when he gaue a boxe on the eare to *Taureas*, who did pay the whole charges of a company of common players, in spite of him, to caric away the honour of the games. Also when he tooke away a young woman of MELIA by his authority, that was taken among certaine prisoners in the warres, and kept her for his concubine: by whom he had a child, which he caused to be brought vp: which they called a worke of charitie, albeit afterwards they burthened him, that he was the only cause of murdering of the poore MELIANS, sauing the litle children, because he had fauoured and perswaded that vnnaturall and wicked decree, which another had propounded. Likewise where one *Aristophon* a painter, had painted a curtisan named *Nemea*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and sitting in her lap, which all the people ranne to see, and tooke great pleasure to behold it: the graue and auncient men were angry at these fooliſh parts, accompting them impudent things, and done against all ciuill modestie and temperancie. Wherefore it seemed *Archestratus* words were spoken to good purpose, when he said: that GREECE could not abide two *Alcibiades* at once. And on a day as he came from the counsell and assembly of the city, where he had made an excellent oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by means thereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon* surnamed *Misanthropus* (as who would say, *Loup-garou*, or the man-hater) meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, did not passe by him, nor gaue him way (as he was wont to do all other men) but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hand, and said: O, thou dost well my sonne, I can thee thanke, that thou goest on, and climest vp still: for if euer thou be in authoritie, wo be vnto those that follow thee, for they are vtterly vndone. When they heard these words, those that stood by fell a laughing: other reuiled *Timon*, other againe marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after: such sundry opinions they had of him for the vnconstancie of his life, and waiwardnesse of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of SICILE, the ATHENIANS did maruellously couet it in *Pericles* life, but yet they did not meddle withall, vntill after his death: and then they did it at the first vnder colour of friendship, as ayding those cities which were oppressed, and spoiled by the SYRACVSANS. This was in manner a plaine bridge made, to passe afterwards a greater power and armie thither. Howbeit the onely procurer of the ATHENIANS, and perswader of them, to send small companies thither no more, but to enter with a great army at once to conquer all the countrey together, was *Alcibiades*: who had so allured the people with his pleasant tongue, that vpon his perswasion, they built castles in the aire, and thought to do greater wonders, by winning onely of SICILIA. For where other did set their mindes vpon the conquest of SICILE, being that they onely hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but a beginning of further enterprises. And where *Nicias* commonly in all his perswasions, did turne the ATHENIANS from their purpose to make warres against the SYRACVSANS, as being too great a matter for them to take the citie of SYRACVSA: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reach in his head, to go conquer LYBIA, and CARTHAGE, and that being conquered, to passe from thence into ITALY, and so to PELOPONNESVS: so that SICILIA should serue but to furnish them with victuals, & to pay the souldiers for their conquests which he had imagined. Thus the yong men were incontinently caried away with a maruellous hope and opinio of this iourny, and gaue good eare to old mens tales that told them wonders of the countries: insomuch as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to sit round together, draw plats of SICILE, and describe the situation of LYBIA and CARTHAGE. And yet they say, that neither *Socrates* the Philosopher, nor *Meton* the Astronomer did euer hope to see any good successe of this iourny. For the one by the reuealing of his familiar spirit, who told him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: and *Meton*, whether it was for the feare of the successe of the iourney he had by reason, or that he knew by diui-

Alcibiades dishonestly and vnaduisedly.

Archestratus saying.

Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.

The diuination of Socrates and Meton.

nation of his art what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, and holding a burning torch in his hand, made as though he would haue set his house a fire. Other say, that he did not counterfeit, but like a mad man indeed did set his house a fire one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the market place to pray the people, that in consideration of his great losse and his grieuous calamity so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his son for going this voyage. So by this mad deuice, he obtained his request of the people for his son, whom he abused much. But *Nicias* against his will was chosen captaine, to take charge of men in these wars: who misliked this iourney, aswell for his companion and associate in the charge of these wars, as for other misfortunes he foresaw therein. Howbeit the ATHENIANS thought the warre would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to *Alcibiades* rashnesse and hardinesse, but did ioyne with him the wisedome of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus* also for their third captaine, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somwhat old, as one that had shewed himselfe no lesse venturous and hardy in some battels, then *Alcibiades* himselfe. Now when they came to resolue of the number of souldiers, the furniture and order of these wars, *Nicias* sought crookedly to thwart this iourney, and to breake it off altogether: but *Alcibiades* withstood him, and got the better hand of him. There was an orator called *Demostratus*, who moued the people also, that the captaines whom they had chosen for these wars, might haue full power and authority to leauie men at their discretion, and to make such preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people condescended, and did authorise them. But when they were euen ready to go their way, many signes of ill successe lighted in the necke one of another: and amongst the rest this was one. That they were commanded to take ship on the day of the celebration of the feast of *Adonia*, on the which the custome is, that women do set vp in diuers places of the city, in the midst of the streetes, images like to dead corses which they cary to buriall, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering and beating themselues, in token of the sorrow the goddesse *Venus* made, for the death of her friend *Adonis*.

Images hewne and mangled at Athens.

Moreouer, the *Hermes* (which are the images of *Mercury*, and were wont to be set vp in euerie lane and streete) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled specially in their faces: which put diuerse in great feare and trouble, yea euen those that made no accompt of such toyes. Whereupon it was alledged that it might be the CORINTHIANS that did it, or procured that leud act to be done, fauouring the SYRACVSANS, who were their neere kinsemen, and had bene the first founders of them, imagining vpon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake off the enterprise, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this warre in hand. Neuertheless, the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that said, they should not recken of any such signs or tokens, and that they were but some light brained youths, that being tipled, had played this shamefull part in their bruery, or for sport. But for all these reasons, they tooke these signes very grieuously, and were indeed not a litle afeard, as thinking vndoubtedly that no man durst haue bene so bold to haue done such an abhominable fact, but that there was some conspiracie in the matter. Hereupon, they looked vpon euery suspition and coniecture that might be (how litle or vnlikely soeuer it were) and that very seuerely: and both Senate and people also met in counsell vpon it, very oft in few daies. Now whilest they were busily searching out the matter, *Androcles* a common counseller, and Oratour in the Commonwealth, brought before the counsell certaine slaues and straungers that dwelt in ATHENS: who

Alcibiades accused for prophaning the holy mysteries.

deposed that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other images after that sort, and in a mockerie had counterfeited also in a banket that he made, the ceremonies of the holy mysteries; declaring these matters particularly: How one *Theodorus* counterfeited the herauld, that is wont to make the proclamations: *Polytion* the torch-bearer, and *Alcibiades* the priest, who sheweth the holy signes and mysteries: and that his other companions were the assistants, as those that make sute to be receiued into their religion and order, and into the brotherhood of their holy mysteries, whom for this cause they call *Mystes*. These very words are written in the accusation *Thessalus* (*Cimons* sonne) made against *Alcibiades*, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddesses, *Ceres*, and *Proserpina*. Whereat the people being maruellously moued and offended, and the Oratour *Androcles* his mortall enemy, aggrauating and stirring them vp the more against him: *Alcibiades* a litle at the first beganne to be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the mariners which were prepared for the voyage of SICILIA, and the souldiers also that were gathered, did beare him great goodwill, and specially

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cially how the aide, that came from ARGOS, and MANTINEA (being a thousand footmen well armed and appointed) did say openly, how it was for *Alcibiades* sake they did take vpon them so long a voyage beyond sea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would presently returne home againe from whence they came: he began to be of a good courage againe, and determined with this good fauourable oportunitie of time, to come before the counsell, to answer to all such articles and accusations as should be laid against him. Thereupon his enemies were a litle cooled, fearing lest the people in this iudgement would haue shewed him more fauour, because they stood in need of him. Wherfore to preuent this danger, they had fed other Oratours, who set a good face on the matter, as they had bene *Alcibiades* friends, & yet they wished him no lesse euill, then the rankest enemies he had. These fine fellows rose vp in open assembly, and said: it was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the generals of so mightie and puissant an armie (being ready to hoise saile, and the aide also of their allies and friends) should be driuen to stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilest they should go about to choose Iudges, and appoint him his houres and time of aunswer. Therefore they said, it was fit he should take his iourney betimes, and when warres were done, that he should present himselfe to require iustice, and to purge himselfe of such matters as shold be obiected against him. But *Alcibiades* smelling straight their fetch, and perceiuing the practise of his stay, stept vp, and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a Generall of so great an army, his mind being troubled with continuall feare of so grieuous curses, as he should leaue vpon him: and that he deserued death, if he could not purge and iustifie himselfe, of all the vniust and surmized accusations against him. And if he had once cleared himselfe of all things, and had published his innocencie, he should then haue nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke vpon, but to go on lustily to fight with his enemies, and to cast behind him the danger of all his slanderous detracters. But all this could not perswade them. And so he was presently commaunded in the behalfe of the people, to imbarke and ship away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the seas with his other companions, hauing in their naue about a hundred and forty galleys, all hauing three owers to a bancke: and fiue thousand one hundred footmen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers with slings, archers, and other light armed men, to the number of thirteene hundred, sufficiently furnished of all warlike and necessarie munition. Now after they were arriued on the coast of ITALY, they landed in the city of RHEGIO: where, holding counsell in what sort they should direct these wars, it was resolued in the end that they shold straight go vnto SICILIA. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* did contrarie it, when *Lamachus* gaue his consent thereunto, and at his first comming, he was the occasion of winning the city of CATANA. But he neuer after did any exploite, for he was called home immediatly by the ATHENIANS, to come and answer certaine accusations laid to his charge. For as we told you before, there was at the beginning, certaine light suspitions and accusations put vp against him, by some slaues and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his enemies enforced them, and burthened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the images of *Mercury*: and had committed sacriledge, in counterfeiting in ieast and mockerie the holy ceremonies of the mysteries: and blew into the eares of the people, that both the one and the other proceeded of one set conspiracie, to change and alter the gouernment of the state of the citie. Vpon these informations, the people tooke it in so ill part, that they committed all to prison, that were in any sort accused or suspected therof, and would neuer let them come to their answer: and moreouer did much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, vpon so great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offence was in question before them. And the furie and hatred of the people was such towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their danger, they were the worse handled for his sake. *Thucydides* did not name his accusers, but some other do name *Dioclides* and *Teucer*: amongst whom, *Phrynicus* the comicall Poet is one, who discouereth it in his verses, by bringing in one that speaketh thus to the image of *Mercury*:

The craft of Alcibiades enemies.

Alcibiades iourney into Sicile.

Phrynicus the Comicall Poet.

My good friend Mercury, I pray thee take good heed,
that thou fall not and breake thy necke: for so thou mights me breed
both danger and distrust, and though I guiltlesse be,
some Dioclides falsely might accuse and trouble me.

Mercury answereth:

Take thou no thought for me, my ſelfe I ſhall well ſaue:
and will foreſee full well therewith, that Teucer (that falſe knaue)
ſhall not the money get, which he by law hath wonne,
for his promouters bribing part and accuſation.

And yet for all this, theſe tokens do ſhew no certaintie of any thing. For one of them being asked, how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced theſe images? he anſwered, that he knew them well enough by the brightneſſe of the Moone. And hereby it appeareth plainely that he was periured, becauſe that the ſame night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a coniunction of the Moone. This did a litle trouble and ſtay men of iudgement: howbeit the common ſort of people this notwithſtanding, did not leaue to be as ſharpe ſet, to receiue all accuſations and informations, that were brought in againſt him, as euer they were before. Now there was among the priſoners whoſe cauſe was hanging before them, the Orator *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the hiſtoriographer deſcribeth to deſcend of the race of *Vlyſſes*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the gouernment of the common people, and bent altogether to fauor the ſmall number of the nobility. But one of the chiefeſt occaſions why he was ſuſpected to be one of them that had broken the images, was: for that hard by his houſe there was a faire great image ſet vp in old time by the family or tribe of the *Ægeides*, and that alone amongſt all the reſt of ſo many famous images, was left whole and vnbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the *Mercury* of *Andocides*, and is ſo called generally of euery body, albeit the inſcription ſheweth the contrarie. *Andocides* being in priſon, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one *Timæus*, with whome he was more familiar then with all the reſt, who was alſo priſoner with him for the ſelfe cauſe. This *Timæus* was a man not ſo well knowne as he, but beſides, a wiſe man, and very hardy. He perſwaded him, and put into his head, that he ſhould accuſe himſelfe, and certaine other with him: for taking the matter vpon him, and confeſſing it, he ſhould receiue grace and pardon, according to the courſe and promiſe of the law: where contrarily, if he ſhould ſtand vpon the courteſie of the Iudges ſentence, he might eaſily endanger himſelfe: becauſe iudgements in ſuch caſes are vncertaine to all people, and moſt to be doubted and feared toward the rich. And therefore he told him it were his beſt way, if he looked into the matter wiſely, by lying to ſaue his life, rather then to ſuffer death with ſhame, and to be condemned vpon this falſe accuſation. Alſo he ſaid, if he would haue regard to the commonwealth, that it ſhould in like caſe be wiſely done of him, to put in daunger a few of thoſe (which ſtood doubtfull whether in troth they were any of them or not) to ſaue from the furie of the people, and terrour of death, many honeſt men, who indeed were innocent of this lewd fact. *Timæus* words and perſwaſions wrought ſuch effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yeeld vnto them, and brought him to accuſe himſelfe, and certaine other with him: by meanes whereof *Andocides* according to the law had his pardon: but all ſuch as he named and accuſed, were euery man put to death, ſauing ſuch as ſaued themſelues by running away. Furthermore, to ſhadow his accuſation with ſome apparance of troth, *Andocides* among thoſe that were accuſed, did accuſe alſo certaine of his owne ſeruants. Now though the people had no more occaſion to occupie their buſie heades about the breakers of theſe images, yet was not their malice thus appeaſed againſt *Alcibiades*, vntill they ſent the galley called *Salaminiana*, commaunding thoſe they ſent by a ſpeciall commiſſion to ſeeke him out, in no caſe to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay hold on him by violence: but to vſe him with all the good words and courteous maner that they poſſibly could, and to will him only to appeare in perſon before the people, to anſwer to certain accuſations put vp againſt him. If otherwiſe they ſhould haue vſed force, they feared much leſt the army wold haue mutined on his behalfe within the country of their enemies, and that there would haue growne ſome ſedition amongſt their ſouldiers. This might *Alcibiades* haue eaſily done, if he had bene diſpoſed: for the ſouldiers were very ſory to ſee him depart, perceiuing that the warres ſhould be drawne out now in length, and be much prolonged vnder *Nicias*, ſeeing *Alcibiades* was taken from them, who was the only ſpurre that pricked *Nicias* forward to do any ſeruice: and that *Lamachus* alſo, though he were a valiant man of his hands, yet he lacked honor and authoritie in the armie, becauſe he was but a meane man borne, and poore beſides. Now *Alcibiades* for a farewell, diſappointed the ATHENIANS of winning the citie of MESSINA: for they hauing intelligence by certaine priuate perſons within the citie, that it would yeeld vp into their hands, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them vnto thoſe

Andocides the Orator caſt into priſon.

Alcibiades ſent for to anſwer to his accuſation.

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that were the SYRACVSANS friends: whereupon all this practise was broken vtterly. Afterwards when he came to the citie of THVRIES, so soone as he had landed, he went and hid himselfe incontinently in such sort, that such as sought for him, could not find him. Yet there was one that knew him where he was, and said: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, dareſt thou not trust the iustice of thy country? Yes very well (quoth he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing vpon it, I would not trust mine owne mother, fearing lest negligently she should put in the blacke beane, where she should cast in the white: for by the first, condemnation of death was signified; & by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the ATHENIANS for malice had condemned him to death: well, quoth he, they shall know I am yet aliue. Now the manner of his accusation and inditement framed against him, was found written in this sort: *Theſſalus* the sonne of *Cimon*, of the village of LACIADES, hath accused, and doth accuse *Alcibiades*, the son of *Clinias*, of the village of SCAMBONIDES, to haue offended against the goddesses, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, and shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, himselfe apparelled and arrayed in a long vestment or cope, like vnto the vestment the priest weareth when he sheweth these holy sacred mysteries: and naming himselfe the priest, *Polytion* the torch-bearer, and *Theodorus* of the village of PHYGEA the verger, and the other lookers on brethren, and fellow scorners with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision, of holy ceremonies and mysteries of the *Eumolpides*, the religious priests and ministers of the sacred temple of the city of ELEVSIN. So *Alcibiades* for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his goods confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious priests and women should ban and accurse him. But hereunto answered one of Nuns called *Theano*, the daughter of *Menon*, of the village of AGRAVLA, saying that she was professed religious, to pray and to blesse, not to curse and ban. After this most grieuous sentence and condemnation passed against him, *Alcibiades* departed out of the city of THVRIES, and went into the countrey of PELOPONNESVS, where he continued a good season in the city of ARGOS. But in the end fearing his enemies, and hauing no hope to returne againe to his owne countrey with any safety: he sent vnto SPARTA to haue safe conduct and licence of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that he might come and dwell in their country, promising them he wold do them more good being now their friend, then he euer did them hurt, while he was their enemie. The LACEDÆMONIANS granted his request, & receiued him very willingly into their city: where euen vpon his first comming, he did three things. The first was: that the LACEDÆMONIANS by his perswasion and procurement, did determine speedily to send aide to the SYRACVSANS, whom they had long before delayed: and so they sent *Gylippus* their captaine to ouerthrow the ATHENIANS armie, which they had sent thither. The second thing he did for them, was: that he made them of GREECE to begin war vpon the ATHENIANS. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was: that he did counsel them to fortifie the citie of DECELEA, which was within the territories of ATTICA selfe: which consumed, and brought the power of the ATHENIANS lower then any other thing whatsoeuer he could haue done. And if he were welcome, and well esteemed in SPARTA, for the seruice he did to the common wealth: much more he wan the loue and goodwils of priuate men, for that he liued after the LACONIAN maner. So as they that saw his skin scraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himselfe in cold water, and how he did eate browne bread, and sup of their blacke broth: would haue doubted (or to say better, neuer haue beleeued) that such a man had euer kept cooke in his house, nor that he euer had seene so much as a perfuming pan, or had touched cloth of tissue made at MILETVM. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they say was one, whereby he most robbed mens harts: that he could frame altogether with their manners and fashions of life, transforming himselfe more easily to all manner of shapes, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white colour: but *Alcibiades* could put vpon him any maners, customes or fashions, of what nation soeuer, and could follow, exercise, and counterfeit them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in SPARTA, he was very painefull, and in continuall exercise: he liued sparingly with litle, and led a streight life. In IONIA, to the contrary: there he liued daintily and superfluously, and gaue himselfe to all mirth and pleasure. In THRASIA, he dranke euer or war alwaies on horseback. If he came to *Tiſſaphernes*, lieutenant of the mighty king of PERSIA: he farre exceeded the magnificence of PERSIA in pompe and sumptuousnesse. And these things notwithstanding, neuer altered his naturall condition from one fashion to another, nei-

Alcibiades accuſation.

Alcibiades condemned being abſent.

Alcibiades flyeth to Sparta.

Alcibiades more changeable then the Camelion.

ther did his manners (to say truely) receiue all sorts of chaunges. But because peraduenture, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in diuers places where he came, haue offended those whose company he kept, he did with such a vizard and cloke disguise himselfe, to fit their manners, whom he companied with, by transforming himselfe into their naturall countenance, as he that had seene him when he was at SPARTA, to haue looked vpon the outward man, would haue said as the common Prouerbe saith:

It is not the sonne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe.

Euen so it is euen he, whom *Lycurgus* brought vp. But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, and goodwill indeed lye naked before him, would contrarily, haue vsed this common saying:

This woman is no chaungeling.

Alcibiades got Timæa king Agis wife with child.

For he entertained Queene *Timæa*, king *Agis* wife of SPARTA, so well in his absence, he being abroad in the wars, that he got her with child, and she her selfe denyed it not. For she being brought a bed of a sonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when she was amongst her familiars and very friends, she called him softly *Alcibiades*, she was so farre in loue with him. And *Alcibiades* iesting out the matter, said he had done it for no hurt, nor for any lust of flesh to satisfie his desire: but only to leaue of his race, to raigne amongst the LACEDÆMONIANS. This matter was brought by diuers vnto King *Agis* eares, who at the length beleeued it: but specially when he began to make a reckening of the time, how long it was since he lay with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible earthquake, he ran out of his chamber for feare the house would fall on his head: so that it was ten moneths after ere he lay againe with her. Whereupon her son *Leotychides* being borne at the end of ten moneths, he said he was none of his: and this was the cause that *Leotychides* did not succeed afterwards in the Kingdome, because he was not of the bloud royall. After the vtter ouerthrow of the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, those of the Isles of CHIO and LESBOS, with the CYZICENIANS, did send altogether their ambassadours to SPARTA, to let the LACEDÆMONIANS vnderstand, they had good will to leaue the ATHENIANS, so they would send them aide to defend them. The BOEOTIANS fauoured those of LESBOS: *Pharnabazus*, the King of PERSIANS Lieutenant, fauoured the CYZICENIANS. This notwithstanding, the LACEDÆMONIANS were better affected to helpe those of CHIO first, by the perswasion of *Alcibiades*, who tooke their matter in hand: and he took sea himself and went into ASIA, where he almost turned the countrey of IONIA against the ATHENIANS: and keeping alwaies with the Generals of the LACEDÆMONIANS, he did much hurt the ATHENIANS. Yet notwithstanding, king *Agis* did beare him ill will, partly for the iniurie he did him in dishonouring and defiling his wife, and partly also, for that he enuied his glorie: because the rumor ranne all about, that the most part of the goodly exploits of these warres did happen well by *Alcibiades* meanes. Other also of the greatest authoritie among the SPARTANS, that were most ambitious among them, began in their minds to be angrie with *Alcibiades*, for the enuie they bare him: who were of so great power, that they procured their Gouernours to write letters to their captaines in the field to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, did no whit desist to do all that he could for the benefite of the LACEDÆMONIANS: yet he had an eye behind him, flying all occasions to fall into their hands. So in the end, for more surety of his person, he went vnto *Tisaphernes*, one of the king of PERSIANS Lieutenants, with whom he wanne incontinently such credite, that he was the first and chiefest person he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple person, but rather malicious, and subtill of nature, and that loued fine and craftie men: did wonder how he could so easily turne from one manner of liuing to another, and also at his quicke wit and vnderstanding. Moreouer, his company and manner to passe the time away, was commonly maruellous full of mirth and pleasure, and he had such pleasant comely deuices with him, that no man was of so sullen a nature, but he would make him merie, nor so churlish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, & also they that enuied him, were yet glad to see him, and it did them good to be in his companie, and vse talke with him. Insomuch as this *Tisaphernes* (that otherwise was a churlish man, and naturally hated the GREEKIANS) did giue himselfe so much vnto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleased him so well, that he himselfe did studie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and make much of him. For he called *Alcibiades* his faire house of pleasure, and goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly gardens, sweete springs,

Leotychides Alcibiades bastard.

The Lacedæmonians practise to kill Alcibiades.

Alcibiades flying the Lacedæmonians goeth to Tisaphernes.

Alcibiades called a pleasant place, and goodly prospect

ſprings, greene arbours, and pleaſant meadowes, and thoſe in all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* deſpairing vtterly to find any ſafetie or friendſhip among the SPARTANS, and fearing on the other ſide King *Agis* alſo, he began to ſpeake ill of them, and to diſgrace all that they did, to *Tiſaphernes*. By this practiſe he ſtayed *Tiſaphernes* from aiding them ſo friendly as he might; and that he did not vtterly deſtroy the ATHENIANS: for he perſwaded him that he ſhould furniſh the LACEDÆMONIANS but with litle money, to let them diminiſh and conſume by litle and litle: to the end that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length ſhould be the eaſier for the King to ouercome. This barbarous man did eaſily conſent to this deuice. All the world then ſaw he loued *Alcibiades*, and eſteemed of him very much: inſomuch as he was ſought to, and regarded of all hands of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS ſorie, and repented them when they had receiued ſo great loſſe and hurt, for that they had decreed ſo ſeuerely againſt *Alcibiades*, who in like maner was very ſorrowfull, to ſee them brought to ſo hard termes, fearing, if the citie of ATHENS came to deſtruction, that he himſelfe ſhould fall in the end into the hands of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS were almoſt in the Ile of SAMOS, from whence with their army by ſea, they ſought to ſuppreſſe the rebels that were vp againſt them, and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet pretily ſtrong to reſiſt their enemies, at the leaſt by ſea: but they ſtood in feare of the power of *Tiſaphernes*, and of the hundred & fifty gallies which were reported to be comming out of their country of PHOENICIA to the aide of their enemies, which if they had come, the city of ATHENS had bene vtterly ſpoiled, and for euer without hope of recouery. The which *Alcibiades* vnderſtanding, ſent ſecretly vnto the chiefeſt men that were in the army of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, to giue them hope he would make *Tiſaphernes* their friend: howbeit not of any deſire he had to gratifie the people, nor that he truſted to the communalty of ATHENS, but onely to the honourable and honeſt citizens, and that conditionally, ſo as they had the heart and courage, to bridle a litle the ouer licenciouſnes and inſolency of the common people, and that they would take vpon them the authoritie to gouerne, and to redreſſe their ſtate, and to preſerue the city of ATHENS from finall and vtter deſtruction. Vpon this aduertiſement, al the heads and chiefe men did giue very good eare vnto it: ſauing only *Phrynichus*, one of the captains, & of the town of DIRADES: who miſtruſting (that was true indeed) that *Alcibiades* cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chiefe gouernment of ATHENS, the nobility, or the communalty, & did but ſeek all the deuiſes & waies he could, to returne again if it might be poſſible, in any maner of ſort, and that he did but curry fauour with the nobility, blaming and accuſing the people: he ſtood altogether againſt the motion, wherupon *Alcibiades* deuiſe was not followed. And hauing now ſhewed himſelfe open enemy to *Alcibiades*, he did ſecretly aduertiſe *Aſtiochus* then Admiral to the LACEDÆMONIANS, of *Alcibiades* practiſe, and warned him to take heed of him, & to lay him vp ſafe, as a double dealer, & one that had intelligence with both ſides: but he vnderſtood not how it was, but one traitour to ſpeake to another. For this *Aſtiochus* was a folower of *Tiſarphernes* for his priuate commodity: and perceiuing *Alcibiades* in ſuch credit with him, he did diſcouer to *Alcibiades* all that *Phrynichus* had aduertiſed him. *Alcibiades* ſtraight ſent men of purpoſe to SAMOS, vnto the captains there, to accuſe *Phrynichus* of the treaſon he had reuealed againſt them. Thoſe of the counſel there, receiuing this intelligence, were highly offended with *Phrynichus*. So, he ſeeing no better way to ſaue himſelf for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worſe fault. Therupon he ſent againe to *Aſtiochus*, complaining much he had diſcloſed him: and yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed him, if he would keepe his counſell, that he would deliuer the whole fleet & army of the ATHENIANS into his hands. Howbeit this treaſon of *Phrynichus* did the ATHENIANS no hurt at all, by reaſon of *Aſtiochus* countertreaſon: for he did let *Alcibiades* againe vnderſtand what offer *Phrynichus* had made him. *Phrynichus* looking to be charged with this againe the ſecond time before the counſell, by means of *Alcibiades*, did firſt aduertiſe the chiefe of the army of the ATHENIANS: that their enemies would come and ſet vpon them, and where and how: and gaue them warning to keepe neare their ſhips, to make a ſtrong watch, and to fortifie themſelues with all ſpeed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other letters from *Alcibiades*, by the which he did warne them againe to take heed of *Phrynichus*, becauſe he had practiſed againe with their enemies, to deliuer the whole army of ATHENS into their hands. But they gaue no credit to his ſecond letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparation and minds of the enemies, would ſerue

The inconſtancie of the common people.

his owne turne with the falſe accuſing of *Phrynichus*. Notwithſtanding this, there was ſome falſhood in felowſhip: for one *Hermon*, openly in the market place ſtabbed *Phrynichus* in with a dagger and killed him. The fact being pleaded in law, and throughly conſidered of: the dead body by the ſentence of the people was condemned for a traitour: and *Hermon* the murtherer and his felowes, were crowned in recompence of their fact they had done to kill a traitour to the common wealth. Wherfore thoſe that were *Alcibiades* friends, being at that time the ſtronger, and greateſt men of the counſell in the army at SAMOS: they ſent one *Piſander* to ATHENS, to attempt to alter the gouernment, and to encourage the noble men to take vpon them the authority, and to pluck it from the people: aſſuring them that *Tiſaphernes* would giue them aide to do it, by meanes of *Alcibiades*, who would make him their friend. This was the colour and cloke wherewith they ſerued their turnes, that did change the gouernement of ATHENS, & that brought it into the hands of a ſmall number of nobility: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called themſelues fiue thouſand. But ſo ſoone as they felt themſelues ſtrong, and that they had the whole authority of gouernement, without contradiction in their hands, they made then no more reckoning of *Alcibiades*, and ſo they made wars more coldly and ſlackly then before. Partly becauſe they miſtruſted their citizens, who found the change of gouernmēt very ſtrange: and partly alſo becauſe they were of opinion that the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at all times did moſt fauour the gouernement of Nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common people that remained ſtil in the city, ſtirred not, but were quiet againſt their wils, for feare of daunger, becauſe there were many of them ſlaine, that boldly tooke vpon them in open preſence to reſiſt theſe foure hundred. But thoſe that were in the camp in the Ile of SAMOS, hearing theſe newes, were ſo grieuouſly offended: that they reſolued to returne incontinently againe, vnto the hauen of PYRÆA. Firſt of all, they ſent for *Alcibiades*, whom they choſe their captaine, then they commanded him ſtraightly to leade them againſt theſe tyrants, who had vſurped the liberty of the people of ATHENS. But neuertheleſſe he did not therein, as another would haue done in this caſe, ſeeing himſelf ſo ſodainely crept againe in fauour with the common people: for he did not thinke he ſhould incontinently pleaſe and gratifie them in all things, though they had made him now their generall ouer all their ſhips, & ſo great an army, being before but a baniſhed man, a vacabond, and a fugitiue. But to the contrary, as it became a generall worthy of ſuch a charge, he conſidered with himſelfe, that it was his part wiſely to ſtay thoſe, who would in a rage & fury careleſly caſt themſelues away, and not ſuffer them to do it. And truly *Alcibiades* was the cauſe of the preſeruing of the city of ATHENS at that time from vtter deſtruction. For if they had ſodainely (according to their determination) departed from SAMOS to go to ATHENS: the enemies finding no man to let them, might eaſily haue won all the countrey of IONIA, of HELLESPONT, and of all the other Iles without ſtroke ſtriking, whileſt the ATHENIANS were buſie fighting one againſt another in ciuil wars, and within the compaſſe of their owne wals. This *Alcibiades* alone, & no other, did preuent, not only by perſwading the whole army, and declaring the inconuenience thereof, which would fall out vpon their ſodain departure: but alſo by intreating ſome particularly apart, and keeping a number back by very force. To bring this about, one *Thraſibulus* of the towne of STIRA, did helpe him much: who went through the army, and cried out vpon them that were bent to enterpriſe this iourney: for he had the biggeſt and loudeſt voice as they ſay, of any man that was in all the citie of ATHENS. This was a notable act, and a great peece of ſeruice done by *Alcibiades*: that he promiſed the 5. hundred ſaile of the PHOENICIANS (which the LACEDÆMONIANS aſſuredly looked for, in their aid from the King of PERSIA) ſhould not come at all, or els if they came, it ſhould be in the fauor of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediatly, & went with great ſpeed to *Tiſaphernes*: whom he handled in ſuch ſort, that he brought not the ſhippes that lay at rode before the city of ASPENDA, and ſo he brake promiſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Therefore *Alcibiades* was maruelouſly blamed and accuſed, both of the one and the other ſide, to haue altred *Tiſaphernes* mind, but chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS: who ſaid, that he had perſwaded this barbarous captaine, he ſhould neither aide the one nor the other, but rather to ſuffer them one to deuoure and deſtroy each other. For it had bene out of doubt, if this great fleet & nauy of the kings had come, to ioyne their force with either party: that they had taken from the one of them, the ſigniory and domination of the ſea. Shortly after, the 4. hundred noble men that had vſurped the authority & gouernment of ATHENS, were vtterly driuen away and ouerthrowne, by meane of the friendly aide and aſſiſtance that *Alcibiades* friends gaue thoſe that

The murder of Phrynichus & his condemnation.

Alcibiades called home from exile.

Thraſibulus a man of the biggeſt voice of all the Athenians.

that tooke the peoples part. So the citizens were very well pleased with *Alcibiades*; insomuch as they sent for him to returne when he thought good. But he esteeming it no honour vnto him to returne without some wel deserning, and before he had done some greater exploit, as onely vpon the peoples fauour and good will: to the end that his returne might be glorious and triumphant; he departed first from SAMOS with a small number of gallies, and went sailing vp and downe the Iles of Cos and of GNIDOS. There he was aduertised, that *Mindarus*, the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was gone with all his fleete vnto the straight of HELLESPONT, and that the captaines of the ATHENIANS gaue chase vnto him. Thereupon he went also and sailed thither with speede, to aide the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with 18. gallies euen at the very instant when they were both in the midst of their fight, with al their ships before the city of ABYDOS. The battel was cruelly foughten betweene them from morning till night, both the one and other hauing the better in one part of the battell, and the worst in another place. Now at the first discouery of *Alcibiades* comming, both parts had in deed contrary imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke heart vnto them: and the ATHENIANS began to be afeard. But *Alcibiades* setting vp a flag in the top of his admirall gally, to shew what he was; he presently set vpon the PELOPONNESIANS that had the better, and had certaine gallies of the ATHENIANS in chase: whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gaue ouer their chase, and fled: But *Alcibiades* followed them so lustily, that he ran diuerse of them a ground, and brake their ships, and slue a great number of men that leapt into the sea, in hope to saue themselues by swimming a land: notwithstanding that *Pharnabazus* was come thither to aid the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did his best indeuour to saue their gallies by the sea shore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wan 30. gallies of their enemies, and saued all their owne, and so did set vp certain flags of triumph and victory. *Alcibiades* hauing now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs go shew himself in triumph vnto *Tisaphernes*. So hauing prepared to present him with goodly rich presents, and appointed also a conuenient traine and number of saile meet for a Generall, he tooke his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for: for *Tisaphernes* standing in great hazard of displeasure, and feare of punishment at the Kings hands, hauing long time before bin defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had complained of him, that he did not fulfil the Kings cõmandement, thought that *Alcibiades* was arriued in very happy houre: whereupon he kept him prisoner in the citie of SARDIS, supposing the wrong he had done, would by this meanes easily discharge & purge him to the king. Yet at the end of 30. daies, *Alcibiades* by fortune got a horse, & stealing frõ his keepers, fled vnto the city of CLAZOMENES: & this did more increase the suspitiõ they had of *Tisaphernes*, because they thought that vnderhand he had wrought his liberty. *Alcibiades* took then sea again, & went to seek out the army of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had found, & heard news that *Mindarus* & *Pharnabazus* were together in the city of CIZYCVM, he made an oration to his souldiers, & declared vnto them how it was very requisite they should fight with their enemies, both by sea and by land, and moreouer that they should assault them within their forts and castles, because otherwise they could haue no money to defray their charges. His oration ended, he made them immediatly hoise saile, & so to go lie at anker in the Ile of PROCONNESVS: where he took order that they should keep all the pinnases and brigantines among the ships of war, that the enemy might haue no manner of intelligence of his comming. The great shoures of raine also, with thunder and darke weather that fell out sodainely vpon it, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterprise: insomuch as not onely his enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knew nothing of his comming. So some made their reckoning, that the could do litle or nothing all that day: yet he made them sodainely imbarke, and hoise saile. They were no sooner in the maine sea, but they descried a farre off the gallies of their enemies, which lay at rode before the hauen of CYZICVM. And fearing least the great number of his fleet would make them flie, and take land before he could come to them: he commaunded certaine captaines to stay behind, and to row softly after him, and himselfe with forty gallies with him, went towards the enemies to prouoke them to fight. The enemies supposing there had bene no more ships then those that were in sight: did set out presently to fight with them. They were no sooner ioyned together, but *Alcibiades* ships that came behind, were also descried: the enemies were so afeard thereat, that they cast about and fled straight. *Alcibiades* leauing his fleete, followed the chase with twentie of the best gallies he had, and draue them a land. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued them so couragiously at their heeles, that he slue a great number of them on the maine land,

The citizens of Athens sent for Alcibiades to returne.

Battell by sea before the city of Abydos, betweene the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

Alcibiades victory of the Lacedæmonians by sea.

Alcibiades taken prisoner at Sardis, flieth from Tisaphernes.

Alcibiades victory at Cyzicum.

who thought by flying to haue ſaued themſelues. Moreouer, *Mindarus* and *Pharnabazus*, being come out of the citty to reſcue their people, were ouerthrown both. He ſlue *Mindarus* in the field, fighting valiantly: as for *Pharnabazus*, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS ſpoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and took beſides all their enemies ſhips. After they tooke the citie of CIZYCVM, *Pharnabazus* hauing left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being ſlaine, they had not onely the poſſeſſion of the whole country of HELLESPONT, which they kept: but they draue their enemies by force out of all parts of the ſea. There were at that time certain letters intercepted, whereby a ſecretary gaue aduertiſement vnto the *Ephori* at SPARTA, of the ouerthrow in this ſort. All is loſt, *Mindarus* is ſlaine, our people die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the ſouldiers of ATHENS that had bene at this iourney and ouerthrow, grew to ſuch a pride and reputation of themſelues, that they would not, and diſdained alſo to ſerue with the other ſouldiers that had bene beaten many times, and went away with the worſe: where they to the contrary had neuer bin ouercome, as a litle before it happened, that the captaine *Thraſyllus* had bene ouerthrowne by the citie of EPHESVS: and for this ouerthrow, the EPHESIANS had ſet vp a triumph, and token of braſſe, to the vtter ſhame and ignominy of the ATHENIANS. For the which *Alcibiades* ſouldiers did very much rebuke *Thraſyllus* men, and did exceedingly extoll their captaine and themſelues, and would neither encampe with them, neither haue to do with them, nor yet keepe them company: vntill ſuch time as *Pharnabazus* came with a great army againſt them, as well of footmen as horſemen, when they ranne a forraging vpon the ABYDENIANS: and then *Alcibiades* went to the reſcue of them, and gaue *Pharnabazus* battell, and ouerthrew him once againe, and did together with *Thraſyllus* chaſe him euen vntil dark night. Then both *Alcibiades* and *Thraſyllus* ſouldiers did company together, one reioycing with another: and ſo returned all with great ioy into one campe. The next morning *Alcibiades* ſet vp a triumph for the victory he had the day before, and then went to ſpoile and deſtroy *Pharnabazus* countrey, where he was gouernour, and no man durſt once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken priſoners, certaine Prieſts and Nuns of the country: but *Alcibiades* freely deliuered them afterwards without ranſome. And preparing to make wars againſt the CHALCEDONIANS, who were reuolted from the ATHENIANS, and had receiued a garriſon and gouernor of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their city: he was aduertiſed that they had brought all their goods and cattels out of their fields, and had deliuered them to the ſafe cuſtody of the BITHYNIANS, who were their neighbors and friends. Herupon he led his army into their borders, and ſent a herauld to ſummon the BITHYNIANS, to make amends for the wrong they had done the ATHENIANS. The BITHYNIANS fearing leaſt *Alcibiades* would ſet vpon them, did ſtraight deliuer him the goods they had as before in their cuſtody, and moreouer, made a league with the ATHENIANS beſides. That done, he went and laid ſiege to the citie of CHALCEDON, the which he enuironed all about from the one ſide of the ſea to the other. *Pharnabazus* came thither, thinking to haue raiſed the ſiege. And *Hippocrates*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was gouernor of the citie, aſſembled all the force he was able to make within the ſame, & made a ſally out alſo vpon the ATHENIANS at the very ſame time. Wherupon *Alcibiades* putting his men in order of battell, ſo as they might giue charge vpō them both at one inſtant: fought ſo valiantly, that he forced *Pharnabazus* to run his way with ſhame enough, & ſlue *Hippocrates* in the field, with a great number of his men. Then took he the ſeas again, to go towards the country of HELLESPONT, to get ſome money, whereon the ſodaine he did take the citie of SELYBREA: becauſe he valiantly put himſelfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certaine of his friends within, with whom he had ſecret practiſe, had giuen him a token, that when time ſerued, they would ſhew a burning torch in the aire at midnight: but they were compelled to ſhew this fire in the aire before they were ready, for feare leaſt one of their confederacy would bewray the matter, who ſodainly repented him. Now this torch burning in the aire, was ſet vp before *Alcibiades* was ready with his company. But he perceiuing the ſigne ſet, tooke about thirty men with him in his company, and ranne with them to the wals of the city, hauing commanded the reſt of his army to follow him with all ſpeede poſſible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirtie men: beſides them there followed twentie other light armed men. Howbeit they were no ſooner entred the citie, but they heard the citizens armed come againſt them: ſo that there was no hope to ſcape, if they did tarie their comming. Neuertheleſſe, conſidering that vntill that preſent time, he was neuer ouercome in battel, where he had take charge, it grieued him very much to fly: wherefore

Alcibiades victory at Chalcedonia.

Alcibiades took the citie of Selybrea.

The preſent wit of Alcibiades.

wherfore it ſtraight came in his head to make ſilence by ſound of trumpet, and after ſilence made, he cauſed one of thē that were about him to make proclamation with a loud voice, that the SELYBRIANIANS ſhould not take armes againſt the ATHENIANS. This cooled thē a litle that would faine haue bene doing, becauſe they ſuppoſed that all the army of the ATHENIANS had bene already in the citie: the other on the contrary ſide, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further daunger. And as they began to parle vpon compoſition, the reſt of *Alcibiades* army was come on. Now he thinking in deed (which was true) that the SELYBRIANIANS ſought nothing but peace, and fearing leaſt the THRACIANS which were many in number (and came with good will to ſerue him in that iourney) would ſacke and ſpoile the citie, he made them all to go out againe: and ſo concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurt vpō their humble ſubmiſſion, but made them pay him a ſum of mony, and ſo leauing a garriſon of the ATHENIANS within the citie, he departed thence. Whilſt *Alcibiades* was in treaty with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN captaines that lay at the ſiege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with *Pharnabazus*, that he ſhould giue them a ſumme of mony, & giue vp the towne into the ATHENIANS hands, to enioy it as they had before. And with expreſſe condition alſo, that the ATHENIANS ſhould make no rodes into *Pharnabazus* dominions, to hurt or ſpoile any of his: & he likewiſe ſhould be bound to giue good ſafe conduct vnto the ambaſſadours of the ATHENIANS, to go and come ſafe from time to time, to the King of PERSIA. The other captaines being ſworne to this peace, *Pharnabazus* conditioned alſo that *Alcibiades* at his returne ſhould likewiſe be ſworne to the peace and conditions thereof. But *Alcibiades* ſaid he would not be ſworne at all, vnleſſe *Pharnabazus* were firſt ſworne for his part. Thus when oaths were taken of either ſide, *Alcibiades* went alſo againſt thoſe of BYZANTIVM, who in like caſe had rebelled againſt the ATHENIANS. At his firſt comming thither, he enuironed the city round about with a wall. Afterwards he practiſed with two ſecret friends of his, *Anaxilaus* and *Lycurgus*, and certaine other within the citie, who promiſed him to deliuer it into his hands, ſo they might be aſſured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practiſe, he gaue it out, that he muſt needs leaue the ſiege, and depart with ſpeed, for certain news that were come out of IONIA: and thereupon he imbarked preſently, and went out of the hauen at none daies with all his ſhips, howbeit he returned againe the ſame night. And going a land with the choiſeſt and beſt armed men he had, he approched the wals of the citie, without any manner of noiſe, and hauing left order with them that remained in the ſhips, that in the meane ſeaſon they ſhould row with all force into the hauen, with as great cries and ſhouts as might be, to feare and trouble the enemies: partly to feare the BIZANTINES the more with their ſodain comming among them, and partly that his confederates within the citie, might with better oportunity receiue him and his company, into the towne with the more aſſured ſafety, whilſt euery man ranne to the hauen, to reſiſt them that were vpon the gallies. Neuertheleſſe they went not away vnfought with. For thoſe that lay in garriſon within the citie, ſome of them PELOPONNESIANS, other BOEOTIANS, and other MEGARIANS, did ſo valiantly repulſe them that came out of their gallies, that they draue them to retire abord againe. Afterwards hearing how the ATHENIANS were entred the city on the other ſide, they put themſelues in battell ray, & went to meet thē. The battell was terrible of both parts: but *Alcibiades* in the end obtained victory, leading the right wing of his battell, & *Theramenes* the left. The victory being gotten, he took 300. of his enemies priſoners, who had eſcaped the fury of the battel. But after the battel, there was not a BYZANTINE put to death, neither baniſhed, nor his goods confiſcated: becauſe it was capitulated by *Alcibiades* with his confederates, that neither he nor his, ſhould hurt any of the BYZANTINES either in perſon or goods, nor any way ſhould rifle them. And *Anaxilaus* being afterwards accuſed of treaſon in LACEDÆMON for this practiſe: he anſwered & iuſtified himſelf in ſuch ſort, that they could not find he had committed the fault laid vnto his charge. For he ſaid that he was no LACEDÆMONIAN, but a BYZANTINE: and that he ſaw not LACEDÆMON in daunger, but BYZANTIVM, which the enemies had compaſſed about with a wall they had built, that it was vnpoſſible to bring any thing into the citie. Moreouer he alleaged, that they hauing very ſmall ſtore of corne within the city (as was true indeed) the PELOPONNESIANS and BOEOTIANS that lay there in garriſon did eate it vp, while the poore BYZANTINES themſelues, their wiues and children, died for very hunger. Therefore it could not be ſaid of him, that he had betraid his country, but rather that he had deliuered it from the miſeries & calamities the wars brought vpon it: wherein he had folowed the example of the honeſteſt men of

The Chalcedonians receiue the Athenians

Alcibiades ſtratageme at Bizantium.

Alcibiades vvinneth Byzantium.

LACEDÆMON, who did acknowledge nothing honeſt and iuſt, but that which was neceſſary and profitable for their countrey. The LACEDÆMONIANS hearing his reaſons alleaged for his purgation, were aſhamed to condemne him, and therefore they let him go. Now *Alcibiades* deſirous in the end to ſee his natiue countrey againe (or to ſpeake more truly, that his country men ſhould ſee him) after he had ſo many times ouerthrowne their enemies in battell: he hoiſed ſaile and directed his courſe towards ATHENS, bringing with him all the gallies of the ATHENIANS, richly furniſhed and decked all about with skutchines and targets, and other armour and weapon gotten amongſt the ſpoiles of his enemies. Moreouer, he brought with him many other ſhippes which he had wonne and broken in the warres, beſides many enſignes and other ornaments: all which being counted together one with the other, made vp the number of two hundred ſhips. Furthermore, where *Duris* SAMIAN writeth (who challengeth that he came of his houſe) that at his returne one *Chryſogonus*, an excellent player on the flute (that had wonne certaine of the *Pythian* games) did play ſuch a note, that at the ſound thereof the galley-ſlaues would keepe ſtroke with their owers, and that *Callipides* another excellent player of Tragedies, playing the part of a comedie, did ſtirre them to row, being in ſuch players garments as euery maſter of ſuch ſcience vſeth commonly to weare, preſenting himſelfe in Theater or ſtage before the people to ſhew his art: and that the admirall galley wherein himſelfe was, entred the hauen with a purple ſaile, as if ſome maske had come into a mans houſe after ſome great banquet made: neither *Ephorus*, nor *Theopompus* nor *Xenophon*, make any mention of this at al. Furthermore, me thinkes it ſhould not be true, that he (returning from exile after ſo long a baniſhment, and hauing paſſed ouer ſuch ſorrowes and calamities as he had ſuſtained) would ſo proudly and preſumptuouſly ſhew himſelfe vnto the ATHENIANS. But meerely contrary, it is moſt certaine, that he returned in great feare and doubt. For when he was arriued in the hauen of PIRÆA, he would not ſet foot a land, before he firſt ſaw his nephew *Euryptolemus*, and diuers other of his friends from the hatches of his ſhip, ſtanding vpon the ſands in the hauen mouth. Who were come thither to receiue and welcome him, and told him that he might be bold to land, without feare of any thing. He was no ſooner landed, but all the people ranne out of euery corner to ſee him, with ſo great loue and affection, that they tooke no heed of the other captaines that came with him, but cluſtred all to him onely, and cried out for ioy to ſee him. Thoſe that could come neere him, did welcome and imbrace him: but all the people wholly followed him. And ſome that came to him, put garlands of flowers vpon his head: and thoſe that could not come neere him, ſaw him a far off, and the old folkes did point him out to the yonger ſort. But this common ioy was mingled notwithſtanding with teares and ſorrow, when they came to thinke vpon their former misfortunes and calamities, and to compare them with their preſent proſperity: waying with themſelues alſo how they had not loſt SICILIA, nor their hope in all things elſe had failed them, if they had deliuered themſelues and the charge of their army into *Alcibiades* hands, when they ſent for him to appeare in perſon before them. Conſidering alſo how he found the citie of ATHENS in maner put from the ſegniorie and commaundement of the ſea, and on the other ſide how their force by land was brought into ſuch extremitie, that ATHENS ſcantly could defend her ſuburbs, the citie ſelfe being ſo deuided and turmoiled with ciuill diſſention: yet he gathered together thoſe few, and ſmall force that remained, and had not onely reſtored ATHENS to her former power and ſoueraignty on the ſea, but had made her alſo conquerer by land. Now the decree for his repaire home againe, was paſt before by the people, at the inſtant requeſt of *Callias*, the ſonne of *Calleſchrus*, who did preferre it: as he himſelfe did teſtifie in his Elegies, putting *Alcibiades* in remembrance of the good turne he had done him, ſaying:

Alcibiades honorable returne into his countrey.

I was the firſt that moued in open conference,
the peoples voice to call thee home, when thou wert baniſht hence,
So was I eke the firſt which thereto gaue conſent,
and therefore may I boldly ſay, by truth of ſuch intent:
I was the onely meane, to call thee home againe,
by ſuch requeſt ſo rightly made, to moue the peoples vaine.
And this may ſerue for pledge, what friendſhip I thee beare:
faſt ſealed with a faithfull tongue, as plainely ſhall appeare.

But notwithſtanding, the people being aſſembled all in counſel, *Alcibiades* came before them, and made an oration: wherein he firſt lamented all his miſhaps, and found himſelf grieued a litle

with

with the wrongs they had offered him, yet he imputed all in the end to his curſed fortune, and ſome ſpitefull god that enuied his glorie and proſperitie. Then he dilated at large the great hope their enemies had to haue aduantage of them: and therewithall perſwaded the people to be of good courage, and afeard of nothing that was to come. And to conclude, the people crowned him with crownes of gold, and choſe him Generall againe of ATHENS, with ſoueraigne power and authoritie both by land and by ſea. And at that very inſtant it was decreed by the people, that he ſhould be reſtored againe to his goods, and that the prieſts *Eumolpides* ſhould abſolue him of all their curſes, and that the heraulds ſhould with open proclamation reuoke the execrations and curſings they had thundered out againſt him before, by commaundement of the people. Whereto they all agreed, and were very willing; ſauing *Theodorus* the Biſhop, who ſaid: I did neither excommunicate him, nor curſe him, if he hath done no hurt to the commonwealth. Now *Alcibiades* flouriſhed in his chiefeſt proſperitie, yet were there ſome notwithſtanding that miſliked very much the time of his landing: ſaying it was very vnluckie and vnfortunate. For the very day of his returne and arriuall, fell out by chance on the feaſt which they call *Plynteria*, as you would ſay, the waſhing day, which they celebrate in honour of *Minerua*: on the which day, the prieſts that they call *Praxiergides*, do make certaine ſecret and hidden ſacrifices and ceremonies, being the fiue and twentieth day of the moneth of September, and do take from the image of this goddeſſe all her rayment and iewels, and keepe the image cloſe couered ouer. Hereupon the ATHENIANS do aſcribe that day for a moſt vnfortunate day, and are very circumſpect to do any matter of importance on it. Moreouer, it was commonly ſcanned abroad of euery body, that it ſeemed the goddeſſe was not content, nor glad of *Alcibiades* returne: and that ſhe did hide her ſelfe, becauſe ſhe would not ſee him, nor haue him come neare her. Notwithſtanding all theſe toyes and ceremonies, when *Alcibiades* found euery thing fall out well at his returne, and as he would haue wiſhed it: he armed a hundred galleys preſently, to returne againe to the warres. Howbeit he wiſely regarded the time and ſolemnitie of celebration of theſe myſteries, and conſiderately ſtayed vntill they had finiſhed all. And it fell out, that after the LACEDÆMONIANS had taken and fortified the citie of DECELEA, within the territorie of ATTICA, and that the enemies being the ſtronger in the field, did keepe the way going from ATHENS to ELEVSIN, ſo as by no poſſible meanes they could make their ſolemne proceſſion by land, with ſuch honor & deuotion as they were before accuſtomed to do: and therby all the ſacrifices, daunces, and many other holy deuout ceremonies they were wont to do by the way, in ſinging the holy ſong of *Iacchus*, came of very neceſſitie to be left off, and cleane laid aſide. Then *Alcibiades* thought he ſhould do a meritorious deed to the gods, and an acceptable to men, to bring the old ceremonies vp againe vpon the ſaid feaſt: and thereupon purpoſed to accompany the proceſſion, and defend it by power againſt all inuaſion and diſturbance by the enemies: as one that foreſaw one of theſe two things would come to paſſe: Either that *Agis* king of the LACEDÆMONIANS would not ſtirre at all, and that he by this meanes ſhould ſo much imbaſe and diminiſh his reputation and glorie: or if he did come out to the field, that he would make the battell very gratefull to the goddes, conſidering it ſhould be in defence of their moſt holy feaſt and worſhip, and in the ſight of his countrey, where the people ſhould ſee and witneſſe both his valiantneſſe, and alſo his courage. *Alcibiades* being fully reſolued vpon this proceſſion, went and made the prieſts *Eumolpides*, their vergers, and other their miniſters and officers of theſe myſteries, priuie to his determination. Then he ſent out ſkoutes to watch on the ſide of the hilles thereabouts, and to view the way of their perambulation. The next morning very early he ſent out light horſemen alſo to ſcowre the countrey. Then he made the prieſts, the profeſſed, and all the miniſters of religion, go in proceſſion, together with thoſe that followed the ſame: and he himſelfe compaſſed them about with his armie on euery ſide, marching in battell ray, and very good order, and with great ſilence. This was an honourable and deuout leading of an armie, and ſuch as if his greateſt enemies would confeſſe a troth, they could not but ſay, *Alcibiades* had as much ſhewed the office of a high biſhop, as of a noble ſouldier and good captaine. So he ended this proceſſion, returning to ATHENS in all ſafe order againe, and not an enemie that durſt once looke out into the field to ſet vpon them. Now this did more increaſe the greatneſſe of his mind, and therewith the peoples good opinion of his ſufficiencie, and wiſe conduction of an armie: inſomuch as they thought him vnuincible, hauing the ſoueraigne power and authoritie of a Generall. Furthermore, he ſpake ſo faire to the poore peo-

Alcibiades oration to the people.

Alcibiades choſen General with ſoueraign authority.

Plynteria.

Alcibiades reſtored the old ceremonies.

ple, and meaner ſort, that they chiefly wiſhed and deſired he would take vpon him like a King: yea, and many went to him to perſwade him in it, as though he ſhould thereby withſtand all enuie, and driue away the lawes and cuſtomes of tryal of matters by the voyces of the people, and all ſuch fond deuices, as did deſtroy the ſtate of the commonweale. And furthermore, they ſaid it was very needfull that he alone ſhould take vpon him the whole rule and gouernement of the citie, that he might diſpoſe all things according to his will, and not ſtand in feare of ſlaunderous and wicked toungs. Now, whether *Alcibiades* euer had any mind to vſurpe the kingdome, the matter is ſomewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greateſt men of the citie fearing leſt indeed he meant ſome ſuch thing, did haſten his departure as ſoone as they could poſſible, doing all other things according to his mind: and did aſſigne him ſuch aſſociates in his charge of General, as he himſelfe beſt liked. So in the end he departed with a fleete of an hundred galleys, and firſt of all he fell with the Iſle of ANDROS, where he ouercame by fight the inhabitants of the ſaid Iſle, and certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that were amongeſt them: but he tooke not the citie, which was one of the firſt matters his enemies did accuſe him for. For if euer man was ouerthrowne and enuied for the eſtimation they had of his valure and ſufficiencie, truely *Alcibiades* was the man. For the notable and ſundry ſeruices he had done, wonne him ſuch eſtimation of wiſedome and valiantneſſe, that where he ſlacked in any ſeruice whatſoeuer, he was preſently ſuſpected, iudging the ill ſucceſſe not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he vndertooke any enterpriſe, nothing could withſtand or lye in his way. Hereupon the people perſwading themſelues, that immediatly after his departure, they ſhould heare that the Ile of CHIO was taken, with all the country of IONIA, they were angry they could haue no newes ſo ſuddenly from him as they looked for. Moreouer, they did not conſider the lacke of mony he had, and ſpecially making war with ſuch enemies, as were euer releeued with the great King of PERSIAES aide, and that for neceſſity ſake he was ſundry times driuen to leaue his campe, to ſeeke mony where he could get it, to pay his ſouldiers, and to maintaine his army. Now for teſtimony hereof, the laſt accuſation that was againſt him, was only for this matter. *Lyſander* being ſent by the LACEDÆMONIANS for admirall and generall of their army by ſea, vſed ſuch pollicy with *Cyrus* the king of PERSIAES brother, that he got into his hands a great ſum of mony: by meanes whereof he gaue vnto his mariners foure oboles a day for their wages, where before they were wont to haue but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had much ado to furniſh his with three onely a day. For this cauſe, to get mony, *Alcibiades* ſailed into CARIA. But in the meane time *Antiochus* whom *Alcibiades* had left his lieutenant behind him, and had giuen him charge of all the ſhips in his abſence, being a very skilfull ſea-man, but otherwiſe a haſty harebraynd foole, and of ſmall capacitie: he being expreſly commanded by *Alcibiades* not to fight in any caſe, though the enemies offered him battell, was ſo fooliſh raſh, and made ſo litle reckening of his ſtraight commandement, that he armed his owne gally, wherof himſelfe was captain, and other beſides, and went to the city of EPHESVS, paſſing all along his enemies galleys, reuiling and offering villany to thoſe that ſtood vpon the hatches of their gallies. *Lyſander* being maruellouſly prouoked by theſe words, went and encountred him at the firſt with a few ſhips. The other captaines of the gallies of the ATHENIANS, ſeeing *Antiochus* in daunger, went to aide him, one after another. Then *Lyſander* of his part alſo ſet out all his whole fleet againſt him, and in the end ouercame them: *Antiochus* ſelfe was killed in the conflict, and many gallies and men were taken priſoners: wherfore *Lyſander* ſet vp ſhewes of triumph in token of victory. *Alcibiades* hearing theſe ill fauored newes, returned preſently with all poſſible ſpeed to SAMOS: and when he came thither, he went with all the reſt of his fleet to offer *Lyſander* battell. But *Lyſander* quietly contenting himſelfe with his firſt victory, went not out againſt him. Now this victory was no ſooner won, but one *Thraſybulus* the ſon of *Thraſon*, *Alcibiades* enemy, went incontinently from the campe, and got him to ATHENS, to accuſe *Alcibiades* to the people: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had loſt many ſhips, for that he regarded not his charge, careleſly putting men in truſt, whom he gaue too great credit to, becauſe they were good fellowes, and would drinke drunke with him, and were full of marriners mockes and knauiſh ieaſts, ſuch as they vſe commonly amongſt themſelues. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleaſure abroad, here and there, ſcraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheare, and feaſting of the ABYDENIAN and IONIAN curtiſans, when the enemies army was ſo neare theirs as it was. Moreouer, they laid to his charge, that he did fortifie a caſtle in the country of THRACIA, neare

Alcibiades ſecond iourney.

Lack of money, the occaſion of the ouerthrow of the Athenians army by ſea.

Antiochus raſhneſſe, procured his owne death and the ouerthrow of the Athenians armie.

Lyſander being generall of the Lacedæmonians, ouercame the Athenians.

Alcibiades accuſed again by Thraſybulus.

neare vnto the city BISANTHE, for a place to retire himselfe vnto, either becauſe he could not, or rather that he would not liue any longer in his owne countrey. Vpon thoſe accuſations, the ATHENIANS giuing credite to the report: did immediatly chuſe new captaines, and thereby declared their miſliking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing leſt they would do him ſome worſe harme, did leaue ſtraight the ATHENIANS campe, and gathering a certaine number of ſtraungers together, went of himſelfe to make war vpon certaine free people of the THRACIANS, who were ſubiect to no prince nor ſtate: where he got a maruellous maſſe of money together, by meanes whereof he did aſſure the GRECIANS inhabiting thoſe marches, from all inuaſion of forraine enemies. Now *Tydeus*, *Menander*, and *Adimanthus* the ATHENIANS captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the goates riuer, with all the galleys the citie of ATHENS had at that time vpon that coaſt: vſed euery morning commonly to go to the ſea, to offer battell to *Lyſander*, who rode at anker before the citie of *Lampſacus*, with all the LACEDÆMONIANS armie by ſea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watch or ward, as men that were careleſſe of their enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the land not far off, and finding their great fault and negligence: took his horſe, and went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill ſhore, where there was no good rode, nor towne, and where they were driuen to ſeeke their victuals, as farre as to the citie of SESTOS, and that they ſuffered their mariners to leaue their ſhippes, and go a land when they lay at anker, ſtraggling vp and downe the countrey as they would themſelues, without regard that there lay a great armie of their enemies before them, readie to be ſet out at the Generals commandement: and therefore he aduiſed them to remoue thence, and to go to caſt anker before the citie of SESTOS. Howbeit the captaines would not be aduiſed by him: and that which was worſt of all, *Tydeus*, one of the captaines, ſtoutly commaunded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to do with the matter, and that other had charge of the armie. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpoſe ſome treaſon againſt him, did depart preſently from them. And as he went his way, he ſaid to ſome of his friends which accompanied him out of the campe at his returne: that if the captaines of the ATHENIANS had not bene ſo round with him, he would haue forced the LACEDÆMONIANS to haue come to battell in deſpite of their beardes, or elſe he would haue driuen them to forſake their ſhippes. Some tooke this for a glorious bragge: other thought he was like enough to haue done it, becauſe he could haue brought from land a great number of THRACIANS, both archers and horſemen, with whom he might haue giuen a charge vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, and done great miſchiefe vnto their campe. But now, how wiſely *Alcibiades* did foreſee the faults he told the ATHENIANS captaines of: their great misfortune and loſſe that followed incontinently, did too plainely witneſſe it to the world. For *Lyſander* came ſo fiercely vpon them on a ſodaine, that of all the ſhippes that they had in their whole fleete, onely eight galleys were ſaued, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much leſſe then two hundred in number, were euery one of them taken and caried away, with three thouſand priſoners whom *Lyſander* put to death. Shortly after, he tooke the citie ſelfe of ATHENS, and raſed their long wals euen to the ground. After this great and notable victorie, *Alcibiades* fearing ſore the LACEDÆMONIANS, who then without let or interruption of any, were only Lords and Princes by ſea and by land: he went into the countrey of BYTHINIA, and cauſed great good to be brought after him, and tooke a maruellous ſum of mony with him, beſides great riches he left alſo in the caſtles of THRACIA, where he did remaine before. Howbeit he loſt much of his goods in BYTHINIA, which certain THRACIANS dwelling in that country, had robbed him of, and taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith vnto king *Artaxerxes*, hoping that when the king had once proued him, he ſhold find him a man of no leſſe ſeruice, then he had found *Themiſtocles* before him: beſides that the occaſion of his going thither, ſhould be much iuſter then his was: for he did not go thither, to make war againſt the city of ATHENS and his country, as *Themiſtocles* did: but of a contrary intent, to make interceſſion to the king, that it would pleaſe him to aid them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could vſe no better mean then *Pharnabazus* help only, to ſee him ſafely conducted to the kings court: he tooke his iourney to him into the country of PHRYGIA, where he abode a certaine time to attend vpon him, & was very honorably entertained and receiued of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the ATHENIANS found themſelues deſolate, and in miſerable ſtate to ſee their empire loſt: but then much more, when *Lyſander* had taken away their liberties, and ſet thirty gouernors ouer their city. Now too

Alcibiades put from his authority of general.

Lyſander rode at anker before Lampſacus.

The Athenians regarded not Alcibiades good counſell.

The Athenians ouercome by Lyſander.

Athens taken by Lyſander.

Alcibiades flyeth into the country of Bythinia.

Lyſander appointed 30. tyrants ouer the citizens of Athens.

Too late repentance of the Athenians.

late, after all was loſt (where they might haue recouered againe, if they had bene wiſe) they beganne together to bewaile and lament their miſeries and wretched ſtate, looking backe vpon all their wilfull faults and follies committed: among which, they did recken their ſecond time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greateſt fault: for they baniſhed him only of malice and diſpleaſure, not for any offence himſelfe in perſon had committed againſt them, ſauing that his lieutenant in his abſence had ſhamefully loſt a few of their ſhippes: and they themſelues more ſhamefully had driuen out of their citie, the nobleſt ſouldier, and moſt skilfull captaine that they had. And yet they had ſome litle poore hope left, that they were not altogether caſt away, ſo long as *Alcibiades* liued, and had his health. For before, when he was a forſaken man, and led a baniſhed life, yet he could not liue idlely, and do nothing: wherefore now much more, ſaid they to themſelues, if there be any helpe at all, he will not ſuffer out of doubt the inſolencie and pride of the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yet abide the cruelties and outrages of theſe thirty tyraunts. And ſurely the common people had ſome reaſon to haue theſe thoughts in their heades, conſidering that the thirty gouernors themſelues did what they could poſſibly to ſpye out *Alcibiades* doings, and what he went about. Inſomuch as *Critias* at the laſt, declared to *Lyſander*, that ſo long the LACEDÆMONIANS might recken themſelues Lords ouer all GREECE, as they kept from the common people the rule and authoritie of the city of ATHENS. And further he added, that notwithſtanding the people of ATHENS could well away to liue like ſubiects vnder the gouernement of a few: yet *Alcibiades* whileſt he liued, would neuer ſuffer them ſo to be raigned ouer, but would attempt by all deuice he could to bring a chaunge and innouation among them. Yet *Lyſander* would not credite theſe perſwaſions, before ſpeciall commaundement was ſent to him from the Senate of LACEDÆMON, vpon his allegiance, that he ſhould deuiſe to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: either becauſe in troth they feared the ſubtiltie of his wit, and the greatneſſe of his courage, to enterpriſe matters of great waight and danger, or elſe that they ſought to gratifie King *Agis* by it. *Lyſander* being thus ſtraightly commanded, did ſend and practiſe incontinently with *Pharnabazus* to execute the fact: who gaue his brother *Magæus*, and his vncle *Suſamithres* commiſſion to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certaine village of PHRYGIA, with a concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his concubines apparell, and how ſhe dandling him in her armes, had dreſſed his head, friſeled his haire, and painted his face, as he had bene a woman. Other ſay, that he thought *Magæus* ſtrake off his head, and made his bodie to be burnt: and the voice goeth, this viſion was but a litle before his death. Thoſe that were ſent to kill him, durſt not enter the houſe where he was, but ſet it on fire round about. *Alcibiades* ſpying the fire, got ſuch apparel and hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to haue put it out: and ſo caſting his cloke about his left arme, tooke his naked ſword in his other hand, and ranne out of the houſe, himſelfe not once touched with fire, ſauing his clothes were a litle ſinged. Theſe murtherers ſo ſoone as they ſpied him drew backe, and ſtood a ſunder, and durſt not one of them come neare him, to ſtand and fight with him: but a farre off, they beſtowed ſo many arrowes and darts on him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his body, which ſhe wrapped vp in the beſt linnen ſhe had, and buried him as honourably as ſhe could poſſible, with ſuch things as ſhe had, and could get together. Some hold opinion that *Lais*, the only famous curtiſan, which they ſay was of CORINTH (though indeed ſhe was borne in a litle towne of SICILIA, called HICCARA, where ſhe was taken) was his daughter. Notwithſtanding, touching the death of *Alcibiades*, there are ſome that agree to all the reſt I haue written, ſauing that they ſay, it was neither *Pharnabazus*, nor *Lyſander*, nor the LACEDÆMONIANS, which cauſed him to be ſlain: but that he keeping with a young gentlewoman of a noble houſe, whome he had ſtolne away, and intiſed to folly: her brethren to reuenge this iniurie, went to ſet fire vpon the houſe where he was, and that they killed him as we haue told you, thinking to leape out of the fire.

The Lacedæmonians vvill Lyſander to kil Alcibiades.

Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.

Alcibiades death.

Timandra the curtiſan buried Alcibiades.

Lais a curtiſan of Corinth.

The end of Alcibiades life.

THE

THE LIFE OF CAIVS *Martius Coriolanus.*

THE house of the *Martians* at ROME was of the number of the *Patricians*, out of the which haue sprong many noble personages, whereof *Ancus Martius* was one, king *Numaes* daughters sonne, who was King of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same house were *Publius* and *Quintus*, who brought to ROME their best water they had by conduits. *Censorinus* also came of that family, that was so surnamed, because the people had chosen him *Censor* twise. Through whose perswasion they made a lawe, that no man from thencefoorth might require, or enioy the Censorshippe twise. *Caius Martius*, whose life we intend now to write, being left an orphane by his father, was brought vp vnder his mother a widow, who taught vs by experience, that orphanage bringeth many discommodities to a child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue aboue the common sort: as they that are meanely borne, wrongfully do complaine, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought vp, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good proofe to confirme some mens opinions: That a rare and excellent wit vntaught, doth bring foorth many good and euill things together: as a fat soile that lyeth vnmanured bringeth foorth both hearbes and weedes. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great heart did maruellously stirre vp his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other side for lacke of education, he was so cholericke and impatient, that he would yeeld to no liuing creature: which made him churlish, vnciuill, and altogether vnfit for any mans conuersation. Yet men maruelling much at his constancie, that he was neuer ouercome with pleasure, nor mony, & how he wold endure easily all maner of paines & trauels: therupon they well liked and commended his stoutnesse and temperancy. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one citizen vseth to be with another in the city: his behauiour was so vnpleasant to them by reason of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which because it was too Lordly, was disliked. And to say truly, the greatest benefite that learning bringeth vnto men, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compasse and rule of reason, to be ciuill and courteous, and to like better the meane state, then the higher. Now in those daies, valiantnes was

The family of the Martians.

Publius and Quintus Martius, brought the water by conduits to Rome.

Censorinus lawe.

The benefit of learning.

What this word Virtus signifieth.

honoured in Rome aboue all other vertues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of vertue it self, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latin, was as much as valiantnesse. But *Martius* being more inclined to the warres, then any other gentleman of his time, beganne from his childhood to giue himselfe to handle weapons, and daily did exercise himselfe therein: and he esteemed outward armour to no purpose, vnlesse one were naturally armed within. Moreouer he did so exercise his bodie to hardnesse and all kind of actiuitie, that he was very swift in running, strong in wrestling, and mightie in griping, so that no man could euer cast him. Insomuch as those that would try masteries with him for strength and nimblenesse, would say when they were ouercome: that all was by reason of his naturall strength, and hardnesse of ward, that neuer yeelded to any paine or toyle he tooke vpon him. The first time he went to the wars, being but a stripling, was when *Tarquine* surnamed the proud (that had bene king of Rome, and was driuen out for his pride, after many attempts made by sundry battels to come in againe, wherein he was euer ouercome) did come to Rome with all the aide of the Latines, and many other people of Italy: euen as it were to set vp his whole rest vpon a battel by them, who with a great and mighty army had vndertaken to put him into his kingdome againe, not so much to pleasure him, as to ouerthrow the power of the Romaines, whose greatnesse they both feared and enuied. In this battell, wherein were many hote and sharpe encounters of either party, *Martius* valiantly fought in the sight of the *Dictator*: and a Romaine souldier being throwne to the ground euen hard by him, *Martius* straight bestrid him, and slue the enemie with his owne hands that had before ouerthrowne the Romaine. Hereupon, after the battell was won, the *Dictator* did not forget so noble an act, and therefore first of all he crowned *Martius* with a garland of oken boughes. For whosoeuer saueth the life of a Romaine, it is a maner among them, to honour him with such a garland. This was, either because the law did this honour to the oke, in fauour of the Arcadians, who by the oracle of *Apollo* were in old time called eaters of akornes: or else because the souldiers might easily in euery place come by oken boughs: or lastly, because they thought it very necessarie, to giue him that had saued a citizens life, a crowne of this tree to honour him, being properly dedicated vnto *Iupiter*, the patron and protectour of Cities, and thought amongest other wild trees to bring forth a profitable frute, and of plants to be the strongest. Moreouer, men at the first beginning did vse akornes for their bread, and hony for their drink: and further, the oke did feed their beasts, and giue them birds, by taking glue from the okes, with the which they made bird-lime to catch silly birds. They say that *Castor* and *Pollux*, appeared in this battell, and how incontinently after the battell, men saw them in the market place at Rome, all their horses being on a white foame: and they were the first that brought newes of the victory, euen in the same place, where remaineth at this present a temple built in the honor of them, neare vnto the fountaine. And this is the cause, why the day of this victory (which was the fifteenth of Iuly) is consecrated yet to this day vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*. Moreouer it is daily seene, that honour and reputation lighting on yong men before their time, and before they haue any great courage by nature, the desire to win more dyeth straight in them, which easily happeneth, the same hauing no deepe root in them before. Where contrariwise, the first honour that valiaunt minds do come vnto, doth quicken vp their appetite, hasting them forwarward as with force of wind, to enterprise things of high deseruing praise. For they esteeme not, to receiue reward for seruice done, but rather take it for a remembrance and encouragement, to make them do better in time to come: and be ashamed also to cast their honour at their heeles, not seeking to increase it still by like desert of worthy valiaunt deedes. This desire being bred in *Martius*, he strained still to passe himselfe in manlinesse: and being desirous to shew a daily increase of his valiantnesse, his noble seruice did still aduaunce his fame, bringing in spoyles vpon spoyles from the enemy. Whereupon, the captaines that came afterwards (for enuie of them that went before) did contend who should most honor him, and who should beare most honourable testimony of his valiantnes. Insomuch as the Romaines hauing many warres and battels in those dayes, *Coriolanus* was at them all: and there was not a battell fought, from whence he returned not with some reward of honor. And as for other, the only respect that made them valiant, was that they hoped to haue honor: but touching *Martius*, the onely thing that made him to loue honour, was the ioy he saw his mother did take of him. For he thought nothing made him so happy and honorable, as that his mother might heare euery body praise and commend him, that she might alwaies see him returne with a crown vpon his

Coriolanus first going to warres.

Coriolanus crowned with a garland of oken boughes.

The goodnesse of the oke.

Too sudden honour in youth killeth further desire of fame.

Coriolanus noble indeuour to continue wel deseruing.

his head, and that ſhe might ſtill imbrace him with teares running downe her cheekes for ioy. Which deſire they ſay *Epaminondas* did auow, and confeſſe to haue bene in him: as to think him ſelf a moſt happy & bleſſed man, that his father and mother in their life time had ſeen the victory he wan in the plaine of LEVCTRES. Now as for *Epaminondas*, he had this good hap, to haue his father and mother liuing, to be partakers of his ioy and proſperity: but *Martius* thinking al due to his mother, that had bene alſo due to his father if he had liued, did not only content himſelf to reioyce and honor her, but at her deſire took a wife alſo, by whom he had two children, and yet neuer left his mothers houſe therfore. Now he being growne to great credit and authority in ROME for his valiantneſſe, it fortuned there grew ſedition in the city, becauſe the Senate did fauour the rich againſt the people, who did complaine of the ſore oppreſſion of vſurers, of whom they borrowed mony. For thoſe that had litle, were yet ſpoiled of that litle they had by their creditors, for lack of ability to pay the vſury: who offered their goods to be ſold to thē that would giue moſt. And ſuch as had nothing left, their bodies were laid hold on, and they were made their bondmen, notwithſtanding all the wounds and cuts they ſhewed, which they had receiued in many battels, fighting for defence of their countrey and common wealth: of the which, the laſt warre they made was againſt the SABYNES, wherein they fought vpon the promiſe the rich men had made them, that from thenceforth they would intreat them more gently, and alſo vpon the word of *Marcus Valerius* chiefe of the Senate, who by authority of the Counſell, and in the behalfe of the rich, ſaid they ſhould performe that they had promiſed. But after that they had faithfully ſerued in this laſt battel of all, where they ouercame their enemies, ſeeing they were neuer a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would giue no eare to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promiſe, and ſuffered them to be made ſlaues and bond men to their creditours, and beſides, to be turned out of all that euer they had: they fell then euen to flat rebellion and mutiny, and to ſtirre vp dangerous tumults within the city. The ROMAINES enemies hearing of this rebellion, did ſtraight enter the territories of ROME with a maruellous great power, ſpoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediatly made open proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that all thoſe that were of lawfull age to cary weapon, ſhould come and enter their names into the muſter-maſters book, to go to the wars: but no man obeyed their commandement. Wherupon their chiefe magiſtrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of diuers opinions among thēſelues. For ſome thought it was reaſon, they ſhould ſomewhat yeeld to the poore peoples requeſt, and that they ſhould a litle qualifie the ſeuerity of the law. Other held hard againſt that opinion, and that was *Martius* for one. For he alleaged, that the creditours looſing their money they had lent, was not the worſt thing that was herein: but that the lenity that was fauoured, was a beginning of diſobedience, and that the proud attempt of the communalty, was to aboliſh law, and to bring all to confuſion. Therefore he ſaid, if the Senate were wiſe, they ſhould betimes preuent and quench this ill fauoured & worſe meant beginning. The Senate met many dayes in conſultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore common people ſeeing no redreſſe, gathered themſelues one day together, and one encouraging another, they all forſook the city, and encamped themſelues vpon a hil, called at that day the holy hill, alongſt the riuer of Tyber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any ſhew of actuall rebellion: ſauing that they cried as they went vp and down, that the rich men had driuen them out of the city, and that throughout all ITALIE they might find aire, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreouer, they ſaid, to dwell at ROME was nothing els but to be ſlaine, or hurt with continuall warres, and fighting for defence of the rich mens goods. The Senate being afeard of their departure, did ſend vnto them certaine of the pleaſanteſt old men, and the moſt acceptable to the people among them. Of thoſe *Menenius Agrippa* was he, who was ſent for chiefe man of the meſſage from the Senate. He after many good perſwaſions and gentle requeſts made to the people, on the behalfe of the Senate, knit vp his oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner: That on a time all the members of mans body did rebell againſt the belly, complaining of it, that it only remained in the midſt of the body, without doing any thing, neither did beare any labour to the maintenance of the reſt: whereas all other parts and members did labour painfully, and were very carefull to ſatisfie the appetites and deſires of the body. And ſo the belly, all this notwithſtanding laughed at their folly, and ſaid: It is true, I firſt receiue all meates that nouriſh mans body: but afterwards I ſend it againe to the nouriſhment of other parts of the ſame. Euen ſo (quoth he) O you, my maſters, and citizens of ROME: the reaſon is alike be-

Coriolanus & Epaminondas did both place their deſire of honour alike.

The obedience of Coriolanus to his mother.

Extremitie of vſury complained of at Rome by the people.

Counſellers promiſes make men valiant, in hope of iuſt performance.

Ingratitude, and good ſeruice vnrewarded, prouoketh rebellion.

Martius Coriolanus againſt the people.

The people leaue the citie and do go to the holy hill.

An excellent tale told by Menenius Agrippa to pacifie the people.

tweene the Senate and you. For matters being wel digeſted, and their counſels throughly examined, touching the benefit of the common-wealth, the Senatours are cauſe of the common commodity that cometh vnto euery one of you. Theſe perſwaſions pacified the people, conditionally, that the Senate would grant there ſhould be yearely choſen fiue Magiſtrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whoſe office ſhould be to defend the poore people from violence & oppreſſion. So *Iunius Brutus*, and *Sicinius Velutus*, were the firſt tribunes of the people that were choſen, who had only bene the cauſers and procurers of this ſedition. Hereupon the city being growne againe to good quiet and vnity, the people immediatly went to the warres, ſhewing that they had a good will to do better then euer they did, and to be very willing to obey the Magiſtrates in that they would command, concerning the wars. *Martius* alſo, though it liked him nothing to ſee the greatneſſe of the people thus increaſed, conſidering it was to the preiudice and imbaſing of the Nobility, and alſo ſaw that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as himſelfe: he did perſwade the *Patricians*, to ſhew themſelues no leſſe forward and willing to fight for their country, then the common people were: and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not ſo much paſſe the people in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true nobility and valiantneſſe. In the countrey of the VOLSCES againſt whom the ROMAINES made warre at that time, there was a principall city and of moſt fame, that was called CORIOLES, before the which the Conſul *Cominius* did lay ſiege. Wherfore all the other VOLSCES fearing leaſt that city ſhould be taken by aſſault, they came from all parts of the countrey to ſaue it, intending to giue the ROMAINES battell before the city, and to giue an onſet on them in two ſeuerall places. The Conſul *Cominius* vnderſtanding this, deuided his army alſo into two parts, and taking the one part with himſelf, he marched towards them that were drawing to the citie, out of the countrey: and the other part of his army he left in the campe with *Titus Latius* (one of the valianteſt men the ROMAINES had at that time) to reſiſt thoſe that would make any ſally out of the city vpon them. So the CORIOLANS making ſmal account of them that lay in camp before the city, made a ſally out vpon them, in the which at the firſt the CORIOLANS had the better, and draue the ROMAINES backe againe into the trenches of their campe. But *Martius* being there at that time, running out of the campe with a few men with him, he ſlue the firſt enemies he met withall, and made the reſt of them ſtay vpon the ſodain, crying out to the ROMAINES that had turned their backs, and calling thē again to fight with a loud voice. For he was euen ſuch another, as *Cato* would haue a ſouldier and a captaine to be, not onely terrible, and fierce to lay about him, but to make the enemy afeard with the ſound of his voice, & grimneſſe of his countenance. Thē there flocked about him immediatly, a great number of ROMAINES: whereat the enemies were ſo afeard, that they gaue back preſently. But *Martius* not ſtaying ſo, did chaſe & follow them to their owne gates, that fled for life. And there perceiuing that the ROMAINES retired back, for the great number of darts and arrowes which flew about their eares from the wals of the city, and that there was not one man amongſt them that durſt venter himſelf to follow the flying enemies into the citie, for that it was full of men of warre, very well armed and appointed: he did encourage his fellowes with words & deeds, crying out to thē, that fortune had opened the gates of the city, more for the followers then the fliers. But all this notwithſtanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the throng among the enemies, thruſt himſelfe into the gates of the city, and entred the ſame among them that fled, without that any one of them durſt at the firſt turne their face vpon him, or offer to ſtay him. But he looking about him, and ſeeing he was entred the city with very few men to helpe him, and perceiuing he was enuironed by his enemies that gathered round about to ſet vpon him: did things as it is written, wonderfull and incredible, aſwell for the force of his hand, as alſo for the agility of his body, and with a wonderfull courage and valiantneſſe he made a lane through the middeſt of them, and ouerthrew alſo thoſe he layed at: that ſome he made runne to the furtheſt part of the city, and other for feare he made yeeld themſelues, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Martius* that was gotten out, had ſome leiſure to bring the ROMAINES with more ſafety into the city. The city being taken in this ſort, the moſt part of the ſouldiers began incontinently to ſpoile, to cary away, and to looke vp the bootie they had wonne. But *Martius* was maruellous angry with them, and cryed out on them, that it was no time now to looke after ſpoile, and to runne ſtragling here and there to enrich themſelues, whileſt the other Conſull and their fellow citizens peraduenture were fighting with their enemies: and how that leauing the ſpoyle, they ſhould ſeeke to winde them

The firſt beginning of Tribuni plebis. Iunius Brutus, Sicinius Velutus, the two firſt Tribunes.

The citie of Coriales beſieged by the Conſull Cominius.

Titus Latius, a valiant Romaine.

The property of a ſouldier.

The citie of Coriales taken.

themſelues out of daunger and perill. Howbeit, crie and ſay to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking thoſe that willingly offered themſelues to follow him, he went out of the citie, and tooke his way towards that part, where he vnderſtood the reſt of the army was, exhorting and intreating them by the way that followed him not to be faint-hearted, and oft holding vp his hands to heauen, he beſought the gods to be gracious and fauourable vnto him, that he might come in time to the battell, and in a good houre to hazard his life in defence of his country-men. Now the ROMAINES when they were put in battell ray, and ready to take their targets on their armes, and to gird them vpon their arming coates, had a cuſtome to make their willes at that very inſtant, without any manner of writing, naming him onely whom they would make their heire in the preſence of three or foure witneſſes. *Martius* came iuſt to that reckoning, whileſt the ſouldiers were doing after that ſort, and that the enemies were approched ſo neare, as one ſtood in view of the other. When they ſaw him at his firſt comming all bloudy, and in a ſweat, and but with a few men following him: ſome thereupon beganne to be afeard. But ſoone after, when they ſaw him runne with a liuely cheere to the Conſull, and to take him by the hand, declaring how he had taken the citie of CORIOLES, and that they ſaw the Conſul *Cominius* alſo kiſſe and imbrace him: then there was not a man but took heart againe to him, and beganne to be of a good courage, ſome hearing him report from point to point, the happy ſucceſſe of this exploit, and other alſo coniecturing it by ſeeing their geſtures a farre off. Then they all began to call vpon the Conſull to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to giue charge vpon the enemie. *Martius* asked him how the order of their enemies battell was, and on which ſide they had placed their beſt fighting men. The Conſull made him anſwere, that he thought the bands which were in the vaward of their battell, were thoſe of the ANTIATES, whom they eſteemed to be the warlikeſt men, and which for valiant courage would giue no place, to any of the hoaſt of their enemies. Then prayed *Martius*, to be ſet directly againſt them. The Conſull graunted him, greatly praiſing his courage. Then *Martius*, when both armies came almoſt to ioyne, aduaunced himſelfe a good ſpace before his company, and went ſo fiercely to giue charge on the vaward that came right againſt him, that they could ſtand no longer in his hands: he made ſuch a lane through them, and opened a paſſage into the battell of the enemies. But the two wings of either ſide turned one to the other, to compaſſe him in betweene them: which the Conſull *Cominius* perceiuing, he ſent thither ſtraight of the beſt ſouldiers he had about him. So the battell was maruellous bloudie about *Martius*, and in a very ſhort ſpace many were ſlaine in the place. But in the end the ROMAINES were ſo ſtrong, that they diſtreſſed the enemies, and brake their arraye: and ſcattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed *Martius* that he would retire to the campe, becauſe they ſawe he was able to doe no more, he was alreadie ſo wearied with the great paine he had taken, and ſo faint with the great woundes he had vpon him. But *Martius* aunſwered them, that it was not for conquerours to yeeld, nor to be faint harted: and thereupon began afreſh to chaſe thoſe that fledde, vntill ſuch time as the armie of the enemies was vtterly ouerthrowne, and numbers of them ſlaine and taken priſoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Conſull, and the other ROMAINES with him. There the Conſull *Cominius* going vp to his chayre of ſtate, in the preſence of the whole armie, gaue thankes to the goddes for ſo great, glorious, and proſperous a victorie: then he ſpake to *Martius*, whoſe valiantneſſe he commended beyond the Moone, both for that he himſelfe ſawe him do with his eyes, as alſo for that *Martius* had reported vnto him. So in the ende he willed *Martius*, that he ſhould chooſe out of all the horſes they had taken of their enemies, and of all their goodes they had wonne (whereof there was great ſtore) tenne of euerie ſorte which he liked beſt, before any diſtribution ſhould be made to other. Beſides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gaue him in teſtimonie that he had wonne that day the price of proweſſe aboue all other, a goodly horſe with a cappariſon, and all furniture to him: which the whole armie beholding, did maruellouſly praiſe and commend. But *Martius* ſtepping forth, told the Conſull, he moſt thankfully accepted the gift of his horſe, and was a glad man beſides, that his ſeruice had deſerued his Generals commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenarie reward, then an honourable recompence, he would haue none of it, but was contented to haue his equall part with the other ſouldiers. Onely, this grace (ſayd he) I craue and beſeech you to graunt me: Among the VOLSCES there is an old friend and hoſt of mine, an honeſt wealthy man, and now a priſoner, who

Souldiers teſtaments.

By Coriolanus meanes, the Volſci were ouercome in battell.

The tenth part of the enemies goods offered Martius for reward of his ſeruice, by Cominius the Conſull.

Valiantie rewarded with honour in the field.

Martius noble anſwer and refuſall.

liuing before in great wealth in his owne countrey, liueth now a poore prisoner, in the hands of his enemies: & yet notwithstanding all this his misery & misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could saue him from this one daunger: to keepe him from being sold as a slaue. The souldiers hearing *Martius* words, made a maruellous great shout among them: and there were more that wondred at his great contentation and abstinence, when they saw so litle couetousnesse in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantnesse. For euen they themselues that did somewhat malice and enuy his glory, to see him thus honoured and passingly praised, did thinke him so much the more worthy of an honourable recompence for his valiant seruice, as the more carelesly he refused the great offer made vnto him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as vnto a worthy person. For it is farre more commendable, to vse riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them then to vse them well. After this shout and noise of the assembly was somewhat appeased, the Consull *Cominius* beganne to speake in this sort: We cannot compell *Martius* to take these gifts we offer him if he will not receiue them: but we will giue him such a reward for the noble seruice he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, vnlesse his valiant acts haue wonne him that name before our nomination. And so euer since, he still bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the ROMAINES haue, as *Caius*: was as our Christian name now. The second, as *Martius*: was the name of the house and family they came of. The third, was some addition giuen, either for some act or notable seruice, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some speciall vertue they had. Euen so did the GRECIANS in old time giue additions to Princes, by reason of some notable act worthy memory. As when they haue called some, *Soter* and *Callinicos*, as much to say as sauiour and conquerour. Or els of some notable apparant mark on ones face, or on his body, they haue called him *Phiscon* and *Grypos*: as ye would say, gorebelly, and hooke nosed: or else for some vertue, as *Euergetes*, and *Phyladelphos*: to wit, a benefactour, and louer of his brethren. Or otherwise for ones great felicitie, as *Eudæmon*: as much to say, as fortunate. For so was the second of the* *Battes* surnamed. And some Kings haue had surnames of iest and mockery. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Doson*, to say, the Giuer: who was euer promising, and neuer giuing. And one of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to say, conceitiue. The ROMAINES vse more then any other nation, to giue names of mockery in this sort. As there was one *Metellus* surnamed *Diadematus* the banded: because he caried a band about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne family was called *Celer*, the quicke flie: because a few dayes after the death of his father, he shewed the people the cruell fight of fencers at vnrebated swords, which they found wonderfull for the shortnesse of time. Other had their surnames deriued of some accident of their birth. As to this day they call him *Proculeius*, that is borne, his father being in some farre voyage: and him *Posthumius*, that is borne after the death of his father. And when of two brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other suruiueth: they call the suruiuer, *Vopiscus*. Sometimes also they giue surnames deriued of some marke or misfortune of the body: as *Sylla*, to say, crooked nosed: *Niger*, blacke: *Rufus*, red: *Cæcus*, blind: *Claudus*, lame. They did wisely in this thing to accustome men to thinke, that neither the losse of their sight, nor other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace vnto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other stories then this. Now when this war was ended, the flatterers of the people began to stirre vp sedition againe, without any new occasion, or iust matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this second insurrection against the Nobility and *Patricians*, vpon the peoples misery and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discord & sedition between them and the Nobility. Because the most part of the arable land within the territory of ROME, was become heathy & barrē for lack of plowing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause corne to be brought thē out of other countries to sow, by reason of their wars which made the extreme dearth they had among them. Now those busie pratlers that sought the peoples good will by such flattering words, perceiuing great scarsity of corne to be within the city, & though there had bin plenty enough, yet the common people had no mony to buy it: they spread abroad false tales and rumors against the Nobility, that they in reuenge of the people, had practised and procured thē extreme dearth among thē. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came

Martius surnamed Coriolanus by the Consull.

How the Romaines came to haue three names.

Why the Grecians gaue kings surnames.

** These were the princes that built the citie of Cyrene.*

Names of mockery among the Romaines.

Sedition at Rome, by reason of famine.

came Abaſſadours to ROME from the citie of VELITRES, that offered vp their citie to the ROMAINES, and prayed them they would ſend new inhabitants to repleniſh the ſame: becauſe the plague had bene ſo extreame among them, and had killed ſuch a number of them, as there was not left aliue the tenth perſon of the people that had bene there before. So the wiſe men of ROME began to thinke, that the neceſſitie of the VELITRIANS fell out in a moſt happy houre, and how by this occaſion it was very meete in ſo great a ſcarſitie of victuals, to disburden ROME of a great number of citizens: and by this meanes aſwell to take away this new ſedition, and vtterly to rid it out of the city, as alſo to cleare the ſame of many mutinous and ſeditious perſons, being the ſuperfluous ill humours that grieuouſly fed this diſeaſe. Hereupon the Conſuls prickt out all thoſe by a bill, whom they intended to ſend to VELITRES, to go dwell there as in forme of a colonie: and they leauied out all the reſt that remained in the citie of ROME, a great number to go againſt the VOLSCES, hoping by the meane of forraine warre, to pacifie their ſedition at home. Moreouer they imagined, when the poore with the rich, and the meane ſort with the Nobilitie, ſhould by this deuiſe be abroad in the warres, and in one campe, and in one ſeruice, and in one like danger: that then they would be more quiet and louing together. But *Sicinius* and *Brutus*, two ſeditious Tribunes, ſpake againſt either of theſe deuiſes, and cried out vpon the noble men, that vnder the gentle name of a Colonie, they would cloake and colour the moſt cruell and vnnaturall fact as might be: becauſe they ſent their poore citizens into a ſore infected citie and peſtilent ayre, full of dead bodies vnburied, and there alſo to dwell vnder the tuition of a ſtrange god, that had ſo cruelly perſecuted his people. This were (ſaid they) euen as much, as if the Senate ſhould headlong caſt downe the people into a moſt bottomeleſſe pit. And are not yet contented to haue famiſhed ſome of the poore citizens heretofore to death, & to put other of them euen to the mercie of the plague: but a freſh they haue procured a voluntary warre, to the end they would leaue behind no kind of miſery and ill, wherewith the poore ſilly people ſhould not be plagued, and onely becauſe they are weary to ſerue the rich. The common people being ſet on a broile and brauery with theſe words, would not appeare when the Conſuls called their names by a bill, to preſt them for the warres, neither would they be ſent out to this new colonie: inſomuch as the Senate knew not well what to ſay or do in the matter. *Martius* then, who was now growne to great credit, and a ſtout man beſides, and of great reputation with the nobleſt men of ROME, roſe vp, and openly ſpake againſt theſe flattering Tribunes. And for the repleniſhing of the citie of VELITRES, he did compell thoſe that were choſen to go thither, and to depart the citie, vpon great penalties to him that ſhould diſobey: but to the warres, the people by no meanes would be brought or conſtrained. So *Martius* taking his friends and followers with him and ſuch as he could by faire words intreat to go with him, did runne certaine forreys into the dominion of the ANTIATES, where he met with great plenty of corne, and had a maruellous great ſpoile, aſwell of cattell as of men he had taken priſoners, whom he brought away with him, and reſerued nothing for himſelfe. Afterwards, hauing brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, ſafe and ſound to ROME, and euery man rich and loaden with ſpoile: then the home-tarriers and houſe-doues that kept ROME ſtil, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and ſo enuied them both that had ſped ſo well in this iourney, and alſo of malice to *Martius*, they ſpited to ſee his credit and eſtimation increaſe ſtill more and more, becauſe they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the people. Shortly after this, *Martius* ſtood for the Conſulſhip: and the common people fauoured his ſute, thinking it would be a ſhame to them to deny and refuſe the chiefeſt noble man of bloud, and moſt worthy perſon of ROME, and ſpecially him that had done ſo great ſeruice and good to the common-wealth. For the cuſtome of ROME was at that time, that ſuch as did ſue for any office, ſhould for certaine dayes before be in the market place, onely with a poore gowne on their backes, and without any coate vnderneath, to pray the citizens to remember them at the day of election: which was thus deuiſed, either to moue the people the more, by requeſting them in ſuch meane apparell, or elſe becauſe they might ſhew them their wounds they had gotten in the warres in the ſeruice of the common-wealth, as manifeſt markes and teſtimony of their valiantneſſe. Now it is not to be thought that the ſuters went thus looſe in a ſimple gowne in the market place, without any coate vnder it, for feare, and ſuſpition of the common people: for offices of dignity in the city were not then giuen by fauour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and ſelling fell out in election of officers, and that the voices of the electours were bought for money. But after

Velitres made a colonie to Rome.

Two practiſes to remoue the ſedition at Rome.

Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the people, againſt both thoſe deuiſes.

Coriolanus offendeth the people.

Coriolanus inuadeth the Antiates, & bringeth rich ſpoiles home.

The manner of ſuing for office at Rome.

Whereupon this manner of ſuing was ſo deuiſed.

Offices giuen then by deſert, without fauor or corruption.

corruption had once gotten way into the election of offices, it hath runne from man to man, euen to the very sentence of Iudges, and also among captaines in the warres: so as in the end, that onely turned common wealths into Kingdomes, by making armes subiect to money. Therefore me thinkes he had reason that said: he that first made banquets, and gaue money to the common people, was the first that tooke away authority, and destroyed common wealth. But this pestilence crept in by litle and litle, and did secretly win ground still, continuing a long time in Rome, before it was openly knowne and discouered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the peoples voices for mony, nor that corrupted the sentence of the Iudges. Howbeit at Athens some hold opinion, that *Anytus*, the sonne of *Anthemion*, was the first that fed the Iudges with money, about the end of the warres of Peloponnesvs, being accused of treason for yeelding vp the fort of Pyle at that time, when the golden and vnfoiled age remained yet whole in iudgement at Rome. Now *Martius* following this custome, shewed many wounds and cuts vpon his body, which he had receiued in seuenteene yeares seruice at the warres, and in many sundry battels, being euer the foremost man that did set out feete to fight. So that there was not a man among the people, but was ashamed of himselfe, to refuse so valiant a man: and one of them said to another: we must needs chuse him Consul, there is no remedy. But when the day of election was come, & that *Martius* came to the market place with great pomp, accompanied with all the Senate, and the whole Nobilitie of the citie about him, who sought to make him Consull, with the greatest instance and intreatie they could, or euer attempted for any man or matter: then the loue and good will of the common people, turned straight to an hate and enuy toward him, fearing to put this office of soueraigne authoritie into his hands, being a man somewhat partiall toward the Nobilitie, and of great credit and authoritie amongst the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty from the people. Wherupon for these considerations, they refused *Martius* in the end, and made two other that were suters, Consuls. The Senate being maruellously offended with the people, did account the shame of this refusall, rather to redound to themselues then to *Martius*: but *Martius* tooke it in farre worse part then the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too ful of passion and choller, and too much giuen ouer to selfe-wil & opinion, as one of a high mind and great courage, that lacked the grauitie and affabilitie that is gotten with iudgement of learning & reason, which only is to be looked for in a gouernour of State: and that remembred not how wilfulnesse is the thing of the world, which a gouernour of a common-wealth for pleasing should shun, being that which *Plato* called solitarinesse. As in the end, all men that are wilfully giuen to a selfe opinion and obstinate mind, and who will neuer yeeld to otheis reason, but to their owne: remaine without company, and forsaken of all men. For a man that will liue in the world, must needs haue patience, which lustie blouds make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a stout man of nature, that neuer yeelded in any respect, as one thinking that to ouercome alwayes, and to haue the vpper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimity, and of no base & faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passioned part of the heart, much like the matter of an impostume: went home to his house, full fraighted with spite and malice against the people, being accompanied with all the lustiest yong gentlemen, whose minds were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly vsed for to follow and honor him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kept him company to his much harme: for they did but kindle and inflame his choller more and more, being sory with him for the iniury the people offered him, because he was their captaine and leader to the warres, that taught them all marshal discipline, and stirred vp in them a noble emulation of honour and valiantnesse, and yet without enuy, praising them that deserued best. In the meane season, there came great plenty of corne to Rome, that had bene bought, part in Italy, and part was sent out of Sicile, as giuen by *Gelon* the tyrant of Syracvsa: so that many stood in great hope, that the dearth of victuals being holpen, the ciuill dissention would also cease. The Senate sate in counsell vpon it immediatly, the common people stood also about the pallace where the counsell was kept, gaping what resolution would fall out: perswading themselues that the corne they had bought should be sold good cheape, and that which was giuen should be deuided by the pole, without paying any pennie, and the rather, because certaine of the Senatours amongst them did so wish and perswade the same. But *Martius* standing vpon his feete, did somewhat sharpely take vp those, who went about to gratifie the people therein: and called them people-pleasers, and traitours to the Nobilitie. Moreouer he said, they nourished against themselues, the naughtie

Bankets and money giuen: onely destroiers of common wealth.

Anytus the Athenian, the first that with money corrupted the sentence of the Iudge, and voices of the people.

See the fickle minds of common people.

The fruites of selfe will and obstinacie.

Great store of corne brought to Rome.

Coriolanus oration against the insolencie of the people.

naughtie ſeede and cockle of inſolencie and ſedition, which had bene ſowed and ſcattered a- broad amongſt the people, which they ſhould haue cut off, if they had bene wiſe, in their grouth: and not (to their owne deſtruction) haue ſuffered the people, to ſtabliſh a ma- giſtrate for themſelues, of ſo great power and authority, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was alſo to be feared, becauſe he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he liſted, neither paſſed for any obedience to the Conſuls, but liued in all liberty, acknow- ledging no ſuperiour to commaund him, ſauing the onely heads and authours of their faction, whom he called his magiſtrates. Therefore ſaid he, they that gaue counſell, and perſwaded that the corne ſhould be giuen out to the common people *gratis*, as they vſed to do in the cities of GRECE, where the people had more abſolute power: did but only nouriſh their diſobedience, which would breake out in the end, to the vtter ruine and ouerthrow of the whole ſtate. For they will not thinke it is done in recompence of their ſeruice paſt, ſithence they know well enough they haue ſo oft refuſed to go to the warres, when they were commanded: neither for their mu- tinies when they went with vs, whereby they haue rebelled and forſaken their country: neither for their accuſations which their flatterers haue preferred vnto them, and they haue receiued, and made good againſt the Senate: but they will rather iudge, we giue and graunt them this, as aba- ſing our ſelues, and ſtanding in feare of them, and glad to flatter them euery way. By this meanes their diſobedience will ſtill grow worſe and worſe: and they will neuer leaue to practiſe new ſe- dition and vprores. Therefore it were a great folly for vs, me thinks to do it: yea, ſhall I ſay more? we ſhould if we were wiſe, take from them their Tribuneſhip, which moſt manifeſtly is the em- baſing of the Conſulſhip, and the cauſe of the diuiſion of the citie. The ſtate whereof as it ſtan- deth, is not now as it was wont to be, but becometh diſmembred in two factions, which main- taines alwaies ciuill diſſention and diſcord betweene vs, and will neuer ſuffer vs againe to be vni- ted into one body. *Martius* dilating the matter with many ſuch like reaſons, won all the young men, & almoſt all the rich men to his opinion: inſomuch as they rang it out, that he was the only man, and alone in the city, who ſtood out againſt the people, and neuer flattered them. There were only a few old men that ſpake againſt him, fearing leſt ſome miſchiefe might fall out vpon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the people, being pre- ſent at this conſultation of the Senate, when they ſaw that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voyces, they left the Senate, and went downe to the people, crying out for help, and that they would aſſemble to ſaue their Tribunes. Hereupon the people ran on head in tu- mult together, before whom the words that *Martius* ſpake in the Senate were openly reported: which the people ſo ſtomached, that euen in that furie they were ready to fly vpon the whole Senate. But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly vpon *Martius*, and ſent their ſer- geants foorthwith to arreſt him, preſently to appeare in perſon before the people, to anſwer the words he had ſpoken in the Senate. *Martius* ſtoutly withſtood theſe officers that came to arreſt him. Then the Tribunes in their owne perſons, accompanied with the Ædiles, went to fetch him by force, and ſo laid violent hands vpon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering toge- ther about him, made the Tribunes giue backe, and laid ſore vpon the Ædiles: ſo for that time, the night parted them, and the tumult appeaſed. The next morning betimes, the Conſuls ſeeing the people in an vprore, running to the market place out of all parts of the citie, they were afraid leſt all the city would together by the eares: wherefore aſſembling the Senate in all haſt, they de- clared how it ſtood them vpon, to appeaſe the furie of the people, with ſome gentle words, or gratefull decrees in their fauour: and moreouer, like wiſe men they ſhould conſider, it was now no time to ſtand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour againſt the commu- naltie, they being falne to ſo great an extremitie, and offering ſuch imminent daunger. Where- fore they were to conſider temperately of things, and to deliuer ſome preſent and gentle pacifi- cation. The moſt part of the Senatours that were preſent at this counſell, thought this opinion beſt, and gaue their conſents vnto it. Wherupon the Conſuls riſing out of counſel, went to ſpeak vnto the people as gently as they could, and they did pacifie their furie and anger, purging the Senate of all the vniuſt accuſations laid vpon them, and vſed great modeſty in perſwading them, and alſo in reprouing the faults they had committed. And as for the reſt, that touched the ſale of corne: they promiſed there ſhould be no diſliking offered them in the price. So the moſt part of the people being pacified, and appearing ſo plainely by the great ſilence that was among them, as yeelding to the Conſuls, and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the people

Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus.

rose out of their seates, and said: Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded vnto reason, the people also for their part, as became them, did likewise giue place vnto them: but notwithstanding, they would that *Martius* should come in person to answer to the articles they had deuised. First, whether he had not solicited and procured the Senate to chaunge the present state of the common-weale, and to take the soueraigne authoritie out of the peoples hands. Next, when he was sent for by authority of their officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driuen and beaten the Ædiles into the market place before all the world: if in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay, to raise ciuill wars, and to set one citizen against another. All this was spoken to one of these two ends, either that *Martius* against his nature should be constrained to humble himselfe, and to abase his haughtie and fierce mind: or else if he contiued still in his stoutnesse, he should incurre the peoples displeasure and ill will so far, that he should neuer possibly win them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then otherwise: as indeed they gessed vnhappily, considering *Martius* nature & disposition. So *Martius* came & presented himselfe, to answer their accusations against him, and the people held their peace, and gaue attentiue eare, to heare what he would say. But where they thought to haue heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not only to vse his wonted boldnesse of speaking (which of it selfe was very rough and vnpleasant, and did more aggrauate his accusation, then purge his innocencie) but also gaue himselfe in his words to thunder, and looke therewithall so grimly, as though he made no reckening of the matter. This stirred coales among the people, who were in wonderfull furie at it, and their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, beare, nor indure his brauery and careless boldnesse. Whereupon *Sicinius*, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a litle with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the people, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to dy. Then presently he commaunded the Ædiles to apprehend him, and cary him straight to the rocke Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong downe the same. When the Ædiles came to lay hands vpon *Martius* to do that they were commaunded, diuers of the people themselues thought it too cruell and violent a deed. The noble men also being much troubled to see such force and rigor vsed, began to crie aloud; helpe *Martius*: so those that laide hands on him being repulsed, they compassed him in round among themselues, and some of them holding vp their hands to the people, besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words, nor crying out could ought preuaile, the tumult and hurly burly was so great, vntill such time as the Tribunes owne friends and kinsemen weying with themselues the impossibleness to conuey *Martius* to execution, without great slaughter and murder of the nobilitie: did perswade and aduise not to proceed in so violent and extraordinarie a sort, as to put such a man to death, without lawfull processe in law, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free voice of the people. Then *Sicinius* bethinking himselfe a litle, did aske the *Patricians*, for what cause they tooke *Martius* out of the officers hands that went to do execution? The *Patricians* asked him againe, why they would of themselues so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiaunt a Romaine as *Martius* was, and that without law or iustice? Well, then said *Sicinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no quarrell or dissention against the people: for they do graunt your demaund, that his cause shall be heard according to the law. Therefore said he to *Martius*, we do will and charge you to appeare before the people, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such articles as shall be obiected against you, that by free voyce the people may giue sentence vpon you as shall please them. The noble men were glad then of the adiornment, and were much pleased they had gotten *Martius* out of this danger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next session came about, the same being kept euery ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latine, *Nundinæ*: there fell out war against the Antiates, which gaue some hope to the nobilitie, that this adiornment would come to litle effect, thinking that this warre would hold them so long, as that the furie of the people against him would be well swaged, or vtterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the warres. But contrarie to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the Antiates, and the people returned againe to Rome. Then the *Patricians* assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might stand to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the people to mutine againe, and rise against the Nobilitie. And there *Appius Clodius* (one that was taken euer as an heauie enemy to the people) did auow and protest, that they would vtterly abase the authoritie of the Senate,

Articles against Coriolanus.

Coriolanus stoutnesse in defence of himselfe.

Sicinius the Tribune, pronounceth sentence of death vpon Martius.

Coriolanus hath day giuen him to answer the people.

Senate, and destroy the commonweale, if they would suffer the common people to haue authoritie by voyces to giue iudgement against the Nobilitie. On the other side againe, the most auncient Senatours, and such as were giuen to fauour the commmon people, said: that when the people should see they had authoritie of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruell and fierce, but gentle and ciuill. More also, that it was not for contempt of Nobility or the Senate, that they sought to haue the authoritie of iustice in their hands, as a preheminence and prerogatiue of honour: but becausse they feared, that themselues should be contemned and hated of the Nobilitie. So as they were perswaded, that so soone as they gaue them authoritie to iudge by voyces: so soone would they leaue all enuie and malice to condemne any. *Martius* seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolue, partly for the loue and goodwill the Nobilitie did beare him, and partly for the feare they stood in of the people: asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden him with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would shew how he did aspire to be King, and would proue that all his actions tended to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer ROME. *Martius* with that, rising vpon his feete, said: that thereupon he did willingly offer himselfe to the people, to be tryed vpon that accusation. And that if it were proued by him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kind of punishment they would offer him: conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing else besides, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Vnder these conditions the iudgement was agreed vpon, and the people assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoeuer became of it) that the people should proceed to giue their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needie people (and all such rabble as had nothing to loose, and had lesse regard of honesty before sheir eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voyces were numbred by the pole) then the noble honest citizens, whose persons and purse did dutifully serue the common-wealth in their wars. And then when the Tribunes saw they could not proue he went about to make himselfe King, they beganne to broach afresh the former words that *Martius* had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the corne at meane price vnto the common people, and perswading also to take the office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him a new, that he had not made the common distribution of the spoyle he had gotten in the inuading the territories of the ANTIATES: but had of his owne authoritie deuided it among them, who were with him in that iourney. But this matter was most straunge of all to *Martius*, looking least to haue bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sodaine, and hauing no readie excuse to make euen at that instant: he began to fall a praising of the souldiers that had serued with him in that iourney. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cryed out so loude, and made such a noise that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be banished for euer. After declaration of the sentence, the people made such ioy, as they neuer reioyced more for any battell they had wonne vpon their enemies, they were so braue and liuely, and went home so iocondly from the assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate againe in contrarie manner were as sadde and heauie, repenting themselues beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to haue done and suffered any thing whatsoeuer, before the common people should so arrogantly and outragiously haue abused their authoritie. There needed no difference of garments I warrant you, nor outward shewes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician*, for they were easily discerned by their lookes. For he that was on the peoples side, looked chearely on the matter: but he that was sad, and hung downe his head, he was sure of the Noble mens side. Sauing *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gate, did euer shew himselfe abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he onely of all other gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himselfe. Not that he did patiently beare and temper his euill hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but becausse he was so caried away with the vehemencie of anger, and desire of reuenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common people iudge not to be sorrow, although indeed it be the very same. For when sorow (as you would say) is set on fire, then it is cõuerted into spite and malice, and driueth away for that time all faintnesse of heart and naturall feare. And this is the cause why the cholerick man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man

Coriolanus accused that he sought to be king.

Coriolanus banished for euer

Coriolanus constant mind in aduersitie.

The force of anger.

set on fire with a burning agew: for when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulse will beate maruellous strongly. Now that *Martius* was euen in that taking, it appeared true soone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house again, & had taken his leaue of his mother and wife, finding them weeping and shreeking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and perswaded them to be content with his chaunce: he went immediatly to the gate of the citie, accompanied with a great number of *Patricians* that brought him thither, from whence he went on his way with three or foure of his friends onely, taking nothing with him, nor requesting any thing of any man. So he remained a few daies in the country at his houses, turmoyled with sundry sorts and kinds of thoughts, such as the fire of his choler did stirre vp. In the end, seeing he could resolue no way, to take a profitable or honourable course, but onely was pricked forward still to be reuenged of the ROMAINES: he thought to raise vp some great warres against them, by their neerest neighbours. Whereupon he thought it his best way, first to stirre vp the VOLSCES against them, knowing they were yet able enough in strength and riches to encounter them, notwithstanding their former losses they had receiued not long before, and that their power was not so much impaired, as their malice and desire was increased to be reuenged of the ROMAINES. Now in the citie of ANTIVM, there was one called *Tullus Aufidius*, who for his riches, as also for his nobilitie and valiantnesse was honoured among the VOLSCES as a King. *Martius* knew very well that *Tullus* did more malice and enuie him, then he did all the ROMAINES besides: because that many times in battels where they met, they were euer at the encounter one against another, like lusty couragious youths, striuing in all emulation of honour, and had encountred many times together. Insomuch as besides the common quarrell betweene them, there was bred a maruellous priuate hate one against another. Yet notwithstanding, considering that *Tullus Aufidius* was a man of a great mind, and that he aboue all other of the VOLSCES most desired reuenge of the ROMAINES, for the iniuries they had done vnto them: he did an act that confirmed the words of an auncient Poet to be true, who said:

Tullus Aufidius, a great person among the Volsces.

It is a thing full hard, mans anger to withstand,
if it be stiffely bent to take an enterprise in hand.
For then most men will haue the thing that they desire,
although it cost their liues therefore, such force hath wicked ire.

And so did he. For he disguised himselfe in such array and attire, as he thought no man could euer haue knowne him for the person he was, seeing him in that apparell he had vpon his backe: and as *Homer* said of *Vlysses*:

So did he enter into the enemies towne.

Coriolanus disguised, goeth to Antium, a city of the Volsces.

It was euen twi-light when he entred the citie of ANTIVM, and many people met him in the streetes, but no man knew him. So he went directly to *Tullus Aufidius* house, and when he came thither, he got him vp straight to the chimney harth, and sate him downe, and spake not a word to any man, his face all muffled ouer. They of the house spying him, wondred what he should be, and yet they durst not bid him rise. For il fauouredly muffled and disguised as he was, yet there appeared a certaine maiestie in his countenance, and in his silence: whereupon they went to *Tullus* who was at supper, to tell him of the strange disguising of this man. *Tullus* rose presently from the board, and comming towards him, asked him what he was, and wherefore he came. Then *Martius* vnmuffled himselfe, and after he had pawsed awhile, making no answer, he said vnto him: If thou knowest me not yet, *Tullus*, and seeing me, doest not perhappes beleeue me to be the man I am indeed, I must of necessitie bewray my selfe to be that I am. I am *Caius Martius*, who hath done to thy selfe particularly, and to all the VOLSCES generally, great hurt and mischiefe, which I cannot deny for my surname of *Coriolanus* that I beare. For I neuer had other benefit nor recompence, of the true and painefull seruice I haue done, and the extreame daungers I haue bene in, but this only surname: a good memorie and witnesse of the malice and displeasure thou shouldest beare me. Indeed the name only remaineth with me: for the rest, the enuie and crueltie of the people of ROME haue taken from me, by the sufferance of the dastardly nobilitie and magistrates, who haue forsaken me, and let me be banished by the people. This extremitie hath now driuen me to come as a poore suter, to take thy chimney harth, not of any hope I haue to saue my life thereby. For if I had feared death, I would not haue come hither to haue put my life in hazard: but prickt forward with desire to be reuenged of them that thus haue banished me, which now I do beginne, in putting my person into the hands of their enemies.

Coriolanus oration to Tullus Aufidius.

enemies. Wherefore, if thou haſt any hart to be wrecked of the iniuries thy enemies haue done thee, ſpeed thee now, & let my miſerie ſerue thy turne, & ſo vſe it, as my ſeruice may be a benefit to the VOLSCES: promiſing thee, that I will fight with better good will for all you, then I did whē I was againſt you, knowing that they fight more valiātly, who know the force of the enemy, then ſuch as haue neuer proued it. And if it be ſo that thou dare not, and that thou art wearie to proue fortune any more: then am I alſo wearie to liue any longer. And it were no wiſedome in thee, to ſaue the life of him, who hath bene heretofore thy mortall enemie, and whoſe ſeruice now can nothing help nor pleaſure thee. *Tullus* hearing what he ſaid, was a maruellous glad man, and taking him by the hand, he ſaid vnto him. Stand vp, ô *Martius*, and be of good cheare, for in profering thy ſelfe vnto vs, thou doſt vs great honour: and by this meanes thou maiſt hope alſo of greater things at all the VOLSCES hands. So he feaſted him for that time, and entertained him in the honorableſt manner he could, talking with him of no other matters at that preſent: but within few daies after, they fell to conſultation together in what ſort they ſhould beginne their wars. Now on the other ſide, the citie of ROME was in maruellous vprore and diſcord, the nobilitie againſt the communaltie, and chiefly for *Martius* condemnation and baniſhment. Moreouer the Prieſts, the Soothſayers, and priuate men alſo, came and declared to the Senate certaine ſights and wonders in the aire, which they had ſeene, and were to be conſidered of: amongſt the which ſuch a viſion happened: There was a citizen of ROME called *Titus Latinus*, a man of meane quality and condition, but otherwiſe an honeſt ſober man, giuen to a quiet life, without ſuperſtition, and much leſſe to vanitie or lying. This man had a viſion in his dreame, in the which he thought that *Iupiter* appeared vnto him, and commanded him to ſignifie to the Senate, that they had cauſed a very vile lewd dauncer to go before the proceſſion: and ſaid, the firſt time this viſion had appeared vnto him, he made no reckening of it: and comming againe another time into his mind, he made not much more account of the matter then before. In the end, he ſaw one of his ſons dye, who had the beſt nature and condition of all his brethren: and ſuddenly he himſelfe was ſo taken in all his lims, that he became lame and impotent. Hereupon he told the whole circumſtance of this viſion before the Senate, ſitting vpon his litle couch or bed, whereon he was caried on mens armes: and he had no ſooner reported this viſion to the Senate, but he preſently felt his body and lims reſtored againe to their former ſtrength and vſe. So raiſing vp himſelf vpon his couch, he got vp on his feet at that inſtant, & walked home to his houſe, without helpe of any man. The Senate being amazed at this matter, made diligent enquirie to vnderſtand the truth: and in the end they found there was ſuch a thing: There was one that had deliuered a bondman of his that had offended him, into the hands of other ſlaues and bondmen, and had commaunded them to whip him vp and downe the market place, and afterwards to kill him: and as they had him in execution, whipping him cruelly, they did ſo martyr the poore wretch, that for the cruell ſmart and paine he felt, he turned and writhed his body in ſtrange and pitifull ſort. The proceſſion by chaunce came by euen at the ſame time, and many that followed it, were hartily moued & offended with the ſight, ſaying: that this was no good ſight to behold, nor meet to be met in proceſſion time. But for all this, there was nothing done: ſauing they blamed and rebuked him that puniſhed this ſlaue ſo cruelly. For the ROMAINES at that time, did vſe their bond men very gently, becauſe they themſelues did labor with their owne hands, and liued with them and among them: and therfore they did vſe them the more gently and familiarly. For the greateſt puniſhment they gaue a ſlaue that had offended, was this: They made him carie a limmer on his ſhoulders that is faſtened to the axeltree of a coach, and compelled him to go vp and downe in that ſort amongſt all their neighbors. He that had once abidden this puniſhment, and was ſeene in that maner, was proclaimed and cried in euery market towne: ſo that no man would euer truſt him after, and they called him *Furciſer*, becauſe the LATINES call the wood that runneth into the axeltree of the coach, *Furca*, as much to ſay, as a forke. Now when *Latinus* had made report to the Senate of the viſion that had happened to him, they were deuiſing whom this vnpleaſant dauncer ſhould be, that went before the proceſſion. Therupon certain that ſtood by, remembred the poore ſlaue that was ſo cruelly whipped through the market place, whom they afterwards put to death: and the thing that made them remember it, was the ſtraunge and rare manner of his puniſhment. The prieſts hereupon were repaired vnto for their aduice: they were wholly of opinion, that it was the whipping of the ſlaue. So they cauſed the ſlaues maiſter to be puniſhed, and began againe a new proceſſion, and all other ſhewes and ſights in honour of

Great diſſentiō at Rome about Martius baniſhment.

The Romaines manner of puniſhing their ſlaues.

VVhereof Furciſer came.

A ceremony instituted by king Numa, touching religion.

Iupiter. But hereby appeareth plainely, how king *Numa* did wisely ordaine all other ceremonies concerning deuotion to the gods, and specially this custome which he established, to bring the people to religion. For when the magistrates, bishops, priests, or other religious ministers go about any diuine seruice, or matter of religion, an herauld euer goeth before them, crying out aloud, *Hoc age*: as to say, do this, or mind this. Hereby they are specially commaunded, wholly to dispose themselues to serue God, leauing all other businesse and matters aside: knowing well enough, that whatsoeuer most men do, they do it as in a manner constrained vnto it. But the Romaines did euer vse to begin againe their sacrifices, processions, playes, and such like shewes, done in honour of the gods, not onely vpon such an occasion, but vpon lighter causes then that. As when they went on procession through the citie, and did carie the images of their gods, and such other like holy reliques vpon open hallowed coaches or chariots, called in Latine *Thensæ*: one of the coach horses that drew them stood still, and would draw no more: and because also the coach-man tooke the raines of the bridle with the left hand, they ordained that the procession should be begunne againe a new. Of later time also, they did renew and beginne a sacrifice thirty times one after another, because they thought still there fell out one fault or other in the same: so holy and deuout were they to the gods. Now *Tullus* and *Martius* had secret conference with the greatest personages of the citie of Antivm, declaring vnto them, that now they had good time offered them to make warre with the Romaines, while they were in dissention one with another. They answered them, they were ashamed to breake the league, considering that they were sworne to keepe peace for two yeares. Howbeit, shortly after, the Romaines gaue them great occasion to make warre with them. For on a holy day common playes being kept in Rome, vpon some suspition, or false report, they made proclamation by sound of trumpet, that all the Volsces should auoid out of Rome before sunne set. Some thinke this was a craft and deceipt of *Martius*, who sent one to Rome to the Consuls, to accuse the Volsces falsely, aduertising them how they had made a conspiracie to set vpon them, whilst they were busie in seeing these games, and also to set their citie on fire. This open proclamation made all the Volsces more offended with the Romaines, then euer they were before: and *Tullus* aggrauating the matter, did so inflame the Volsces against them, that in the end they sent their ambassadours to Rome, to summon them to deliuer their lands and townes againe, which they had taken from them in times past, or to looke for present warres. The Romaines hearing this, were maruellously netled: and made no other answer but thus: If the Volsces be the first that begin warre, the Romaines will be the last that will end it. Incontinently vpon returne of the Volsces ambassadors, and deliuerie of the Romaines answer: *Tullus* caused an assembly generall to be made of the Volsces, and concluded to make warre vpon the Romaines. This done, *Tullus* did counsell them to take *Martius* into their seruice, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of any thing past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would do them more seruice in fighting for them, then euer he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So *Martius* was called foorth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in toung, then warlike in shew: and declared himselfe both expert in warres, and wise with valiantnesse. Thus he was ioyned in commission with *Tullus* as generall of the Volsces, hauing absolute authoritie betweene them to follow and pursue the wars. But *Martius* fearing lest tract of time to bring this army together with all the munition and furniture of the Volsces, would rob him of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent: left order with the rulers and chiefe of the citie, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessarie prouision for the campe. Then he with the lightest souldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stale away vpon the sodaine, and marched with all speed, and entred the territories of Rome, before the Romaines heard any newes of his comming. Insomuch as the Volsces found such spoile in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their campe, and were wearie to driue and cary away that they had. Howbeit the gaine of the spoile and the hurt they did to the Romaines in this inuasion, was the least part of his intent: for his chiefest purpose was, to increase still the malice and dissention betweene the Nobilitie and the communaltie: and to draw that on, he was very carefull to keepe the Noble mens lands and goods safe from harme and burning, but spoiled all the whole country besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt any thing of the noble mens. This made greater stir & broile between the nobility and the people, then was before. For the noble men fell out with the people, because they

The superstitiō of the Romans.

Thensa.

The Romaines gaue the Volsces occasion of warres.

Martius Coriolanus craftie accusation of the Volsces.

Coriolanus chosen generall of the Volsces with Tullus Aufidius against the Romaines.

Coriolanus inuadeth the territories of the Romaines.

A fine deuice to make the communalty suspect the nobilitie.

they had ſo vniuſtly baniſhed a man of ſo great valure and power. The people on the other ſide, accuſed the Nobility, how they had pocured *Martius* to make theſe wars to be reuēged of them: becauſe it pleaſed them to ſee their goods burnt and ſpoyled before their eyes, whilſt themſelues were well at eaſe, and did behold the peoples loſſes and misfortunes, knowing their owne goods ſafe and out of danger: & how the war was not made againſt the noble men, that had the enemy abroad, to keep that they had in ſafety. Now *Martius* hauing done this firſt exploit (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and leſſe fearefull of the ROMAINES) brought home all the army againe, without loſſe of any man. After their whole army (which was maruellous great, and very forward to ſeruice) was aſſembled in one campe, they agreed to leaue part of it for garriſon in the country about, & the other part ſhould go on, and make the warre vpon the ROMAINES. So *Martius* bade *Tullus* chooſe, and take which of the two charges he liked beſt. *Tullus* made him anſwer, he knew by experience that *Martius* was no leſſe valiant then himſelfe, and how he euer had better fortune and good hap in all battels, then himſelfe had. Therefore he thought it beſt for him to haue the leading of thoſe that ſhould make the warres abroad, and himſelfe would keep home, to prouide for the ſafety of the cities of his countrey, and to furniſh the campe alſo of all neceſſary prouiſion abroad. So *Martius* being ſtronger then before, went firſt of all vnto the city of CERCERS, inhabited by the ROMAINES, who willingly yeelded themſelues, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entred the countrey of the LATINES, imagining the ROMAINES would fight with him there, to defend the LATINES, who were their confederates, and had many times ſent vnto the ROMAINES for their aide. But on the one ſide, the people of ROME were very ill willing to go: and on the other ſide, the Conſuls being vpon going out of their office, would not hazard themſelues for ſo ſmall a time: ſo that the ambaſſadours of the LATINES returned home againe, and did no good. Then *Martius* did beſiege their cities, and hauing taken by force the townes of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made reſiſtance, he ſacked all their goods, and took them priſoners. Such as did yeeld themſelues willingly vnto him, he was as carefull as poſſible might be, to defend them from hurt: and becauſe they ſhould receiue no damage by his will, he remoued his campe as farre from their confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the city of BOLES by aſſault, being about an hundred furlong from ROME, where he had a maruellous great ſpoile, and put euery man to the ſword that was able to cary weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in garriſon for defence of their countrey, hearing this good newes, would tary no longer at home, but armed themſelues, and ranne to *Martius* campe, ſaying they did acknowledge no other captaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all ITALIE, and euery one praiſed him for a valiant captaine, for that by change of one man for another, ſuch and ſo ſtrange euents fell out in the ſtate. In this while, all went ſtill to wracke at ROME. For, to come into the field to fight with the enemy, they could not abide to heare of it, they were one ſo much againſt another, and full of ſeditious words, the Nobility againſt the people, and the people againſt the Nobility. Vntill they had intelligence at the length, that the enemies had laid ſiege to the city of LAVINIVM, in the which were all the temples and images of the gods their protectours, and from whence came firſt their auncient originall, for that *AEneas* at his firſt arriuall into ITALY did build that city. Then fell there out a maruellous ſodaine change of mind among the people, and farre more ſtrange and contrary in the Nobility. For the people thought good to repeale the condemnation and exile of *Martius*. The Senate aſſembled vpon it, would in no caſe yeeld to that. Who either did it of a ſelfe will to be contrary to the peoples deſire: or becauſe *Martius* ſhould not returne thorough the grace and fauour of the people. Or elſe, becauſe they were throughly angry and offended with him, that he would ſet vpon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would ſhew himſelfe an open enemy beſides vnto his country: notwithſtanding the moſt part of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in maruellous ill part, and as if the iniury had bene done vnto themſelues. Report being made of the Senates reſolution, the people found thēſelues in a ſtraight: for they could authorize and confirme nothing by their voices, vnleſſe it had bene firſt propounded and ordained by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this ſtirre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before: inſomuch as he raiſed his ſiege incontinently before the city of LAVINIVM, and going towards ROME, lodged his campe within forty furlong of the city, at the ditches called *Cluilia*. His incamping ſo neare ROME, did put all the whole city in a wonderfull feare: howbeit for the preſent time it appeaſed the ſedition and diſſention

Great heart-burning betwixt the Nobilitie and the people.

Lauinium built by AEneas.

betwixt the Nobilitie and the people. For there was no Conſull, Senatour, nor Magiſtrate, that durſt once contrary the opinion of the people, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they ſaw the women in a maruellons feare, running vp and downe the citie: the temples of the gods full of old people, weeping bitterly in their prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wiſe or hardy to prouide for their ſafetie: then they were all of opinion, that the people had reaſon to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile themſelues to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in maruellous great fault to be angry and in choller with him, when it ſtood them vpon rather to haue gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to ſend ambaſſadors vnto him, to let him vnderſtand how his countrey men did call him home againe, and reſtored him to all his goods, and beſought him to deliuer them from this warre. The ambaſſadours that were ſent, were *Martius* familiar friends and acquaintance, who looked at the leaſt for a curteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and kinſman. Howbeit they found nothing leſſe: for at their comming, they were brought through the camp, to the place where he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate, with a maruellous and an vnſpeakeable maieſty, hauing the chiefeſt men of the VOLSCES about him: ſo he commaunded them to declare openly the cauſe of their comming. Which they deliuered in the moſt humble and lowly words they poſſibly could deuiſe, and with all modeſt countenance and behauiour agreeable to the ſame. When they had done their meſſage: for the iniury they had done him, he anſwered them very hotly, and in great choller: but as Generall of the VOLSCES, he willed them to reſtore vnto the VOLSCES, all their lands and cities they had taken from them in former warres: and moreouer, that they ſhould giue them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before giuen to the LATINES. For otherwiſe they had no other meane to end this warre, if they did not graunt theſe honeſt and iuſt conditions of peace. Thereupon he gaue them thirtie dayes reſpit to make him anſwere. So the ambaſſadours returned ſtraight to ROME, and *Martius* forthwith departed with his armie out of the territories of the ROMAINES. This was the firſt matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that moſt enuied *Martius* glorie and authoritie) did charge *Martius* with. Among thoſe, *Tullus* was chiefe: who though he had receiued no priuate iniury or diſpleaſure of *Martius*, yet the common fault and imperfection of mans nature wrought in him, and it grieued him to ſee his owne reputation blemiſhed through *Martius* great fame and honour, and ſo himſelfe to be leſſe eſteemed of the VOLSCES then he was before. This fell out the more, becauſe euery man honoured *Martius*, and thought he onely could do all, and that all other gouernours and captaines muſt be content with ſuch credite and authoritie, as he would pleaſe to countenance them with. From hence they deriued all their firſt accuſations and ſecret murmurings againſt *Martius*. For priuate captaines conſpiring againſt him, were very angry with him: and gaue it out, that the remouing of the campe was a manifeſt treaſon, not of the townes, nor forts, nor of armes, but of time and occaſion, which was a loſſe of great importance, becauſe it was that which in reaſon might both looſe and bind all, and preſerue the whole. Now *Martius* hauing giuen the ROMAINES thirty dayes reſpit for their anſwere, and ſpecially becauſe the warres haue not accuſtomed to make any great changes, in leſſe ſpace of time then that, he thought it good yet, not to lie aſleepe and idle all the while, but went and deſtroyed the lands of the enemies allies, & tooke ſeuen great cities of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMAINES durſt not once put themſelues into the field, to come to their aide and helpe: they were ſo faint hearted, ſo miſtruſtfull, and loth beſides to make warres. Inſomuch as they properly reſembled the bodies paraliticke, and looſed of their limmes and members: as thoſe which through the palſey haue loſt all their ſence and feeling. Wherefore, the time of peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the dominions of the ROMAINES againe with all his armie, they ſent another ambaſſade vnto him, to pray peace, and the remoue of the VOLSCES out of their countrey: that afterwards they might with better leiſure fall to ſuch agreements together, as ſhould be thought moſt meete and neceſſary. For the ROMAINES were no men that would euer yeeld for feare. But if he thought the VOLSCES had any ground to demaund reaſonable articles and conditions, all that they would reaſonably aske ſhould be graunted vnto by the ROMAINES, who of themſelues would willingly yeeld to reaſon, conditionally, that they did lay downe armes. *Martius* to that anſwered: that as Generall of the VOLSCES he would reply nothing vnto it: but yet as a ROMAINE citizen, he would counſell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reaſon, if they were wiſe: and that they ſhould returne againe within three dayes, deliuering vp the articles agreed vpon, which he

The Romaines ſend ambaſſadours to Coriolanus to treate of peace.

The firſt occaſion of the Volſces enuie to Coriolanus.

Another ambaſſade ſent to Coriolanus.

he had first deliuered them. Or otherwise, that he would no more giue them assurance or safe conduct to returne againe into his camp, with such vaine and friuolous messages. When the ambassadours were returned to ROME, and had reported *Martius* answer to the Senate: their citie being in extreame daunger, and as it were in a terrible storme or tempest, they threw out (as the common prouerb saith) their holy anker. For then they appointed all the Bishops, Priests, Ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the augures or soothsayers, which foreshew things to come by obseruation of the flying of birds (which is an old auncient kind of prophecying and diuination amongst the ROMAINES) to go to *Martius* apparelled, as when they do their sacrifices: and first to intreate him to leaue off warre, and then that he would speake to his country men, and conclude peace with the VOLSCES. *Martius* suffered them to come into his camp, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertaine them or speake more curteously to them, then he did the first time that they came vnto him, sauing onely that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept peace vnder the first conditions offered, or else to receiue warre. When all this goodly rabble of superstition and priestes were returned, it was determined in counsell that none should go out of the gates of the citie, and that they should watch and ward vpon the walles, to repulse their enemies if they came to assault them: referring themselues and all their hope to time, and fortunes vncertaine fauour, not knowing otherwise how to remedie the daunger. Now all the city was full of tumult, feare, and maruellous doubt what would happen: vntil at the length there fell out such a like matter, as *Homer* oft times said they would least haue thought of. For in great matters, that happen seldome, *Homer* saith, and crieth out in this sort:

The priests and soothsayers sent to Coriolanus.

The goddesse Pallas she, with her faire glistering eyes,
did put into his mind such thoughts, and made him so deuise.

And in another place.

But sure some god hath tane out of the peoples mind,
both wit and vnderstanding eke, and haue therewith assignd
some other simple spirit, in stead thereof to bide,
that so they might their doings all, for lacke of wit misguide.

And in another place:

The people of themselues did either it consider,
or else some god instructed them, and so they ioyn'd together.

Many reckon not of *Homer*, as referring matters vnpossible, and fables of no likelihood or troth, vnto mans reason, freewill, or iudgement: which in deed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of our owne free will and reason. For he oft speaketh these words.

I haue thought it in my noble heart:

And in another place:

Achilles angry was, and sory for to heare
him so to say, his heauy breast was fraught with pensiue feare.

And againe in another place:

Bellerophon (she) could not moue with her faire tongue,
so honest and so vertuous, he was the rest among.

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by secret inspirations & motions, he doth not say that God taketh away from man his choise and freedome of will, but that he doth moue it: neither that he doth work desire in vs, but obiecteth to our minds certaine imaginations whereby we are led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of successe. For, either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other meanes haue they to helpe and further men? It is apparant that they handle not our bodies, nor moue not our feete and hands, when there is occasion to vse them: but that part of our mind from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or caried away by such obiects and reasons, as God offereth vnto it. Now the ROMAINE Ladies and gentlewomen did visit all the temples and gods of the same, to make their prayers vnto them: but the greatest Ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the altar of *Iupiter Capitolin*, among which troupe by name, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne sister. The self same *Publicola*, who did such notable seruice to the ROMAINES, both in peace and warres: and was dead also certaine yeares before, as we haue declared in his life.

Valeria, Publicolaes ſiſter. His ſiſter *Valeria* was greatly honored and reuerenced among all the ROMAINES: and did ſo modeſtly and wiſely behaue her ſelfe, that ſhe did not ſhame nor diſhonour the houſe ſhe came off. So ſhe ſodainely fell into ſuch a fancy, as we haue rehearſed before, and had (by ſome god as I think) taken hold of a noble deuiſe. Whereupon ſhe roſe and the other Ladies with her, and they all together went ſtraight to the houſe of *Volumnia*, *Martius* mother: and comming in to her, found her, and *Martius* wife her daughter in law ſet together, and hauing her husband *Martius* yong children in her lap. Now all the traine of theſe Ladies ſitting in a ring round about her, *Valeria* firſt began to ſpeake in this ſort vnto her: We Ladies, are come to viſit you Ladies (my Lady *Volumnia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commaundement of other Magiſtrate, but through the inſpiration (as I take it) of ſome god aboue: who hauing taken compaſſion and pitie of our prayers, hath moued vs to come vnto you, to intreate you in a matter, as well beneficial for vs, as alſo for the whole citizens in generall: but to your ſelues in ſpeciall (if it pleaſe you to credit me) and ſhall redound to our more fame and glory, then the daughters of the SABYNES obtained in former age, when they procured louing peace, in ſtead of hatefull warre, betweene their fathers and their husbands. Come on good Ladies, and let vs go all together vnto *Martius*, to intreat him to take pitie vpon vs, and alſo to report the troth vnto him, how much you are bound vnto the citizens: who notwithſtanding they haue ſuſtained great hurt and loſſes by him, yet they haue not hitherto ſought reuenge vpon your perſons by any diſcourteous vſage, neither euer conceiued any ſuch thought or intent againſt you, but do deliuer you ſafe into his hands, though thereby they looke for no better grace or clemencie from him. When *Valeria* had ſpoken this vnto them, all the other Ladies together with one voice confirmed that ſhe had ſaid. Then *Volumnia* in this ſort did anſwere her: My good Ladies, we are partakers with you of the common miſery and calamitie of our countrey, and yet our griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reaſon of our particular misfortune: to feele the loſſe of my ſon *Martius* former valiancy and glory, and to ſee his perſon enuironed now with our enemies in armes, rather to ſee him forth comming & ſafe kept, then of any loue to defend his perſon. But yet the greateſt griefe of our heaped miſhaps is, to ſee our poore country brought to ſuch extremity, that all the hope of the ſafety and preſeruation therof, is now vnfortunatly caſt vpon vs ſimple women: becauſe we know not what account he will make of vs, ſince he hath caſt from him all care of his naturall countrey and common-weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deare and precious, then either his mother, wife or children. Notwithſtāding, if ye think we can do good, we will willingly do what you wil haue vs: bring vs to him I pray you. For if we cānot preuaile, we may yet die at his feet, as humble ſuters for the ſafety of our country. Her anſwer ended, ſhe took her daughter in law, and *Martius* children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMAINE Ladies, they went in troupe together vnto the VOLSCES campe: whom when they ſaw, they of themſelues did both pitie and reuerence her, and there was not a man among them that once durſt ſay a word vnto her. Now was *Martius* ſet then in his chaire of State, with all the honours of a General, and when he had ſpied the women comming a far off, he maruelled what the matter meant: but afterwards knowing his wife which came formoſt, he determined at the firſt to perſiſt in his obſtinate and inflexible rancor. But ouercome in the end with natural affection, and being altogether altered to ſee them, his heart would not ſerue him to tarie their comming to his chaire, but coming downe in haſt, he went to meet them, and firſt he kiſſed his mother, and imbraced her a prety while, then his wife and litle children. And nature ſo wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eies, and he could not keep himſelf from making much of them, but yeelded to the affection of his bloud, as if he had bene violently caried with the fury of a moſt ſwift running ſtreame. After he had thus louingly receiued them, and perceiuing that his mother *Volumnia* would begin to ſpeake to him, he called the chiefeſt of the counſell of the VOLSCES to heare what ſhe would ſay. Then ſhe ſpake in this ſort: If we held our peace (my ſonne) and determined not to ſpeake, the ſtate of our poore bodies, and preſent ſight of our raiment, would eaſily bewray to thee what life we haue led at home, ſince thy exile and abode abroad, but think now with thy ſelfe, how much more vnfortunately then all the women liuing, we are come hither, conſidering that the ſight which ſhould be moſt pleaſant to all other to behold, ſpitefull fortune hath made moſt fearefull to vs: making my ſelfe to ſee my ſonne, and my daughter here, her husband, beſieging the walles of his native countrey: ſo as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their aduerſitie and miſerie, to pray vnto the gods, and to call to them for aide: is the onely thing which plungeth vs into

Volumnia, Martius mother.

The vvordes of Valeria, vnto Volumnia and Virgilia.

The anſvver of Volumnia to the Romaine Ladies.

The oration of Volumnia, vnto her ſonne Coriolanus.

moſt

moſt deepe perplexitie. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory, for our countrey, and for ſafety of thy life alſo: but a world of grieuous curſes, yea more then any mortall enemy can heape vpon vs, are forcibly wrapt vp in our prayers. For the bitter ſop of moſt hard choice is offered thy wife and children, to forgo one of the two: either to looſe the perſon of thy ſelf, or the nurſe of their natiue country. For my ſelfe (my ſonne) I am determined not to tary, till fortune in my life time do make an end of this warre. For if I cannot perſwade thee, rather to do good vnto both parties, then to ouerthrow and deſtroy the one, preferring loue and nature, before the malice and calamity of warres: thou ſhalt ſee, my ſonne, and truſt vnto it, thou ſhalt no ſooner march forward to aſſault thy country, but thy foote ſhall tread vpon thy mothers wombe, that brought thee firſt into this world. And I may not deferre to ſee the day, either that my ſonne be led priſoner in triumph by his naturall countreymen, or that he himſelfe do triumph of them, and of his naturall country. For if it were ſo, that my requeſt tended to ſaue thy country, in deſtroying the VOLSCES: I muſt confeſſe, thou wouldſt hardly and doubtfully reſolue on that. For as to deſtroy thy naturall country, it is altogether vnmeete and vnlawfull: ſo were it not iuſt, and leſſe honourable, to betray thoſe that put their truſt in thee. But my onely demaund conſiſteth, to make a gaile-deliuery of all euils, which deliuereth equall benefite and ſafety, both to the one and the other, but moſt honourable for the VOLSCES. For it ſhall appeare, that hauing victory in their hands, they haue of ſpeciall fauour granted vs ſingular graces, peace, and amity, albeit themſelues haue no leſſe part of both, then we. Of which good, if ſo it came to paſſe, thy ſelfe is the onely author, and ſo haſt thou the only honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrary: thy ſelf alone deſeruedly ſhalt carie the ſhamefull reproch and burthen of either party. So, though the end of war be vncertain, yet this notwithſtanding is moſt certain: that if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit ſhalt thou reape of thy goodly conqueſt, to be chronicled the plague and deſtroyer of thy countrey. And if fortune alſo ouerthrow thee, then the world will ſay, that through deſire to reuenge thy priuate iniuries, thou haſt for euer vndone thy good friends, who did moſt louingly and courteouſly receiue thee. *Martius* gaue good eare vnto his mothers words, without interrupting her ſpeech at all: and after ſhe had ſaid what ſhe would, he held his peace a prety while, and anſwered not a word. Hereupon ſhe began againe to ſpeake vnto him, and ſaid: My ſonne, why doeſt thou not anſwer me? doeſt thou think it good altogether to giue place vnto thy choller and deſire of reuenge, and thinkeſt thou it not honeſty for thee to graunt thy mothers requeſt, in ſo weighty a cauſe? doſt thou take it honorable for a noble man, to remember the wrongs and iniuries done him: and doeſt not in like caſe think it an honeſt noble mans part, to be thankful for the goodnes that parents do ſhew to their children, acknowledging the duty & reuerence they ought to beare vnto them? No man liuing is more bound to ſhew himſelfe thankfull in all parts and reſpects then thy ſelf: who ſo vnnaturally ſheweſt al ingratitude. Moreouer (my ſon) thou haſt ſorely taken of thy country, exacting grieuous payments vpon thē, in reuenge of the iniuries offered thee: beſides, thou haſt not hitherto ſhewed thy poore mother any curteſie. And therfore, it is not onely honeſt, but due vnto me, that without compulſion I ſhould obtaine my ſo iuſt and reaſonable requeſt of thee. But ſince by reaſon I cannot perſwade thee to it, to what purpoſe do I defer my laſt hope? And with theſe words, her ſelf, his wife & children, fell downe vpon their knees before him. *Martius* ſeeing that, could refraine no longer, but went ſtraight and lift her vp, crying out: Oh mother, what haue you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hād, oh mother, ſaid he, you haue won a happy victory for your country, but mortall and vnhappy for your ſon: for I ſee my ſelf vanquiſhed by you alone. Theſe words being ſpoken openly, he ſpake a litle apart with his mother & wife, & then let them returne again to ROME, for ſo they did requeſt him: and ſo remaining in campe that night, the next morning he diſlodged, and marched homewards into the VOLSCES countrey againe, who were not all of one mind, nor all alike contented. For ſome miſliked him, and that he had done: other being well pleaſed that peace ſhould be made, ſaid: that neither the one, nor the other, deſerued blame nor reproch. Other though they miſliked that was done, did not thinke him an ill man for that he did, but ſaid: he was not to be blamed, though he yeelded to ſuch a forcible extremity. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but al obeied his commandemēt, more for reſpect of his worthineſſe and valiancy, then for feare of his authoritie. Now the citizens of ROME plainly ſhewed, in what feare and danger their city ſtood of this war, when they were deliuered. For ſo ſoon as the watch vpon the wals of the city perceiued the VOLSCES camp to remoue, there was not a temple in the city but was preſently ſet open, & ful of mē,

Coriolanus compaſſion of his mother.

Coriolanus withdraweth his army from Rome.

wearing garlands of flowres vpon their heads ſacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do vpon the newes of ſome great obtained victory. And this common ioy was yet more manifeſtly ſhewed, by the honourable courteſies the whole Senate and people did beſtow on their Ladies. For they were all throughly perſwaded, and did certainly beleeue, that the Ladies only were cauſe of the ſauing of the city, and deliuering themſelues from the inſtant daunger of the warre. Wherupon the Senate ordained, that the Magiſtrates to gratifie and honour theſe Ladies, ſhould graunt them all that they would require. And they only requeſted that they would build a temple of *Fortune* of the women, for the building whereof they offered themſelues to defray the whole charge of the ſacrifices, and other ceremonies belonging to the ſeruice of the gods. Neuertheleſſe, the Senate commending their goodwill and forwardneſſe, ordained, that the temple and image ſhould be made at the common charge of the citie. Notwithſtanding that, the ladies gathered money among them, and made with the ſame a ſecond image of *Fortune*, which the ROMAINES ſay did ſpeake as they offred her vp in the temple, and did ſet her in her place: and they affirme, that ſhe ſpake theſe words: Ladies, ye haue deuoutly offered me vp. Moreouer, that ſhe ſpake that twiſe together, making vs to beleeue things that neuer were, and are not to be credited. For to ſee images that ſeeme to ſweate or weepe, or to put forth any humor red or bloudie, it is not a thing vnpoſſible. For wood and ſtone do commonly receiue certaine moiſture, whereof is ingendred an humour, which do yeeld of themſelues, or do take of the aire, many ſorts and kinds of ſpots and colours: by which ſignes and tokens it is not amiſſe me thinke, that the gods ſometimes do warne men of things to come. And it is poſſible alſo, that theſe images and ſtatues do ſometimes put forth ſounds, like vnto ſighes or mourning, when in the middeſt or bottome of the ſame, there is made ſome violent ſeparation, or breaking aſunder of things, blowne or deuiſed therein: but that a body which hath neither life nor ſoule, ſhould haue any direct or exquiſite word formed in it by expreſſe voice, that is altogether vnpoſſible. For the ſoule, nor god himſelfe can diſtinctly ſpeake without a bodie, hauing neceſſarie organes and inſtruments meete for the parts of the ſame, to forme and vtter diſtinct words. But where ſtories many times do force vs to beleeue a thing reported to be true, by many graue teſtimonies: there we muſt ſay, that it is ſome paſſion contrarie to our fiue naturall ſences, which being begotten in the imaginatiue part or vnderſtanding, draweth an opinion vnto it ſelfe, euen as we do in our ſleeping. For many times we thinke we heare, that we do not heare: and we imagine we ſee that we ſee not. Yet notwithſtanding, ſuch as are godly bent, and zealouſly giuen to thinke on heauenly things, ſo as they can no way be drawne from beleeuing that which is ſpoken of them, they haue this reaſon to ground the foundation of their beleefe vpon. That is, the omnipotencie of God, which is wonderfull, and hath no maner of reſemblance or likeneſſe of proportion vnto ours, but is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our mouuing, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do any thing vnpoſſible to vs, or do bring forth and deuiſe things, aboue mans common reach and vnderſtanding, we muſt not therfore thinke it vnpoſſible at all. For if in other things he is farre contrary to vs, much more in his workes and ſecret operations, he far paſſeth all the reſt: but the moſt part of Gods doings, as *Heraclitus* ſaith, for lack of faith, are hidden and vnknowne vnto vs. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the city of ANTIVM from his voyage, *Tullus* that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his authoritie, ſought diuers meanes to make him away, thinking if he let ſlip that preſent time, he ſhould neuer recouer the like and fit occaſion againe. Wherefore *Tullus* hauing procured many other of his confederacy, required *Martius* might be depoſed from his eſtate, to render vp account to the VOLSCES of his charge and gouernement. *Martius* fearing to become a priuate man againe vnder *Tullus* being Generall (whoſe authority was greater otherwiſe, then any other among all the VOLSCES) anſwered: he was willing to giue vp his charge, and would reſigne it into the hands of the Lords of the VOLSCES, if they did all cõmaund him, as by all their commandement he receiued it. And moreouer, that he would not refuſe euen at that preſent to giue vp an account vnto the people, if they would tary the hearing of it. The people hereupon called a common counſell, in which aſſembly there were certaine oratours appointed, that ſtirred vp the common people againſt him: and when they had told their tales, *Martius* roſe vp to make them anſwer. Now, notwithſtanding the mutinous people made a maruellous great noiſe, yet when they ſaw him, for the reuerence they bare vnto his valiantneſſe, they quieted themſelues, and gaue him audience to alleage with leiſure what he could for his purgation. Moreouer, the honeſteſt men of the

The temple of Fortune built for the women.

The image of Fortune ſpake to the Ladies at Rome.

Of the ſweating and voices of images.

Of the omnipotencie of God.

Tullus Auſidius ſeeketh to kil Coriolanus.

the ANTIATES, and who most reioyced in peace, shewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly, and iudge also according to their conscience. Whereupon *Tullus* fearing that if he did let him speake, he would proue his innocencie to the people, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue, besides that the first good seruice he had done to the people of the VOLSCES, did winne him more fauour, then these last accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the goodwill they ought him, for they would neuer haue thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the citie of ROME, if they had not bene very neare taking of it, by meanes of his approach and conduction. For these causes *Tullus* thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarie for the mutining and rising of the common people against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracie, beganne to crie out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not suffer a traitour to vsurpe tyrannicall power ouer the tribe of the VOLSCES, who would not yeeld vp his state and authoritie. And in saying these words, they all fell vpon him, and killed him in the market place, none of the people once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a cleare case, that this murder was not generally consented vnto, of the most part of the VOLSCES: for men came out of al parts to honour his bodie, and did honourably burie him; setting out his tombe with great store of armour and spoiles, as the tombe of a worthie person and great captaine. The ROMAINES vnderstanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, sauing that they graunted the ladies the request they made: that they might mourne tenne moneths for him, and that was the full time they vsed to weare blackes for the death of their fathers, brethren, or husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who stablished the same, as we haue enlarged more amply in the description of his life. Now *Martius* being dead, the whole state of the VOLSCES heartily wished him aliue againe. For first of all they fell out with the ÆQVES (who were their friends and confederates) touching preheminence and place: and this quarrell grew on so farre betweene them, that fraies and murders fell out vpon it one with another. After that the ROMAINES ouercame them in battell, in which *Tullus* was slain in the field, and the flower of all their force was put to the sword: so that they were compelled to accept most shamefull conditions of peace, in yeelding themselues subiect vnto the conquerers, and promising to be obedient at their commaundement.

Coriolanus murdered in the citie of Antium.

Coriolanus funerals.

The time of mourning appointed by Numa.

Tullus Aufidius slaine in battell.

THE COMPARISON OF *Alcibiades with Martius Coriolanus.*

The acts done by both.

NOW that we haue written all the deedes of worthy memory, done by either of them both: we may preſently diſcerne, that in matters of warre the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardie and valiant for their perſons, as alſo wiſe and politicke in the warres: vnleſſe they will ſay, that *Alcibiades* was the better captaine, as he that had foughten more battels with his enemies, both by ſea and land, then euer *Coriolanus* had done, and had alwaies the victorie of his enemies. For otherwiſe, in this they were much alike: that where they were both preſent and had charge and power to commaund, all things proſpered notably, and with good ſucceſſe on the part they were of, and alſo when they tooke the contrarie ſide, they made the firſt haue the worſe euery way. Now for matters of gouernement, the Noble men and honeſt citizens did hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the common weale, as of a man moſt diſſolute, and giuen to flatterie: becauſe he euer ſtudied by all deuice he could, to currie fauour with the common people. So did the ROMAINES malice alſo *Coriolanus* gouernement, for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithſtanding he is leſſe to be blamed that ſeeketh to pleaſe and gratifie his common people: then he that deſpiſeth and diſdaineth them, and therefore offereth them wrong and iniurie, becauſe he would not ſeeme to flatter them, to winne the more authoritie. For as it is an euill thing to flatter the common people to winne credite: euen ſo is it beſides diſhoneſty, and iniuſtice alſo, to attaine to credit and authoritie, for one to make himſelfe terrible to the people, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was euer counted an honeſt natured man, plain, and ſimple, without art or cunning: but *Alcibiades* meerely contrary, for he was fine, ſubtill, and deceiptfull. And the greateſt fault they euer burdened *Alcibiades* for, was his malice and deceipt, wherwith he abuſed the ambaſſadors of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that he was a let that peace was not concluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, though by this act he ſuddenly brought the citie of ATHENS into wars, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearefull to the enemies, by making alliance with the MANTINEANS and the ARGIVES, who by *Alcibiades* practiſe entred into league with the ATHENIANS. And *Martius*, as *Dyoniſius* the hiſtoriographer writeth: did by craft and deceipt bring the ROMAINES into warres againſt the VOLSCES, cauſing the VOLSCES maliciouſly and wrongfully to be ſuſpected, that went to ROME to ſee the games plaid. But the cauſe why he did it, made the fact ſo much more foule and wicked: for it was not done for any ciuill diſſention, nor for any iealouſie and contention in matters of gouernment, as *Alcibiades* did: but onely following his cholericke mood, that would be pleaſed with nothing, as *Dion* ſaid, he would needes trouble and turmoile the moſt part of ITALY, and ſo being angry

The manners of Alcibiades & Coriolanus.

with

with his country, he destroyed many other towns and cities that could not helpe it, nor do withall. This is true also, that *Alcibiades* spite and malice did worke great mischiefe and miserie to his country: but when he saw they repented them of the iniurie they had done him, he came to himselfe and did withdraw his army. Another time also, when they had banished *Alcibiades*, he would not yet suffer the captaines of the ATHENIANS to run into great errors, neither would he see them cast away, by following ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he forsake them in any daunger they put themselues into. But he did the very same that *Aristides* had done in old time vnto *Themistocles*, for which he was then, and is yet so greatly praised. For he went vnto the captaines that had charge then of the army of the ATHENIANS, although they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amisse, and what they had further to do. Where *Martius* to the contrarie, did first great hurt vnto the whole citie of ROME, though all in ROME had not generally offended him: yea, and when the best and chiefest part of the citie were grieued for his sake, and were very sory and angry for the iniurie done him. Furthermore, the ROMAINES sought to appease one onely displeasure and despite they had done him by many ambassades, petitions and requests they made, whereunto he neuer yeelded, vntill his mother, wife, and children came, his heart was so hardened. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell warre (when he would hearken to no peace) of an intent vtterly to destroy and spoile his countrie, and not as though he meant to recouer it, or to returne thither againe. Here was indeed the difference betweene them: that spials being laid by the LACEDÆMONIANS to kill *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did beare him, as also for that they were affraid of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to ATHENS. Where *Martius* contrariwise, hauing bene so honourably receiued and entertained by the VOLSCES, he could not with honesty forsake them, considering that they had done him that honour, as to chuse him their generall, and trusted him so farre, as they put all their whole army and power into his hands: and not as the other, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS rather abused then vsed him, suffering him to go vp and downe their city (and afterwards in the midst of their campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the end *Alcibiades* was compelled to put himselfe into the hands of *Tisaphernes*: vnlesse they will say that he went thither of purpose to him, with intent to saue the citie of ATHENS from vtter destruction, for the desire he had to returne home againe. Moreouer, we reade of *Alcibiades*, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with mony: and when he had it, he would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where *Martius* in contrary maner would not so much as accept gifts lawfully offered him by his captaines, to honor him for his valiantnesse. And the cause why the people did beare him such ill will, for the controuersie they had with the Nobilitie about clearing of debts, grew: for that they knew well inough it was not for any gaine or benefite he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to do them. *Antipater* in a letter of his, writing of the death of *Aristotle* the philosopher, doth not without cause cõmend the singular gifts that were in *Alcibiades*, and this especially: that he passed all other for winning mens good wils. Wheras all *Martius* noble acts and vertues, wanting that affabilitie, became hatefull, euen to those that receiued benefite by them, who could not abide his seueritie and selfe will: which causeth desolation (as *Plato* saith) and men to be ill followed, or altogether forsaken. Contrariwise, seeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme entertainment, and a very good grace with him, and could fashion himselfe in all companies, it was no maruell if his well doing were gloriously commended, and himselfe much honoured and beloued of the people, considering that some faults he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sport, and toyes of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the commonwealth, yet they did oft make him their generall, and trusted him with the charge of the whole citie. Where *Martius* suing for an office of honor that was due to him, for the sundry good seruices he had done to the state, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus do we see, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honored his vertue, had no liking to loue his person. *Martius* also did neuer any great exploit, being generall of his country men, but when he was generall of their enemies against his naturall country: wheras *Alcibiades*, being both a priuat person, and a generall, did notable seruice vnto the ATHENIANS. By reason whereof, *Alcibiades* whersoeuer he was present, had the vpper hand euer of his accusers, euen as he would himselfe, and their accusations tooke no place against him: vnlesse it were in his absence. Where *Martius* being present, was condemned by the ROMAINES: and in his person murdered and slaine by

Alcibiades & Coriolanus manner for money.

Alcibiades & Coriolanus loue vnto their countrie.

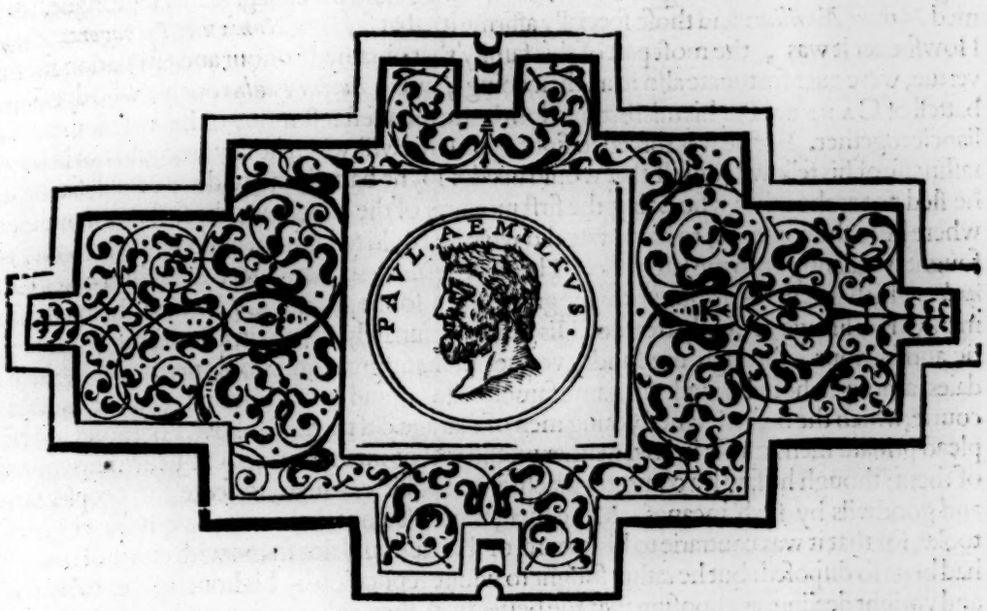
the VOLSCES. But here I cannot say they haue done well, nor iustly, albeit himselfe giue them some colour to do it, when he openly denyed the ROMAINS ambassadours peace, which after he priuately graunted, at the request of women. So by this deed of his, he tooke not away the enmitie that was betweene both people: but leauing warre still betweene them, he made the VOLSCES (of whom he was generall) to loose the oportunitie of noble victorie. Where indeed he should (if he had done as he ought) haue withdrawne his army with their counsell and consent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their generall: if he had made that account of them, as their goodwill towards him did in dutie bind him. Or else, if he did not care for the VOLSCES in the enterprise of this warre, but had only procured it of intent to be reuenged, and afterwards to leaue it off when his anger was blowne ouer: yet he had no reason for the loue of his mother to pardon his country, but rather he should in pardoning his country, haue spared his mother, because his mother and wife were members of the body of his countrey and city, which he did besiege. For in that he vncurteously reiected all publike petitions, requests of Ambassadors, intreaties of the bishops and priests, to gratifie onely the request of his mother with his departure: that was no act so much to honour his mother with, as to dishonour his countrie by, the which was preserued for the pitie and intercession of a woman, and not for the loue of it selfe, as if it had not bene worthie of it. And so was this departure a grace (to say truly) very odious and cruell, and deserued no thanks of either party, to him that did it. For he withdrew his army, not at the request of the ROMAINES, against whom he made war: nor with their consent, at whose charge the warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill hap, the austeritie of his nature, and his haughtie obstinate mind, was the onely cause: the which of it selfe being hatefull to the world, when it is ioyned with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish, fierce and intollerable. For men that haue that fault in nature, are not affable to the people, seeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the people: and yet on the other side, if the people should not giue them honour and reuerence, they would straight take it in scorne, and litle care for the matter. For so did *Metellus*, *Aristides*, and *Epaminondas*, all vsed this maner: not to seeke the goodwill of the cõmon people by flattery and dissimulation: which was indeed, because they despised that which the people could giue or take away. Yet would they not be offended with their citizens, when they were amerced, and set at any fines, or that they banished them, or gaue them any other repulse: but they loued them as well as they did before, so soone as they shewed any token of repentance, and that they were sory for the wrong they had done them, and were easily made friends againe with them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that disdaineth to make much of the people, and to haue their fauour, should much more scorne to seeke to be reuenged when he is repulsed. For, to take a repulse and denyall of honour so inwardly to the heart, commeth of no other cause, but that he did too earnestly desire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not dissemble at all, that he was not very glad to see himselfe honored, and sorie to be reiected and denyed any honour: but also he sought all the meanes he could to make himselfe beloued of those amongst whom he liued. Whereas *Martius* stoutnesse and haughtie stomacke, did stay him from making much of those, that might aduance and honour him: and yet his ambition made him gnaw himselfe for spite and anger, when he saw he was despised. And this is all that reasonably may be reproued in him: for otherwise he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane hands from taking of bribes and money, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest men of all GREECE: but not with *Alcibiades*, who was in that vndoubtedly alwaies too licentious and loosely giuen, and had too small regard of the duty of honestie.

Coriolanus notable abstinẽce from bribes.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Paulus Æmilius.



WHEN I firſt began to write theſe liues, my intent was to profit other: but ſince, continuing and going on, I haue much profited my ſelf by loking into theſe hiſtories, as if I looked into a glaſſe, to frame and faſhion my life, to the mould and pattern of theſe vertuous noblemen. For running ouer their maners in this ſort, & ſeeking alſo to deſcribe their liues: me thinks I am ſtill conuerſant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruſe their hiſtories, and to wey the vertues and qualities they haue had, and what ſingularitie each of them poſſeſſed: and to chuſe and cull out the chiefeſt things of note in them, and their beſt ſpeeches and doings moſt worthie of memorie: then I crie out:

O gods, can there be more paſſing pleaſure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man ciuill manners, and a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? *Democritus* the Philoſopher writeth, that we ſhould pray we might euer ſee happie images and ſights in the ayre, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, may rather come to vs, then that is euill and vnfortunate: preſuppoſing a falſe opinion and doctrine in Philoſophie, which allureth men to infinite ſuperſtitions: That there are good and badde images flying in the ayre, which giue a good or ill impreſſion vnto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of auncient hiſtories, and gathering theſe liues together which now I leaue before you; and by keeping alwaies in mind the acts of the moſt noble, vertuous, and beſt giuen men of former age, and worthy memory: I do teach and prepare my ſelfe to ſhake off and baniſh from me all lewd and diſhoneſt condition, if by chaunce the companie and conuerſation of them whoſe companie I keepe, and muſt of neceſſitie haunt, do acquaint me with ſome vnhappie or vngracious touch. This is eaſie vnto me, that do diſpoſe my mind, being quiet & not troubled with any paſſion, vnto the deep cõſideration of ſo many noble examples. As I do preſent vnto you now in this volume, the liues of *Timoleon* the CORINTHIAN, & of *Paulus Æmylius* the ROMAINE, who had not onely a good & an vpright mind with thẽ, but were alſo fortunate & happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you ſhall hardly iudge, when you haue read ouer their liues, whether wiſdom, or good fortune

brought them to atchieue to ſuch honorable actes and exploits as they did. Many (and the moſt part of hiſtoriographers) do write, that the houſe and familie of the *Æmilians* in ROME, was alwaies of the moſt auncient of the nobilitie, which they call *Patricians*. Some writers affirme alſo that the firſt of that houſe that gaue name to all the poſteritie after, was *Marcus*, the ſonne of *Pythagoras* the wiſe, whom king *Numa* for the ſweetneſſe and pleaſant grace of his tongue, ſurnamed *Marcus Æmilius*: and thoſe ſpecially affirme it, that ſay king *Numa* was *Pythagoras* ſcholer. Howſoeuer it was, the moſt part of this family that obtained honour and eſtimation for their vertue, were euer fortunate alſo in all their doings, ſauing *Lucius Paulus* onely, who dyed in the battell of CANNES. But his misfortune doth beare manifeſt teſtimony of his wiſedome and valiancie together. For he was forced to fight againſt his will, when he ſaw he could not bridle the raſhneſſe of his fellow Conſull that would needes ioyne battell, and to do as he did, ſauing that he fled not as the other, who being the firſt procurer of the battell, was the firſt that ranne away: where he to the contrarie, to his power did what he could to let him, and did ſticke by it, and fought it valiantly vnto the laſt gaſpe. This *AEmylius* left a daughter behind him called *AEmilia*, which was maried vnto *Scipio* the great: and a ſonne, *Paulus AEmylius*, being the ſame man whoſe life we preſently treate of. His youth fortunately fell out in a flouriſhing time of glorie and honour, through the ſundry vertues of many great and noble perſons liuing in thoſe daies, among whom he made his name famous alſo: and it was not by that ordinarie art and courſe, which the beſt eſteemed young men of that age did take and follow. For he did not vſe to plead priuate mens cauſes in law, neither would creepe into mens fauour by fawning vpon any of them: though he ſaw it a common practiſe, and pollicie of men, to ſeeke the peoples fauour and goodwils by ſuch meanes. Moreouer, he refuſed not that common courſe which other tooke, for that it was contrarie to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had bene ſo diſpoſed: but he rather ſought to winne reputation by his honeſty, his valiantneſſe, and vpright dealing, as chooſing that the better way then either of the other two, inſomuch as in maruellous ſhort time he paſſed all thoſe that were of his age. The firſt office of honor he ſued for, was the office of *AEdilis*, in which ſute he was preferred before twelue other that ſued for the ſelfe ſame office: who were men of no ſmall quality, for they all came afterwards to be Conſuls. After this, he was choſen to be one of the number of the prieſts, whom the ROMAINES call *Augures*: who haue the charge of all the diuinations and ſoothſayings, in telling of things to come by flying of birds, and ſignes in the aire. He was ſo carefull, and tooke ſuch pains to vnderſtand how the ROMAINES did vſe the ſame, and with ſuch diligence ſought the obſeruation of the ancient religion of ROMAINS in all holy matters: that where that prieſthood was before eſteemed but a title of honor, and deſired for the name only, he brought it to paſſe, that it was the moſt honorable ſcience, and beſt reputed of in ROME: wherin he confirmed the philoſophers opinion, that religion is the knowledge how to ſerue God. For when he did any thing belonging to his office of prieſthood, he did it with great experience, iudgment, and diligence, leauing all other thoughts, & without omitting any ancient ceremony, or adding to any new, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which ſeemed light, and of ſmall moment: declaring vnto them, that though we do preſume the gods are eaſie to be pacified, & that they readily pardon all faults and ſcapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for reſpect of commonwealths ſake, they ſhold not ſlightly, nor careleſly diſſemble or paſſe ouer faults cõmitted in thoſe matters: for no man (ſaith he) at the firſt that committeth any fault, doth alone trouble the ſtate of the cõmon wealth: but withal, we muſt think he leaueth the grounds of ciuil gouernmẽt, that is not as carefull to keepe the inſtitutions of ſmall matters, as alſo of the great. So was he alſo a ſeuere captaine, & ſtrict obſeruer of all marſhall diſcipline, not ſeeking to win the ſouldiers loue by flattery, when he was generall in the field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a ſecond charge, by ſhewing himſelf gentle and courteous in the firſt, vnto thoſe that ſerued vnder him: but himſelfe did orderly ſhew them the very rules and precepts of the diſcipline of wars, euen as a prieſt that ſhold expreſſe the names and ceremonies of ſome holy ſacrifice, wherin were daunger to omit any part or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the law of armes vpon rebellious and diſobedient ſouldiers, he kept vp thereby the ſtate of the commonweale the better: iudging to ouercome the enemy by force, was but an acceſſarie as a man may terme it, in reſpect of well training and ordering his citizens by good diſcipline. While the ROMAINES were in warres againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the Great, in the South parts, all the chiefeſt captains

The houſe of the AEmilians came of Pythagoras ſonne.

Lucius Paulus AEmylius Conſul ſlaine at the battell of Cannes.

AEmylia, the daughter of Lucius AEmylius, maried to Scipio the Great.

The vertues of Paulus AEmylius.

Paulus AEmylius made AEdilis and Augure.

The Philoſophers opinion of religion.

Paulus diligence in the cõmon wealth, euen in trifles.

The diſcipline of warres.

captaines of ROME being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West parts towards SPAINE, where they were all vp in armes. Thither they sent *AEmylius* Prætor, not with fixe axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelue: so that vnder the name of Prætor, he had the authority and dignity of a Consull. He twise ouercame the barbarous people in maine battell, and slue a thirty thousand of them, and got this victory through his great skill and wisedome, in chusing the aduantage of place and time, to fight with his enemies euen as they passed ouer a riuer: which easily gaue his souldiers the victory. Moreouer he took there two hundred and fifty cities, all which did open, and gladly receiue him in. So, leauing all that country quiet and in good peace, and hauing receiued their fealty by oath made between his hands, he returned againe to ROME, not inriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke litle regard to his expences, he spent so franckly, neither was his purse his maister, though his reuenue was not great to beare it out, as it appeared to the world after his death, for all that he had was litle inough to satisfie his wiues ioynter. His first wife was *Papyria*, the daughter of a noble Consull *Papyrius Masso*, and after they had liued a long time together, he was diuorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly children by her. For by her he had that famous *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*. The iust cause of the diuorce betweene them, appeareth not to vs in writing: but me thinkes the tale that is told concerning the separation of a certaine mariage is true. That a certaine ROMAINE hauing forsaken his wife, her friends fell out with him, and asked him: what fault doest thou find in her? is she not honest of her body? is she not faire? doth she not bring thee goodly children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his shooe, and answered them: Is not this a goodly shooe? is it not finely made? and is it not new? yet I dare say there is neuer a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to say truly, great and open faults are commonly occasions to make husbands put away their wiues: but yet oftentimes houshold words runne so betweene them (proceeding of crooked conditions, or of diuersity of natures, which strangers are not priuy vnto) that in processe of time they do beget such a strange alteration of loue and minds in them, as one house can no longer hold them. So *AEmylius*, hauing put away *Papyria* his first wife, he maried another that brought him two sonnes, which he brought vp with himselfe in his house, and gaue his two first sonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption to two of the noblest and richest families of the city of ROME. The elder of the twaine, vnto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was fiue times Consull, and the yonger vnto the house of the *Cornelians*, whom the sonne of the great *Scipio* the AFRICAN did adopt, being his cosin germaine, and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his daughters, the sonne of *Cato* maried the one, and *AElius Tubero* the other, who was a maruellous honest man, and did more nobly maintaine himselfe in his pouerty, then any other ROMAINE: for they were sixteene persons all of one name, and of the house of the *AElians*, very neare a kinne one to the other, who had all but one litle house in the city, and a small farme in the countrey, wherewith they entertained themselues, and liued all together in one house, with their wiues, and many litle children. Amongst their wiues, one of them was the daughter of *Paulus AEmylius*, after he had bene twise Consull, and had triumphed twise, not being ashamed of her husbands pouerty, but wondring at his vertue that made him poore. Whereas brethren and kinsemen, as the world goeth now, if they dwel not farre asunder, and in other countries, not one neare another, and that riuers part them not, or walles deuide their lands, leauing great large wastes betweene them: they are neuer quiet, but stil in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this story lay before the wise, and well aduised readers, to learne thereby how to frame their life, and wisely to behaue themselues. Now *AEmylius* being chosen Consull, went to make warre with the LIGVRIANS, who dwelled in the ALPES, and which otherwise are called LIGVSTINES. These are very valiant and warlike men, and were very good souldiers at that time, by reason of their continuall warres against the ROMAINES, whose neare neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of ITALY, that bordereth vpon the great ALPES, and the row of ALPES, whereof the foot ioyneth to the THVSCAN sea, and pointeth towards AFRICK, & are mingled with the GAVLES and SPANIARDS, neighbours vnto the sea coast: who scowring all the *Mediterranian* sea at that time, vnto the straight of *Hercules* pillers, did with their litle light pinnaces of pirats, let all the trafficke and entercourse of merchãdize. *Æmylius* being gone to seek them in their country, they taried his comming with an army of forty thousand men: neuertheless, though he had but eight thousand men in all, and that they were fiue to one of his, yet he gaue the onset vpon them, and ouerthrew

Paulus AEmylius sent Prætor into Spaine.

AEmylius skilful to chuse place and time to fight.

Scipio the second, and Fabius Maximus, were the sonnes of P. AEmylius, by Papyria his first wife.

A prety tale of a Romaine that forsooke his wife.

The vertue of AElius Tubero his pouertie and quiet life.

Vnnaturalitie amongst kinred infamous.

AEmylius Consull.

them,& draue them into their cities. Then he ſent to offer them peace, for the ROMAINES would not altogether deſtroy the LIGVRIANS, becauſe their countrey was as a rampier or bulwarke againſt the inuaſion of the GAVLES, who lay lurking for oportunity and occaſion to inuade ITALY: wherupon theſe LIGVRIANS yeelded themſelues vnto him,& put al their forts and ſhips into his hands. *Æmylius* deliuered vnto them their holds againe, without other hurt done vnto them, ſauing that he razed the walles of their fortifications: howbeit he tooke all their ſhips from them, leauing them litle botes of three owers onely, and no greater, and ſet all the priſoners at liberty they had taken, both by ſea and by land, aſwell ROMAINES as other, which were a maruellous number. Theſe were all the notable acts he did worthy memory, in the firſt yeare of his Conſulſhip. Afterwards, he oftentimes ſhewed himſelfe very deſirous to be Conſull againe, and did put forth himſelfe to ſue for it: but when he was denied it, he neuer after made ſute for it againe, but gaue himſelfe only to ſtudy diuine things, and to ſee his children vertuouſly brought vp, not only in the ROMAINE tongue which himſelfe was taught, but alſo a litle more curiouſly in the GREEKE tongue. For he did not onely retaine *Grammarians*, *Rhetoritians*, and *Logicians*, but alſo painters, grauers of images, riders of horſes, and hunts of GREECE about his children: and he himſelf alſo (if no matters of common wealth troubled him) was euer with them in the ſchoole when they were at their books, and alſo when they otherwiſe did exerciſe themſelues. For he loued his children as much or more then any other ROMAINE. Now concerning the ſtate of the common wealth, the ROMAINES were at wars with king *Perſeus*, and they much blamed the captains they had ſent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and courage, they had ſo cowardly behaued themſelues, as their enemies laughed them to ſcorne: and they receiued more hurt of them, then they did vnto the king. For not long before, they had driuen king *Antiochus* beyond mount *Taurus*, and made him forſake the reſt of ASIA, and had ſhut him vp within the borders of SYRIA, who was glad that he had bought that country with fifteene thouſand talents, which he paid for a fine. A litle before alſo, they had ouercome *Philip*, King of MACEDON in THESSALY, and had deliuered the GRECIANS from the bondage of the MACEDONIANS. And moreouer, hauing ouercome *Hannibal* (vnto whom no Prince nor King that euer was in the world was comparable, either for his power or valiantneſſe) they thought this too great a diſhonour to them, that this warre they had againſt king *Perſeus*, ſhould hold ſo long of euen hand with them, as if he had bene an enemy equall with the people of ROME: conſidering alſo that they fought not againſt them, but with the refuſe and ſcattered people of the ouerthrowne army his father had loſt before, and knew not that *Philip* had left his army ſtronger, and more expert by reaſon of his ouerthrow, then it was before: as I will briefly rehearſe the ſtory from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greateſt power of all the captaines and ſucceſſours of *Alexander* the great, hauing obtained for himſelfe and his poſteritie the title of a King, had a ſonne called *Demetrius*, of whom came *Antigonus* the ſecond, that was ſurnamed *Gonatas*, whoſe ſonne was alſo called *Demetrius*, that raigned no long time, but died, and left a yong ſonne called *Philip*. By reaſon whereof, the Princes and Nobility of MACEDON, fearing that the Realme ſhould be left without heire, they preferred one *Antigonus*, coſin to the laſt deceaſed King, and made him mary the mother of *Philip* the leſſe, giuing him the name at the firſt of the Kings protectour onely, and lieutenant generall of his maieſty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wiſe Prince, and a good husband for the Realme, they then gaue him the abſolute name of a king, and ſurnamed him *Doſon*, to ſay, the giuer: for he promiſed much and gaue litle. After him raigned *Philip*, who in his greene youth gaue more hope of himſelfe, then any other of the Kings before: inſomuch as they thought that one day he would reſtore MACEDON her auncient fame and glory, and that he alone would pluck downe the pride and power of the ROMAINES, who roſe againſt al the world. But after that he had loſt a great battell, and was ouerthrowne by *Titus Quintus Flaminius* neare vnto the city of SCOTVSA: then he began to quake for feare, and to leaue all to the mercy of the ROMAINES, thinking he eſcaped good cheape, for any light ranſome or tribute the ROMAINES ſhould impoſe vpon him. Yet afterwards comming to vnderſtand himſelf, he grew to diſdaine it much, thinking that to raigne through the fauour of the ROMAINES, was but to make himſelfe a ſlaue, to ſeek to liue in pleaſure at his eaſe, and not for a valiant and noble prince borne. Whereupon he ſet all his mind, to ſtudy the diſcipline of wars, and made his preparations as wiſely & cloſely as poſſibly he could. For he left all his townes alongſt the ſea coaſt, and ſtanding vpon any high waies, without any fortification at al, & in maner deſolate without people, to the end there might

Æmylius ouercommeth the Ligurians.

The cowardlineſſe of the Romaines in Spaine.

The ſucceſſion of Antigonus King of Macedon.

Antigonus Doſon, King of Macedon.

Philip King of Macedon vvas ouercome in battel, by Titus Quintus Flaminius at the city of Scotuſa.

Philips ſecond preparation for vvarres in Macedon.

appeare

appeare no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: and in the meane time, in the high countries of his Realme farre from great beaten wayes, he leauied a great number of men of warre, and replenished his towns and strong holds that lay scatteringly abroad, with armour and weapon, mony, and men, prouiding for warre, which he kept as secretly as he could. For he had prouision of armour in his armory, to arme thirty thousand men, and eight million bushels of corne safely lockt vp in his forts and stronger places, and ready money, as much as would serue to entertaine ten thousand strangers in pay, to defend his countrey for the space of ten yeares. But before he could bring that to passe he had purposed, he died for griefe and sorrow, after he knew he had vniustly put *Demetrius* the best of his sonnes to death, vpon the false accusation of the worst, that was *Perseus*: who as he did inherit the kingdome of his father by succession, so did he also inherite his fathers malice against the Romaines. But he had no shoulders to beare so heauy a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many leud and naughty conditions he had, he was extreme couetous and miserable. They say also, that he was not legitimate, because *Philips* wife had taken him from *Gnathenia* (a tailors wife borne at Argos) immediatly after he was borne, and did adopt the child to be heir. And some thinke that this was the chiefest cause why he practised to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing least this lawful son would seek occasion to proue him a bastard. Notwithstanding, simple though he was, and of vile and base nature, he found the strength of his kingdome so great, that he was contented to take vpon him to make war against the Romaines, which he maintained a long time, & fought against their Consuls, that were their Generals, and repulsed great armies of theirs both by sea and land, and ouercame some. As *Publius Licinius* among other, the first that inuaded Macedon, was ouerthrown by him in a battel of horsme, where he slue at that time two thousand fiue hundred good men of his, and took six hundred prisoners. And their army by sea, riding at anker before the city of Orevm, he did sodainly set vpon, and took twenty great ships of burden, and all that was in them, and sunke the rest, which were all loden with corne: and took of all sorts besides, about 54. foysts, and galliots of fifty owers a peece. The second Consul and Generall he fought withall, was *Hostilius*, whom he repulsed, attempting by force to inuade Macedon by way of the city of Elymia. Another time againe, when he entred in by stealth vpon the coast of Thessaly, he offered him battell, but the other durst not abide it. And as though this war troubled him nothing at all, and that he had cared litle for the Romaines, he went and fought a battell in the meane time with the Dardanians, where he slue ten thousand of those barbarous people, & brought away a maruellous great spoile. Moreouer he procured the nation of the Gaules dwelling vpon the riuer of *Danuby*, which they call *Bastarne* (men very warlike, and excellent good horsmen) and did practise with the Illyrians also by meane of their king *Gentius*, to make them ioyne with him in this warre: so that there ranne a rumour, that for money he had gotten these Gaules to come downe into Italy, from the high countrey of Gaule, all alongst the Adriatike sea. The Romaines being aduertised of these newes, thought the time serued not now to dispose their offices in wars any more by grace & fauor vnto those that sued for the: but contrariwise, that they should call some noble man that were very skilful & a wise captain, and could discreetly gouerne & performe things of great charge: as *Paulus Æmylius*, a man wel stepped on in yeres, being threescore yeare old, and yet of good power, by reason of the lusty yong men his sons, & sons in law, besides a great number of his friends and kinsfolk. So al that bare great authority, did altogether with one consent counsell him to obey the people, which called him to the Consulship. At the beginning indeed he delayed the people much that came to importune him, and vtterly denied them: saying, he was no meete man neither to desire, nor yet to take vpon him any charge. Howbeit in the end, seeing the people did vrge it vpon him, by knocking continually at his gates, & calling him aloud in the streetes, willing him to come into the market place, and perceiuing they were angry with him, because he refused it, he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among the that sued for the Consulship, the people thought straight that he stood not there so much for desire of the office, as for that he put them in hope of assured victory, and happy sucesse of this begun warre: so great was their loue towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Consul againe the second time. Wherfore so soone as he was chosen, they would not proceed to drawing of lots according to their custome, which of the two Consuls should happe to go into Macedon: but presently with a ful and whole consent of them all, they gaue him the whole charge of the warres of Macedon. So being Consull now, and appointed to make war

Philips armory

The death of King Philip.

Perseus extreame couetous.

King Perseus maketh warre with the Romaines.

Publius Licinius Consull, ouerthrowne by Perseus.

Hostilius Consull repulsed out of Macedon.

Bastarne the Gaules dwelling vpon the riuer of Danubie.

Æmylius chosen Consull the second time, taketh charge of the warres of Macedon.

vpon king *Perſeus*, all the people did honourably company him home vnto his houſe: where a little girle (a daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant, came weeping vnto her father. He making much of her: asked her why ſhe wept. The poore girle anſwered, colling him about the necke, and kiſſing him: Alas father, wote you what? our *Perſeus* is dead. She meant it by a litle whelp ſo called, which was her play-fellow. In good houre, my girle, ſaid he, I like the ſigne well. Thus doth *Cicero* the orator report of it in his booke of diuinations. The ROMAINES had a cuſtome at that time, that ſuch as were elected Conſuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) ſhould make an oration of thankes vnto the people, for the honour and fauour they had ſhewed him. The people then (according to the cuſtome) being gathered together to heare *Æmylius* ſpeake, he made this oration vnto them. That the firſt time he ſued to be Conſul, was in reſpect of himſelfe, ſtanding at that time in need of ſuch honour: now he offered himſelfe the ſecond time vnto it, for the good loue he bare vnto them, who ſtood in need of a Generall, wherefore he thought himſelfe nothing bound nor beholding vnto them now. And if they did thinke alſo this warre might be better followed by any other then by himſelfe, he would preſently with all his hart reſigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any truſt or confidence in him, that they thought him a man ſufficient to diſcharge it: then that they would not ſpeake nor meddle in any matter that concerned his dutie, and the office of a Generall, ſauing onely, that they would be diligent (without any words) to do whatſoeuer he commaunded, and ſhould be neceſſary for the warre and ſeruice they took in hand. For if euery man would be a commander, as they had bene heretofore, of thoſe by whom they ſhould be commanded: then the world would more laugh them to ſcorne in this ſeruice, then euer before had bene accuſtomed. Theſe words made the ROMAINES very obedient to him, and conceiued good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refuſed thoſe ambitious flatterers that ſued for the charge, and had giuen it vnto a man, that durſt boldly and frankly tell them the troth. Mark how the ROMAINES by yeelding vnto reaſon and vertue, came to command all other, & to make themſelues the mightieſt people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* ſetting forward to this warre, had wind at will, and faire paſſage to bring him to his iourneys end, I impute it to good fortune, that ſo quickly and ſafely conueyed him to his campe. But for the reſt of his exploits, he did in all this warre, part of them being performed by his owne hardineſſe, other by his wiſedome and good counſell, other by the diligence of his friends in ſeruing him with good will, other by his owne reſolute conſtancie and corage in extremeſt danger, and laſt, by his maruellous skil in determining at an inſtant what was to be done, I cannot attribute any notable act or worthy ſeruice vnto this his good fortune they talke of ſo much, as they may do in other captaines doings: vnleſſe they wil ſay peraduenture, that *Perſeus* couetouſneſſe and miſery was *Æmylius* good fortune: for his miſerable feare of ſpending mony, was the only cauſe & deſtruction of the whole realme of MACEDON, which was in good ſtate & hope of continuing in proſperity. For there came downe into the country of MACEDON at king *Perſeus* requeſt, ten thouſand Baſtarnæ a horſe-backe, and as many footmen to them, who alwayes ioyned with them in battell: all mercenary ſouldiers, depending vpon pay and entertainment of warres, as men that could not plow, nor ſow, nor trafficke merchandize by ſea, nor skill of grazing to gaine their liuing with: and to be ſhort, that had no other occupation or merchandize, but to ſerue in the warres, and to ouercome thoſe with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incamp and lodge in the MEDICA, neare to the MACEDONIANS, who ſaw them ſo goodly great men, and ſo well trained and exerciſed in handling all kind of weapons, ſo braue and luſty in words and threats againſt their enemies: they began to plucke vp their hearts, and to looke big, imagining that the ROMAINES would neuer abide them, but would be afeard to look them in the face, and only to ſee their march, it was ſo terrible & fearfull. But *Perſeus* after he had incoraged his men in this ſort, and had put them in ſuch a hope and iollity, when this barbarous ſupply came to ask him a thouſand crownes in hand for euery captain, he was ſo damped & troubled withall in his mind, caſting vp the ſum it came to, that his only couetouſnes and miſery made him returne them back, and refuſe their ſeruice: not as one that ment to fight with the ROMAINES, but rather to ſpare his treaſure, & to be a husband for thē, as if he ſhould haue giuen vp a ſtraight account vnto thē of his charges in this war, againſt whom he made it. And notwithſtanding alſo his enemies did teach him what he had to do, cōſidering that beſides all other their warlike furniture & munitiō, they had no leſſe then a hundred thouſand fighting men lying in camp together, ready to execute the Conſuls cōmandement: yet he taking vpō him to reſiſt ſo puiſſant

Good luck pronounced by Tertia, a litle girle.

Paulus Æmylius oration of thanks to the Romains when he was Conſul, obſeruing the cuſtome.

See what fruit ſouldiers reape by obedience and reaſon.

Perſeus couetouſnes & miſery, vvas the deſtruction of himſelfe, and his realme of Macedon.

Baſtarnæ, a mercenarie people.

Note what became of Perſeus husbandry.

Æmylius armie againſt Perſeus, vvas a hundred thouſand men.

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an army, & to maintaine the warres, which forced his enemies to be at extreme charge in entertaining ſuch multitudes of men, more then needed: hardly would depart with his gold and ſiluer, but kept it ſafe locked vp in his treaſury, as if he had bene afraid to touch it, and had bene none of his. And he did not ſhew that he came of the noble race of the kings of LYDIA, and PHOENICIA, who gloried to be rich: but ſhewed how by inheritance of bloud he chalenged ſome part of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both becauſe they eſteemed to buy victory with money, not money with victory, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common ſaying in old time, that it was not *Philip*, but his gold and ſiluer that won the cities of GRECE. And *Alexander* when he went to conquer the INDES, ſeeing the MACEDONIANS cary with them all the wealth of PERSIA, which made his campe very heauy, and ſlow to march: he himſelf firſt of all ſet fire of his own cariage that conueyed all his neceſſaries, & perſwaded other to do the like, that they might march more lightly, and eaſily on the iourney. But *Perſeus* contrarily would not ſpend any part of his goods, to ſaue himſelfe, his children and realme, but rather yeelded to be led priſoner in triumph with a great ranſome, to ſhew the ROMAINES how good a husband he had bene for them. For he did not onely ſend away the GAVLES without giuing them pay as he had promiſed, but moreouer hauing perſwaded *Gentius* king of ILLYRIA to take his part in theſe wars, for the ſumme of three hundred talents which he had promiſed to furniſh him with: he cauſed the money to be told, and put vp in bags by thoſe whom *Gentius* ſent to receiue it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking himſelfe ſure of the mony promiſed, committed a fond and foule part: for he ſtayed the ambaſſadours the ROMAINES ſent vnto him, and committed them to priſon. This part being come to *Perſeus* eares, he thought now he needed not hire him with mony to be an enemy to the ROMAINES, conſidering he had waded ſo farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifeſt ſigne of his ill will towards them, and that it was too late to looke backe and repent him, now that his foule part had plunged him into certaine warres, for an vncertaine hope. So did he abuſe the vnfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred talents he had promiſed him. And worſe then this, ſhortly after he ſuffered *Lucius Anicius* the ROMAINE Prætor, whom they ſent againſt him with an army, to plucke King *Gentius*, his wife, and children, out of his kingdome, and to cary them priſoners with him. Now when *AEmylius* was arriued in MACEDON, to make war againſt ſuch an enemy: he made no maner of reckoning of his perſon, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one camp he had foure thouſand horſmen, and no leſſe then forty thouſand footmen, with the which army he had planted himſelfe alongſt the ſea ſide, by the foot of the mount *Olympus*, in a place vnpoſſible to be approached: and there he had ſo well fortified all the ſtraites and paſſages vnto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himſelfe to lie ſafe out of all daunger, and imagined to dally with *AEmylius*, and by tract of time to eate him out with charge. *AEmylius* in the meane ſeaſon lay not idle, but occupied his wits throughly, and left no meanes vnattempted, to put ſomething in proofe. And perceiuing that his ſouldiers by ouer much licentious libertie (wherin by ſufferance they liued before) were angry with delaying and lying ſtill, and that they did buſily occupy themſelues in the Generals office, ſaying this, and ſuch a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them vp roundly, and commaunded them they ſhould meddle no more too curiouſly in matters that pertained not to them, and that they ſhould take care for nothing elſe, but to ſee their armour and weapon ready to ſerue valiantly, and to vſe their ſwords after the ROMAINES faſhion, when their Generall ſhould appoint and commaund them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to themſelues, he commanded thoſe that watched, ſhould haue no ſpeares nor pikes, becauſe they ſhould be more wakefull, hauing no long weapon to reſiſt the enemy, if they were aſſaulted. The greateſt trouble his army had, was lack of freſh water, becauſe the water that ran to the ſea was very litle, and maruellous foule by the ſea ſide. But *AEmylius* conſidering they were at the foote of the mount *Olympus* (which is of a maruellous height, and full of wood withal) coniectured, ſeeing the trees ſo freſh & green, that there ſhould be ſome litle prety ſprings among them, which ran vnder the ground. So he made them dig many holes & wels alongſt the mountain, which were ſtraight filled with faire water, being pent within groũd before for lack of breaking open the heads, which then ran down in ſtreams, & met together in ſundry places. And yet ſome do deny, that there is any meeting of waters within the ground, from whẽce the ſprings do come: and they ſay, that running out of the earth as they do, it is not for that the water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time:

Gentius King of the Illyrians aided Perſeus.

Perſeus double dealing with king Gentius.

King Gentius ouercome by Lucius Anicius Prætor.

Perſeus lay at foote of the mount Olympus, with 4000 horſemen, and 40000. footmẽ

AEmylius admonition to his ſouldiers.

Paulus AEmylius would haue the watch to haue no ſpeares nor pikes.

The originall of ſprings.

but that it ingendreth and riſeth at the ſame time and place where it runneth out, turning the ſubſtance into water, which is a moiſt vapour, thickned and made cold by the coldneſſe of the earth, and ſo becommeth a ſtreame, and runneth downe. For (ſay they) as womens breaſts are not alwaies full of milke (as milk pans are, that continually keep milk) but do of themſelues conuert the nutriment women take into milke, and after commeth forth at their nipples: euen ſo the ſprings and watery places of the earth, from whence the fountaines come, haue no meetings of hidden waters, nor hollow places ſo capable, readily to deliuer water from them, as one would draw it out of a pumpe or ceſterne, from ſo many brooks, and deep riuers: but by their naturall coldnes and moiſture, they waxe thick, and put forth the vapour and aire ſo ſtrong, that they turne it into water. And this is the reaſon why the places where they dig & open the earth, do put forth more abundance of water by opening the ground: like as womēs breaſts do giue more milk when they are moſt drawne and ſuckt, becauſe in a ſort they do better feed the vapour within them, and conuert it thereby into a running humour. Where, to the contrary, thoſe parts of the earth that are not digged, nor haue no vent outward, are the more vnable, and leſſe meet to ingender water, hauing not that prouocation and courſe to runne, that cauſeth the bringing forth of moiſture. Yet ſuch as maintain this opinion, do giue them occaſion that loue argument, to contrary them thus. Then we may ſay by like reaſon alſo, that in the bodies of beaſts there is no bloud long before, and that it ingendreth vpon a ſodaine, when they are hurt, by transferring of ſome ſpirit or fleſh that readily changeth into ſome running liquor. And moreouer, they are confuted by the common experience of theſe mine-men, that dig in the mines for mettal, or that vndermine caſtles to win them: who when they dig any great depth, do many times meet in the bowels of the earth with running riuers, the water whereof is not ingendred by litle and litle, as of neceſſitie it ſhould be, if it were true, that vpon the preſent opening of the ground, the humour ſhould immediatly be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we ſee oftentimes that in cutting thorough a mountaine or rocke, ſodainely there runneth out a great quantity of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our hiſtory again. *Æmylius* lay there a conuenient time, and ſtirred not: and it is ſaid there were neuer ſeene two ſo great armies one ſo neare to the other, and to be ſo quiet. In the end, caſting many things with himſelf, and deuiſing ſundry practiſes, he was informed of another way to enter into MACEDON, through the country of PERRÆBIA, ouer againſt the temple called *Pythion*, and the rock vpon which it is built, where there lay no garriſon: which gaue him better hope to paſſe that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrowneſſe and hardnes of the way vnto it. So, he brake the matter to his counſel. Thereupō *Scipio* called *Naſica* (the ſon adopted of that great *Scipio* the AFRICAN, who became afterwards a great man, and was preſident of the Senate or counſell) was the firſt man that offered himſelf to leade them, whom it would pleaſe him to ſend to take that paſſage, & to aſſault their enemies behind. The ſecond was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldeſt ſonne of *AEmylius*, who being but a very yong man, roſe notwithſtanding, and offered himſelfe very willingly. *AEmylius* was very glad of their offers, and gaue them not ſo many men as *Polybius* writeth, but ſo many as *Naſica* himſelf declareth in a letter of his he wrote to a king, where he reporteth al the ſtory of this iourny. There were 3000. ITALIANS leauied in ITALY, by the confederates of the ROMAINES, who were not of the ROMAINE legions, and in the left wing about 5000. Beſides thoſe, *Naſica* tooke alſo 120. men at armes, and about 200. CRETANS and THRACIANS mingled together, of thoſe *Harpalus* had ſent thither. With this number *Naſica* departed from the camp, and tooke his way toward the ſea ſide, and lodged by the temple of *Hercules*, as if he had determined to do this feate by ſea, to enuiron the campe of the enemies behind. But when the ſouldiers had ſupped, and that it was darke night, he made the captains of euery band priuy to his enterpriſe, and ſo marched all night a contrary way from the ſea, vntil at the length they came vnder the temple of *Pythion*, where he lodged to reſt the ſouldiers that were ſore trauelled all night. In this place, the mount *Olympus* is aboue ten furlong high, as appeareth in a place ingrauen by him that meaſured it.

Fountaines compared to womens breſts

Scipio Naſica, and Fabius Maximus, offer themſelues to take the ſtraights.

The height of the mount Olympus.

Olympus mount is iuſt, by meaſure made with line,
twelue hundred ſeuenty paces trod, as meaſure can aſſigne.
The meaſure being made, right o're againſt the place,
whereas Apolloes temple ſtands, ybuilt with ſtately grace.
Euen from the leauell plot, of that ſame countries plaine,
vnto the top which all on high, doth on the hill remaine.

And

And ſo Xenagoras the ſonne of Eumelus,
in olden dayes by meaſure made, the ſame did find for vs:
And did engraue it here in writing for to ſee,
when as he tooke his lateſt leaue (Apollo god) of thee.

Yet the *Geometricians* ſay, that there is no mountaine higher, nor ſea deeper, then the length of ten furlongs: ſo that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) did not take his meaſure at aduenture, and by geſſe, but by true rules of the art, and inſtruments Geometricall. There *Naſica* reſted all night. King *Perſeus* perceiuing in the meane time that *Æmylius* ſtirred not from the place where he lay, miſtruſting nothing his practiſe, and the coming of *Naſica* who was at hand: vntill ſuch time as a traytor of CRETE (ſtealing from *Naſica*) did reueale vnto him the pretended practiſe, as alſo the ROMAINES compaſſing of him about. He wondred much at theſe newes, howbeit he remoued not his campe from the place he lay in, but diſpatched one of his captaines called *Milon*, with ten thouſand ſtraungers, and two thouſand MACEDONIANS: and ſtraightly commanded him with all the poſſible ſpeed he could, to get the top of the hill before them. *Polybius* ſaith, that the ROMAINES came and gaue them an alarum, when they were ſleeping: But *Naſica* writeth, that there was a maruellous ſharpe and terrible battell on the top of the mountaine: and ſayd plainely, that a THRACIAN ſouldier comming towards him, he threw his dart at him, and hitting him right in the breaſt, ſlue him ſtarke dead: and hauing repulſed their enemies, *Milon* their captaine ſhamefully running away in his coat without armor or weapon, he followed him without any danger, and ſo went downe to the valley, with the ſafety of all his company. This conflict fortuning thus, *Perſeus* raiſed his campe in great haſte from the place where he was, & being diſappointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wits end, & not knowing how to determine. Yet was he conſtrained either to ſtay, and incampe before the city of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of battell: or elſe to deuide his army into his cities and ſtrong holds, and to receiue the wars within his owne country, the which being once crept in, could neuer be driuen out againe, without great murder and bloudſhed. Hereupon his friends did counſell him, to chuſe rather the fortune of battell: alledging vnto him, that he was the ſtronger in men a great way, & that the MACEDONIANS wold fight luſtily with all the courage they could, conſidering that they fought for the ſafety of their wiues and children, and alſo in the preſence of their king, who ſhould both ſee euery mans doing, and fight himſelfe in perſon alſo for them. The king moued by theſe perſwaſions, determined to venter the chance of battell. So he pitched his campe, and viewed the ſituation of the places all about, & deuided the companies amongſt his captaines, purpoſing to giue a hot charge vpon the enemies when they ſhould draw neere. The place and country was ſuch, as being all chãpion, there was a goodly valley to range a battel of footmen in, and litle prety hils alſo one depending vpon another, which were very commodious for archers, naked men, & ſuch as were lightly armed, to retire themſelues being diſtreſſed, & alſo to enuiron their enemies behind. There were two ſmall riuers alſo, *Æſon* and *Leucus* that ran through the ſame, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the later end of the ſommer, yet they would annoy the ROMAINES notwithſtanding. Now when *Æmylius* was ioyned with *Naſica*, he marched on ſtraight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiuing a far off their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the ſame: he wondred to behold it, and ſuddenly ſtayed his army, conſidering with himſelfe what he had to do. Then the yong captains hauing charge vnder him, deſirous to fight it out preſently, went vnto him to pray him to giue the onſet: but *Naſica* ſpecially aboue the reſt, hauing good hope in the former good lucke he had at his firſt encounter. *AEmylius* ſmiling, aunſwered him: ſo would I do, if I were as young as thou. But the ſundry victories I haue wonne heretofore, hauing taught me by experience the faults the vanquiſhed do commit, do forbid me to go ſo hotly to worke (before my ſouldiers haue reſted, which did returne but now) to aſſault an army ſet in ſuch order of battell. When he had anſwered him thus, he commaunded the firſt bands that were now in view of the enemies, ſhould imbattell themſelues, ſhewing a countenance to the enemie as though they would fight: and that thoſe in the rereward ſhould lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the campe. So, bringing the foremoſt men to be hindmoſt, by chaunging from man to man before the enemies were aware of it: he had broken his battell by little and little, and lodged his men, fortified within the campe without any tumult or noyſe, and the enemies neuer perceiuing it. But when night came, and euerie man had ſupped, as they were going to ſleepe and

Naſica vvan the ſtraights of Macedon.

Perſeus pitched his campe before the city of Pydne.

The riuers of AEſon and Leucus.

AEmylius anſwer to Scipio Naſica, for giuing charge vpon the enemies.

The skill and foreſight of a vviſe captaine.

The eclipse of the Moone.

take their reſt: the Moone which was at the full, and of a great height, began to darken and to chaunge into many ſorts of colours, looſing her light, vntill ſuch time as ſhe vaniſhed away, and was eclipſed altogether. Then the ROMAINES began to make a noiſe with baſons and pans, as their faſhion is to do in ſuch a chaunce, thinking by this ſound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting vp many torches lighted, and firebrands into the aire. The MACEDONIANS on the other ſide did no ſuch matter within their campe, but were all together ſtriken with an horrible feare: and there ranne a whiſpering rumour through the people, that this ſigne in the element ſignified the eclipſe of the King. For *Æmylius* was not ignorant of the diuerſities of the eclipſes, and he had heard ſay the cauſe is, by reaſon that the Moone making her ordinarie courſe about the world (after certaine reuolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round ſhadow of the earth, within the which ſhe remaineth hidden, vntill ſuch time as hauing paſt the darke region of the ſhadow, ſhe commeth afterwards to recouer her light which ſhe taketh of the Sunne. Neuertheleſſe, he being a godly deuout man, ſo ſoone as he perceiued the Moone had recouered her former brightneſſe againe, he ſacrificed eleuen calues. And the next morning alſo by the breake of day, making ſacrifice to *Hercules*, he could neuer haue any ſignes or tokens that promiſed him good lucke, in ſacrificing twenty oxen one after another: but at the one & twentieth he had ſignes that promiſed him victory, ſo he defended himſelfe. Wherfore, after he had vowed a ſolemne ſacrifice of an hundred oxen to *Hercules*, and alſo games of prices at the weapons, he commaunded his captaines to put their men in readineſſe to fight: and ſo ſought to win time, tarying till the Sunne came about in the afternoone towards the Weſt, to the end that the ROMAINES which were turned towards the Eaſt, ſhould not haue it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he repoſed himſelfe in his tent, which was all open behind towards the ſide that looked into the valley, where the campe of his enemies lay. When it grew towards night, to make the enemies ſet vpon his men, ſome ſay he vſed this policy. He made a horſe be driuen towards them without a bridle, & certaine ROMAINES followed him, as they would haue taken him againe: and this was the cauſe of procuring the skirmiſh. Other ſay, that the THRACIANS ſeruing vnder the charge of captaine *Alexander*, did ſet vpon certaine forragers of the ROMAINES, that brought forage into the campe: out of the which, ſeuen hundred of the LIGVRIANS ranne ſuddenly to the reſcue, and reliefe comming ſtill from both armies, at the laſt the maine battell followed after. Wherefore *Æmylius* like a wiſe generall foreſeeing by the daunger of this skirmiſh, and the ſtirring of both campes, what the fury of the battell would come to: came out of his tent, and paſſing by the bands did encourage them, and prayed them to ſticke to it like men. In the meane time, *Naſica* thruſting himſelfe into the place where the skirmiſh was hoteſt, perceiued the army of the enemies marching in battell readie to ioyne. The firſt that marched in the voward were the THRACIANS, who ſeemed terrible to looke vpon, as he writeth himſelfe: for they were mighty made men, and caried maruellous bright targets of ſteele before them, their legges were armed with greaues, and their thighes with taſes, their coates were blacke, and marched ſhaking heauy halberds vpon their ſhoulders. Next vnto theſe THRACIANS, there followed them all the other ſtraungers and ſouldiers whom the king had hired, diuerſely armed and ſet forth: for they were people of ſundry nations gathered together, among whom the PÆONIANS were mingled. The third ſquadron was of MACEDONIANS, and all of them choſen men, aſwell for the flower of their youth, as for the valiantnes of their perſons: and they were all in goodly gilt armors, & braue purple caſſockes vpon them, ſpicke and ſpan new. And at their backes came after them, the old bands to ſhew themſelues out of the campe with targets of copper, that made all the plaine to ſhine with the brightneſſe of their ſteele and copper. And all the hils and mountaines thereabouts did ring againe like an Eccho, with the cry and noiſe of ſo many fighting men, one incouraging another. In this order they marched ſo fiercely with ſo great heart-burning, and ſuch ſwiftneſſe: that the firſt which were ſlaine at the incounter, fell dead two furlongs from the campe of the ROMAINES. The charge being giuen and the battell begunne, *Æmylius* galloping to the voward of his battell, perceiued that the captaines of the MACEDONIANS which were in the firſt rankes, had already thruſt their pikes into the ROMAINES targets, ſo as they could not come neare them with their ſwords: and that the other MACEDONIANS carying their targets behind them, had now plucked them before them, and did baſe their pikes all at one time, and made a violent thruſt into the targets of the ROMAINES. Which when he had conſidered, and of what ſtrength and force his wall and ranke

The ſuperſtition of the Romaines when the Moone is eclipſed.

The cauſe of an eclipſe of the Moone.

Æmylius policy to procure skirmiſh.

The army of the Macedonians, marching againſt the Romaines in battell.

The battell betwixt Perſeus and Æmylius.

of

of targets was, one ioyning ſo neare another, and what a terrour it was to ſee a front of a battell with ſo many armed pikes and ſteele heads: he was more afeard and amazed withall, then with any ſight he euer ſaw before: neuertheles he could wiſely diſſemble it at that time. And ſo paſſing by the companies of his horſemen, without either curaces or helmet vpon his head, he ſhewed a noble cheerfull countenance vnto them that fought. But on the contrary ſide, *Perſeus* the king of Macedon, as *Polybius* writeth, ſo ſoone as the battell was begun, withdrew himſelfe, and got into the city of Pydne, vnder pretence to go to do ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the faint ſacrifice of cowards, neither doth receiue their prayers, becauſe they be vnreaſonable. For it is no reaſon, that he that ſhooteth not, ſhould hit the white: nor that he ſhould winne the victory, that bideth not the battell: neither that he ſhould haue any good, that doth nothing toward it: nor that a naughty man ſhould be fortunate and proſper. The gods did fauour *Æmylius* prayers, becauſe he prayed for victory with his ſword in his hand, and fighting did call to them for aide. Howbeit there is one *Poſidonius* a writer, who ſaith he was in that time, and moreouer, that he was at the battell: and he hath written an hiſtorie containing many bookes of the acts of king *Perſeus*, where he ſaith, that it was not for faint heart, nor vnder colour to ſacrifice vnto *Hercules*, that *Perſeus* went from the battell, but becauſe he had a ſtripe of a horſe on the thigh the day before: who though he could not very well helpe himſelfe, and that all his friends ſought to perſwade him not to go to the battell, yet he cauſed one of his horſe to be brought to him notwithſtanding (which he commonly vſed to ride vp and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the battell vnarmed, where an infinite number of darts were throwne at him from both ſides. And among thoſe, he had a blow with a dart that hurt him ſomewhat, but it was ouerthwart, & not with the point, and did hit him on the left ſide glauncing wiſe, with ſuch a force, that it rent his coate, and raſed his skin vnderneath, ſo as it left a marke behind a long time after. And this is all that *Poſidonius* writeth to defend and excuſe *Perſeus*. The Romaines hauing their hands full, & being ſtaied by the battell of the Macedonians that they could make no breach into them: there was a captaine of the Pelignians called *Salius*, who tooke the enſigne of his band, and caſt it among the preaſe of his enemies. Then all the Pelignians ſet vpon them, with a maruellous force and fury in that place: for all Italians thinke it too great a ſhame and diſhonour for ſouldiers to looſe or forſake their enſigne. Thus was there maruellous force of both ſides vſed in that place: for the Pelignians proued to cut the Macedonians pikes with their ſwords, or elſe to make them giue backe with their great targets, or to make a breach into them, and to take the pikes with their hands. But the Macedonians to the contrary, holding their pikes faſt with both hands, ran them through that came neere vnto them: ſo that neither target nor corſlet could hold out the force and violence of the puſh of their pikes, inſo much as they turned vp the heeles of the Pelignians and Terracinians, who like deſperate beaſts without reaſon, ſhutting in themſelues among their enemies, ranne wilfully vpon their owne deaths, and their firſt ranke were ſlaine euery man of them. Thereupon thoſe that were behind, gaue backe a litle, but fled not turning their backes, and onely retired giuing backe towards the mountaine *Olocrus*. *Æmylius* ſeeing that (as *Poſidonius* writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, becauſe that ſome of his men gaue backe: other durſt not front the battell of the Macedonians, which was ſo ſtrongly imbattelled on euerie ſide, and ſo mured in with a wall of pikes, preſenting their armed heads on euery ſide a man could come, that it was impoſſible to breake into them, no not ſo much as come neere them onely. Yet notwithſtanding, becauſe the field was not altogether plaine and euen, the battell that was large in the front, could not alwayes keepe that wall, continuing their targets cloſe one to another, but they were driuen of neceſſity to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battels, according to the great force of the ſouldiers: that in one place they thruſt forward, and in another they giue backe, and leaue a hole. Wherefore *Æmylius* ſuddenly taking the vantage of this occaſion, deuided his men into ſmall companies, and commanded them they ſhould quickly thruſt in betweene their enemies, and occupie the places they ſaw voide in the front of their enemies, and that they ſhould ſet on them in that ſort, and not with one whole continuall charge, but occupying them here and there with diuerſe companies in ſundry places. *Æmylius* gaue this charge vnto the priuate captaines of euery band and their lieutenants, and the captaines alſo gaue the like charge vnto their ſouldiers that could skilfully execute their commaundement. For they went preſently into thoſe parts where they ſaw the places open, and being once

Perſeus goeth out of the battell vnto Pydne.

Victory won by labour, not by ſloth.

Salius a captaine of the Pelignians tooke the enſigne, and threw it among the enemies.

entred in among them, ſome gaue charge vpon the flankes of the MACEDONIANS, where they were all naked and vnarmed: other ſet vpon them behind: ſo that the ſtrength of all the corpes of the battell (which conſiſteth in keeping cloſe together) being opened in this ſort, was ſtraight ouerthrowne. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few againſt a few, the MACEDONIANS with their litle ſhort ſwords, came to ſtrike vpon the great ſhields of the ROMAINES, which were very ſtrong, and couered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrary, were driuen of neceſſity to receiue the blowes of the ſtrong heauy ſwords of the ROMAINES, vpon their litle weake targets: ſo that what with their heauineſſe, and the vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted vpon them, there was no target nor corſlet, but they paſſed it through, and ran them in. By reaſon whereof they could make no long reſiſtance, whereupon they turned their backes and ranne away. But when they came to the ſquadron of the old beaten ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruelleſt fight and moſt deſperate ſeruice, where they ſay that *Marcus Cato* (ſon of great *Cato*, and ſonne in law of *Æmylius*) ſhewing all the valiantneſſe in his perſon that a noble mind could poſſibly performe, loſt his ſword which fell out of his hand. But he like a yong man of noble courage, that had bin valiantly brought vp in all diſcipline, and knew how to follow the ſteps of his father (the nobleſt perſon that euer man ſaw) was to ſhew then his value and worthineſſe: and thought it more honor for him there to die, then liuing to ſuffer his enemies to enioy any ſpoile of his. So, by and by he ran into the ROMAINE army, to find out ſome of his friends, whom he told what had befallen him, and prayed them to helpe him to recouer his ſword: whereto they agreed. And being a good company of luſty valiant ſouldiers together, they ruſhed ſtraight in among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and ſo did ſet vpon them with ſuch force and fury, that they made a lane through the middeſt of them, and with great ſlaughter and ſpilling of bloud, euen by plaine force, they cleared the way ſtill before them. Now when the place was voided, they ſought for the ſword, and in the end found it with great ado, amongſt a heape of other ſwords and dead bodies, whereat they reioyced maruellouſly. Then ſinging a ſong of victorie, they went againe more fiercely then before to giue a charge vpon their enemies, who were not yet broken aſunder: vntill ſuch time as at the length, the three thouſand choſen MACEDONIANS fighting valiantly euen to the laſt man, and neuer forſaking their rankes, were all ſlaine in the place. After whoſe ouerthrow, there was a great ſlaughter of other alſo that fled: ſo that all the valley and foote of the mountaines thereabouts was couered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the ROMAINES did paſſe ouer the riuer of *Leucus*, they found it running all a bloud. For it is ſayd there were ſlaine at this field of *Perſeus* men, aboue fiue and twenty thouſand: and of the ROMAINES ſide, as *Poſidonius* ſaith, not aboue ſixe ſcore, or as *Naſica* writeth, but foureſcore only. And for ſo great an ouerthrow, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done & executed. For they began to fight about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and had wonne the victorie before foure, and all the reſt of the day they followed their enemies in chaſe, an hundred and twenty furlongs from the place where the battell was fought: ſo that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the campe. So ſuch as returned, were receiued with maruellous great ioy of their pages that went out with linkes and torches lighted, to bring their maiſters into their tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them vp with crownes and garlands of laurell, ſauing the Generals tent onely: who was very heauy, for that of his two ſonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be found, which he loued beſt of the twaine, becauſe he ſaw he was of a better nature then the reſt of his brethren. For euen then, being new crept out of the ſhell as it were, he was maruellous valiant and hardie, and deſired honour wonderfully. Now *Æmylius* thought he had bene caſt away, fearing leaſt for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the raſhneſſe of his youth, he had put himſelfe too farre in fight amongſt the preaſe of the enemies. Hereupon the campe heard ſtraight what ſorow *Æmylius* was in, and how grieuouſly he tooke it. The ROMAINES being ſet at ſupper, roſe from their meat, and with torch-light ſome ran to *Æmylius* tent, other went out of the campe to ſeeke him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: ſo all the campe was full of ſorow & mourning, the vallies and hils all abouts did ring againe with the cries of thoſe that called *Scipio* aloud. For euen from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and ſingular parts required in a captaine and wiſe gouernour of the common-weale aboue all the yong men of his time. At the laſt, when they were out of all hope of his coming againe, he happily returned from the

The valiantneſſe of Marcus Cato.

AEmylius victory of Perſeus.

The battell fought and wonne in one houre.

The valiantneſſe of Scipio the leſſe.

the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars onely, all bloudied with new bloud (like a swift running greyhound fleshed with the bloud of the hare) hauing pursued very farre for ioy of the victory. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards destroyed both the cities of CARTHAGE and NVMANTIVM, who was the greatest man of war, and valiantest captaine of the ROMAINES in his time, and of the greatest authority and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she did beare to so noble an exploit, suffered *Æmylius* for that time, to take his ful pleasure of that noble victory. And as for *Perseus*, he fled first from the city of PYDNE, vnto the city of PELLA, with his horsmen, which were in manner all saued. Whereupon the footmen that saued themselues by flying, meeting them by the way, called them traytors, cowards, and villaines: and worse then that, they turned them off their horse backes, and fought it out lustily with them. *Perseus* seeing that, and fearing least this mutiny might turne to light on his necke, he turned his horse out of the high-way, and pulled off his purple coate, and caried it before him, and tooke his diademe in his hand, fearing to be knowne thereby: & that he might the more easily speake with his friends by the way, he lighted on foot, and led his horse in his hand. But such as were about him, one made as though he would mend the latchet of his shoe, another seemed to water his horse, another as though he would drinke: so that one dragging after another in this sort, they all left him at the last, & ran their way, not fearing the enemies fury so much, as their kings cruelty: who being grieued with his misfortune, sought to lay the fault of the ouerthrow vpō all other but himselfe. Now he being come into the city of PELLA by night, *Eudæus* and *Eudæus*, two of his treasurers came vnto him, & speaking boldly (but out of time) presumed to tell him the great fault he had committed, and to counsell him what he should do. The king was so moued with their presumption, that with his owne hands he stabbed his dagger in them both, & slue them outright. But after this fact, all his seruants and friends refused him, and there only taried with him but *Euander* CRETAN, *Archedamus* ÆTOLIAN, and *Neo* BOEOTIAN. And as for the meane souldiers, there were none that followed him but the CRETANS, and yet it was not for the good will they did beare him, but for the loue of his gold and siluer, as Bees that keepe their hiues for loue of the hony: for he caried with him a great treasure, & gaue them leaue to spoile certaine plate & vessell of gold and siluer, to the value of fifty talents. But first of all, when he was come into the city of AMPHIPOLIS, and afterwards into the city of ALEPSE, and that the feare was well blowne ouer, he returned againe to his old humour, which was borne and bred with him, and that was auarice and misery: for he complained vnto those that were about him, that he had vnwares giuen to the souldiers of CRETA, his plate and vessell of gold to be spoiled, being those which in old time belonged vnto *Alexander* the great: and prayed them with teares in his eyes that had the plate, they would be contented to change it for ready mony. Now such as knew his nature, found straight this was but a fraud and a CRETAN lye, to deceiue the CRETANS with: but those that trusted him, and did restore againe the plate they had, did loose it euery iot, for he neuer payed them peny for it. So he got of his friends, the value of thirty talents, which his enemies soone after did take from him. And with that sum he went into the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he tooke the sanctuary & priuiledge of the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. They say, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuance did naturally loue their kings: but then seeing all their hope and expectation broken, their harts failed them, and broke withall. For they all came & submitted themselues to *Æmylius*, and made him Lord of the whole Realme of MACEDON in two dayes: and this doth seeme to confirme their words, who impute all *Æmylius* doings vnto his good fortune. And surely, the maruellous fortune he happened on in the city AMPHIPOLIS, doth confirme it much, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the gods. For one day beginning to do sacrifice, lightning fell from heauen, and set all the wood on fire vpon the altar, and sanctified the sacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fame is more to be wondred at. For foure dayes after *Perseus* had lost the battell, and that the city of PELLA was taken, as the people of ROME were at the lists or shew place, seeing horses run for games: suddenly there arose a rumor at the entring into the lists where the games were, how *Æmylius* had wonne a great battell of King *Perseus*, and had conquered all MACEDON. This newes was rife straight in euery mans mouth, and there followed vpon it a maruellous ioy and great cheere in euerie corner, with shouts and clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the city of ROME. Afterwards they made diligent enquirie, how this rumour first came vp, but no certaine author could be knowne, and euery man sayd they heard it spoken: so as in the end it came to nothing,

Perseus fled from Pydne to Pella.

Time and duty to be obserued to the Prince.

Death, the indignation of the Prince.

The couetousnesse of the Cretans.

Misers whine for their goods.

The Macedonians submit themselues to Æmylius.

Wonders.

Newes brought to Rome out of Macedon in 4. dayes, of Æmylius victory there: and no man knew how they came.

and passed away in that sort for a time. But shortly after, there came letters, and certaine newes that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it: which could be deuised by no naturall meanes, and yet proued true afterwards. We do reade also of a battell that was fought in ITALIE, neare vnto the riuer of SAGRA, wherof newes was brought the very same day vnto PELOPONNESVS. And of another also in like maner that was fought in ASIA against the MEDES, before the city of MYCALA: the newes whereof came the same day vnto the campe of the GRECIANS, lying before the city of PLATOEES. And in that great iourny where the ROMAINES ouerthrew the *Tarquines*, & the army of the LATINES: immediatly after the battell was wonne, they saw two goodly young men come newly from the campe, who brought newes of the victory to ROME, and they iudged they were *Castor* & *Pollux*. The first man that spake to them in the market place before the fountaine, where they watered their horse being all of a white some, told them: that they wondred how they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softly by the beard with both their hands, and euen in the market place his haire being blacke before, was presently turned yellow. This miracle made them beleeue the report the man made, who euer after was called *Ænobarbus*, as you would say, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like matter that happened in our time, maketh all such newes credible: For when *Antonius* rebelled against the Emperour *Domitian*, the city of ROME was in a maruellous perplexity, because they looked for great warres towards GERMANIE. But in this feare, there grew a sudden rumor of victory, and it went currantly through ROME, that *Antonius* himselfe was slaine, and all his army ouerthrowne, and not a man left aliue. This rumor was so rife, that many of the chiefest men of ROME beleeued it, and did sacrifice thereupon vnto the gods, giuing them thankes of the victory. But when the matter came to sifting, who was the first author of the rumour, no man could tell: for one put it ouer still to another, and it died so in the end amongst the people, as in a bottomlesse matter, for they could neuer boult out any certaine ground of it: but euē as it came flying into ROME, so went it flying away againe, no man can tell how. Notwithstanding, *Domitian* holding on his iourny to make this warre, met with posts that brought him letters for the certaine victory: and remembring the rumor of the victory that ran before in ROME, he found it true, that it was on the very same day the victory was gotten: and the distance betweene ROME and the place where the field was won, was aboue 20000 furlongs off. Euery man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe to our history. *Cn. Octauius*, lieutenant of the army of *Æmylius* by sea, came to anker vnder the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, where he wold not take *Perseus* by force out of the sanctuary where he was, for the reuerence he did beare vnto the gods *Castor* and *Pollux*: but he did besiege him in such sort, as he could not scape him, nor flie by sea out of the Iland. Yet he had secretly practised with one *Oroandes* a CRETAN, that had a brigantine, and was at a prise with him for a sum of mony to conuey him away by night: but the CRETAN serued him a right CRETANS tricke. For when he had taked abord by night into his vessell, all the kings treasure of gold and siluer, he sent him word that he should not faile the next night following to come vnto the peere by the temple of *Ceres*, with his wife, his children and seruants, where indeed was no possibility to take shipping: but the next night following he hoised saile, and got him away. It was a pitifull thing that *Perseus* was driuen to do and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a litle straight window vpon the wals, and not only himselfe, but his wife and litle babes, who neuer knew before what flying and hardnesse meant. And yet he fetched a more grieuous bitter sigh, when one told him on the peere, that he saw *Oroandes* the CRETAN vnder saile in the maine seas. Then day beginning to breake, & seeing himselfe voide of all hope, he ran with his wife for life to the wall, to recouer the sanctuary againe, before the ROMAINES that saw him could ouertake him. And as for his children, he had giuen them himselfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had maruellously loued, and who did then traiterously betray him: for he deliuered his children vnto the ROMAINES. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that draue him (as a beast that will follow her litle ones being taken from her) to yeeld himselfe into their hands that had his children. Now he had a speciall confidence in *Scipio Nasica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeeld himselfe: but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he began to lament his hard and miserable fortune euery way. And in the end, considering how necessity enforced him, he yeelded himselfe into the hands of *Cneus Octauius*, wherein he shewed plainly, that he had another vice in him more vnmanly and vile, then auarice: that was, a faint hart, and feare to dye. But hereby

AEnobarbus vvhy so called.

Cn Octauius AEmylius lieutenant by sea.

The miserable state Perseus vvas brought vnto, by the craft and subtilty of a Cretan.

King Perseus yeeldeth himselfe in Samothracia, vnto Cn. Octauius.

hereby he depriued himſelfe of others pity and compaſſion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot deny & take from the afflicted, and ſpecially from them that haue a noble hart. For he made requeſt they would bring him vnto the Generall *Æmylius*, who roſe from his chaire when he ſaw him come, and went to meete him with his friends, the water ſtanding in his eyes, to meete a great king, by fortune of warre and by the will of the gods, fallen into that moſt lamentable ſtate. But he to the contrary, vnmanly, and ſhamefully behaued himſelfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and vttered ſuch vncomely ſpeech and vile requeſts, as *Æmylius* ſelfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes againſt him, being hartily offended, he ſpake thus vnto him: Alas poore man, why doſt thou diſcharge fortune of this fault, where thou mighteſt iuſtly charge and accuſe her to thy diſcharge, doing things, for the which euery one iudgeth thou haſt deſerued thy preſent miſery, and art vnworthy alſo of thy former honor? Why doſt thou defame my victory, and blemiſh the glory of my doings, ſhewing thy ſelfe ſo baſe a man, as my honour is not great to ouercome ſo vnworthy an enemy? The ROMAINES haue euer eſteemed magnanimity, euen in their greateſt enemies: but daſtardlineſſe, though it be fortunate, yet it is hated of euery body. Notwithſtanding, he tooke him vp, and taking him by the hand, gaue him into the cuſtody of *Ælius Tubero*. Then *Æmylius* went into his tent, and caried his ſons, and ſons in law with him, and other men of quality, and ſpecially the yonger ſort. And being ſet downe, he continued a great ſpace very penſiue with himſelfe, not ſpeaking a word: inſomuch that all the ſtanders by wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into diſcourſe and talke of fortune, and the vnconſtancy of theſe worldly things, & ſaid vnto them: Is there any man liuing, my friends, who hauing fortune at will, ſhould therefore boaſt and glory in the proſperity of his doings, for that he hath conquered a country, city, or Realme: and not rather to feare the vnconſtancy of fortune? who laying before our eyes, and all thoſe that profeſſe armes at this preſent, ſo notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainly teach vs to thinke, that there is nothing conſtant or perdurable in this world. For when is it, that men may thinke themſelues aſſured, conſidering that when they haue ouercome others, then are they driuen to miſtruſt fortune moſt, and to mingle feare and miſtruſt, with ioy of victory: if they will wiſely conſider the common courſe of fatall deſtiny that altereth daily, ſometime fauoring one, otherwhile throwing downe another? You ſee, that in an houres ſpace we haue troden vnder our feet the houſe of *Alexander* the great: who hath bin the mightieſt and moſt redoubted prince of the world. You ſee a king, that not long ſince was folowed and accompanied, with many thouſand ſouldiers of horſmen & footmen, brought at this preſent into ſuch miſerable extremity, that he is inforced to receiue his meate and drinke daily at the hands of his enemies. Should we haue any better hope then, that fortune will alwayes fauor our doings, more then ſhe doth his now, at this preſent? no out of doubt. Therefore digeſting this matter well, you yong men I ſay, be not too brag nor fooliſh proud, of this conqueſt and noble victory: but thinke what may happen hereafter, marking to what end fortune will turne the enuy of this our preſent proſperity. Such were *Æmylius* words to theſe yong men, as it is reported, bridling by theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, the luſty brauery of this youth, euen as with the bit and bridle of reaſon.

Perſeus vnprincely behauiour vnto AEmylius.

AEmylius oration vnto Perſeus priſoner.

AEmylius oration touching fortune and her vnconſtancy.

Afterwards he put his army into garriſons to refreſh them: and went himſelfe in perſon in the meane time to viſite GREECE, making it an honorable progreſſe, and alſo a commendable. For as he paſſed through the cities, he releeued the people, reformed the gouernment of their ſtate, and euer gaue them ſome gift or preſent. Vnto ſome he gaue corne, which king *Perſeus* had gathered for the wars: and vnto other he gaue oiles, meeting with ſo great ſtore of prouiſion, that he rather lacked people to giue it vnto, to receiue it at his hands, then wanting to giue, there was ſo much. As he paſſed by the city of DELPHES, he ſaw there a great pillar, foure ſquare, of white ſtone, which they had ſet vp, to put king *Perſeus* image of gold vpon it. Whereupon he commanded them to ſet vp his in that place, ſaying: it was reaſon the conquered ſhould giue place vnto the conquerors. And being in the city of OLYMPIA, viſiting the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, he ſpake this openly, which euer ſince hath bene remembred: that *Phidias* had rightly made *Iupiter*, as *Homer* had deſcribed him. Afterwards when the ten ambaſſadors were arriued that were ſent from ROME to eſtabliſh with him the realm of MACEDON, he redeliuered the MACEDONIANS their country and townes againe, to liue at liberty, according to their lawes, paying yearely to the ROMAINES for tribute, a hundred talents: where before they were wont to pay vnto their kings ten times as much. And he made playes and games of all ſorts, and did celebrate ſumptuous ſacrifices

AEmylius honorable progreſſe in Greece.

AEmylius ſetteth Macedon at a ſtay.

vnto the gods. He kept open court to all commers, & made noble feasts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the treasure *Perseus* had gathered together, sparing for no cost. But through his care and foresight, there was such a speciall good order taken, euery man so curteously receiued and welcommed, and so orderly marshalled at the table according to their estate and calling, that the GRECIANS wondred to see him so carefull in matters of sport and pleasure: and that he tooke as great paines in his own person, to see that smal matters should be ordered as they ought, as he tooke regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a maruellous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous sights prepared to shew pleasure to the persons inuited, no sight nor stately shew did so delight them, as to enioy the sight and company of his person. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence & care in these matters: that to order a feast well, required as great iudgement and discretion, as to set a battell: to make the one fearfull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends. But men esteemed his bounty & magnanimity for his best vertue and quality. For he did not only refuse to see the kings wonderfull treasure of gold and siluer, but caused it to be told, and deliuered to the custody of the treasurers, to cary to the coffers of store in ROME: and only suffered his sons that were learned, to take the bookes of the kings library. When de did reward the souldiers for their valiant seruice in this battell, he gaue his son in law *Æmylius Tubero* a cup, weying fiue talents. It is the same *Tubero* we told you of before, who liued with sixteene other of his kin all in one house, and of the only reuenue they had of a litle farme in the country. Some say, that that cup was the first peece of plate that euer came into the house of the *Ælians*, & yet it came for honor and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither themselues, nor their wiues, wold euer haue, or weare any gold or siluer. After he had very well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leaue of the GRECIANS, and counselled the MACEDONIANS to remember the liberty the ROMAINES had giuen them, & that they should be carefull to keepe it, by their good gouernement and concord together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his iourny towards the country of EPIRVS, hauing receiued commission from the Senate of ROME, to suffer his souldiers who had done seruice in the battell, and ouerthrow of king *Perseus*, to spoile all the cities of that country. Wherefore that he might surprise them on a sudden, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the cities that they should send him by a certaine day, ten of the chiefest men of euery city. Who when they were come, he commanded them to go and bring him by such a day, all the gold & siluer they had within their cities, aswell in their priuate houses, as in their temples and churches, and gaue vnto euery one of them a captaine and garrison with them, as if it had bene only to haue receiued and searched for the gold and siluer he demanded. But when the day appointed was come, the souldiers in diuerse places (and all at one time) set vpon their enemies, and did rifle and spoile them of that they had, and made them also pay ransome euery man: So as by this pollicy, there were taken & made slaues in one day, a hundred and fiftie thousand persons, and threescore and ten cities spoiled and sacked euery one. And yet when they came to deuide the spoile of this generall destruction of a whole Realme by the polle, it came not to euery souldiers part, aboue eleuen siluer Drachmes a peece. Which made euery one to wonder greatly, and to feare also the terror of the warres, to see the wealth and riches of so great a Realme, to amount to so litle for euery mans share. When *Æmylius* had done this fact against his owne nature, which was very gentle and curteous: he went vnto the sea side to the city of ORICA, and there imbarked with his army bound for ITALIE. Where when he was arriued, he went vp the riuer of Tyber against the streame, in king *Perseus* chiefe galley, which had sixteene owers on a side, richly set out with the armor of the prisoners, rich clothes of purple colour, and other such spoiles of the enemies: so that the ROMAINES running out of ROME in multitudes of people to see this galley, & going side by side by her as they rowed softly, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleasure in it, as in any open games or feasts, or triumph that had bene shewed indeed. But when the souldiers saw, that the gold and siluer of king *Perseus* treasure was not deuided amongst them according vnto promise, and that they had a great deale lesse then they looked for, they were maruellously offended, and inwardly grudged *Æmylius* in their harts. Neuertheless they durst not speake it openly, but did accuse him, that he had bene too straight vnto them in this warre: and therefore they did shew no great desire, nor forwardnesse, to procure him the honour of triumph. Which *Seruius Galba* vnderstanding, that had bene an old enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a thousand men vnder him in this warre: he like an enuious viper told the people, how *Æmylius* had not deserued the honor of triumph, and

AEmylius words about the care and good order at his feasts.

AEmylius abstinence.

AEmylius cruell act spoyling of Epirus.

AEmylius tooke ship at the city of Orica, and returned into Italy.

The enuy of Seruius Galba vnto AEmylius.

sowed

sowed seditious words against him among the souldiers, to aggrauate their ill will the more against him. Moreouer, he craued a day of the Tribunes of the people, to haue respit to bring forth such matter as they determined to obiect against him: saying the time then was far spent, the Sun being but foure houres high, and that it would require longer time and leisure. The Tribunes made him answer, that he should speake then what he had to say against him, or otherwise they would not grant him audience. Hereupon he began to make a long oration in his dispraise, full of railing words, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing oration. Afterwards when night came on, the Tribunes brake vp the assembly, and the next morning the souldiers being incouraged by *Galbaes* oration, and hauing confederated together, did flocke about *Galba*, in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had giuen warning they would keepe their assembly. Now being broad day, *Æmylius* triumph was referred to the most number of voices of the people, & the first tribe flatly did deny his triumph. The Senate, and the residue of the people hearing that, were very sory to see they did *Æmylius* so open wrong and iniury. The common people sayd nothing to it, but seemed to be very sory, howbeit they sought no redresse. The Lords of the Senate cried out vpon them, and sayd it was too much shame, and exhorted one another to bridle the insolency and boldnesse of these souldiers, who would grow in the end to such tumult and disorder, that they would commit all mischiefe and wickednesse, if betimes they were not looked to and preuented, seeing they did so openly stand against their Generall, seeking to depriue him of the honor of his triumph and victory. So they assembled a good company of them together, and went vp to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would stay to take the voices of the people, vntill they had acquainted them with such needfull matter, as they had to open vnto them. The Tribunes granted to it, & silence was made. Then *Marcus Seruilius*, who had bene Consull, and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne person, & had alwayes slaine as many of his enemies as chalenged him man for man: rose vp, and spake in fauor of *Æmylius* in this maner; I know now (sayd he) better then before, how noble and worthy a captaine *Paulus Æmylius* is, who hath atcheiued such glory and honorable victory, with so dishonorble and disobedient souldiers. And I can but wonder that the people not long since reioyced, & made great account of the victories and triumphs won vpon the ILLYRIANS & other nations of AFRICKE: and that now they should for spite enuy his glory (doing what lyeth in them to hinder) to bring a MACEDONIAN king aliue in a triumph, and to shew the glory and greatnesse of king *Philip* and *Alexander* the great, subdued by the ROMAINES force and power. What reason haue ye, that not long since, vpon a flying rumour that *Æmylius* had won the battell against *Perseus*, you straight made sacrifices to the gods with great ioy, praying them that you might be witnesses of the truth thereof: and now that the person himselfe whom ye made Generall is returned home, and doth deliuer you most assured victory, you do frustrate the gods most solemne thanks and honor dew to them, and do depriue your selues also of your wonted glory in such a case: as if you were afeard to see the greatnesse of your prosperity, or that you meant to pardon a king, your slaue and prisoner. And yet of the two, you haue more reason to hinder the triumph, as pitying the king, then enuying your Captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your patience is growne to such an insolent audacity & boldnesse, that we see men present here before vs, which neuer went from the smoke of the chimney, nor caried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at at home like women and house-doues, and yet they are so impudent and shameless, as they dare presume vnreuerently to your faces, to prate of the office and duty of a Generall of an army, and of the desert of triumph, before you I say, who by experience of many a sore cut and wound vpon your bodies in the warres, haue learned to know a good & valiant captaine, from a vile and cowardly person. And speaking these words, he cast open his gowne, and shewed before them all, the infinite scars and cuts he had receiued vpon his brest: and then turning him behind, shewed all such places as were not fit to be seene openly, and so turned himselfe againe to *Galba*, and sayd vnto him: Thou mockest me for that I shew thee: but I reioyce before my countrimen and citizens: that for seruing my country night and day on horse backe, I haue these wounds vpon me which thou seest. Now get thee about thy businesse, & receiue their voices: and I will come after, noting them that are naughty and vnthankful citizens, who like to be soothed with flattery, and not stoutly cõmanded, as behoueth a Generall in the warre. These words so reined the hard headed souldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other tribes agreed in one, and granted *Æmylius* triumph: the order and solemnity whereof was performed in this sort. First, the people

Contention about Æmylius triumph.

Seruilius oration for the furtherance of Æmylius triumph.

A notable description of Æmylius triumph.

hauing set vp sundry scaffolds, aswell in the lists and field called *Circus* by the LATINES, where the games and common running of horses and chariots are made; as also about the market place, & in other streetes of the city, the which the shew of the triumph should passe: they all presented themselues in their best gownes to see the magnificence and state thereof. All the temples of the gods also were set wide open, hanged full of garlands of flowers, and all perfumed within: and there were set through all the quarters of the city, numbers of sergeants and other officers holding tipstaues in their hands to order the straigling people, & to keepe them vp in corners and lanes ends, that they should not pester the streets, and hinder the triumph. Furthermore, the sight of this triumph was to continue three daies, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing by of the images, tables, and pictures, and statues of wonderfull bignesse, all won and gotten of their enemies, and drawne in the shew vpon 250 charets. The second day, there were caried vpon a number of carts, all the faireſt and richeſt armour of the MACEDONIANS, aswell of copper, as also of iron and steele, all glistering bright, being newly furbished, and artificially layed in order (and yet in such sort, as if they had bene cast in heapes one vpon another, without taking any care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) faire burganets vpon targets: habergions, or brigantines and corslets, vpon greaues: round targets of the CRETANS, and iauelins of the THRACIANS, and arrowes amongst the armed pikes: all this armour and cariage, being bound one to another so trimly (neither being too loose, nor too straight) that one hitting against another, as they drew them vpon the carts through the city, they made such a sound and noise, as it was fearfull to heare it: so that the only sight of these spoiles of the captiues being ouercome, made the sight so much more terrible to behold. After these carts loden with armor, there followed 3000 men, which caried the ready mony in 750 vessels, which weighed about three talents a peece, and euery one of them were caried by foure men: & there were other that caried great bowles of siluer, cups and goblets fashioned like pitchers, and other pots to drinke in, goodly to behold, aswell for their bignesse, as for their great & singular imbossed works about them. The third day early in the morning, the trumpets began to sound and set forwards, sounding no march nor sweet note, to beautifie the triumph withall: but they blew out the braue alarum they sound at an assault, to giue the souldiers courage for to fight. After them followed sixscore goodly fat oxen, hauing all their hornes gilt, and garlands of flowers & nosegaies about their heads, and there went by them certaine yong men, with aprons of needle-worke, girt about their middle, who led them to the sacrifice, and yong boyes with them also, that caried goodly basons of gold and siluer, to cast and sprinkle the bloud of the sacrifices about. And after these, followed those that caried all coynes of gold deuided by basons and vessels, and euery one of them weying three talents as they did before, that caried the great holy cup, which *Æmylius* had caused to be made of massie gold, set full of precious stones, weying the weight of ten talents, to make an offring vnto the gods. And next vnto them went other that caried plate, made and wrought after antike fashion, & notable cups of the ancient kings of MACEDON: as the cup called *Antigonus*, and another *Seleucus*: and to be short, all the whole cubberd of plate of gold and siluer of king *Perseus*. And next them came the charret of his armour, in the which was all king *Perseus* harnesse, and his royall band (they call a *Diademe*) vpon his armour. And a litle space betweene them, followed next the kings children, whom they led prisoners, with the traine of their schoole-maisters and orher officers, & their seruants, weeping and lamenting: who held vp their hands vnto the people that looked vpon them, and taught the kings yong children to do the like, to aske mercy and grace at the peoples hands. There were three prety litle children, two sonnes and a daughter amongst them, whose tender yeares and lacke of vnderstanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feele their present misery, which made the people so much the more to pity them, when they saw the poore little infants, that knew not the chaunge of their fortune: so that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let the father passe without looking vpon him. Many peoples harts did melt for very pity, that the teares ran downe their cheekes, so as this sight brought both pleasure and sorow, together to the lookers on, vntill they were past and gone a good way out of sight. King *Perseus* the father, followed after his children and their traine, and he was clothed in a blacke gown, wearing a paire of slippers on his feet after his country maner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled mind, oppresst with sorow of his most miserable state and fortune. He was followed with his kinsfolkes, his familiar friends, his officers and houshold seruants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the world by their lamenting teares, and sorowfull eyes cast

Perseus children.

King Perseus.

vpon

vpon their vnfortunate maister, how much they sorowed and bewailed his most hard and cruell fortune, litle accounting of their owne misery. The voice goeth, that *Perseus* sent vnto *Æmylius* to intreat him, that he should not be led through the city in the shew & sight of the triumph. But *Æmylius* mocking (as he deserued) his cowardly faint hart, answered: as for that, it was before, and is now in him, to do if he will. Meaning to let him vnderstand thereby, that he might rather chuse to dye, then liuing to receiue such open shame. Howbeit his hart would not serue him, he was so cowardly, and made so effeminate, by a certaine vaine hope he knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his owne spoiles. After all this, there followed 400 princely crownes of gold, which the cities & townes of GREECE had purposely sent by their ambassadors vnto *AEmylius*, to honor his victory: and next vnto them, he came himselfe in his charet triumphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth and adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: and yet the person of himselfe onely was worth the looking on, without all that great pompe & magnificence. For he was apparelled in a purple gowne branched with gold, and caried in his right hand a laurell bough, as all his army did besides: the which being deuided by bands and companies, followed the triumphing charret of their captaine, some of the souldiers singing songs of victory, which the ROMAINES vse to sing in like triumphs, mingling them with merry pleasant toyes, reioycing at their captaine. Other of them also did sing songs of triumph, in the honor and praise of *Æmylius* noble conquest and victory. He was openly praised, blessed, and honoured of euery body, and neither hated nor enuied of honest men: sauing the ordinary vse of some god, whose property is alwayes to lessen or cut off some part of mans exceeding prosperity and felicity, mingling with mans life the sence and feeling of good and euill together: because that no liuing person should passe all his time of life, without some aduersity or misfortune, but that such (as *Homer* saith) should only thinke themselues happy, to whom fortune hath equally sorted the good with the euill. And this I speake, because *Æmylius* had foure sons, two of the which he gaue in adoption vnto the families of *Scipio* and of *Fabius*, as we haue sayd before: & two other which he had by his second wife, he brought vp with him in his owne house, and were both yet very yong: of the which the one died, being fourteene yeares of age fiue dayes before his fathers triumph: and the other died also three dayes after the pompe of triumph at twelue yeares of age. When this sorowfull chance had befallen him, euery one in ROME did pity him in their hearts: but fortunes spite and cruelty did more grieue and feare them, to see her litle regard towards him, to put into a house of triumph (full of honor and glory, and of sacrifices and ioy) such a pitifull mourning, and mingling of sorowes and lamentations of death, amongst such songs of triumph and victory. Notwithstanding this, *AEmylius* taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to vse constancy and magnanimity, against the sword and pike of the enemy: but alike also against all aduersity and enimity of spitefull fortune. So, he wisely waied and considered his present misfortune, with his former prosperity: and finding his misfortune counterpoised with felicity, and his priuate grieues cut off with common ioy, he gaue no place to his sorowes & mischances, neither blemished any way the dignity of his triumph and victory. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last sons, he left not to make his triumphant entry, as you haue heard before. And his second son also being deceased after his triumph, he caused the people to assemble, and in face of the whole city he made an oration, not like a discomforted man, but like one rather that did comfo.. his sorowfull countrimen for his mischance. He told them, that concerning mens matters, neuer any thing did feare him: but for things aboue, he euer feared fortune, mistrusting her change and inconstancy, and specially in the last war, doubting for so great prosperity as could be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable aduersitie & sinister chance. For as I went (said he) I passed ouer the gulfe of the Adriatike sea, from BRINDES vnto CORFV in one day: and from thence in fiue dayes after, I arriued in the city of DELPHES, where I did sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And within fiue other dayes, I arriued in my campe, where I found mine army in MACEDON. And after I had done the sacrifice, and dew ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently began to follow the purpose and cause of my comming: so as in fifteene dayes after I made an honorable end of all those warres. But yet, mistrusting fortune alwaies, seeing the prosperous course of my affaires, and considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers I needed to feare: I feared sorely she would chaunge at my returne, when I should be vpon the sea, bringing home so goodly & victorious an army, with so many spoiles, and so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arriued in the hauen, and seeing all the city

AEmylius scorneth Perseus cowardlinesse.

Foure hundred crownes of gold sent vnto AEmylius by the cities of Greece.

AEmylius aduersitie.

AEmylius fortitude in his great aduersity.

AEmylius oration in his trouble for the death of his children.

» at my returne full of ioy, and of feasts and sacrifices: I still suspected fortune, knowing her maner
» well inough, that she vseth not to gratifie men so franckly, nor to grant them so great things clear-
» ly, without some certaine sparke of enuy waiting on them. Neither did my mind being still oc-
» cupied in feare of some thing to happen to the common-wealth, shake off this feare behind me:
» but that I saw, this home mishap and misery lighted vpon me, enforcing me with mine owne
» hands in these holy dayes of my triumph, to bury my two yong sons one after another, which I
» only brought vp with me, for the succession of my name and house. Wherefore, me thinkes now
» I may say, I am out of all danger, at the least touching my chiefest and greatest misfortune: and
» do begin to stablish my selfe with this assured hope, that this good fortune hencefoorth shall re-
» maine with vs euermore, without feare of other vnlucky or siniſter chance. For she hath sufficient-
» ly counteruailed the fauorable victory she gaue you, with the enuious mishap wherwith she hath
» plagued both me and mine: shewing the conquerer and triumpher, as noble an example of mans
» misery and weakneſſe, as the party conquered, that had bene led in triumph: sauing that *Perseus*
» yet conquered as he is, hath this comfort left him, to see his children liuing, and that the conque-
» rour *Æmylius* hath loſt his. And this was the summe of *Æmylius* notable oration he made vnto
the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble and honorable disposed mind. And though it pitied him in his heart to see the straunge chance of king *Perseus* fortune, and that he heartily desired to helpe him, and to do him good: yet he could neuer obtaine other grace for him, but onely to remoue him from the common prison (which the Romaines call *Carcer*) into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straightly garded and looked vnto, he killed himselfe by abstinence from meate, as the most part of historiographers do write. Yet some writers tell a maruellous straunge tale, and manner of his death. For they say the souldiers that garded him, kept him from sleepe, watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut his eye lids (only vpon malice they did beare him, because they could not otherwise hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not suffering him to take rest: vntill such time as nature being forced to giue ouer, he gaue vp the ghoſt. Two of his sons died also: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent turner and ioyner, and was learned, and could speake the Romaine tongue very well, and did write it so trimly, that afterwards he was chancelour to the magistrates of Rome, and did wisely and discreetly behaue himselfe in his office. Furthermore, they do adde to this goodly conqueſt of the realme of Macedon, that *Æmylius* conquered another speciall good thing, that made him maruellously well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so much gold and siluer vnto the treasury store of Rome, as the common people needed neuer after to make contribution for any thing, vntill the very time and yeare that *Hircius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first wars of *Augustus* and *Antonius*. And yet *Æmylius* had one singular good gift in him: that though the people did greatly loue & honor him, yet he euer tooke part with the Senate and nobility, and did neuer by word nor deed any thing in fauour of the people, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning gouernement, he did euer leane to the nobility and good men. And this did *Appius* afterwards caſt in his sons teeth, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the office of Censor: *Appius* had about him to fauour his sute, all the Senate and nobility, as of ancient time the family of the *Appians* had euer held on their part. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of himselfe, yet he was in all times fauored and beloued of the common people. Whereupon when *Appius* saw him come into the market place, followed with men of small quality and base condition, that had bene slaues before, but otherwise could skilfully handle such practises, bring the people together, and by oportunity of cries and loud voices (if need were) obtaine what they would in the assemblies of the city: he spake out aloud and sayd: O *Paulus AEmylius*, now hast thou good cause to sigh & mourne in thy graue where thou liest (if the dead do know what we do here on earth) to see *Æmylius* a common sergeant, and *Licinius* a pratling fellow, how they bring thy son vnto the dignity of a Censor. And as for *Scipio*, he was alwaies beloued of the common people, because he did fauour them in all things. But *AEmylius* also, although he tooke euer the noble mens part, he was not therefore lesse beloued of the common people, then those that alwayes flattered them, doing all things as the people would, to please them: which the common people did witnesse, aswell by other honors and offices they offered him, as in the dignity of the Censor which they gaue him. For it was the holiest office of all other at that time, and of greatest power and authority, specially for inquiry and reformation of euery

The death of king Perseus.

A strange kind of death.

The state of Perseus sonnes.

By AEmylius victorie, the people payed no more subsidie.

AEmylius chosen Censor.

mans

mans life and maners. For he that was Cenſor, had authority to put any Senator off the counſell, and ſo diſgrade him, if he did not worthily behaue himſelfe according to his place and calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be moſt honeſt, and fitteſt for the place againe. Moreouer, they might by their authority, take from licentious young men, their horſe which was kept at the charge of the common-weale. Furthermore, they be the ſeſſours of the people, and the muſter-maiſters, keeping bookes of the number of perſons at euery muſtering. So there appeared numbred in the regiſter-booke *Æmylius* made then of them, three hundred ſeuen and thirty thouſand, foure hundred and two and fiftie men, and *Marcus AEmylius Lepidus* named preſident of the Senate, who had that honor foure times before, and did put off the counſell three Senators, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he and his companion *Martius Philippus* kept, vpon view and muſter taken of the ROMAINE horſmen. And after he had ordered and diſpoſed the greateſt matters of his charge and office, he fell ſicke of a diſeaſe that at the beginning ſeemed very dangerous, but in the end there was no other danger, ſauing that it was a lingring diſeaſe, and hard to cure. So, following the counſell of phiſitions, who willed him to go to a city in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke ſea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleaſant houſes vpon the ſea ſide, quietly and out of all noiſe. But during this time of his abſence, the ROMAINES wiſhed for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to ſee the playes and ſports, they cried out diuerſe times for him: whereby they ſhewed that they had a great deſire to ſee him againe. Time being come about when they vſed to make a ſolemne yearely ſacrifice, and *Æmylius* finding himſelfe alſo in good perfect health: he returned againe to ROME, where he made the ſacrifice with the other prieſts, all the people of ROME gathering about him, reioycing much to ſee him. The next day after, he made another particular ſacrifice, to giue thankes vnto the gods for recouery of his health. After the ſacrifice was ended, he went home to his houſe, and ſate him downe to dinner: he ſuddenly fell into a rauing (without any perſeuerance of ſickneſſe ſpied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him, in ſuch ſort, that he died within three dayes after, lacking no neceſſary thing that an earthly man could haue, to make him happy in this world. For he was euen honoured at his funerals, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious ornaments, neither of gold, ſiluer, nor iuorie, nor with other ſuch ſumphtuouſneſſe or magnificence of apparell, but with the loue and goodwill of the people, all of them confeſſing his vertue and well doing: and this did not only his naturall countrimen performe in memory of him, but his very enemies alſo. For all thoſe that met in ROME by chaunce at that time, that were either come out of SPAINE, from GENVA, or out of MACEDON, all thoſe that were young and ſtrong, did willingly put themſelues vnder the coffin where his bodie lay, to helpe to cary him: and the olde men followed his body to accompany the ſame, calling *Æmylius* the benefactour, ſauiour, and father of their country. For he did not onely intreat them gently, and graciouſly, whom he had ſubdued: but all his life time he was euer ready to pleaſure them, and to ſet forwards their cauſes, euen as they had bene his confederates, very friends, and neere kinſmen. The inuentory of all his goods after his death, did ſcant amount vnto the ſumme of three hundred, three ſcore, and ten thouſand ſiluer Drachmes, which his two ſonnes did inherit. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right vnto his elder brother *Fabius*, becauſe he was adopted into a very rich houſe, which was the houſe of the great *Scipio Africanus*.

The office and authority of the Cenſor.

AEmylius ſickneſſe.

AEmylius remoued from Rome, and dwelt in the city of Velia.

The death of AEmylius in Rome.

AEmylius funerals.

AEmylius goods what they came to.

Such they ſay was *Paulus Æmylius* conditions and life.

The end of Paulus Æmylius life.

THE LIFE OF *Timoleon.*

The ſtate of the Syracuſans, before Timoleons comming.

BEFORE *Timoleon* was ſent into SICILE, thus ſtood the ſtate of the SYRACVSANS. After that *Dion* had driuen out the tyrant *Dionyſius*, he himſelfe after was ſlaine immediatly by treaſon, and thoſe that aided him to reſtore the SYRACVSANS to their liberty, fell out, and were at diſſention among themſelues. By reaſon whereof, the city of SYRACVSA changing continually new tyrants, was ſo troubled and turmoiled with all ſorts of euils, that it was left in manner deſolate, and without inhabitants. The reſt of SICILE in like caſe was vtterly deſtroyed, and no cities in manner left ſtanding, by reaſon of the long warres: and thoſe few that remained, were moſt inhabited of forreine ſouldiers and ſtrangers (a company of looſe men gathered together that tooke pay of no prince nor city) all the dominions of the ſame being eaſily vſurped, and as eaſie to change their Lord. Inſomuch, *Dionyſius* the tyrant, ten yeares after *Dion* had driuen him out of SICILE, hauing gathered a certaine number of ſouldiers together againe, and through their helpe driuen out *Niſeus*, that raigned at that time in SYRACVSA: he recouered the Realme againe, and made himſelfe king. So, if he was ſtrangely expulſed by a ſmall power out of the greateſt kingdome that euer was in the world: likewiſe he more ſtrangely recouered it againe, being baniſhed and very poore, making himſelfe king ouer them, who before had driuen him out. Thus were the inhabitants of the city compelled to ſerue this tyrant: who beſides that of his owne nature he was neuer curteous nor ciuill, he was now growne to be farre more dogged and cruell, by reaſon of the extreme miſery and misfortune he had endured. But the nobleſt citizens repaired vnto *Icetes*, who at that time as Lord ruled the city of the LEONTINES, and they choſe him for their Generall in theſe warres: not for that he was any thing better then the open tyrants, but becauſe they had no other to repaire vnto at that time: and they truſted him beſt, for that he was borne (as themſelues) within the city of SYRACVSA, and becauſe alſo he had men of war about him, to make head againſt this tyrant. But in the meane time, the CARTHAGINIANS came downe into SICILE with a great army, and inuaded the country. The SYRACVSANS being affraid of them, determined to ſend ambaſſadours into GREECE vnto the CORINTHIANS, to pray ayd of them againſt the barbarous people, hauing better hope of them, then of any other of the GRECIANS. And that not altogether becauſe they were lineally deſcended

Icetes, tyrant of the Leontini.

ſcended from them, and that they had receiued in times paſt many pleaſures at their hands: but alſo for that they knew that CORINTH was a city, that in all ages and times, did euer loue liberty and hate tyrants, and that had alwayes made their greateſt warres, not for ambition of kingdomes, nor of couetous deſire to conquer and rule, but onely to defend and maintaine the liberty of the GRECIANS. But *Icetes* in another contrary ſort, tooke vpon him to be Generall, with a mind to make himſelfe king of SYRACVSA. For he had ſecretly practiſed with the CARTHAGINIANS, and openly notwithſtanding, in words he commended the counſell and determination of the SYRACVSANS, and ſent ambaſſadours from himſelfe alſo with theirs, vnto PELOPONNESVS: not that he was deſirous any ayd ſhould come from them to SYRACVSA, but becauſe he hoped if the CORINTHIANS refuſed to ſend them ayd (as it was very likely they wold, for the warres and troubles that were in GRECE) that he might more eaſily turne all ouer to the CARTHAGINIANS, and vſe them as his friends, to ayd him againſt the SYRACVSANS, or the tyrant *Dionyſius*. And that this was his full purpoſe and intent, it appeared plainely ſoone after. Now when their ambaſſadours arriued at CORINTH, and had deliuered their meſſage, the CORINTHIANS, who had euer bene carefull to defend ſuch cities as had ſought vnto them, and ſpecially SYRACVSA: very willingly determined in counſell to ſend them aide, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, hauing wars with none of the GRECIANS. So their only ſtay reſted vpon chuſing of a Generall to leade their army. Now as the magiſtrates and gouernors of the city were naming ſuch citizens, as willingly offered their ſeruice, deſirous to aduance themſelues, there ſtept vp a meane commoner who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemus* ſon, a man that vntill that time was neuer called on for ſeruice, neither looked for any ſuch preferment. And truly it is to be thought it was the ſecret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane commoner to name *Timoleon*: whoſe election fortune fauored very much, and ioyned to his valiantneſſe and vertue, maruellous good ſucceſſe in all his doings afterwards. This *Timoleon* was borne of noble parents, both by father and mother: his father was called *Timodemus*, and his mother *Demareta*. He was naturally inclined to loue his countrey and commonweale: and was alwayes gentle and curteous to all men, ſauing that he mortally hated tyrants & wicked men. Furthermore nature had framed his body apt for warres and for paines: he was wiſe in his greeneſt youth, in all things he tooke in hand, and in his age he ſhewed himſelfe very valiant. He had an elder brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a raſh hare-braind man, and had a greedy deſire to raigne, being put into his head by a company of meane men, that bare him in hand they were his friends, and by certaine ſouldiers gathered together which he had alwayes about him. And becauſe he was very hot and forward in wars, his citizens tooke him for a noble captaine, and a man of good ſeruice, and therfore oftentimes they gaue him charge of mē. And therein *Timoleon* did helpe him much to hide the faults he comitted, or at the leaſt, made them ſeeme leſſe, & lighter then they were, ſtill increaſing that ſmall good gift that nature brought forth in him. As in a battell the CORINTHIANS had againſt the ARGIVES and the CLEONEIANS, *Timoleon* ſerued as a priuate ſouldier amongſt the footmen: & *Timophanes* his brother, hauing charge of horſmen, was in great danger to be caſt away, if preſent helpe had not bin. For his horſe being hurt, threw him on the ground in the midſt of his enemies: wherupon part of thoſe that were about him, were affraid and diſperſed themſelues here & there; and thoſe that remained with him, being few in number, & hauing many enemies to fight withall, did hardly withſtand their force & charge. But his brother *Timoleon* ſeeing him in ſuch inſtant danger a far off, ran with all ſpeed poſſible to helpe him, & clapping his target before his brother *Timophanes*, that lay on the ground, receiuing many wounds on his body with ſword and arrowes, with great difficulty he repulſed the enemies, & ſaued his own & his brothers life. Now the GORINTHIANS fearing the like matter to come that before had happened vnto thē, which was to looſe their city through default of their friends helpe, they reſolued in counſell, to entertaine in pay continually 400 ſoldiers that were ſtrangers, whom they aſſigned ouer to *Timophanes* charge: who, abandoning all honeſty & regard of the truſt repoſed in him, did preſently practiſe all the waies he could to make himſelfe Lord of the city: and hauing put diuerſe of the chiefeſt citizens to death without order of law, in the end he openly proclaimed himſelf king. *Timoleon* being very ſory for this, and taking his brothers wickedneſſe would be the very high-way to his fall & deſtruction, ſought firſt to win him with all the good words and perſwaſions he could, to leaue his ambitious deſire to raigne, and to ſeeke to ſalue (as neere as might be) his hard dealing with the citizens.

By vvhat voice Timoleon came to be Generall.

Timoleons parentage and maners.

Timophanes, Timoleons brother, vvhat he vvas.

Timoleon ſaued his brothers life.

The Corinthians entertained 400 ſtrangers, and made Timophanes captaine of them to keepe their city.

Timophanes crueltie and vſurpation of the kingdome.

Timophanes ſet light by his brothers perſwaſions, and would giue no eare vnto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went vnto one *Æſchilus* his friend, and brother vnto *Timophanes* wife, and to one *Satyrus* a ſoothſayer (as *Theopompus* the hiſtoriographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him, *Orthagoras*) with whom he came againe another time vnto his brother: and they three comming to him, inſtantly beſought him to beleeue good counſell, and to leaue the kingdome. *Timophanes* at the firſt did but laugh them to ſcorne, and ſported at their perſwaſions: but afterwards he waxed hote, and grew into great choller with them. *Timoleon* ſeeing that, went a litle aſide, & couering his face fel a weeping: & in the meane ſeaſon, the other two drawing out their ſwords, ſlue *Timophanes* in the place. This murther was ſtraight blowne abroad through the city, & the better ſort did greatly commend the noble mind and hate *Timoleon* bare againſt the tyrant: conſidering that he being of a gentle nature, and louing to his kin, did notwithſtanding regard the benefit of his country, before the naturall affection of his brother, & preferred duty and iuſtice, before nature and kinred. For, before he had ſaued his brothers life, fighting for the defence of his country: and now in ſeeking to make himſelfe king and to rule the ſame, he made him to be ſlaine. Such then as miſliked popular gouernment and liberty, and alwayes followed the nobility: they ſet a good face on the matter, as though they had bin glad of the tyrants death: yet ſtill reprouing *Timoleon* for the horrible murder he had committed againſt his brother, declaring how deteſtable it was both to the gods and men: they ſo handled him, that it grieued him to the hart he had done it. But when it was told him that his mother tooke it maruellous ill, and that ſhe pronounced horrible curſes againſt him, and gaue out terrible words of him, he went vnto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit ſhe could neuer abide to ſee him, but alwaies ſhut her doore againſt him. Then he being wounded to the hart with ſorow, tooke a conceit ſodainly, to kil himſelf by abſtaining frō meate: but his friends would neuer forſake him in this deſpaire, and vrged him ſo far by intreaty and perſwaſion that they cōpelled him to eate. Therupon he reſolued thenceforth to giue himſelfe ouer to a ſolitary life in the country, ſecluding himſelfe from all company and dealings: ſo as at the beginnning, he did not only refuſe to repaire vnto the city, & all acceſſe of company, but wandring vp and downe in moſt ſolitary places, conſumed himſelfe and his time with melancholy. And thus we ſee, that counſels and iudgments are lightly caried away (by praiſe or diſpraiſe) if they be not ſhored vp with rule of reaſon, & philoſophy, & reſt confounded in themſelues. And therfore it is very requiſite and neceſſary, that not only the act be good and honeſt of it ſelfe, but that the reſolution thereof be alſo conſtant, and not ſubiect vnto change: to the end we may do all things cōſideratly. Leaſt we be like vnto lickerous mouthed mē, who as they deſire meats with a greedy appetite, & after are ſoone weary, diſliking the ſame: euen ſo we do ſodainly repent our actions grounded vpon a weake imagination, of the honeſty that moued vs therunto. For repentance maketh the act naught which before was good. But determination, grounded vpon certaine knowledge and truth of reaſon, doth neuer change, although the matter enterpriſed, haue not alwayes happy ſucceſſe. And therefore *Phocion* the ATHENIAN hauing reſiſted (as much as in him lay) certaine things which the Generall *Leoſthenes* did, and which contrary to his mind tooke good effect: and perceiuing the ATHENIANS did open ſacrifice vnto the gods, to giue them thankes for the ſame, and much reioyce at the victory they had obtained: I would haue reioyced to (ſayd he) if I had done this: but ſo would I not for any thing, but I had giuen the counſell. And after that ſort, but more ſharply did *Ariſtides* LOCRIAN (a very friend and companion of *Platoes*) anſwer *Dionyſius* the elder, tyrant of SYRACVSA: who asked his goodwill to marry one of his daughters. I had rather ſee my daughter dead (ſayd he) then maried vnto a tyrant. And within a certaine time after, the tyrant put all his ſonnes to death: and then he asked him in deriſion to greeue him the more, if he were ſtill of his former opinion for the marying of his daughter. I am very ſory (ſayd he) with all my hart for that which thou haſt done: but yet I do not repent me of that I haue ſayd. That peraduenture proceeded of a more perfect vertue. But to returne againe vnto *Timoleon*. Whether that inward ſorow ſtrooke him to the heart for the death of his brother *Timophanes*, or that ſhame did ſo abaſh him, as he durſt not abide his mother, twentie yeares after, he neuer did any notable or famous acte. And therefore, when he was named to be Generall of the ayd that ſhould be ſent into SICILE, the people hauing willingly choſen and accepted of him: *Teleclides*, who was chiefe gouernour at that time in the city of CORINTH, ſtanding vpon his feete before the people, ſpake vnto *Timoleon*, and did exhort him to behaue himſelfe like an honeſt man, and valiant captaine in this charge. For, ſayd he, if that you handle

Timophanes ſlaine by his brothers procurement.

Our acts muſt be honeſt, and conſtant.

Phocions ſaying.

Ariſtides graue ſaying.

Timoleon choſen Generall to go into Sicile.

your

your selfe well, we will thinke you haue killed a tyrant: but if you order your selfe otherwise then well, we will iudge you haue killed your brother. Now *Timoleon* being busie in leauying of men, and preparing himselfe, letters came to the CORINTHIANS from *Icetes*, whereby plainly appeared, that *Icetes* had caried two faces in one hood, and that he was become a traytor. For he had no sooner dispatched his ambassadors vnto them, but he straight tooke the CARTHAGINIANS part, and dealt openly for them, intending to driue out *Dionysius*, and to make himselfe king of SYRACVSA. But fearing least the CORINTHIANS would send aide before he had wrought his feate, he wrote againe vnto the CORINTHIANS, sending them word, that they should not need now to put themselues to any charge or daunger for comming into SICILE, and specially, because the CARTHAGINIANS were very angry, and did also lye in wait in the way as they should come, with a great fleete of ships to meete with their army: and that for himselfe, because he saw they taried long, he had made league and amity with them, against the tyrant *Dionysius*. When they had read his letters, if any of the CORINTHIANS were before but coldly affected to this iourny, choler did then so warme thē against *Icetes*, that they frankly granted *Timoleon* what he wold aske, and did helpe to furnish him to set him out. When the ships were ready rigged, and that the souldiers were furnished of all things necessary for their departure, the Nuns of the goddesse *Proserpina*, sayd they saw a vision in their dreame, and that the goddesses *Ceres* and *Proserpina* did appeare vnto them, apparelled like trauellers to take a iourney: and told them, that they would go with *Timoleon* into SICILE. Vpon this speech only, the CORINTHIANS rigged a galley, they called, the galley of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*: and *Timoleon* himselfe before he would take the seas, went into the city of DELPHES, where he made sacrifice vnto *Apollo*. And as he entred within the Sanctuary where the answers of the Oracle are made, there happened a wonderfull signe vnto him. For amongst the vowes and offerings that are hanged vp vpon the wals of the Sanctuarie, there fell a band directly vpon *Timoleons* head, imbrodered all about with crownes of victorie: so that it seemed *Apollo* sent him already crowned, before he had set out one foote towards the iourney. He tooke ship, and sailed with seuen galleys of CORINTH, two of CORPHVE, and ten the LEVCADIANS did set out. When he was launched out in the maine sea, hauing a franke gale of wind and large, he thought in the night that the element did open, and that out of the same there came a maruellous great bright light ouer his ship, and it was much like to a torch burning, when they shew the ceremonies of the holy mysteries. This torch did accompany and guide them all their voyage, and in the end it vanished away, and seemed to fall downe vpon the coast of ITALY, where the ship-maisters had determined to arriue. The wise mens opinions being asked what this might signifie: they answered: That this wonderfull sight did betoken the dreame, the Nunnes of the goddesse *Ceres* dreamed, and that the goddesses fauouring this iourney, had shewed them the way, by sending of this light from heauen: because that the Ile of SICILE is consecrated vnto the goddesse *Proserpina*, and specially for that they report her rauishment was in that Ile, and that the whole realme was assigned vnto her for her ioynter, at the day of her mariage. Thus did this celestiall signe of the gods both encourage those that went this iourney, and deliuer them also assured hope, who sailed with all possible speed they could, vntill such time as hauing crossed the seas, they arriued vpon the coast of ITALIE. But when they came thither, the newes they vnderstood from SICILE put *Timoleon* in great perplexity, and did maruellously discourage the souldiers he brought with him: for *Icetes* hauing ouerthrowne the battell of the tyrant *Dionysius*, and possessed the greatest part of the city of SYRACVSA, he did besiege him within the castell, and within that part of the city which is called the Ile, where he had pent him vp, and inclosed him in with wals round about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGINIANS, that they would be carefull to keepe *Timoleon* from landing in SICILE, to the end that by preuenting that ayde, they might easily deuide SICILE betweene them, and no man to let them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his request, sent twentie of their galleys vnto RHEGIO, amongst which *Icetes* Ambassadours were sent vnto *Timoleon*, with testimony of his doings: for they were faire flattering words to cloke his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed *Timoleon* that he should go himselfe alone (if he thought good) vnto *Icetes*, to counsell him, and to accompany him in all his doings, which were now so farre onwards in good towardnesse, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also perswade him, that he should send backe his ships and souldiers to CORINTH, againe, considering that the warre was now brought to good passe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS would

Icetes tyrant of the Leontines a traytor.

A signe happened to Timoleon.

Timoleon tooke ship towards Sicile.

A burning torch appeared in the element vnto Timoleon.

Icetes besiegeth Dionysius.

Icetes sendeth Ambassadours vnto Timoleon.

in no caſe that his men ſhould paſſe into Sicile, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the Corinthians at their arriuall into the city of Rhegio, finding there theſe ambaſſadours, and ſeeing the fleete of the Carthaginians ſhips, which did ride at anker not farre off from them: it ſpited them on the one ſide, to ſee they were thus mocked and abuſed by *Icetes*. For euery one of them were maruellous angry with him, and were greatly afeard alſo for the poore Sicilians, whom too plainely they ſaw left a pray vnto *Icetes* for reward of his treaſon, and to the Carthaginians for recompence of the tyrannie which they ſuffered him to eſtabliſh. So, on the other ſide they thought it impoſſible to conquer the ſhips of the Carthaginians, which did lye in waite for them, and ſo neare vnto them, conſidering they were twiſe as many in number as they: and as hard for them to ſubdue the army alſo that was in the hands of *Icetes* in Sicile, conſidering that they were not come to him, but onely for the maintenance of the warres. Notwithſtanding *Timoleon* ſpake very courteouſly vnto thoſe Ambaſſadours, and captaines of the Carthaginians ſhips, letting them vnderſtand that he would do as much as they would haue him; and to ſay truly, if he would haue done otherwiſe, he could haue wonne nothing by it. Neuertheleſſe he deſired for his diſcharge, they would ſay that openly, in the preſence of the people of Rhegio (being a city of Greece, friend and common to both parties) which they had ſpoken to him in ſecret: and that done he would depart incontinently, alledging that it ſtood him very much vpon for the ſafety of his diſcharge, and that they themſelues alſo ſhould more faithfully keepe that they had promiſed vnto him touching the Syracvsans, when they had agreed vpon it and promiſed it before all the people of Rhegio, who ſhould be witneſſe of it. Now all this was but a fetch and pollicy deliuered by him, to ſhadow his departure, which the captaines and gouernours of Rhegio did fauor, and ſeeme to helpe him in: becauſe they wiſhed Sicile ſhould fall into the hands of the Corinthians, and feared much to haue the barbarous people for their neighbours. For this cauſe they commaunded a generall aſſembly of all the people, during which time, they cauſed the gates of the city to be ſhut: giuing it out, that it was becauſe the citizens ſhould not go about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the people were aſſembled, they began to make long orations without concluding any matter: the one leauing alwayes to the other alike matter to talke of, to the end they might win time, vntill the galleys of the Corinthians were departed. And ſtaying the Carthaginians alſo in this aſſembly, they miſtruſted nothing, becauſe they ſaw *Timoleon* preſent: who made a countenance, as though he would riſe to ſay ſomething. But in the meane time, ſome one did ſecretly aduertiſe *Timoleon*, that the other galleys were vnder ſaile and gone away, and that there was but one galley left, which taried for him in the hauen. Thereupon he ſuddenly ſtole away through the preaſe, with the helpe of the Rhegians, being about the chaire where the orations were made: and trudging quickly to the hauen, he imbarked incontinently, and hoiſed ſaile alſo. And when he had ouertaken his fleete, they went all ſafe together to land at the city of Tavromenion, which is in Sicile: there they were very well receiued by *Andromachus*, who long time before had ſent for them, for he gouerned this city as if he had bin Lord thereof. He was the father of *Timæus* the Hiſtoriographer, the honeſteſt man of all thoſe that did beare rule at that time in Sicile. For he did rule his citizens in all iuſtice and equitie, and did alwayes ſhew himſelfe an open enemie to tyrants. And following his affection therein, he lent his city at that time vnto *Timoleon*, to gather people together, and perſwaded his citizens to enter into league with the Corinthians, and to aide them, to deliuer Sicile from bondage, and to reſtore it againe to liberty. But the captaines of the Carthaginians that were in Rhegio, when they knew that *Timoleon* was vnder ſaile and gone, after that the aſſemblie of the counſell was broken vp: they were ready to eate their fingers for ſpite to ſee themſelues thus finely mocked and deceiued. The Rhegians on the other ſide, were mery at the matter, to ſee how the Phoenicians ſtormed at it, that they had ſuch a fine part played them. Howbeit in the end, they determined to ſend an Ambaſſadour vnto Tavromenion, in one of their galleys. This Ambaſſadour ſpake very boldly and barbarouſly vnto *Andromachus*, and in a choler: and laſt of all, he ſhewed him firſt the palme of his hand, then the backe of his hand, and did threaten him that his citie ſhould be ſo turned ouer hand, if he did not quickly ſend away the Corinthians. *Andromachus* fell a laughing at him, and did turne his hand vp and downe as the Ambaſſadour had done, and commaunded him that he ſhould get him going, and that with all

Timoleon craftier then the Carthaginians.

Rhegio a city of Greece.

Timoleon landeth at Tauromenion in Sicile.

Andromachus the father of Timæus the hiſtoriographer, gouernor of the city of Tauromenion.

The Carthaginians Ambaſſador did threaten to deſtroy the city of Tauromenion, by ſhewing Andromachus the palme and backe of his hand.

ſpeed

ſpeed out of his city, if he would not ſee the keele of his galley turned vpward. *Icetes* now vnderſtanding of *Timoleons* comming, and being affraide, ſent for a great number of galleys vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. Then the SYRACVSANS began to deſpaire vtterly when they ſaw their hauen full of the CARTHAGINIANS galleys, the beſt part of their city kept by *Icetes*, and the caſtell by the tyrant *Dionyſius*. And on the other ſide, that *Timoleon* was not yet come but to a litle corner of SICILE, hauing no more but the litle citie of TAVROMENION, with a ſmall power, and leſſe hope: becauſe there was not aboue a thouſand footemen in all, to furniſh theſe warres, neither prouiſion of victuals, nor ſo much money as would ſerue to entertaine and pay them. Beſides alſo, that the other cities of SICILE did nothing truſt him. But by reaſon of the violent extortions they had of lately ſuffered, they hated all captaines and leaders of men of warre to the death, and ſpecially for the treachery of *Calippus* and *Pharax*, whereof the one was an ATHENIAN, and the other a LACEDAMONIAN. Both of them ſayd they came to ſet SICILE at liberty, and to driue out the tyrants: and yet neuertheleſſe, they had done ſo much hurt vnto the poore SICILIANS, that the miſerie and calamity which they had ſuffered vnder the tyrants, ſeemed all to be gold vnto them, in reſpect of that which theſe captaines had made them to abide. And they did thinke them more happie, that had willingly ſubmitted themſelues vnto the yoake of ſeruitude: then thoſe which they ſaw reſtored and ſet at liberty. Therefore perſwading themſelues, that this CORINTHIAN would be no better vnto them, then the other had bene before, but ſuppoſing they were the ſelfe ſame former crafts, and alluring baites of good hope and faire words, which they had taſted of before, to draw them to accept new tyrants: they did ſore ſuſpect it, and reiected all the CORINTHIANS perſwaſions. Sauing the ADRANITANS only, whoſe litle city being conſecrated to the god *Adranus* (and greatly honoured and reuerenced through all SICILE) was then in diſſention one againſt another: in ſo much as one part of them tooke part with *Icetes*, and the CARTHAGINIANS, and the other ſent vnto *Timoleon*. So it fortuned that both the one and the other, making all the poſſible ſpeed they could, who ſhould come firſt: arriued both in maner at one ſelfe time. *Icetes* had about fiue thouſand ſouldiers. *Timoleon* had not in all aboue twelue hundred men, with which he departed to go towards the city of ADRANVS diſtant from TAVROMENION, about three hundred and forty furlongs. For the firſt dayes iourny he went no great way, but lodged betimes: but the next morning he marched very haſtily, and had maruellous ill way. When night was come, and day-light ſhut in, he had newes that *Icetes* did but newly arriue before ADRANVS, where he encamped. When the priuate captaines vnderſtood this, they cauſed the voward to ſtay, to eate and repoſe a litle, that they might be the luſtier, and the ſtronger to fight. But *Timoleon* did ſet ſtill forwards, and prayed them not to ſtay, but to go on with all the ſpeed they could poſſible, that they might take their enemies out of order (as it was likely they ſhould) being but newly arriued, and troubled with making their cabbons, and preparing for ſupper. Therewith as he ſpake theſe words, he tooke his target on his arme, and marched himſelfe the formoſt man, as brauely and couragiouſly as if he had gone to a moſt aſſured victory. The ſouldiers ſeeing him march with that life, they followed at his heeles with like courage. So they had not paſſing thirty furlongs to go, which when they had ouercome, they ſtraight ſet vpon their enemies, whom they found all out of order, and beganne to flie, ſo ſoone as they ſaw they were vpon their backes before they were aware. By this meanes there were not aboue three hundred men ſlaine, and twiſe as many more taken priſoners, and ſo their whole campe was poſſeſſed. Then the ADRANITANS opening their gates, yeelded vnto *Timoleon*, declaring vnto him with great feare, and no leſſe wonder, how at the very time when he gaue charge vpon the enemies, the doores of the temple of their god opened of themſelues, and that the Iauelin which the image of their god did hold in his hand, did ſhake at the very end where the iron head was, and how all his face was ſeene to ſweat. This (in my opinion) did not onely ſignifie the victory he had gotten at that time, but all the notable exploits he did afterwards, vnto the which, this firſt encounter gaue a happie beginning. For immediatly after, many cities ſent vnto *Timoleon*, to ioyne in league with him. And *Mamercus*, the tyrant of CATANA, a ſouldier, and very full of money, did alſo ſeeke his friendſhip. Furthermore, *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, being wearie to follow hope any longer, & finding himſelfe in manner forced vnto it by long continuance of ſiege, made no more reckoning of *Icetes*, when he knew that he was ſo ſhamefully ouerthrowne. And contrariwiſe, much eſteeming *Timoleons* valiantneſſe, he ſent to aduertiſe him, that he was contented to yeeld himſelfe and the

The god Adranus.

Timoleon ouerthrew Icetes army, and made him flie from Adranus.

The Adranitans yeeld vnto Timoleon.

Mamercus tyrant of Catana.

Dionyſius the tyrant, yeeldeth himſelfe and the caſtell of Syracuſa vnto Timoleon.

caſtell into the hands of the CORINTHIANS. *Timoleon* being glad of this good hap vnlooked for, ſent *Euclides* and *Telemachus*, two captaines of the CORINTHIANS, to take poſſeſſion of the caſtell, with foure hundred men, not all at a time, nor openly (for it was vnpoſſible, the enemies lying in waite in the hauen) but by ſmall companies, and by ſtealth, he conueyed them all into the caſtell. So the ſouldiers poſſeſſed the caſtell, and the tyrants pallace, with all the moueables and munition of warres within the ſame. There were a great number of horſe of ſeruice, great ſtore of ſtaues and weapons offenſiue of all ſorts, and engines of battery to ſhoot farre off, and ſundry other weapons of defence, that had bene gathered together of long time, to arme threeſcore and ten thouſand men. Moreouer, beſides all this, there were two thouſand ſouldiers, whom with all the other things rehearſed, *Dionyſius* deliuered vp into the hands of *Timoleon*: and he himſelfe, with his mony and a few of his friends, went his way by ſea, *Icetes* not knowing it, and ſo came to *Timoleons* campe. This was the firſt time that euer they ſaw *Dionyſius* a priuate man, in baſe and meane eſtate. And yet within few dayes after, *Timoleon* ſent him from thence vnto CORINTH in a ſhip, with litle ſtore of money: who was borne and brought vp in the greateſt and moſt famous tyranny and kingdome, conquered by force, that euer was in the world: and which himſelfe had kept by the ſpace of ten yeares after the death of his father. Since *Dion* draue him out, he had bene maruellouſly turmoiled in warres, by the ſpace of twelue yeares: in which time, although he had done much miſchiefe, yet he had ſuffred alſo a great deale more. For he ſaw the death of his ſonnes when they were men growne, and able to ſerue and eary armour. He ſaw his daughters rauiſhed by force, and defloured of their virginity. He ſaw his owne ſiſter (who was alſo his wife) firſt of all ſhamed, and cruelly handled in her perſon, with the greateſt villanies and moſt vile parts done vnto her, that his enemies could deuiſe: and afterwards horribly murthered with his children, and their bodies in the end throwne into the ſea, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Dion*. Now when *Dionyſius* was arriued in the city of CORINTH, euery GRECIAN was wonderfull deſirous to go ſee him, and to talke with him. And ſome went thither very glad of his ouerthrow, as if they had troden him downe with their feete, whom fortune had ouerthrowne, ſo bitterly did they hate him. Other pitying him in their harts to ſee ſo great a change, did behold him as it were with a certaine compaſſion, conſidering what great power, ſecret and diuine cauſes haue ouer mens weakeneſſe and frailtie, and thoſe things that daily paſſeth ouer our heads. For the world then, did neuer bring foorth any worke of nature, or of mans hand ſo wonderfull, as was this of fortune: who made the world ſee a man, that before was in manner Lord and King of all SICILE, ſit then commonly in the city of CORINTH, talking with a victualler, or ſitting a whole day in a perfumers ſhop, or commonly drinking in ſome celler or tauerne, or to brawle and ſcold in the middeſt of the ſtreetes, with common whores in face of the world, or elſe to teach common minſtrels in euery lane and alley, and to diſpute with them with the beſt reaſon he had, about the harmony and muſicke of the ſongs they ſang in Theaters. Now ſome ſay he did this, becauſe he knew not elſe how he ſhould driue the time away, for that indeed he was of a baſe mind, and an effeminate perſon, giuen ouer to all diſhoneſt luſts and deſires. Other are of opinion, he did it to be the leſſe regarded, for feare leaſt the CORINTHIANS ſhould haue him in iealouſie and ſuſpition, imagining that he did take the change and ſtate of his life in grieuous part, and that he ſhould yet looke backe, hoping for a time to recouer his ſtate againe: and that for this cauſe he did it, and of purpoſe fained many things againſt his nature, ſeeming to be a ſtarke ideot, to ſee him do thoſe things he did. Some notwithſtanding haue gathered together certaine of his aunſwers, which do teſtifie that he did not all theſe things of a baſe brutiſh mind, but to fit himſelfe onely to his preſent miſery and misfortune. For when he came to LEVCADES, an ancient city built by the CORINTHIANS, as was alſo the city of SYRACVSA, he told the inhabitants of the ſame, that he was like to yong boyes that had done a fault: for as they flie from their fathers being aſhamed to come to their ſight, and are gladder to be with their brethren: euen ſo is it with me, ſayd he: for it would pleaſe me better to dwell here with you, then to go to CORINTH our head city. Another time, being at CORINTH, a ſtranger was verie buſie with him (knowing how familiar *Dionyſius* was with learned men and philoſophers, while he raigned in SYRACVSA) and asked him in the end in deriſion: what benefit he got by *Platoes* wiſdom and knowledge? he anſwered him againe: how thinkeſt thou, hath it done me no good, when thou ſeeſt me beare ſo patiently this change of fortune? *Ariſtoxenus* a muſitian and other, asking him what offence *Plato* had done

Dionyſius the tyrant of Syracuſa ſent to Corinth.

The miſeries & calamities of Dionyſius the tyrant.

Dionyſius brought to Corinth.

The inconſtancy of fortune.

Notable ſayings of Dionyſius Syracuſan.

vnto

vnto him: he anſwered. That tyrants ſtate is euer vnfortunate, and ſubiect to many euils: but yet no euill in their ſtate was comparable to this: That none of all thoſe they take to be their moſt familiars, dare once tell them truly any thing: and that through their fault, he left *Platoes* company. Another time there commeth a pleaſant fellow to him, and thinking to mocke him finely, as he entred into his chamber, he ſhooke his gowne, as the manner is when they come to tyrants, to ſhew that they haue no weapons vnder their gownes. But *Dionyſius* encountred him as pleaſantly, ſaying to him: do that when thou goeſt hence, to ſee if thou haſt ſtolne nothing. And againe, *Philip* king of MACEDON, at his table one day deſcending into talke of ſongs, verſe, and tragedies, which *Dionyſius* his father had made, making as though he wondred at them, how poſſibly he could haue leiſure to do them: he anſwered him very trimly, and to good purpoſe. He did them euen at ſuch times (quoth he) as you & I, and other great Lords whom they reckon happy, are diſpoſed to be drunke, & play the fooles. Now for *Plato* he neuer ſaw *Dionyſius* at CORINTH. But *Diogenes Sinopian*, the firſt time that euer he met with *Dionyſius*, ſayd vnto him: O, how vnworthy art thou of this ſtate. *Dionyſius* ſtayed ſodainly, & replied: Truly I thanke thee (*Diogenes*) that thou haſt cõpaſſion of my miſery. Why ſaid *Diogenes* againe: doeſt thou thinke I pity thee? nay it ſpiteth me rather, to ſee ſuch a ſlaue as thou (worthy to dye in the wicked ſtate of a tyrant like thy father) to liue in ſuch ſecurity, and idle life, as thou leadeſt amongſt vs? When I came to compare theſe words of *Diogenes*, with *Philiſtus* words the hiſtoriographer, bewailing the hard fortune of the daughters of the LEPTINES, ſaying that they were brought frõ the top of all worldly felicity, honor, and goods (whereof tyrannical ſtate aboundeth) vnto a baſe, priuate, & humble life: me thinkes they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that ſoroweth for the loſſe of her boxes of painting colours, or for her purple gownes, or for other ſuch prety fine trims of gold, as women vſe to weare. So, me thinkes theſe things I haue intermingled concerning *Dionyſius*, are not impertinent to the deſcription of our liues, neither are they troubleſome nor vnprofitable to the hearers, vnleſſe they haue other haſty buſineſſe to let or trouble them. But now if the tyrant *Dionyſius* wretched ſtate ſeeme ſtrange, *Timoleons* proſperity then was no leſſe wonderfull. For within fifty dayes after he had ſet foot in SICILE, he had the caſtle of SYRACVSA in his poſſeſſion, and ſent *Dionyſius* as an exile to CORINTH. This did ſet the CORINTHIANS in ſuch a iolity, that they ſent him a ſupply of 2000 footemen, and 200 horſemen, which were appointed to land in ITALY, in the country of the THVRIANS. And perceiuing that they could not poſſibly go from thence into SICILE, becauſe the CARTHAGINIANS kept the ſeas with a great nauy of ſhips, and that thereby they were compelled to ſtay for better oportunity: in the meane time they beſtowed their leiſure in doing a notable good act. For the THVRIANS, being in wars at that time with the BRVTIANS, they did put their city into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had bene their owne natiue country. *Icetes* all this while did beſiege the caſtle of SYRACVSA, preuenting all he could poſſible, that there ſhould come no corne by ſea vnto the CORINTHIANS that kept within the caſtell: and he had hired two ſtraunge ſouldiers, which he ſent vnto the city of ADRANVS, to kill *Timoleon* by treaſon, who kept no gard about his perſon, and continued amongſt the ADRANITANS, miſtruſting nothing in the world, for the truſt and confidence he had in the ſafegard of the god of the ADRANITANS. Theſe ſouldiers being ſent to do this murder, were by chance enformed that *Timoleon* ſhould one day do ſacrifice vnto this god. So vpon this, they came into the temple, hauing daggers vnder their gownes, and by litle and litle thruſt in through the preaſe, that they got at the length hard to the altar. But at the preſent time as one encouraged another to diſpatch the matter, a third perſon they thought not of, gaue one of the two a great cut in the head with his ſword, that he fell to the ground. The man that had hurt him thus, fled ſtraight vpon it, with his ſword drawne in his hand, and recouered the top of a high rocke. The other ſouldier that came with him, and that was not hurt, got hold of a corner of the altar, and beſought pardon of *Timoleon*, and told him he would diſcouer the treaſon practiſed againſt him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he told him how his companion that was ſlaine, and himſelfe, were both hired, and ſent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him alſo that had taken the rocke, who cried out aloud, he had done no more then he ſhould do: for he had killed him that had ſlaine his owne father before, in the city of the LEONTINES. And to iuſtifie this to be true, certaine that ſtood by did affirme, it was ſo indeed. Whereat they wondred greatly to conſider the maruellous working of fortune, how ſhe doth bring one thing to paſſe by meanes of another, and gathereth all things

The benefit of Philoſophy.
A tyrants ſtate vnfortunate.
This agreeth with AEſops words to Solon, who wiſhed him coming to princes, to pleaſe them, to not to come neere them.
See Solons life, and his anſwer to AEſop.
Diogenes ſaying to Dionyſius the tyrant.
Timoleons proſperity.
Icetes hireth two ſouldiers to kill Timoleon at Adranus.
The treaſon diſcouered to Timoleon by one of the ſouldiers.
The wonderfull worke of fortune.

together, how farre asunder soeuer they be, and linketh them together, though they seeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no maner of likenesse or coniunction betweene them, making the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The CORINTHIANS examining this matter throughly, gaue him that slue the souldier with his sword, a crowne of the value of ten minas, because that by meanes of his iust anger, he had done good seruice to the god that had preserued *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good hap did not only serue the present turne, but was to good purpose euer after. For those that saw it, were put in better hope, & had thenceforth more care and regard vnto *Timoleons* person, because he was a holy man, one that loued the gods, and that was purposely sent to deliuer SICILE from captiuity. But *Icetes* hauing missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daily drawne to *Timoleons* deuotion, he was mad with himselfe, that hauing so great an army of the CARTHAGINIANS at hand at his commandement, he tooke but a few of them to serue his turne, as if he had bene ashamed of his fact, and had vsed their friendship by stealth. So he sent hereupon for *Mago* their Generall, with all his fleete. *Mago* at his request brought an huge army to see too, of a hundred and fifty saile, which occupied and couered all the hauen: and afterwards landed threescore thousand men, whom he lodged euery man within the city of SYRACVSA. Then euery man imagined the time was now come, which old men had threatned SICILE with many yeares before, and that continually: that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous people. For in all the wars the CARTHAGINIANS euer had before in the country of SICILE, they could neuer come to take the city of SYRACVSA: and then through *Icetes* treason, who had receiued them, they were seene encamped there. On the other side, the CORINTHIANS that were within the castell, found themselues in great distresse, because their victuals waxed scant, & the hauen was so straightly kept. Moreouer, they were driuen to be armed continually to defend the wals, which the enemies battered, and assaulted in sundry places, with all kinds of engines of battery, and sundry sorts of deuised instruments and inuentions to take cities: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to deuide themselues into many companies. Neuertheless, *Timoleon* without, gaue them all the ayd he could possible: sending them corne from CATANA, in litle fisher-boates and small crayers, which got into the castle many times, but specially in stormy and foule weather, passing by the galleys of the barbarous people, that lay scatteringly one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billowes of the sea. But *Mago* and *Icetes* finding this, determined to go take the city of CATANA, from whence those of the castell of SYRACVSA were victualled: and taking with them the best souldiers of all their army, they departed from SYRACVSA, and sailed towards CATANA. Now in the meane space, *Leon* CORINTHIAN, captaine of all those that were within the castell, perceiuing the enemies within the city kept but slender ward, made a sudden sallie out vpon them, and taking them vnwares, slue a great number at the first charge, and draue away the other. So by this occasion he wan a quarter of the city, which they call ACRADINA, and was the best part of the city, that had receiued least hurt. For the city of SYRACVSA seemeth to be built of many townes ioyned together. So hauing found there great plenty of corne, gold, & siluer, he wold not forsake that quarter no more, nor returne againe into the castell: but fortifying with all diligence the cõpasse and precinct of the same, & ioyning it vnto the castell with certaine fortifications he built vp in haste, he determined to keepe both the one and the other. Now were *Mago* and *Icetes* very neere vnto CATANA, when a post ouertooke them, purposely sent from SYRACVSA vnto them, who brought them newes, that the ACRADINA was taken. Whereat they both wondred, & returned backe againe with all speed possible (hauing failed of their purpose they pretẽded) to keepe that they had yet left in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it vnto wisedom & valiancie, or vnto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be ascribed vnto fortune. And this it is: The two thousand footmen and two hundred horsemen of the CORINTHIANS, that remained in the city of the THVRIANS, partly for feare of the galleys of the CARTHAGINIANS that lay in waite for them as they should passe, *Hanno* being their Admirall: and partly also for that the sea was very rough and high many dayes together, and was alwayes in storme and tempest: in the end, they ventured to go through the countrey of the BRVTIANS: and partly with their goodwill (but rather by force) they got through, and recouered the city of RHEGIO, the sea being yet maruellous high and rough. *Hanno* the Admirall of the CARTHAGINIANS, looking no more then for their passage, thought with himselfe that he had deuised a maruellous fine pollicy, to deceiue the enemies.

Icetes bringeth Mago a Carthaginian with a great army to Syracusa.

Leon captaine of the Corinthians within the castell. Leon vvanne Acradina.

Contention of fortune and valiancy.

enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put garlands of flowers of triumph vpon their heads, and therewithall alſo made them dreſſe vp, and ſet forth his galleys, with targets, corſlets, and brigantines after the GRECIANS faſhion. So in this brauery he returned backe againe, ſailing towards SYRACVSA, and came in with force of owers, rowing vnder the caſtels ſide of SYRACVSA, with great laughing and clapping of hands, crying out aloud to them that were in the caſtle, that he had ouerthrowne their aide which came from CORINTH, as they thought to paſſe by the coaſt of ITALY into SICILE, flattering himſelfe, that this did much diſcourage thoſe that were beſieged. But whileſt he ſported thus with this fond deuiſe, the two thouſand CORINTHIANS being arriued through the countrey of the BRVTIANS in the city of RHEGIO, perceiuing the coaſt cleare, and that the paſſage by ſea was not kept, and that the raging ſeas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpoſe calme for them: they tooke ſea foorthwith in ſuch fiſherboates and paſſengers as they found ready, in the which they went into SICILE, in ſuch good ſafety, as they drue their horſe (holding them by the raines) alongſt their boates with them. When they were all paſſed ouer, *Timoleon* hauing receiued them, went immediatly to take MESSINA, & marching thence in battel ray, tooke his way towards SYRACVSA, truſting better to his good fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole number in all were not aboue foure thouſand fighting men. Notwithſtanding *Mago* hearing of his comming, quaked for feare, and doubted the more vpon this occaſion: About SYRACVSA are certaine mariſhes, that receiue great quantity of ſweete freſh water, as well of fountaines and ſprings, as alſo of litle running brookes, lakes and riuers, which runne that wayes towards the ſea: and therefore there are great ſtore of eeles in that place, and the fiſhing is great there at all times, but ſpecially for ſuch as delight to take eeles. Whereupon the GRECIANS that tooke pay on both ſides, when they had leiſure, and that all was quiet betweene them, they intended fiſhing. Now, they being all countrimen, and of one language, had no priuate quarrell one with another: but when time was to fight, they did their duties, and in time of peace alſo frequented familiarly together, and one ſpake with another, and ſpecially when they were buſie fiſhing for eeles: ſaying, that they maruelled at the ſituation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they ſtood ſo pleaſantly and commodious vpon the ſea ſide. So one of the ſouldiers that ſerued vnder the CORINTHIANS chaunced to ſay vnto them: Is it poſſible that you that be GRECIANS borne, and haue ſo goodly a city of your owne, and full of ſo many goodly commodities: that ye will giue it vp vnto theſe barbarous people, the CARTHAGINIANS, and moſt cruell murderers of the world? where you ſhould rather wiſh that there were many SICILES betwixt them and GREECE. Haue ye ſo litle conſideration or iudgement to thinke, that they haue aſſembled an army out of all AFRICKE, vnto *Hercules* pillars, and to the ſea ATLANTICKE, to come hither to fight to ſtabliſh *Icetes* tyranny? who, if he had bene a wiſe and skilfull captaine, would not haue caſt out his aunceſtors and founders, to bring into his country the ancient enemies of the ſame: but might haue receiued ſuch honor and authority of the CORINTHIANS and *Timoleon*, as he could reaſonably haue deſired, and that with all their fauor and goodwill. The ſouldiers that heard this tale, reported it againe in their campe: inſomuch they made *Mago* ſuſpect there was treaſon in hand, & ſo ſought ſome colour to be gone. But hereupō, notwithſtanding that *Icetes* prayed him all he could to tary, declaring vnto him how much they were ſtronger then their enemies, and that *Timoleon* did rather preuaile by his hardineſſe and good fortune, then exceed him in number of men: yet he hoiſed ſaile, & returned with ſhame inough into AFRICKE, letting ſlip the conqueſt of all SICILE out of his hands, without any ſight of reaſon or cauſe at all. The next day after he was gone, *Timoleon* preſented battell before the city, when the GRECIANS and he vnderſtood that the CARTHAGINIANS were fled, and that they ſaw the hauen rid of all the ſhips: and then began to ieaſt at *Magoes* cowardlineſſe, and in deriſion proclaimed in the city, that they would giue him a good reward that could bring them newes, whether the army of the CARTHAGINIANS were fled. But for all this, *Icetes* was bent to fight, and would not leaue the ſpoile he had gotten, but defend the quarters of the city he had poſſeſſed, at the ſwords point, truſting to the ſtrength and ſituation of the places, which were ely hardly to be approched. *Timoleon* perceiuing that, deuided his army, and he with one part thereof did ſet vpon that ſide which was the hardeſt to approch, and did ſtand vpon the riuer of ANAPVS: then he appointed another part of his armie to aſſault all at one time, the ſide of ACRADINA, whereof *Iſtas* CORINTHIAN had the leading. The third part of his army that came laſt from CORINTH, which *Dinarchus* and *Demaratus*

The ſtratagem of Hanno the Admirall of the Carthaginians.

Mago forſaketh Sicile vpon ſuſpect of treaſon.

Anapus fl.

led: he appointed to assault the quarter called EPIPOLES. Thus, assault being giuen on all sides at one time, *Icetes* bands of men were broken, and ran their way. Now that the city was thus won by assault, and come so suddenly to the hands of *Timoleon*, and the enemies being fled, it is good reason we ascribe it to the valiantnesse of the souldiers, and the captaines great wisedome. But where there was not one CORINTHIAN slaine nor hurt in this assault, sure me thinkes herein, it was only the worke and deed of fortune, that did fauour and protect *Timoleon*, to contend against his valiantnesse: to the end that those which should hereafter heare of his doings, should haue more occasion to wonder at his good hap, then to praise & commend his valiantnesse. For the fame of this great exploit, did in few dayes not only run through all ITALY, but also through all GREECE. In so much as the CORINTHIANS (who could scant beleeue their men were passed with safety into SICILE) vnderstood withall that they were safely arriued there, and had gotten the victory of their enemies: so prosperous was their iourney, and fortune so speedily did fauour his noble acts. *Timoleon* hauing now the castell of SYRACVSA in his hands, did not follow *Dion*. For he spared not the castle for the beauty and stately building thereof, but auoiding the suspition that caused *Dion* first to be accused, and lastly to be slaine, he caused it to be proclaimed by trumpet, that any SYRACVSAN whatsoeuer, should come with crowes of iron and mattockes, to helpe to digge downe and ouerthrow the fort of the tyrants. There was not a man in all the city of SYRACVSA, but went thither straight, and thought that proclamation and day to be a most happy beginning of the recouery of their liberty. So they did not only ouerthrow the castle, but the pallace also, and the tombes: & generally all that serued in any respect for the memory of any of the tyrants. And hauing cleared the place in few daies, and made all plaine, *Timoleon* at the sute of the citizens, made counsell hals, and places of iustice to be built there: and did by this meanes stablish a free state and popular gouernment, and did suppresse all tyrannicall power. Now, when he saw he had won a city that had no inhabitants, which wars before had consumed, and feare of tyranny had emptied, so as grasse grew so high and ranke in the great market place of SYRACVSA, as they grased their horses there, and the horse-keepers lay downe by them on the grasse as they fed: and that all the cities, a few excepted, were full of red deare and wild bores, so that men giuen to delight in hunting, hauing leisure, might find game many times within the suburbes and towne ditches, hard by the wals: and that such as dwelt in castles and strong holds in the countrey, would not leaue them, to come and dwell in cities, by reason they were all growne so stout, and did so hate and detest assemblies of counsell, orations, and order of gouernement, where so many tyrants had raigned. *Timoleon* thereupon seeing this desolation, and also so few SYRACVSANS borne that had escaped, thought good, and all his captaines, to write to the CORINTHIANS, to send people out of GREECE to inhabit the city of SYRACVSA againe. For otherwise the countrey would grow barren and vnprofitable, if the ground were not plowed. Besides, that they looked also for great warres out of AFRICKE: being aduertised that the CARTHAGINIANS had hung vp the body of *Mago* their Generall vpon a crosse (who had slaine himselfe for that he could not answer the dishonour layd to his charge) and that they did leauy another great mighty army, to returne againe the next yeare following, to make wars in SICILE. These letters of *Timoleon* being brought vnto CORINTH, and the ambassadours of SYRACVSA being arriued with them also, who besought the people to take care and protection ouer their poore city, & that they would once againe be founders of the same: the CORINTHIANS did not greedily desire to be Lords of so goodly and great a city, but first ploclaimed by the trumpet in all the assemblies, solemne feasts, and common playes of GREECE, that the CORINTHIANS hauing destroyed the tyranny that was in the city of SYRACVSA, and driuen out the tyrants, did call the SYRACVSANS that were fugitiues out of their countrey home againe, and all other SICILIANS that liked to come and dwell there, to enioy all freedome and liberty, with promise to make iust and equall diuision of the lands among them, the one to haue as much as the other. Moreouer, they sent out posts & messengers into ASIA, & into all the Ilands where they vnderstood the banished SYRACVSANS remained, to perswade and intreat them to come to CORINTH, and that the CORINTHIANS would giue them ships, captaines, & meanes to conduct them safely vnto SYRACVSA, at their owne proper costs and charges. In recompence whereof, the city of CORINTH receiued euery mans most noble praise & blessing, aswell for deliuering SICILE in that sort from the bondage of tyrants, as also for keeping it out of the hands of the barbarous people, and restoring the naturall SYRACVSANS and SICILIANS, to their home and countrey againe. Neuertheless, such

Timoleon winneth the city of Syracusa.

Timoleon ouerthroweth the castell of Syracusa.

Timoleon made Syracusa a popular gouernment.

The miserable state of Sicile.

Mago slue himselfe, being called to answer his departure out of Sicile.

ſuch SICILIANS as repaired to CORINTH, vpon this proclamation (themſelues being but a ſmall number to inhabit the country) beſought the CORINTHIANS to ioyne to them ſome other inhabitants, aſwell of CORINTH it ſelfe, as out of the reſt of GREECE: the which was performed. For they gathered together about ten thouſand perſons, whom they ſhipped and ſent to SYRACVSA. Where there were already a great number of other come vnto *Timoleon*, aſwell out of SICILE it ſelfe, as out of all ITALY beſides: ſo that the whole number (as *Athanis* writeth) came to three ſcore thouſand perſons. Amongſt them he deuided the whole country, and ſold them houſes of the citie, vnto the value of a thouſand talents. And becauſe he would leaue the old SYRACVSANS able to recouer their owne, and make the poore people by this meanes to haue mony in common, to defray the common charge of the city, as alſo their expences in time of wars: the ſtatues or images were ſold, and the people by moſt voyces did condemne them: for they were ſolemnely indited, accuſed and arraigned, as if they had bene men aliue to be condemned. And it is reported that the SYRACVSANS did reſerue the ſtatue of *Gelon*, an auncient tyrant of their citie, honoring his memorie becauſe of a great victorie he had won of the CARTHAGINIANS, neare the citie of HIMERA: and condemned all the reſt to be taken away out of euery corner of the citie, and to be ſold. Thus began the citie of SYRACVSA to repleniſh againe, and by litle and litle to recouer it ſelfe, many people comming thither from all parts to dwell there. Thereupon *Timoleon* thought to ſet all other cities at libertie alſo, and vtterly to root out all the tyrants of SICILE: and to obtaine his purpoſe, he went to make wars with them at their owne doores. The firſt he went againſt was *Icetes*, whom he compelled to forſake the league of the CARTHAGINIANS, and to promiſe alſo that he would race all the fortreſſes he kept, and to liue like a priuate man within the city of the LEONTINES. *Leptines* in like maner, that was tyrant of the city of APOLLONIA, and of many other litle villages thereabouts, when he ſaw himſelfe in danger to be taken by force, did yeeld himſelfe: whereupon *Timoleon* ſaued his life, and ſent him vnto CORINTH: thinking it honourable for his country, that the other GRECIANS ſhold ſee the tyrants of SICILE in their chiefe city of fame, liuing meanly and poorely like baniſhed people. When he had brought this to paſſe, he returned forthwith to SYRACVSA about the eſtabliſhment of the commonweale, aſſiſting *Cephalus* and *Dionyſius*, two notable men ſent from CORINTH to reforme the lawes, and to helpe them to eſtabliſh the goodlieſt ordinances for their commonweale. And now in the meane time, becauſe the ſouldiers had a mind to get ſomething of their enemies, and to auoid idleneſſe, he ſent them out abroad to a country ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, vnder the charge of *Dimarchus*, and *Demaratus*: where they made many litle townes rebell againſt the barbarous people, and did not only liue in all abundance of wealth, but they gathered mony together alſo to maintaine the wars. The CARTHAGINIANS on the other ſide while they were buſie about theſe matters, came downe into LYLIBEA, with an army of three ſcore and ten thouſand men, two hundred gallies, and a thouſand other ſhips and veſſels that caried engines of batterie, carts, victuals, munition, and other neceſſary prouiſion for a campe, intending to make ſporting wars no more, but at once to driue all the GRECIANS againe quite out of SICILE. For indeed it was an able army to ouercome all the SICILIANS, if they had bene whole of themſelues, and not deuided. Now they being aduertiſed that the SICILIANS had inuaded their country, they went towards them in great furie led by *Aſdrubal* and *Amilcar*, generals of the army. This newes was ſtraight brought to SYRACVSA, and the inhabitants were ſo ſtriken with feare of the report of their army: that being a maruellous great number of them within the city, ſcant three thouſand of them had the harts to arme themſelues, and to go to the field with *Timoleon*. Now the ſtrangers that tooke pay, were not aboue foure thouſand in all: and of them, a thouſand of their hearts failed, and left him in mid way, and returned home againe: ſaying, that *Timoleon* was out of his wits, and more raſh then his yeares required, to vndertake with fiue thouſand footmen, and a thouſand horſe, to go againſt threeſcore and tenne thouſand men: and beſides, to carie that ſmall force he had to defend himſelfe withall, eight great daies iourney from SYRACVSA: ſo that if it chaunced they were compelled to fly, they had no place whither they might retire themſelues vnto with ſafetie, nor man that would take care to burie them, when they were ſlaine. Neuertheleſſe, *Timoleon* was glad he had that proofe of them, before he came to battell. Moreouer, hauing encouraged thoſe that remained with him, he made them march with ſpeed towards the riuer of CRIMESVS, where he vnderſtood he ſhould meete with the CARTHAGINIANS. So getting vp vpon a litle hill, from whence he might

The Corinthians repleniſhed the city of Syracuſa, with threeſcore thouſand inhabitants.

Leptines, tyrãt of Appollonia, yeelded to Timoleon.

The army and ſhips of the Carthaginians againſt Timoleon, Aſdrubal and Amilcar being generals.

Timoleon wẽt with 6000. men againſt the Carthaginians.

Crimeſus. fl.

see the campe of the enemies on the other side: by chaunce certaine mules fell vpon his army, loden with smallage. The souldiers tooke a conceit at the first vpon sight of it, and thought it was a token of ill lucke: because it is a manner we vse, to hang garlands of this herbe, about the tombes of the dead. Hereof came the common prouerbe they vse to speake, when one lyeth a passing in his bed: he lacketh but smallage. Asmuch to say, he is but a dead man. But *Timoleon* to draw them from this foolish superstition, and discourage they tooke, staid the army: and when he had vsed certaine perswasions vnto them, according to the time, his leisure, and occasion, he told them that the garland of it self came to offer them victory before hand. For, said he, the CORINTHIANS do crowne them that winne the ISTMIAN games (which are celebrated in their country) with garlands of smallage. And at that time also euen in the solemne ISTMIAN games, they vsed the garland of smallage for reward and token of victorie: and at this present it is also vsed in the games of NEMEA. And it is but lately taken vp, that they haue vsed branches of pine apple trees in the ISTMIAN games. When *Timoleon* had thus encouraged his men, as you haue heard before: he first of all tooke of this smallage, and made himselfe a garland, and put it on his head: and after him the Captaines and all the souldiers also tooke of the same, and made themselues the like. The soothsayers in like maner at the very same time, perceiued two Eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a snake in her talents, which she pierced through and through, and the other as she flew, gaue a terrible cry. So they shewed them both vnto the souldiers, who did then all together with one voice call vpon the gods for helpe. Now this fortuned about the beginning of the sommer, and towards the latter end of May, the sun drawing towards the solstice of the sommer: when there rose a great mist out of the riuer, that couered all the fields ouer, so as they could not see the enemies campe, but onely heard a maruellous confused noise of mens voices, as it had come from a great army: and rising vp to the top of the hill, they laid their targets downe on the ground to take a litle breath: and the sun hauing drawne and sucked vp all the moist vapours of the mist vnto the top of the hils, the aire began to be so thicke that the tops of the mountaines were all couered ouer with clouds: and contrarily, the valley vnderneath was all cleare and faire, that they might easily see the riuer of CRIMESVS, and the enemies also, how they passed it ouer in this sort. First, they had put their carts of warre foremost, which were very hotly armed and well appointed. Next vnto them there followed ten thousand footmen, armed with white targets vpon their armes: whom they seeing afar off so well appointed, they coniectured by their stately march and goodly order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS themselues. After them, diuers other nations followed confusedly one with another, & so they thronged ouer with great disorder. There *Timoleon* considering the riuer gaue him opportunitie to take thē before they were halfe past ouer, and to set vpon what number he would: after he had shewed his men with his finger, how the battell of their enemies was deuided in two parts by meanes of the riuer, some of thē being already passed ouer, & the other to passe: he commanded *Demaratus* with his horsmen to giue a charge on the voward, to keepe them from putting themselues in order of battell. And himself cōming downe the hill also with all his footmen into the vally, he gaue to the SICILIANS the two wings of his battell, mingling with them some strangers that serued vnder him: & placed with himself in the midst, the SYRACVSANS, with all the choice and best liked straungers. So he taried not long to ioyne, when he saw the small good his horsmen did. For he perceiued they could not come to giue a lusty charge vpon the battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were paled in with these armed carts, that ran here & there before thē: wherupon they were compelled to wheele about continually, (vnlesse they would haue put themselues in danger to haue bin vtterly ouerthrowne) & in their returnes to giue venture of charge, by turns on their enemies. Wherfore *Timoleon* taking his target on his arme, cried out aloud to his footmen, to follow him couragiously, & to feare nothing. Those that heard his voice, thought it more then the voice of a man, whether the fury of his desire to fight did so strain it beyond ordinary course, or that some god (as many thought it then) did stretch his voice to cry out so loud & sensibly. His souldiers answered him againe with the like voice: and praied him to lead thē without longer delay. Then he made his horsmen vnderstand, that they should draw on the one side from the carts, and that they should charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the flankes: and after he did set the formost ranke of his battell, target to target against the enemies, commaunding the trumpets withall to sound. Thus with great furie he went to giue a charge vpon them, who valiantly receiued the first charge, their bodies being armed with good iron corselets,

Smallage an ill signe.

Prouerbe.

Garlands of smallage.

The order of the Carthaginians army.

Timoleon giueth charge vpon the Carthaginians as they came ouer the riuer of Crimesus.

The seruice of the armed carts

Timoleons maruellous big voice.

Timoleons order & fight.

and

and their heads with faire murrions of copper, beſides the great targets they had alſo, which did eaſily receiue the force of their darts, and the thruſt of the pike. But when they came to handle their ſwords, where agilitie was more requiſite then force: a fearefull tempeſt of thunder, and flaſhing lightning withall, came from the mountaines. After that came darke thicke cloudes alſo (gathered together from the top of the hils) and fell vpon the vally, where the battell was fought with a maruellous extreame ſhower of raine, fierce violent winds, and haile withall. All this tempeſt was vpon the GRECIANS backs, and full before the barbarous people, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eyes, and continually tormented them with the raine that came full vpon them with the wind, and the lightnings ſo oft flaſhing amongſt them, that one vnderſtood not another of them. Which did maruellouſly trouble them, and ſpecially thoſe that were but freſh water ſouldiers, by reaſon of the terrible thunderclaps, and the noiſe the boyſterous wind and haile made vpon their harneſſe: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreouer, the dirt did as much annoy the CARTHAGINIANS, becauſe they were not nimble in their armour, but heauily armed as we haue told you: and beſides that alſo, when the plaites of their coates were through wet with water, they did lode and hinder them ſo much the more, that they could not fight with any eaſe. This ſtood the GRECIANS to great purpoſe to throw them downe the eaſier. Thus when they were tumbling in the dirt with their heauie armour, vp they could riſe no more. Furthermore, the riuer of CRIMESVS being riſen high through the great rage of waters, and alſo for the multitude of people that paſſed ouer it, did ouerflow the valley all about: which being full of ditches, many caues, and hollow places, it was ſtraight all drowned ouer, and filled with many running ſtreames, that ran ouerthwart the field, without any certaine channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compaſſed all about with theſe waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being ouercome with the ſtorme that ſtill did beat vpon them, and the GRECIANS hauing ſlaine of their men at the firſt onſet, to the number of foure hundred of their choiceſt men, who made the firſt front of their battell: all the reſt of their army turned their backs immediatly, & fled for life. Inſomuch as ſome of them being followed very nere, were put to the ſword in the midſt of the vally: other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the midſt of the riuer as they paſſed ouer, were caried downe the ſtreame and drowned, with the ſwiftneſſe and violence of the riuer. But the greateſt number thinking by footmanſhip to recouer the hils thereabouts, were ouertaken by them that were light armed, and put to the ſword euery man. They ſay, that of ten thouſand which were ſlaine in this battell, three thouſand of them were naturall citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very ſorrowfull and grieuous loſſe to the city: for they were of the nobleſt, the richeſt, the luſtieſt and valianteſt men of all CARTHAGE. For there is no chronicle that mentioneth any former wars at any time before, where there dyed ſo many of CARTHAGE at one field and battel, as were ſlaine at that preſent time. For before that time, they did alwaies entertaine the FYBIANS, the SPANIARDS, and the NOMADES, in all their wars: ſo as when they loſt any battell, the loſſe lighted not on them, but the ſtrangers paid for it. The men of accompt alſo that were ſlain, were eaſily knowne by their ſpoiles. For they that ſpoiled them, ſtood not trifling about getting of copper and iron together, becauſe they found gold and ſiluer enough. For the battell being won, the GRECIANS paſſed ouer the riuer, and tooke the campe of the barbarous people, with all their cariages and baggage. And as for the priſoners, the ſouldiers ſtole many of them away, and ſent them going: but of them that came to light in the common diuiſion of the ſpoile they were about fiue thouſand men, and two hundred carts of war that were taken beſides. Oh, it was a noble ſight to behold the tent of *Timoleon* their generall, how they enuironed it all about with heapes of ſpoiles of euery ſort: among which there were a thouſand braue corcelets gilt, and grauen with maruellous curious works, and they brought thither with thē alſo ten thouſand targets. So the conquerers being but a ſmal number, to take the ſpoile of a multitude that were ſlain, they filled their purſes euen to the top. Yet were they three daies about it, & in the end, the third day after the battell, they ſet vp a marke or token of their victory. Then *Timoleon* ſent vnto CORINTH, with the newes of this ouerthrow, the faireſt armor that were gotten in the ſpoile: becauſe he would make his country & natiue city ſpoken of & commended through the world, aboue all the other cities of GREECE. For that at CORINTH onely, their chiefe temples were ſet forth and adorned, not with ſpoils of the GRECIANS, nor offerings gotten by ſpilling the bloud of their owne nation and countrey: (which to ſay truly, are vnpleaſant memories) but with the

A maruellous tempeſt of thunder, lightning, raine, wind, and haile, full in the Carthaginians faces as they fought.

Timoleons victory of the Carthaginians

ſpoiles taken from the barbarous people their enemies, with inſcriptions witneſſing the valiancie and iuſtice of thoſe alſo, who by victory had obtained them. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS and their captaine *Timoleon*, (hauing deliuered the GRECIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had giuen thoſe offerings vnto the gods, to giue thanks for their victory. That done, *Timoleon* leauing the ſtrangers he had in pay, in the country ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, to ſpoile and deſtroy it, he returned with the reſt of his army vnto SYRACVSA: where at his firſt coming home, he baniſhed the thouſand ſouldiers that had forſaken him in his iourney, with expreſſe charge that they ſhould depart the city before Sun-ſet. So theſe thouſand cowardly and mutinous ſouldiers paſſed ouer into ITALY, where, vnder promiſe of the country, they were all vnfortunatly ſlaine by the BRVTIANS: ſuch was the iuſtice of the gods to pay the iuſt reward of their treaſon. Afterwards, *Mamercus* the tyrant of CATANA, & *Icetes* (whether it was for the enuy they did beare to *Timoleons* famous deedes, or for that they were afraid of him) perceiuing tyrants could looke for no peace at his hands: they made league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote vnto them that they ſhold ſend another army and captaine ſuddenly, if they would not vtterly be driuen out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS ſent *Giſco* thither with threeſcore and ten ſaile, who at his firſt comming tooke a certaine number of GRECIAN ſouldiers into pay, which were the firſt the CARTHAGINIANS euer retained in their ſeruice: for they neuer gaue them pay vntill that preſent time, when they thought them to be men inuincible, and the beſt ſouldiers of the world. Moreouer, the inhabitants of the territory of MESSINA, hauing made a ſecret conſpiracy among themſelues, did ſlay foure hundred men that *Timoleon* had ſent vnto them: & in the territories ſubiect vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, neare vnto a place they call HIERES, there was another ambuſh laid for *Euthimus* LEVCADIAN, ſo as himſelfe and all his ſouldiers were cut in peeces. Howbeit the loſſe of them made *Timoleons* doings notwithſtanding more fortunate: for they were euen thoſe that had forcibly entred the temple of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, with *Philodemus* the PHOCIAN, and with *Onomarchus* who were partakers of their ſacriledge. Moreouer, they were looſe people and abiects, that were abhorred of euery body, who vagabondlike wandred vp and downe the country of PELOPONNESVS, when *Timoleon* for lacke of other was glad to take them vp. And when they came into SICILE, they alwaies ouercame in all battels they fought, whilſt they were in his company. But in the end, when the fury of wars was pacified, *Timoleon* ſending them about ſome ſpeciall ſeruice to the aide of ſome of his, they were caſt away euery man of them: and not all together, but at diuers times. So as it ſeemed that gods iuſtice, in fauour of *Timoleon*, did ſeparate them from the reſt, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deſerts, fearing leſt good men ſhould ſuffer hurt by puniſhing of the euill. And ſo was the grace and goodwil of the gods wonderfull towards *Timoleon*, not onely in matters againſt him, but in thoſe things that proſpered well with him. Notwithſtanding, the common people of SYRACVSA tooke the ieſting words and writings of the tyrants againſt them, in maruellous euill part. For *Mamercus* amongſt other, thinking well of himſelfe, becauſe he could make verſes and tragedies, hauing in certaine battels gotten the better hand of the ſtrangers, which the SYRACVSANS gaue pay vnto, he gloried very much. And when he offered vp the targets he had gotten of them, in the temples of the gods, he ſet vp alſo theſe cutting verſes, in deriſion of them that were vanquiſhed:

With bucklers potlid like, which of no value were,
we haue theſe goodly targets won, ſo richly trimmed here,
All gorgeouſly with gold, and eke with Iuorie,
with purple colours finely wrought, and deckt with Ebonie.

These things done, *Timoleon* led his army before the citie of CALAVRIA, and *Icetes* therewhile entred the confines of the SYRACVSANS with a maine army, and caried away a maruellous great ſpoile: and after he had done great hurt, and ſpoiled the country, he returned backe againe, and came by CALAVRIA, to deſpite *Timoleon*, knowing well enough he had at that time but few men about him. *Timoleon* ſuffered him to paſſe by, but followed him afterwards with his horſemen and lighteſt armed footmen. *Icetes* vnderſtanding that, paſſed ouer the riuer called DAMIRIAS, and ſo ſtaid on the other ſide as though he would fight, truſting to the ſwift running of the riuer, and the height of the banks on either ſide of the ſame. Now the captaines of *Timoleons* bands fell out maruellouſly amongſt themſelues, ſtriuing for honor of this ſeruice, which was cauſe of delaying the battell. For none would willingly come behind, but euery man

Timoleon baniſheth the thouſand traiterous ſouldiers out of Sicile.

Giſco ſent frō Carthage with 70 ſaile into Sicile.

Meſſina riſeth againſt Timoleon.

Mamercus verſes, tyrant of Catana.

Calauria, a city of Sicile.

Damirias. fl. Strife among Timoleons captaines for paſſing ouer the riuer.

deſired

desired to leade the voward, for honor to begin the charge: so as they could not agree for their going ouer, one thrusting another to get before his companion. Wherefore *Timoleon* fell to drawing of lots, which of them should passe ouer first, and tooke a ring of euery one of them, and cast them all within the lap of his cloke: so rolling them together, by chaunce he pluckt one at the first, whereon was grauen the markes and tokens of a triumph. The young captains seeing that, gaue a shout of ioy, and without tarying drawing of other lots, they began euery man to passe the riuer as quickely as they could, and to set vpon the enemies as suddenly. But they being not able to abide their force, ranne their waies, and were faine to cast their armour away to make more hast: howbeit there were a thousand of them lay dead in the field. And within few daies after, *Timoleon* leading his army to the citie of the LEONTINES, tooke *Icetes* aliue there, with his son *Eupolemus*, and the generall of his horsemen, who were deliuered into his hands by his owne souldiers. So *Icetes* and his son were put to death, like traitors and tyrants: and so was *Euthydemus* also, who though he was a valiant souldier, had no better mercie shewed him, then the father and the son, because they did burthen him with certaine iniurious words he spake against the CORINTHIANS. For they say, that when the CORINTHIANS came first out of their country into SICILE, to make warres against the tyrants: that he making an oration before the LEONTINES, said amongst other things, that they should not need to be afraid, if

The women of Corinth were come out of their country.

Thus we see, that men do rather suffer hurt, then put vp iniurious words: and do pardon their enemies, though they reuenge by deeds, because they can do no lesse. But as for iniurious words they seeme to proceed of a deadly hate, and of a cankred malice. Furthermore, when *Timoleon* was returned againe to SYRACVSA, the SYRACVSANES arraigned the wiues of *Icetes*, and his son, and their daughters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the iudgement of the people. Of all the actes *Timoleon* did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the fowlest deede: for if he had listed, he might haue saued the poore women from death. But he passed not for them, and so left them to the wrath of the citizens, who would be reuenged of them, for the iniuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driuen out the tyrant *Dyonisius*. For it was *Icetes* that caused *Arete*, the wife of *Dion*, to be cast into the sea, his sister *Aristomache*, and his sonne that was yet a suckling child, as we haue written in another place in the life of *Dion*. That done, he went to CATANA against *Mamercus*, who taried him by the riuer of ABOLVS, where *Mamercus* was ouerthrowne in battell, and aboue two thousand men slaine, the greatest part whereof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whom *Gisco* had sent for his reliefe. Afterwards he graunted peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, vpon earnest sute made to him, with condition, that they should keepe on the other side of the riuer of LYCVS, and that it should be lawfull for any of the inhabitants there that would, to come and dwell in the territorie of the SYRACVSANS, and to bring away with them their goods, their wiues and their children: and furthermore, that from thencefoorth the CARTHAGINIANS should renounce all league, confederacie, and alliance with the tyrants. Wherupon *Mamercus* hauing no hope of good successe in his doings, he would go into ITALY, to stir vp the LVCANIANS against *Timoleon* and the SYRACVSANS. But they that were in his company, returned backe againe with their gallies in the mid way: and when they were returned into SICILE, they deliuered vp the city of CATANA into the hands of *Timoleon*, so as *Mamercus* was constrained to saue himselfe, and to flie into MESSINA, to *Hippon* the tyrant thereof. But *Timoleon* followed him, and besieged the city both by sea and by land. Wherat *Hippon* quaked for feare, and thought to flie by taking ship, but he was taken starting. And the MESSINIANS hauing him in their hands, made all the children come from the schoole to the Theater, to see one of the goodliest sights that they could deuise: to wit, to see the tyrant punished, who was openly whipped, and afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did yeeld himselfe vnto *Timoleon*, to be iudged by the SYRACVSANS, so that *Timoleon* might not be his accuser. So that he was brought vnto SYRACVSA, where he attempted to make an oration to the people, which he had premeditated long before. But seeing that the people cryed out, and made a great noise, because they would not heare him, and that there was no likelihood they would pardon him: he ranne ouerthwart the Theater, and knocked his head as hard as he could driue, vpon one of the degrees whereon they sate there to see their sports, thinking to haue dashed out his braines, and haue rid himselfe so dainely out of his paine. But he was not happy to die so, for he was taken straight being yet aliue, and put to death as theeues and murtherers are. Thus

Timoleons deuice to drawe lots to pacifie the strife.

Timoleon taketh Icetes, and Eupolemus his son aliue, and did put them to death.

Icetes wiues and children put to death.

The crueltie of Icetes towards Dion and his.

Mamercus ouercome in battell.

Abolus fl.

Timoleon maketh peace with the Carthaginians.

Lycus fl.

Catana yeelded vp vnto Timoleon.

Hippon the tyrant of Messina.

Hippon put to death.

Mamercus the tyrant put to death.

did *Timoleon* roote all tyrants out of SICILE, and made an end of all warres there. And whereas he found the whole Ile, wild, sauage, and hated of the naturall countrymen and inhabitants of the same, for the extreme calamities and miseries they suffered, he brought it to be so ciuill, and so much desired of straungers, that they came far and neare to dwell there, where the naturall inhabitants of the country selfe before, were glad to fly and forsake it. For AGRIGENTVM, & GELA, two great cities, did witnesse this, which after the wars of the ATHENIANS, had bene vtterly forsaken and destroyed by the CARTHAGINIANS, and were then inhabited againe: the one, by *Megellus* and *Pheristus*, two captaines that came from ELEA: and the other by *Gorgus*, who came from the Ile of CEO. And as neare as they could, they gathered againe together the first ancient citizens and inhabitants of the same: whom *Timoleon* did not only assure of peace and safety to liue there, to settle them quietly together: but willingly did helpe them besides, with all other things necessarie, to his vttermost meane and ability, for which they loued and honoured him as their father and founder. And this his good loue and fauour was common also to all other people of SICILE whatsoeuer. So that in all SICILE there was no truce taken in wars, nor lawes established, nor lands deuided, nor institution of any pollicie or gouernement thought good or auaileable, if *Timoleons* deuice had not bene in it, as chief directer of such matters: which gaue him a singular grace to be acceptable to the gods, and generally to be beloued of all men. For in those daies, there were other famous men in GREECE, that did maruellous great things: amongst whom were these, *Timotheus*, *Agesilaus*, *Pelopidas*, & *Epaminondas*: which *Epaminondas*, *Timoleon* sought to follow in all things, as neare as he could, aboue any of them all. But in all the actions of these other great captaines, their glory was alwaies mingled with violence, paine, and labour: so as some of them haue bene touched with reproch, and other with repentance. Whereas contrariwise, in all *Timoleons* doings (that only excepted which he was forced to do to his brother) there was nothing but they might with troth (as *Timæus* said) proclaime the saying of *Sophocles*:

Timo'rō quieteth all Sicile.

Timoleon compared with the famousest men in Greece.

Oh mighty gods of heauen, what Venus stately dame,
or Cupid, (god) haue thus yput, their hands vnto this same?

And like as *Antimachus* verses, and *Dionysius* painting both COLOPHONIANS, are full of finewes and strength, and yet at this present we see they are things greatly laboured, and made with much paine: and that contrariwise in *Nicomachus* tables, and *Homers* verses, besides the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight, that they were easily made, and without great paine. Euen so in like manner, whosoeuer will compare the painfull bloudie warres and battels of *Epaminondas*, and *Agesilaus*, with the wars of *Timoleon*, in the which, besides equitie and iustice, there is also great ease and quietnesse: he shall find, weighing things indifferently, that they haue not bene fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himselfe doth wisely impute it vnto his good hap, and fauorable fortune. For in his letters he wrote vnto his familiar friends at CORINTH, and in some other orations he made to the people of SYRACVSA, he spake it many times, that he thanked the almightie gods, that it had pleased them to saue and deliuer SICILE from bondage, by his means and seruice, and to giue him the honour and dignitie of the name. And hauing builded a temple in his house, he dedicated it vnto Fortune, and furthermore did consecrate his whole house vnto her. For he dwelt in a house the SYRACVSANS kept for him, and gaue him in recompence of the good seruice he had done them in the warres, with a maruellous faire pleasant house in the country also, where he kept most when he was at leysure. For he neuer after returned vnto CORINTH againe, but sent for his wife and children to come thither, and neuer dealt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongst the GRECIANS, neither did make himselfe to be enuied of the citizens (a mischiefe that most gouernours and captaines do fall into, through their vnsatiable desire of honour and authoritie) but liued all the rest of his life after in SICILE, reioycing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many cities and thousands of people happy by his meanes. But because it is an ordinary matter, and of necessitie, (as *Simonides* saith) that not onely all larkes haue a tuft vpon their heads, but also that in all cities there he accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at SYRACVSA, that continually made orations to the people, who did accuse *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphystius*, and the other *Demænetus*. So this *Laphystius* appointing *Timoleon* a certaine day to come and answer to his accusation before the people, thinking to conuince him: the citizens began to mutine, and would not in any case

Timoleon attributeth his good successe vnto fortune.

Timoleon dwelleth still with the Syracusans.

Simonides saying.

Timoleons accusers.

suffer

ſuffer the day of adiornment to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie thē, declaring vnto them, that he had taken all the extreme paines and labor he had done, & had paſſed ſo many dangers, becauſe euery citizen & inhabitant of SYRACVSA, might frankly vſe the liberty of their laws. And another time *Demanetus*, in open aſſembly of the people, reprouing many things *Timoleon* did when he was General: *Timoleon* anſwered neuer a word, but only ſaid vnto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had ſo requeſted of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once ſee the SYRACVSANS haue full power and libertie to ſay what they would. Now *Timoleon* in al mens opiniō, had done the nobleſt acts that euer GRECIAN captain did in his time, and had alone deſerued the fame and glory of all the noble exploits, which the rhetoricians with all their eloquent orations perſwaded the GRECIANS vnto, in the open aſſemblies, and common feaſts and playes of GRECE, out of the which fortune deliuered him ſafe and ſound before the trouble of the ciuill warres that followed ſoone after: and moreouer he made a great proofe of his valiancy and knowledge in wars, againſt the barbarous people and tyrants, and had ſhewed him ſelf alſo a iuſt and mercifull man vnto all his friends, and generally to all the GRECIANS. And furthermore, ſeeing he won the moſt part of all his victories and triumphs, without the ſhedding of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and alſo rid all SICILE of all the miſeries and calamities raigning at that time, in leſſe then eight yeares ſpace: he being now growne old, his ſight firſt beginning a litle to faile him, ſhortly after he loſt it altogether. This happened, not through any cauſe or occaſion of ſickneſſe that came vnto him, nor that fortune had caſually done him that iniury: but it was in my opinion, a diſeaſe inheritable to him by his parents, which by time came to lay hold on him alſo. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like caſe had alſo loſt their ſight, which by litle and litle with age, was cleane taken from them. Howbeit *Athanis* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that during the warres he had againſt *Mamercus* and *Hippon*, as he was in his camp at MYLLES, there came a white ſpot in his eies, that dimmed his ſight ſomewhat: ſo that euery man perceiued that he ſhould looſe his ſight altogether. Notwithſtanding that, he did not raiſe his ſiege, but continued his enterpriſe, vntill he tooke both the tyrants at laſt: and ſo ſoone as he returned to SYRACVSA againe, he did put himſelf out of his office of general, praying the citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather becauſe things were brought to ſo good paſſe, as they themſelues could deſire. Now, that he patiently tooke this misfortune to be blind altogether, peraduenture men may ſomewhat maruell at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the SYRACVSANS after he was blind, did ſo much honour him, and acknowledge the good he had done them, that they went themſelues to viſit him oft, and brought ſtrangers (that were trauellers) to his houſe in the city, and alſo in the country, to make them ſee their benefactor, reioycing & thinking themſelues happy, that he had choſen to end his life with them, and that for this cauſe he had deſpiſed the glorious returne that was prepared for him in GRECE, for the great and happy victories he had won in SICILE. But amongſt many other things the SYRACVSANS did, and ordained to honor him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefeſt: that they made a perpetuall law, ſo oft as they ſhould haue warres againſt forrein people, and not againſt their owne countrymen, that they ſhould chuſe a CORINTHIAN for their generall. It was a goodly thing alſo to ſee how they did honor him in the aſſemblies of their counſell. For if any trifling matter fell in queſtion among them, they diſpatched it of themſelues: but if it were a thing that required great counſell and aduiſe, they cauſed *Timoleon* to be ſent for. So he was brought through the market place in his litter, into the Theater, where all the aſſembly of the people was, and caried in euen ſo in his litter as he ſate: and then the people did all ſalute him with one voice, and he them in like caſe. And after he had pauſed a while, to heare the praiſes and bleſſings the whole aſſembly gaue him, they did propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he deliuered his opinion vpon the ſame: which being paſſed by the voices of the people, his ſeruants caried him backe againe in his litter through the Theater, and the citizens did waite on him a litle way with cries of ioy, and clapping of hands: and that done, they did repaire to diſpatch common cauſes by themſelues, as they did before. So his old age being thus entertained with ſuch honour, and with the loue and good will of euery man, as of a common father to them all: in the end a ſickneſſe tooke him by the backe, whereof he died. So the SYRACVSANS had a certaine time appointed them to prepare for his funerals, and their neighbours alſo thereabouts to come vnto it. By reaſon whereof his funerall was ſo much more honourably performed in all things, and ſpecially for that the people appointed the nobleſt young gentlemen of

Timoleons great praiſe.

Timoleon is by age loſt his ſight.

The great honour the Syracuſans did Timoleon being blind.

A lawe made to honour Timoleon.

The death of Timoleon.

Timoleons funerals.

the citie to cary his coffin vpon their ſhoulders, richly furniſhed and ſet forth, whereon his body lay, and ſo did conuey him through the place, where the pallace and caſtle of the tyrant *Dionyſius* had bene, which then was razed to the ground. There accompanied his body alſo many thouſands of people, all crowned with garlands of flowers, and apparelled in their beſt apparell: ſo as it ſeemed it had bene the proceſſion of ſome ſolemne feaſt, and al their words were praiſings and bleſſings of the dead, with teares running downe their cheekes, which was a good teſtimony of the entire good will and loue they did beare him, and that they did not this as men that were glad to be diſcharged of the honour they did him, neither for that it was ſo ordained: but for the iuſt ſorrow and griefe they took for his death, and for very hearty good loue they did beare him.

An honourable decree of the Syracuſans for the memorie of Timoleon.

And laſtly, the coffin being put vpon the ſtack of wood where it ſhould be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the heraulds that had the lowdeſt voice, proclaimed the decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this: The people of SYRACVSA hath ordained, that this preſent body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN, the ſonne of *Timodemus*, ſhould be buried at the charges of the common-weale, vnto the ſumme of two hundred *Minas*, and hath honoured his memory with playes and games of muſick, with running of horſes, and with other exerciſes of the body, which ſhall be celebrated yearely on the day of his death for euermore: and this, becauſe he did driue the tyrants out of SICILE, for that he ouercame the barbarous people, and becauſe he repleniſhed many great cities with inhabitants againe, which the warres had left deſolate and vnhabited, and laſtly, for that he had reſtored the SICILIANS againe to their libertie, and to liue after their owne lawes. And afterwards, his tombe was built in the market place, about the which a certaine time after, they builded certaine cloiſters and galleries to exerciſe the youth in, with exciſe of their bodies, and the place ſo walled in, was called *Timoleontium*: and ſo long as they did obſerue the lawes, and ciuill pollicy he ſtabliſhed amongſt them, they liued long time in great and continuall proſperitie.

Timoleons tombe built in the market place.

THE COMPARISON OF *Paulus Æmylius with Timoleon.*

The comparison of Timoleon and Paulus AEmylius for the warres.

SIth theſe two men were ſuch as the Hiſtoriographers haue deſcribed them to be: it is certaine, that comparing the one with the other, we ſhall find no great oddes or difference betweene them. For firſt of all, the warres they made haue bene againſt great and famous enemies: the one againſt the MACEDONIANS, and the other againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the realme of MACEDON, which he tooke from the ſeuenth king that raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, ſince the time of the great *Antigonus*: and the other draue all the tyrants out of SICILE, and reſtored the whole Iles and cities therein, vnto their former libertie. Vnleſſe ſome will alleage perhaps that there was this difference betweene them, that *AEmylius* fought againſt King *Perſeus*, when he had all his power whole and entire,

and

and had fought with the ROMAINES many times before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where *Timoleon* set vpon *Dionysius*, when he was in greatest despaire, and in maner vtterly cast away. On the contrary side, it may be obiected for *Timoleon*, that he ouercame many tyrants, and a mightie great army of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a very small number of men, and yet men of all sorts: not as *AEmylius* with a great army of well trained and expert souldiers in warres, but with men gathered together at aduenture of all sorts, being mercenary hirelings, and men fighting for pay, lose people, and vnruly in warres, that would do but what they listed. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes vnequall: there we must confesse that the praise is due vnto the Generall. Both the one and the other kept their hands cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke vpon them. But it seemeth that *Æmylius* came so fashioned and prepared, by the good ciuil law, and moral discipline of his country: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards fashioned himself to be that he was. And this is to be proued: for that all the ROMAINES in that time were so ciuilly brought vp, and exceeded all other in straight keeping the lawes of their countrey. Where to the contrary, there was not one of the captaines of the GRECIANS that came then, or were sent into SICILE, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foot into SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine suspition of him, that he aspired to the kingdome, and imagined in his head to stablish a certaine Empire at SYRACVSA, like vnto that of LACEDÆMON. *Timeus* the historiographer writeth, that the SYRACVSANS sent *Gilippus* with shame backe againe into his country, for his vnsatiable greedie couetousnesse, and for his great thefts and bribes taken in his charge. Diuerse other haue also written the great treasons and fashoods *Pharax* SPARTAN, and *Calippus* ATHENIAN did commit, both of them seeking to make themselues Lords of SYRACVSA, and yet what men are they, and what meanes had they to haue such a foolish vaine hope and fancy in ther heads? considering that the one did follow and serue *Dionysius*, after he was driuen out of SYRACVSA: and the other also was but a priuate captaine of a band of footmen, of those that came with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrary maner was sent to be General of the SYRACVSANS, vpon their great instance and sute. And he hauing no need to seeke or hunt after it, but onely to keepe the power and authoritie they did willingly put into his hands: so soone as he had destroyed and ouerthrowne all such as would vniustly vsurp the gouernement, he did immediatly of his owne good will, frankly resigne vp his office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in *Paulus AEmylius*: who hauing conquered so great and rich a realme, he neuer increased his goods the value of one farthing, neither did see nor handle any mony at all, although he was very liberall, and gaue largely vnto others. I meane not in speaking this to vpbraide or detect *Timoleon*, for that he accepted a faire house the SYRACVSANS gaue him in the citie, and a goodly mannor also in the countrey: for in such cases there is no dishonestie in receiuing, but yet it is greater honestie to refuse, then to take: But that vertue is most rare and singular, where we see they will receiue nor take nothing, though they haue iustly deserued it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger and better compounded, which best abideth change of parching heat, & nipping cold: & that the mind is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not vp with pride of prosperity, nor droopeth for sorrow in aduersitie. Then it appeareth, that *AEmylius* vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed himselfe of no lesse graue and constant a mind, in the patience he endured for his losse and sorrow happened vnto him, (loosing at one time in maner, both his children) then he had done before, in all his triumph and greatest felicitie. Where *Timoleon* to the contrary, hauing done a worthy act against his brother, could with no reason suppresse the griefe and sorrow he felt: but ouercome with bitter griefe and repentance, continued the space of twenty yeares together, and neuer durst once only shew his face againe in the market place, nor deale any more in matters of the common-weale. Truly, for a man to beware to do euill, and to shun from euill, it is a very good and comely thing: so also to be sory, and afeard of euery reproach, and ill opinion of the world, it sheweth a simplenesse of nature, and a good and well disposed mind, but no manly courage.

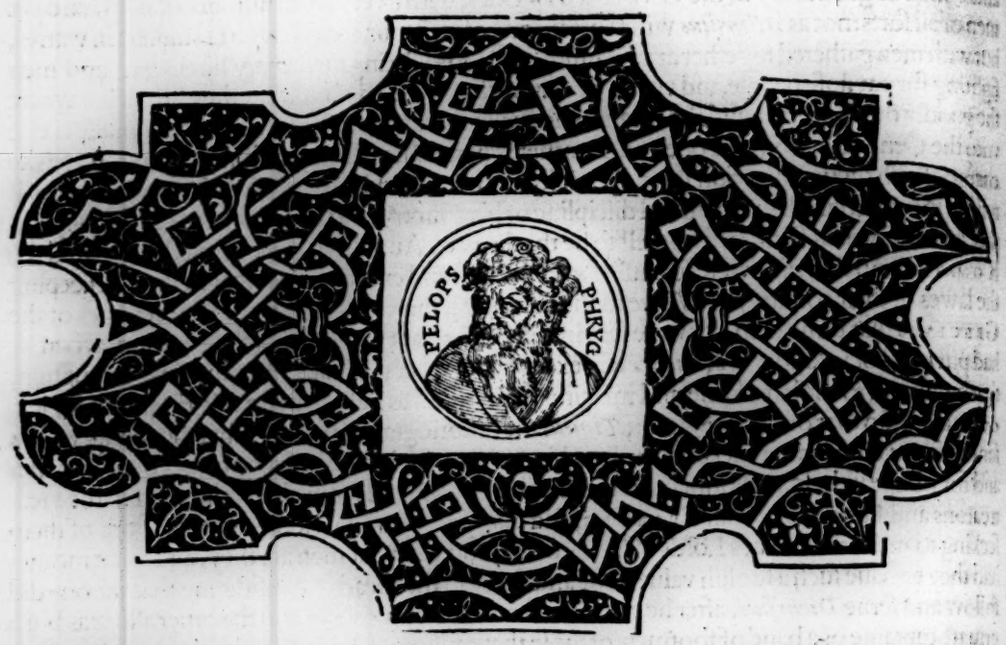
The wonderful continencie of AEmylius from bribes.

Not to take gifts, commended for a singular vertue.

AEmylius constancie farre exceedeth Timoleon.

The end of Timoleons life.

THE LIFE OF *Pelopidas.*



To be too bold and venturous is not good.

CATO the elder, answered certaine on a time, that maruellously commended a bold, a venturous, and desperate man for the warres: that there was great oddes, to esteeme manhood so much, and life so litle. And surely it was wisely spoken of him. The report goeth, that king *Antigonus* gaue pay to a souldier among other, that was very hardie and venturous, but he had a naughtie sickly body. The King asked him one day, what he ayled to be so pale, and euill coloured? The souldier told him, he had a secret disease vpon him, that he might not tell him with reuerence. The King hearing him say so, commaunded his Phisitions and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they should heale him with all possible speede: and so they did. After the souldier had his health againe, he would venter no more so desperatly in the wars, as he did before. Insomuch as king *Antigonus* selfe perceiuing his slackneſſe in drawing backe, rebuked him, and said vnto him: that he wondred to see so great a chaunge and alteration in him. The souldier neuer shrinking at the matter, told him the troth plainely. Your selfe, and it please your Maiestie, is cause of my cowardlinesse now, by healing my disease, that made my life lothsome to me. Much like were a SYBARITANS words, touching the life and manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS: That it was no maruell they had such a desire to die in the warres, seeing they did it to rid themselues of their troubles, and most miserable and straight life. But we must not wonder though the SYBARITANS, being womanish men, and altogether giuen to pleasure, did so thinke: that those men hated their liues, who feared not death, for the desire they had to do good, and good will they had to do their dutie. Which was contrary in the LACEDÆMONIANS: for they were of opinion, that to liue and die willingly, was a vertue: as these funerall verses do witnesse:

The answer of a souldier to king Antigonus.

Diuers opinions of life & death.

The dead which here do rest, did not in life esteeme,
that life or death were (of themselues) or good or bad to deeme.
But euen as life did end, or death was brought to passe,
so life or death, was good or bad, this their opinion was.

And in deede to flie death is no shame, so it proceede not of a cowardly heart: neither to desire death is commendable, if it be with contempt and hate of life. This is the reason why *Homer* saith, the valiantest men are euer best armed, when they come to battell. The law-makers among

the

the GRECIANS, do euer punish him that casts away his target, but neuer him that casteth away his sword or launce. For euery man must first think to defend himselfe, before he seeke to hurt his enemy, and specially such as haue the whole state of a Realme in their hands, and be Generals of the field. For if the comparison be true, that *Iphicrates* the ATHENIAN captaine made, that in an army of men, the light horsmen resemble the hands, the men of armes the feet, the battell of footmen the stomacke and breast, the captaine, the head of a mans body: it seemeth then that the venturous captaine putting himselfe in danger without cause, is not onely careless of his owne life, but also of all theirs whose liues depend vpon his safety. As contrarily, he being carefull of his owne person, cannot but be carefull of his souldiers that serue vnder him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine, and a worthy man otherwise, did vnwisely answer a soothsayer that bad him take heed to himself: for the signes & tokens of the sacrifices did threaten his death. SPARTA, said he, standeth not vpon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by sea or by land man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of himselfe: but as captaine or lieutenant generall, he had the whole power and force of the army in his person. For he was not a man alone, when so many mens liues were lost with his. Now old *Antigonus* was of a contrary mind: for he being ready to giue battell by sea, about the Ile of ANDROS, made a better answer to one that said vnto him: his enemies had moe ships then himselfe. For how many ships then doest thou reckon my selfe, said he. Therein he did wisely to make great account of the worthinesse of a Generall, specially when it is ioyned with hardinesse and experience. For the chiefest point of seruice, is to saue him that saueth all other. For when *Chares* on a time shewed the ATHENIANS openly, the sundry wounds and cuts he had receiued vpon his body, and his target also thrust through with many pikes: *Timotheus* straight said vnto him: *Chares*, I am not of thy mind. For when I did besiege the city of SAMOS, I was ashamed to see a dart throwne from the walles, light hard by me, for that I shewed my selfe a rash young man, and more venturous then became a Generall of so great an army. For when it standeth much vpon the whole army, and that it is necessary the Generall thereof do put himselfe in daunger: then he should put himselfe forward, and occupy both hands and body without respect, not regarding their words that say, a good and wise captaine should die for age, or at the least old. But where there is small honor to be won by very good successe, and contrariwise much losse and destruction by great misfortune: no man of wisedome or iudgement would wish a Generall to fight as a priuate souldier, to hazard the losse of a Generall. I thought good therefore to make this preface before the liues of *Pelopidas* and of *Marcellus*, both which were worthy men, and died otherwise then they should. For they were both valiant souldiers in the field, and did both of them honour their country with famous victories, and specially against great and dreadfull enemies. For the one was the first (as they say) that ouerthrew *Hanniball*, who was neuer ouercome by any before. And the other also ouercame the LACEDÆMONIANS in battell, that ruled all GREECE at that time both by sea and by land. Yet they both carelesly lost their liues, by venturing too boldly, when their country stood in greatest need of such men & captains as they were. This is the cause why we folowing the resemblance that was betweene them, haue compared their liues together. *Pelopidas*, the son of *Hippoclus*, came of one of the noblest houses of the city of THEBES, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought vp in great wealth, his father left him heire of all his lands and goods, being but a yong man. So he straight shewed himselfe willing to do good with his mony, to those that needed help, and were worthy: to let the world see, that his money was not his maister. For as *Aristotle* saith of these rich men, the most part of them do not vse their goods for extreme couetousnes: other again do abuse them, as being giuen to ouermuch pleasures. So rich men become slaues all their life time, some to pleasure, other to profit. Now, all *Pelopidas* other friends would be beholding to him, and take very thankfully his curtesie and liberalitie towards him: but *Epaminondas* could neuer be brought to take any thing at his hands. Howbeit *Pelopidas* selfe followed *Epaminondas* maner: for he took a pride and pleasure to go simply apparelled, to fare meanely, to labour willingly, and to make warres openly as he did. He was euen such another, as *Euripides* the Poet described *Capaneus* to be, when he said of him:

He rich and wealthy was, yet was he therewithall
no wight that purchac'd worldly hate, nor insolent at all.

For he would haue bin ashamed, that the poorest man of the city of THEBES, should haue worne meaner apparell vpon his backe then himselfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his pouerty was not dainty to him, because his parents were euer poore, and yet for all that he passed it ouer more easily by

VVhy the Grecians do punish him that casteth away his target.

Iphicrates comparison of an army of men.

A lieutenant of an armie must be carefull to saue himself

Timotheus saying.

Pelopidas and Marcellus lost both their liues by too much venturing.

Pelopidas stock and liberalitie.

Aristotles saying of rich men.

ſtudy of Philoſophie, which he gaue himſelf vnto, and for that from his youth he liked to leade a ſpare life without exceſſe. Where *Pelopidas* matched in a noble houſe, and maried highly, and had two children by his wife: neuertheleſſe he had no mind to keepe or increaſe his goods the more for that, but gaue himſelfe altogether to ſerue the common-weale as long as he liued. By reaſon whereof his wealth decayed, and his beſt friends grew angry with him, telling him how he did not well to make no more reckoning of a thing that was ſo neceſſary, as to haue goods. And he aunſwered them: In deed they are neceſſary I do confeſſe it, but yet for ſuch a one as this poore, lame, and blind man that ſtandeth by. They both were alike borne to all vertue, ſauing that *Pelopidas* tooke moſt pleaſure in exerciſe of his body and ſtrength, and *Epaminondas* in the exerciſe of his wit and learning. So as the paſtime each of them tooke when they were at leiſure was, that the one delighted to wraſtle and to hunt, and liked any kind of exerciſe of his body: and the other to heare, to ſtudy, and alwayes to learne ſome thing of Philoſophie. But among all the excellent gifts and good parts in either of them, and that moſt wanne them honour and eſtimation in the world, they were only commended, and ſingularly noted of wiſe men, for the perfect loue and friendſhip that was euer inuiolably kept betweene them vntill their deaths: hauing bene ioyned together in ſo many battels, warres, charges of armies, and otherwiſe in matters of ſtate and gouernement. For if a man will conſider, and looke into the doings of *Ariſtides*, *Themiſtocles*, and *Cimon*, of *Pericles*, *Nicias*, and *Alcibiades*, how full of diſſentions, enuies, and ſuſpitions they were one againſt another, in gouerning the common-weale: and againe will conſider the loue, honour, and kindneſſe, that continued alwayes betwixt *Pelopidas*, and *Epaminondas*: no doubt they will ſay theſe two are more worthy to be called brethren in warre, (as they ſay) and companions in gouernement, then any of them we haue named before, whoſe care and ſtudie was alwaies rather to ouercome one another, then to ouercome their enemies, and the only cauſe therof was their vertue. For their acts ſhewed they did not ſeeke glorie, nor riches for themſelues (the couetouſneſſe whereof doth alwayes breede quarrels and enuy) but both of them from the beginning fell one in loue with another, with a great kindneſſe and eſtimation of themſelues, to ſee their country flouriſh, and grow to great honour through their ſeruice, and in their time: and ſo they reckoned all the good exploites both of the one and the other, that tended to that end, as their owne. The moſt part of writers thinke, this great and earneſt loue the one did beare to another, did grow firſt betweene them in a iourney they made together vnto MANTINEA, to aid the LACEDÆMONIANS, that were at that time confederates of the THEBANS. For they being both ſet in battell ray, one hard by another among the footmen, againſt the *Arcadians* that ſtood before them: it fortuned that the point of the battell of the LACEDÆMONIANS in the which they were, gaue backe, and many of them ranne away. But they determining to die rather then to flie, ſtood cloſe together, and fought with the enemies that came vpon them, vntill ſuch time as *Pelopidas* being hurt in ſeuen places before, fell downe at the laſt vpon a heape of dead bodies, aſwell of their owne ſouldiers as of their enemies, euen one vpon another. Then *Epaminondas* thinking he had bene ſlaine, ſtept notwithſtanding before him to defend his body and armour, and he alone fought againſt many, being willing to die rather then to forſake *Pelopidas* lying amongſt the dead bodies: vntill himſelfe being thruſt into the breaſt with a pike, and ſore cut on his arme with a ſword, was euen ready to giue ouer, when *Ageſipolis* (King of the LACEDÆMONIANS) came with the other point of the battell in happy houre, who ſaued both their liues paſt all hope. Now after this battell, the LACEDÆMONIANS both in words and deeds did courteouſly intreate the THEBANS as their friends and confederates. Notwithſtanding, in truth they began to feare the power and great courage of that city, and ſpecially the faction and aſſociates *Iſmenias* and *Androclidas* had ſet vp, whereof *Pelopidas* alſo was a companion: becauſe they thought it was popular, and inclined much to deſire liberty. Whereupon *Archias*, *Leontidas*, and *Philip*, all three great wealthy men of the city of THEBES, and miſliking to be equall with other citizens, did perſwade *Phebidas*, a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that going and comming through the country of BOEOTIA with an army, he would one day aſſay to take the caſtle of THEBES called CADMEA, and driuing thoſe out of the city that would reſiſt him, he would put the gouernement of the ſtate into the hands of a few of the nobleſt perſons, who would be at the deuotion of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and obey them in all things. *Phebidas* brought it to paſſe, and did work his feat before the THEBANS miſtruſted any thing vpon a holy day called THESMOPHORIA. After he had wonne the caſtle, he apprehended *Iſmenias*, and ſent him to LACEDÆMON, where ſhortly after

Pelopidas ſaying for the neceſſity of mony.

The perfect friendſhip betwixt Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

The true cauſe of friendſhip.

Ageſipolis king of the Lacedemonians.

Cadmea, the caſtle of Thebes taken by Phebidas, captaine of the Lacedemonians.

Iſmenias death

after they put him to death. *Pelopidas*, *Pherenicus*, and *Androclidas*, with many other, saued themselues by flying, & were banished THEBES by sound of trumpet. *Epaminondas* taried still in THEBES, and no man touched him, for they made small account of him, because he was altogether giuen to his booke: and though his goodwill had serued him to haue done some feate, his pouerty made him vnable to do any thing. The LACEDÆMONIANS vnderstanding of the taking of the castle, did straight put *Phœbidas* out of his charge, and set a fine of a hundred thousand drachmes vpon his head: but yet they kept still the castle of CADMEA in their hands with a great garrison. All the other cities and people of GRECE did wonder much at it, that they should allow the fact, and punish notwithstanding the doer. So the THEBANS hauing lost their auncient liberty, and being made subiect by both these, *Archias* and *Leontidas*, so as all hope was taken from them euer to wind out of this tyranny, or at any time to ouerthrow it, seeing it was maintained and defended by the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that they could not possibly take from them all the seignorie and dominion they had throughout GRECE, as well by sea as by land: *Leontidas* and his followers notwithstanding, when they vnderstood that they who were banished from THEBES, were very wel receiued and entertained of the people at ATHENS, and much made of also of the nobilitie, they sought secretly by treason to haue them killed. To do this feate, they sent certaine men vnknowne to ATHENS, who by treason slue *Androclidas*; howbeit they missed the killing of the other. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS wrote to the ATHENIANS, that they should not receiue such as were banished from THEBES, nor that they should fauour them, but driue them out of their citie, as those which by their allies were iustly proclaimed common enemies. The ATHENIANS notwithstanding, being men alwaies ciuilly giuen, and inclined in nature to humanitie, as being borne and bred vp withall, and very desirous besides to requite the THEBANS courtesie, who had bene the chiefest meanes and doers in restoring againe the popular state and gouernement at ATHENS: they would by no meanes offer the THEBANS any such iniurie, seeing they had stablished a lawe and decree, that if any ATHENIAN passing too and fro through the countrey of BOEOTIA, did beare armour against the thirtie tyrants, that were gouernours and oppressors of the libertie of ATHENS, there should no BOEOTIAN seeme to see, or know any thing thereof. In the meane time *Pelopidas*, though he were of the younger sort, did procure still euery one that was banished, to seeke the libertie of his countrey, and openly made an oration to them all, declaring that it were not onely a cowardly part, but also a wicked offence to the goddes, if they would suffer their countrey to remaine so in continuall bondage, and straungers to inhabite it with a garrison, to make them subiect to the yoke: and they in the meane time to be contented to saue themselues, to liue delicately and idlely at ATHENS, to studie to do what shall please the ATHENIANS to commaund them, and to be afraid of the Oratours, and those which through eloquence can perswade the common people to do what they lust. Therefore he perswaded them that they should hazard all, being a matter of so great weight, and take example of *Thrasybulus* noble courage and hardinesse: who departing from THEBES, did driue out the tyrants that oppressed ATHENS: and euen so, we departing from ATHENS, should seeke to deliuer THEBES also from bondage. When he had by these perswasions drawne them to his opinion, they secretly sent vnto their friends, that remained still in THEBES, to let them vnderstand their mind and determination: who all liked very well of their purpose. Insomuch as *Charon* that was the chiefest man amõg them, promised to lend them his house to assemble in. *Philidas* also found meanes to be Secretarie to *Philip* and *Archias*, who were gouernours and Captaines of the citie at that time for the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Epaminondas* on the other side making no shew of any thing, had of long time practised to stirre vp the courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they were at any games or exercises of bodie, he would euer procure them to wrastle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. And after he saw them reioyce when they had cast them, and that they were the stronger: he would chide them, and tell them they might be ashamed, for lacke of courage to suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to hold their noses to the grindstone, that were nothing like to them in strength. Now, the confederates appointed a day certaine, to breake the ice of their pretented enterprise, and agreed that *Pherenicus*, with other that were banished, should tarie at the village of THRIASIVM, and that they should send the valiantest and lustiest young men before, to giue the venture to enter the city: adding this therwithal, that if the enemies fortuned to surprise them, all the other of the conspiracy ioyntly together, shold be ready to giue order, that their fathers, mothers, & childrẽ, shold

Pelopidas, Pherenicus, & Androclidas, banished from Thebes.

Archias and Leontidas, gouernors of Thebes, vnder the Lacedemonians.

Androclidas slaine.

The thankfulnes of the Athenians vnto the Thebans.

Pelopidas counsell for the liberty of the Thebans.

Conspiracy against the Lacedemonians, for the liberty of Thebes.

lacke nothing necessarie for them. *Pelopidas* was the first man that offered himselfe to vndertake the enterprise: and after him *Melon*, *Damoclidas*, and *Theopompus*, all three, men of the greatest houses of THEBES, who loued maruellously together, and for no respect would euer offend one another, although from the beginning there was euer emulation among them for honour and glory, by striuing who should exceed other in vertue and valiantnesse. Now they were twelue of them, who taking leaue of the rest, sent a foot post before to *Charon*, to aduertise him of their comming: and they themselues went on their iourney casting litle short clokes vpon them, and taking hounds with them, and hunters staues in their hands, because their enterprise should not be mistrusted by those that met them on the way, and that they should thinke them hunters vp and downe the fields for their pleasure. So, when the messenger they sent, came to the citie, and had told *Charon* that they were comming: he neuer shrunke from his word, though the danger toward was great, but like a stout and honest man did abide by his promise he made, and told him they should be most hartily welcome to his house. But another man called *Hippostheneidas*, very honest otherwise, and one that loued his country and the preseruation thereof, and a good friend of those also that were banished: fainting straight vpon the sudden report of these newes, his mind was troubled, and his heart failed him so, as his nose fell a bleeding, to thinke vpon the greatnesse of the instant danger he was like to fall into, hauing neuer cast before with himselfe, how by this enterprise they should put all the empire of the LACEDÆMONIANS in hazard of vtter destruction, and lay a plot besides to ouerthrow al their commonweale and state: by laying all their hope vpon a few banished men, hardly able to wade through with their enterprise. Whereupon so soone as he was come home, he secretly dispatched a messenger one of his familiar friends, vnto *Melon* and *Pelopidas*, to will them they should defer their enterprise for better oportunitie, and so to returne backe againe to ATHENS. *Chlidon* was the man he sent of this message, who presently went home to his house: and taking his horse out of the stable, bad his wife fetch him the bridle quickly. The bridle not being readily to be found, she told him she had lent it out to one of their neighbors. Then they fell a chiding together about it, and at length brake out to foule words, and lastly his wife fell a cursing of him, and prayed the gods he might haue ill lucke in his iourney, and those that sent him. *Chlidon* hauing spent the most part of the day chiding and brawling with his wife about the bridle, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his wiues cursing and banning of him: he determined not to go a foote out of the doores on that arrant, and so went about some other businesse. Thus had this noble enterprise in manner bene altogether dashed, before it was fully begun. Now those that were in *Pelopidas* companie, changed apparell with the countrey men, because they would not be knowne, and did deuide themselues, for that they would not come into the city all together, but at diuers gates, being day light. At that time it was a maruellous wind and great snow, and the weather was so boisterous, that euery man got him within dores: which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not knowne when they came into the city. So their friends and confederats within the city receiued them as they came, and brought them to *Charons* house: where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight and forty persons onely. Now for the tyrants, thus stood the matter with them. *Philidas* their Secretary was of the conspiracy, as we haue told you before, and he knew all the practise. Wherefore he had long before solemnly bidden *Archias* and his company, to supper to his house that very night, to be merry together, and had promised to entertaine them with women to welcome them withall: of purpose, that when they had in their full cups, and were in the midst of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then vse them as they would. So they being set at table, before they were sped of their cups, one came to them, and told them truly of the treason (not the particularities, neither as a thing certaine, but of a rumour onely that ran abroad in the towne) how the banished men were hidden in *Charons* house. *Philidas* would haue passed the matter ouer. Howbeit *Archias* would needs send one of his gard straight for *Charon*, to commaund him to come to him presently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his companie prepared themselues to worke their feat, being armed euery man, and their swords in their hands, when vpon a sodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house running straight to the gate, came backe again afeard to tell them that it was one of *Archias* gard that came for *Charon*, to come immediatly to the gouernours. Then were they in doubt that their practise was discouered, and that they were all cast away, before they could make any proof of their valiantnes: notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* should obey the message,

Charon kept promise with danger of life.

Pelopidas cõmeth into Thebes disguised in clownes apparell.

Philidas Secretary to the tyrants.

Pelopidas danger.

sage, and that he should present himselfe before the gouernours, to take away all suspition from them. *Charon* of himself was a stout man, very constant, and resolute in danger for his own person: yet it grieued him much at that time, for feare the confederates should suspect him he had bewraied them, if so many honest citizens whom he had lent his house vnto, should vnfortunately miscary. Therfore before he went out of his house, he went into his wiues chamber, to fetch his son, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to *Pelopidas*, & praied him, if he vnderstood he had betraied them any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they shold then vse his son as an enemy, without any compassion towards him. Whe the confederates saw the good zeale and true noble mind of *Charon*, they all fell a weeping, and were angry with him, that he should thinke any of them so faint harted, or timerous, for any danger could come to them, that they should suspect or accuse him for any thing: and therewithall they prayed him, not to leaue the boy with them, but rather to conuey him into some place out of the tyrants danger, where he might be brought vp, that one day he might be reuenged of the wrong and iniury they had done to them, and to their country. *Charon* answered them, he wold not take him away, and that he saw no life nor health more happy for him, then to die with his father without infamy, and with so many honest men his friends. So after he had besought the gods to prosper them, and had encouraged and embraced euery one of the confederators one after another: he went to the gouernors, and studied by the way so to frame his words & countenance, as though he should seeme to thinke of any thing else, then of that he purposed to do. When he came to *Philidas* dore that made the feast, *Archias* & *Philidas* himselfe came vnto him, & asked him: *Charon*, what are they (said they) that are come into the city, and hidden in some house, with certain citizens, that do accompany them? *Charon* was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them againe: what men be they? who are they that hides them in the city? But when he perceiued that *Archias* could tel nothing of certaintie, then he thought straight that some man had informed them that was not priuy to the practise, but had heard something of it. Therupon he willed them to take heed it was no false alarme, to make them afraid: neuertheless (said he) I will enquire further of it: for at all aduenture it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. *Philidas* answered him, he said truly: and so he brought *Archias* backe againe into the hall, where he made him drinke deeper then before, still entertaining the company with hope of the womens comming. *Charon* returning home again, found all the confederates ready to attempt their enterprise, not as men that reckened of their liues, nor that had any hope to preuaile: but as those that were determined to dy valiantly, and to sell their liues dearely. Now he truly told vnto *Pelopidas* only, what was said vnto him: and the rest, he told that *Archias* had sent for him to speake with him of other matters. The storme of the former danger was scant blown ouer, but fortune sent them another: for immediatly vpon talke had with *Charon* at the first, came a messenger from Athens, that brought a letter to the same *Archias*, written by the Bishop of Athens at that time, called *Archias* also as himselfe, and was his old host and friend: wherin he wrote not of simple coniecture, nor surmised suspition, but the plaine conspiracy in euery degree, as afterwards it fell out. So the messenger was brought to *Archias* that was drunke, and deliuering him the letter he said vnto him: Sir, he that sendeth you this letter, straightly charged me to tell you, that you should presently reade the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance. *Archias* laughing said vnto him: waighty matters to morrow. So he tooke the letter and put it vp, and then fell againe to his tale he had begun with *Philidas*. But euer after, the Grecians made this a common prouerbe among them, waighty matters to morrow. Now when the conspirators spied their time to go about their busines, they deuided themselues in two companies. *Pelopidas* and *Damoclidas* went with one company, to set vpon *Leontidas* and *Hypates*, because they dwelt neare together: *Charon* and *Melon* with the rest, went against *Archias* and *Philip*, being disguised in womens apparell they had put vpon their priuy coates, and wearing garlands of pine apple and firre trees on their heads, they couered all their faces. So when they came to shew themselues at the hall doore where the banket was made, they that were in the hall at the first sight, thinking they had bene the women they looked for, began to shout, and made great noise for ioy. But when the conspirators cast their eyes round about the hall to know those which were at the table, they drew out their swords, and set vpon *Archias* and *Philip* ouerthwart the table: then they shewed thēselues what they were. Then *Philidas* bad his guests he had bidden to the banket with them, that they should not stir, for they should haue no hurt: so some of thē sate stil.

Archias bishop of Athens, bewrayeth the treason to Archias in a letter.

Waighty matters to morrow Prouerb.

Pelopidas killeth the tyrats.

But the greateſt number of them wold needs from the boord, to defend their gouernors. How beit becauſe they were drunke that they knew not what they did, they were ſoone ſlaine with them. Now *Pelopidas* enterpriſe was not ſo eaſie. For they went againſt *Leontidas*, that was a ſober diſcreet man, and withall hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his doores were ſhut vp, and they knocked long before any man came to the dore. At the length, one of his men that heard them rap ſo hard, with much ado came to open the dore: but he had no ſooner thruſt backe the bolt of the dore, and began to open it, but they puſhed it from them with ſuch a force vpon him all together, that they laid him on the ground, and went ſtraight to his maſters chamber. *Leontidas* hearing the noiſe of them that ran vp to him in ſuch haſt, preſently miſtruſted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, tooke his ſword in his hand, but did forget to put out the lampes that burned in his chamber all night, for if they had bene out, they might eaſily haue hurt one another in the darke. But the lampes giuing cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber doore, and gaue *Cephiſodorus* the firſt man that preſſed to enter vpon him, ſuch a blow with his ſword, that he dropped downe dead at his feet. Hauing ſlaine the firſt man, he dealt with the ſecond that came after him, and that was *Pelopidas*. The fight went hard betweene them two, both for that the chamber dore was very ſtraight, as alſo for that *Cephiſodorus* body lying on the ground, did choke the comming in at the chamber. Notwithſtanding, *Pelopidas* ouercame him in the end, and ſlue him: and went from thence with his company ſtraight to *Hypates* houſe, where they got in, as they did vnto *Leontidas* houſe before. But *Hypates* knew preſently what it was, and thought to ſaue himſelfe in his neighbours houſes. Howbeit the conſpirators followed him ſo hard, that they cut him off before he could recouer their houſes. Then they gathered together, and ioyned with *Melons* company, and ſent immediatly with all poſſible ſpeede to Athens, to the baniſhed Thebans there, and cryed through the city, liberty, liberty, arming thoſe citizens that came to them with the armor and ſpoiles of their enemies, that were hanged vp in common vaults, and armorers ſhops about *Charons* houſe, which they brake open, or cauſed to be opened by force. On the other ſide, *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas*, came to ioyne with them, with a company of young men and honeſt old men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Herupon the whole citie was ſtraight in an vprore and tumult, and euery houſe was full of lights, one running to another to know what the matter was. Neuertheleſſe the people did not yet aſſemble together, but euery one being amazed, muſing at this ſtir, not vnderſtanding the troth, ſtayed till day came on, that they might call a counſell. But truly herein, me thinks the Captaines of the garriſon of the Lacedæmonians were greatly in fault, that they did not ſtir betimes, and ſet vpon them incontinently: conſidering there were fifteene hundred ſoldiers, beſides a great number of citizens that would haue come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noiſe they heard made them afeard, and to ſee lights in euery mans houſe, and the people running vp and downe the ſtreetes in great multitudes too and fro: whereupon they ſtirred not, but only kept them within the caſtle of Cadmea. The next morning by breake of day, came the other baniſhed Thebans from Athens very well armed, and all the people of Thebes drew together in counſell. Thither did *Epaminondas* and *Gorgidas* bring *Pelopidas* and his conſorts, and preſented them before the people, compaſſed about with prieſts and the profeſſed of the city, offering them crownes to put vpon their heads, and they prayed the aſſembly of the citizens, that they would helpe their gods and their country. All the people that were preſent, when they ſaw them, roſe vp and ſtood on their feet, and with great ſhouts and clapping of hands receiued them, as their ſauiours, that had deliuered their country from bondage, and reſtored them againe to liberty: and therupon before them all, euen in the market place, by the whole voice and conſent of the people, they choſe *Pelopidas*, *Melon*, and *Charon*, gouernors and captains of Boeotia. *Pelopidas* then immediatly made the beſiege the caſtell of Cadmea about, with trenches and force of wood, doing all he could poſſible to win it, and to expulſe the Lacedæmonians, before any ſupply or aide came to them from Sparta. So he did, and preuented it ſo ſuddenly, that the garriſon being departed out of the caſtle by compoſition, as they returned towards Lacedæmonia, they found *Cleombrotus* king of Sparta in the countrey of Megara, comming towards them with a great army to helpe them. Afterwards, of the three Captaines which had charge of their garriſon that lay at Thebes, the Spartans condemned two of them to death: *Hermippidas* and *Arciſſus* were preſently executed: and the third captaine, *Dyſcoridas*, they ſet ſo grieuous a fine on his head, that he went out of Peloponnesvs. This enterpriſe

The liberty of the Thebans reſtored.

Pelopidas receiueth the Caſtle of Cadmea by compoſition.

prise being attempted, and executed with the like valiantnesse, and the same danger and trouble, that *Thrasybulus* practise was, when he deliuered ATHENS from the slauerie of the thirty Gouernors and tyrants, and hauing the like fortune and happy end: the GRECIANS termed it cosin germain to *Thrasybulus* act. And indeed it were a hard matter to find two other such, besides them two, that with so few men ouercame their enemies, being many mo in number then themselues, or that with so small helpe did ouercome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprise with their onely valiance and wisedome, and were cause besides of so great blessing and benefite to their countrey, as *Pelopidas* and *Thrasybulus* attempt was. But the great change and alteration of the state afterwards, did make their acts farre more noble and famous. For the warre that ouerthrew the maiestie of SPARTA, and that tooke away all the seignorie and rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS both by sea and by land, beganne the very same night, when *Pelopidas* himselfe making the twelfth person, and entring into a priuate house, taking neither citie, nor castell, nor strong hold (to tell truely by figuratiue speech) did breake and cut in sunder the linkes and chaines that linked straight together, and strengthened the LACEDÆMONIANS whole Empire and monarchie ouer all GREECE: who vntill that present time were thought so strong, as no possibilitie could breake or sunder them. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuning afterwards to inuade the country of BOEOTIA with a mightie army, the ATHENIANS trembling for feare of their great power, did vtterly leaue to protect them, and renounced the league and alliance they had made before with them. And moreouer, they did straightly prosecute lawe against those, that were accused to take part with the BOEOTIANS: whereof some of them were put to death, other were banished from ATHENS, and the rest condemned in great summes of money. To be short, euery man said the THEBANS were but vndone, considering they had no helpe, and were beloued besides of none. At that present time it fell out *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* were Generals ouer all BOEOTIA for that yeare, who deuising to throw a bone betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, to make them square, they vsed this pollicie. There was a captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Sphodrias*, a valiant man, but else of small capacitie, and vainely giuen, hauing a certaine fond ambition and humour, perswading himselfe he had done some notable good seruice in his time. This *Sphodrias* was left in the citie of THESPIES, with a great band of souldiers, to receiue and fauour all the BOEOTIANS that had a mind to reuolt from the THEBANS. *Pelopidas* of himselfe sent a merchant, (a very friend of his) vnto *Sphodrias* with a great summe of money from him, and certaine perswasions withall, which preuailed more then the money, wishing him to attempt some greater matter, and to seeke to win the hauen of PIRÆA: a thing soone wonne, if he came to assault it on the sodaine, and the rather, for that the ATHENIANS mistrust nothing, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreouer, that he might assure himselfe, nothing could be better welcome to the lords of LACEDÆMONIA, then to make them lords of the city of ATHENS also. And again, that the THEBANS being at deadly fode with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betrayed and forsaken them in their need, would not aide nor succour them in any respect. *Sphodrias* giuing too light eare to this vaine perswasion, tooke the souldiers he had with him, and marching away by night entred the realme of ATTICA, and went on to the city of ELEVSIN: but when he came thither, his souldiers were afeard, and would go no further. So his purpose being discouered, he was forced to returne backe to THESPIES, hauing raised such a war to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as fell out to be of no small importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the ATHENIANS sought league and amity again with the THEBANS, and did aide them very louingly: and moreouer, putting themselues to sea, they sailed vp and downe, procuring and drawing to their league all such as were willing to rebell against the LACEDÆMONIANS: and the THEBANS besides, had many pretie skirmishes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the meane time, in their owne country of BOEOTIA. It is true they came to no great battels, but yet it was such a great learning and continuall training of them in marshal discipline, as the THEBANS stil increased in courage and valiantnesse, and waxed stronger and better souldiers: for by those skirmishes they grew not only expert soldiers, but waxed more skilfull in vsing their weapons, then before. As we reade, that *Antalcidas* a SPARTAN said one day to king *Agesilaus*, comming home sore hurt from BOEOTIA: surely the THEBANS haue giuen you a worthy reward, for teaching them to be souldiers against their wils. But to say truly, *Agesilaus* was not their maister to teach them to make wars, but they were the good and wise leaders of the THEBANS, who like good woodmē

Pelopidas ouerthrew the seignorie of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas pollicie to make the Athenians fall out with the Lacedemonians.

The Thebans exercise in armes.

Antalcidas' saying to king Agesilaus.

in chooſing their game, could skilfully chuſe both time and place to giue their enemies battell & make them retire again with ſafetie, after they had bin fleſhed, giuing them a litle taſt of the fruit and commodity of victory: but among them, *Pelopidas* was he that deſerued moſt honour. For ſince the firſt time they gaue him charge of men of war, they neuer failed, but choſe him continually euery yeare, either captaine of the holy band, or gouernour of BOEOTIA ſo long as he liued: ſo that *Pelopidas* only did the moſt things in this warre. The LACEDÆMONIANS were ouerthrowne in ſundry iournies, that they were diſtreſſed by the cities of PLATEES, and of THESPIES, where *Phæbidas* himſelfe (that had before taken the caſtell of CADMEA) was ſlaine among other. Another great power of theirs alſo was ouerthrown neare to the city of TANAGRA, where *Panthoidas* gouernor of the ſame, was alſo ſlain. Now al theſe victories, though they much encouraged the harts of the conquerors, and made them hardy: yet did they not thereby altogether conquer the minds of the vanquiſhed. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not ouercome in any pitched field, nor ſet battell, where they had their whole army together: but they were light rodes, and skirmiſhes properly laid of purpoſe, where ſometime flying, ſomtime driuing them againe, they bickered very oft, and put them to the worſt. But the battell of TEGYRA, which was but a flouriſh and proofe to the iourny of LEVCTRES, wan *Pelopidas* great honour: for he had no companion to challenge any part of his glory and victory, neither did he leaue his enemies anie lawfull excuſe, to ſhadow or couer their ouerthrow. For he ſpied all occaſion he might poſſible, how to take the city of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACEDÆMONIANS, & had receiued two enſignes of footemen of theirs to keepe it. *Pelopidas* being aduertiſed one day, that the garriſon of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the country of the LOCRIDES, hoping he ſhould find ORCHOMENE without garriſon, he marched thither with his holy band, and certaine number of horſemen. But when he drew neare the city, he had intelligence there was another garriſon comming from SPARTA to ſupply the place of the garriſon that was abrode: wherupon he returned backe againe by the city of TEGYRA, for he could haue paſſed no other way, but to haue turned downe by the foot of the mountaine. For all the valley that lay betweene both, was drowned with the ouerflowing of the riuer of MELAS, which euen from his very head carieth euer ſuch breadth with it, as it maketh the mariſhes nauigable, ſo as it is vnpaſſable for any ſhallow it hath. Not far frō theſe mariſhes, ſtandeth the temple of *Apollo* TEGYRIAN, where was an oracle in old time, but left off at this day, and had neuer long continuance, but only vntill the time of the wars of the MEDES, when *Echecrates* was maiſter and chiefe prieſt there. And ſome hold opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there: for they call the next mountaine to it DELOS, at the foot whereof the mariſhes of the riuer of MELAS do end, and behind the temple are two goodly ſprings, from whence commeth great abundance of good ſweet water: wherof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Oliue. And ſome ſay alſo, that the goddeſſe *Latona* was not brought to bed betweene two trees, but betweene theſe two ſprings. For mount PTOVM is hard by it alſo, from whence the wild bore came of a ſodaine that flighted her. And the tale that is told of the ſerpent *Pytho*, and of the giant *Tytius*, do both confirme it, that *Apollo* was borne in the ſame place. I paſſe ouer many other coniectures confirming the ſame, for that we do not beleeue in our countrey that *Apollo* is among the number of thoſe, who from mortall men haue bene tranſlated to immortall goddes, as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellencie of their vertue, did put off mortalitie, and tooke immortalitie vpon them: but we rather take him for one of thoſe that neuer had beginning nor generation, at the leaſt if thoſe things be to be credited, which ſo many graue and auncient writers haue left in writing to vs, touching ſo great and holy things. The THEBANS returning backe from ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other ſide returning alſo from LOCRIDE both at one time, they fortuned both armies to meete about the citie of TEGYRA. Now ſo ſoone as the THEBANS had diſcouered the LACEDÆMONIANS paſſing the ſtraight, one of them ranne ſodainely to *Pelopidas*, and told him: Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, aunſwered *Pelopidas* againe? With theſe words, he commaunded his horſemen that were in the rereward, to come before, and ſet vpon them: and himſelfe in the meane time put his footemen immediately into a pretie ſquadron cloſe together, being in all not aboue three hundred men, hoping when he ſhould come to giue charge with his battell, he ſhould make a lane through the enemies, though they were the greater number. For the LACEDÆMONIANS deuided themſelues in two companies, and euery company, as *Ephorus* writeth,

had

The victory of the Thebans againſt the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas victorie of the Lacedæmonians at the battell of Tegyra.

Melas fl.

Latona brought to bed betweene two ſprings called the Palme and the Oliue.

had fiue hundred men: and as *Calliſtenes* ſaid, ſeuen hundred. *Polibius*, and diuerſe other authours ſay, they were nine hundred men. So *Theopompus* and *Gorgoleon*, the Captaines of the LACEDÆMONIANS, luſtily marched againſt the THEBANS: and it fell out ſo, that the firſt charge was giuen, where the chiefetaines or Generals were of either ſide, with great fury on either part, ſo as both the Generals of the LACEDÆMONIANS which ſet vpon *Pelopidas* together, were ſlaine. They being ſlaine, and all that were about them being either hurt or killed in the field: the reſt of the army were ſo amazed, that they deuided in two, and made a lane on either ſide, for the THEBANS to paſſe through them if they would. But when they ſaw *Pelopidas* meant not to take the paſſage they offered him, and that he came on ſtill with his men to ſet vpon thoſe that were yet in battell ray, and ſlue all them that ſtood before him: then they turned taile, and tooke them to their legs. Howbeit the THEBANS did not chaſe them farre, fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not farre from them, and the new garriſon beſides, that were come from LACEDÆMON not long before. And this was the cauſe they were content that they had ouercommed them by force, and had paſſed through their army in deſpite of them, and broken and ouerthrowne them. So when he had ſet vp markes of triumph, and ſpoiled their ſlaine enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obtained victory. For in all the warres the LACEDÆMONIANS euer made, as well with the GRECIANS as with the barbarous people alſo, there was neuer chronicle mentioned at any time, that their enemies being ſo few, did ouercome them that were ſo many, nor that they were ouercome alſo by any number equall in battell. Whereupon they grew ſo couragious and terrible, that no man durſt once abide them: for their only fame did ſo terrifie their enemies that came to fight againſt them, that they thought with no equal force to be able to performe as much as they had done. But this battel of TEGYRA was the firſt that made both them and the other GRECIANS know, that it was not the riuer of EVROTAS alone, nor the valley that lyeth betweene the riuers of CNACION, and of BARYCE, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places elſe, where they learne yong men to be aſhamed of diſhoneſt and vile things, and to venter their liues for honeſt cauſes, fearing more diſhonorable reproach, then honourable daunger. Theſe are the people moſt to be feared, and are moſt terrible alſo to their enemies. And for the holy band we mentioned before, it is ſaid *Gorgidas* was the firſt erector of the ſame. They were three hundred choſen men entertained by the ſtate, and they alwayes kept within the caſtle of CADMEA, and the band was called the townes band: for at that time, and ſpecially in that part of GRECE, they called the caſtles and great holds in cities, the townes. Other ſay it was a band of footemen that were in loue one with another. And therefore *Pammenes* pleaſant words are noted, ſaying, that *Neſtor* could no skill to ſet an army in battell ray, ſeeing he gaue the GRECIANS counſell, in the Iliades of *Homer*, that they ſhould ſet them in battell ray, euery countrey and tribe by themſelues:

Pelopidas victorie.

VVhat enemies are moſt terrible and to be feared.

The firſt inſtitution of the holy band.

That by affections, force and linkes of kindly loue:
that one might alwayes helpe at hand, that other to behoue.

For, ſaid he, one friend ſhould rather be ſet by another that loues together: becauſe in daunger, men commonly do litle regard their countrey men, or ſuch as are of their tribe. But men that do loue one another, can neuer be broken nor ouercome: for the paſſion of loue that entertaineth ech others affection, for affection ſake, doth keep them frō forſaking one another. And thoſe that are beloued, being aſhamed to do any vile & diſhoneſt thing before thoſe that loue them, for very loue will ſticke one by another to the death. And ſure the reaſon is good, if it be true that louers do in deed more regard them they loue, though they be abſent, then other that be preſent. As appeareth by the example of him, that being ſtriken downe to the ground, his enemy lifting vp his ſword to kill him, he prayed him he would giue him his deaths wound before, leaſt his friend that loued him, ſeeing a wound on his backe, ſhould be aſhamed of him. It is reported alſo, that *Iolaus* being beloued of *Hercules*, did helpe and accompany him in all his labours and quarrels. Whereupon *Ariſtotle* writeth, that vnto his time, ſuch as loued heartily together, became ſworne brethren one to another, vpon *Iolaus* tombe. And therefore me thinkes it is likely, that this band was firſt called the holy band, by the ſelfe ſame reaſon that *Plato* calleth a louer, a diuine friend by Gods appointment. It is written alſo, that this band was neuer broken, nor ouerthrowne before the battell of CHÆRONEA. After that battell, *Philip* taking view of the ſlaine bodies, he ſtayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that band lay all dead on the ground, one hard by another, and all of them ſlaine and thruſt through with pikes on their breaſts,

Men louing together, fight deſperately againſt their enemies.

Hercules and Iolaus loue.

Platoes ſaying of a louer.

whereat he wondred much: and being told him that it was the louers band, he fell a weeping for pitie, saying: Wo be to them that thinke these men did, or suffered any euill or dishoneſt thing. And to be short, the misfortune of *Laius*, that was slaine by his owne brother *OEdipus*, was not the first originall cause of this custome, that the THEBANS began to be in loue one with an other, as the Poets write: but they were their first law-makers, who perceiuing them to be a stout and fierce nation of nature, they sought euen from their youth to make them gentle and ciuill, and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earneſt, they continually acquainted them with playing of the flute, being highly esteemed of them in those dayes. They brought in the vse also to make loue in the middeſt of all their youthful sports and exercises of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a ciuill life. And therefore they had reason that gaue the goddesse *Harmonia* to the THEBANS, for defender and patroneſſe of their citie, who was begotten (as they say) betweene *Mars* and *Venus*. For that giueth vs to vnderstand, that where force and warlike courage is ioyned with grace, to win and perswade: all things by this vnion and accord are brought to a goodly, profitable, and moſt perfect gouernement. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this holy band of the THEBANS, *Gorgidas* deuiding it in the former rankes, and placing it all alongſt the front of the battell of the footemen, it did not appeare what they were able to do of themselues, for that he brought them not all into one body: so as thereby they might see what seruice the whole company could do being together, considering that it was deuided and mingled amongst many other, that were a great deale of lesse value then themselues. But *Pelopidas* that had made good proofe of their valiantnesse before, when they fought about him of themselues, without others by them, at TEGYRA: would neuer after deuide nor separate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire body that had all his members, he would alwayes begin with them to giue a charge in his moſt dangerous battels. For, as we see in running of coaches at games, that horses being tied all together in a front, do runne faster and stronger then they do when they are loose, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together do breake through the aire better, but for that the contention and enuy betweene them to outrunne one another, doth indeed set their hearts and stomackes on fire. Euen so he thought, that valiant men giuing one another a desire and enuy to do well, should haue the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers sight. But the LACEDÆMONIANS afterwardes being at peace and league with all the other GRECIANS, proclaimed open warres against the THEBANS onely: and king *Cleombrotus* went to inuade them with an army of ten thousand footemen, and a thousand horsemen. Whereupon the THEBANS were not only in the like danger they stood in before to loose their libertie, but the LACEDÆMONIANS did openly threaten they would vtterly destroy them for euer: so that all the countrey of BOEOTIA stood in greater feare then euer they did before. And one day as *Pelopidas* went out of his house to go to the warres, his wife bringing him of the doores to take her leaue of him, weeping, she prayed him heartily to looke well to himself. But he answered her againe: My good wife, it is for priuate souldiers to be carefull of themselues, but not for captaines: for they must haue an eye to saue others liues. And when he came to the campe, he found the Captaines and the Lieutenants of the army, in sundry opinions: and he was the first that agreed with *Epaminondas* opinion, who thought it best they should giue battell to the enemies. *Pelopidas* at that time was neither gouernour of BOEOTIA, nor Generall of the armie, but onely captaine of the holy band: notwithstanding they had great affiance in him, and gaue him great authoritie in counsell concerning their affaires: such as became a man that had made so good testimony of his naturall loue and affection to his countrey, as he had done. Now being determined in counsell that they should giue the enemie battell, they all mustred together in the valley of LEVCTRES, where he had a vision in his dreame, that troubled him very much. In that valley there are the tombes of the daughters of one *Scedasus*, which by reason of the place, they call the LEVCTRIDES, for that they were buried there, after they had bene defiled and rauished by certaine guests of the SPARTANS that lay in their house, trauelling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poore father of these defiled virgines, could neither haue iustice nor reuenge of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and therefore after he had banned and curſed the LACEDÆMONIANS with moſt horrible and execrable railings and curses as might be possible, he killed himselfe vpon the graues of his daughters. The LACEDÆMONIANS had many sundry oracles, prophecies, and signes of the gods to warne them, to take heed of the wrath of the LEVCTRIDES: howbeit euery man vnderstood

The Goddeſſe Harmonia.

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedemonians.

Pelopidas princely answer.

See what plagues follow where iuſtice is denied.

vnderstood not the signification of this prophecy, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the name. For there was a litle towne in the country of LACONIA, standing vpon the sea side, called LEVCTRVM: and in ARCADIA also by the city of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another towne called by the same name. This misfortune chaunced long before the battell of LEVCTRES: but then *Pelopidas* dreaming in his tent, thought he saw in a vision the daughters of *Scedasus* weeping about their graues, and cursing the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that he saw their father also, commanding him to sacrifice a red maiden to his daughters, if they would obtaine the victory. This commaundement at the first, seemed very cruell and wicked: whereupon when he rose, he went to the Prognosticators and Generals of the army, and told them his dreame. So, some of them sayd, this was no matter to be lightly passed ouer, but to be considered of, alleaging many examples in the like cases. As of *Menecius* the sonne of *Creon* in old time, and of *Macaria* the daughter of *Hercules*. And yet of latter memory, the wife *Pherecydes*, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS slue, and whose skinne their Kings do keepe at this day, by commaundement of an oracle. And *Leonidas*, who following a prophecy of the gods, did as it were sacrifice himselfe, for the safety of GREECE. And furthermore, the young boyes which *Themistocles* did sacrifice to *Bacchus Omestes* (to say, eating raw flesh) before the battell of SALAMINA. And all these sacrifices were acceptable to the gods, as the victories following did plainely shew. In contrary maner also King *Agesilaus*, comming from those very places, from whence king *Agamemnon* came in the time of the warres of TROIA, and going also against the same enemies, dreamed one night in the city of AVLIDE, he saw the goddesse *Diana*, asking him his daughter for sacrifice. But he tenderly louing her, would by no meanes performe it: and thereupon was compelled to breake off his iourney before he had executed his enterprise, and departed with small honor. Other to the contrary stood to it stoutly, and said, it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abhominable, anst brutish a sacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the gods, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: considering that they be no impressions in the ayre, nor giants that rule the world, but the one onely mighty and eternall God, Father of gods and men. And to beleeue that either gods or demi-gods do delight in murther, or shedding of mans bloud, it is a meere mockery and folly. But admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that haue no power at all: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirit, when they haue such damnable and horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide still with them. Now the Generals and heads of the army of the THEBANS being of sundry opinions, and *Pelopidas* being more afraid then before, by reason of their disagreement: a yong mare colt, or filly, breaking by chance from other mares, running and flinging through the campe, came to stay right against them. Then euery man began to looke vpon her, and to marke what a faire filly it was, and red coloured euery where, and what a pride she tooke with her selfe to heare her owne neighing. *Theocritus* then the soothsayer being amongst them, did behold her, and knew straight what the filly meant, and so cried out forthwith: O happy *Pelopidas*, loe here is the sacrifice thou lookest for, seeke no other virgine for thy sacrifice, but take this that God himselfe doth send thee. When *Theocritus* had said so, they tooke the filly, and laid her vpon the tombe of *Scedasus* daughters, and put garlands of flowers about her, as they handled other sacrifices: and then after their prayers made to the gods, they did sacrifice her with great ioy, and told *Pelopidas* vision in his dreame the night before through all the camp, and the sacrifice they had made also according to the signification thereof. Moreouer, when they came to ioyne battel, *Epaminondas* being General, drew all his army on the left hand, because he would bring the right wing of the enemies army (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GRECIANS their friends and allies, that were set in the other wing of their battell: that he comming with his whole power together to giue a charge vpon *Cleombrotus* their King (being in a corner by himselfe) might be distressed or ouerthrowne. The enemies finding *Pelopidas* intent, began to chaunge their order, and hauing men enough, meant to thrust out their right wing at length to compasse in *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* in the meane time sodainly preuented them, and running with great fury with his squadron of three hundred men, he set vpon *Cleombrotus* before he could disorder his men to put forth the right wing, and ioyne them together againe. And so he found the LACEDÆMONIANS not yet setled in their rankes, and brake them in this disorder, thrusting one in anothers place to put themselues againe in order: notwithstanding the LACEDÆMONIANS, of all other men were the onely captaines and most expert souldiers in marshall discipline, as men so trained and practised, that no

Pelopidas dreame and vision in the fields of Leuctres.

Agesilaus dreame.

Godly sayings concerning God.

Gods prouidence and sodaine aide.

The filly slaine and sacrificed.

The battell at Leuctres.

The cause of the ouerthrow of the Lacedamonians.

sodaine altering, of forme or order in their rankes, could either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turne head or side vpon any sodaine occasion offered, and could fight and order themselues in battell euery way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to giue the onset vpon them alone, with the whole force of his battell together, not tarying for others: and *Pelopidas* also with an incredible courage and readinesse, presenting himselfe in battell before them, did put them into such a terrible feare, that they cleane forgot their skill in fighting, and their wonted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backes, and there were moe LACEDÆMONIANS slaine at that day, then euer were before in any former battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being neither gouernour of BOEOTIA, nor Generall of all the army, but onely captaine of the holy band: did notwithstanding win as much honour and glory of this victory, as *Epaminondas*, that was gouernour of BOEOTIA, and Generall of all the army. Indeed afterwards they were both gouernours of BOEOTIA together, when they inuaded the countrey of PELOPONNESVS: where they made most part of the cities and people rebell against the LACEDÆMONIANS, and take their part. As the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARCADIA, and the best part of LACONIA selfe, notwithstanding it was in the heart of winter, and in the shortest dayes of the yeare, and towards the latter end also of the last moneth of their yeares authoritie and rule, hauing not many dayes to continue in office, being forced to leaue their authoritie, vpon paine of death if they did refuse, vnto other officers new chosen, the beginning of the next moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, and gouernours also of the country of BOEOTIA, what for feare to incurre the daunger of the law, as also to auoide the trouble to lie in campe in the sharpest of winter: they did vrge and perswade them to bring the armie backe againe into their countrey. But *Pelopidas* was the first that yeelded to *Epaminondas* opinion, and wanne the other THEBANS also to consent vnto it, to be contented to be led by them, to giue assault to the citie selfe of SPARTA. So, through their perswasion they passed ouer the riuer of EVROTAS, and took many litle townes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and wasted and destroyed all the countrey to the sea side, leading vnder their ensignes an army of three score and ten thousand fighting men, and all GRECIANS, the THEBANS not making vp the twelfth part of them. Now, the honour and great reputation of these two persons, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought their friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any resolution of counsell or publicke order, and neuer opened their mouthes against them, but willingly marched vnder their conduction. And in my opinion, truly me thinkes it is the first and chiefest point in the law of nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himselfe, should leane to one that is strong, and able to defend both. Euen much like to fresh-water souldiers, and raw sea-men, that lying at sea in calme weather, and in safe harbour, are as lustie and bragge with the maisters and boatswaines as may be: but let a litle storme of weather come vpon them sodainely, and that they be in any daunger, then they looke on the maisters, hoping for no life but at their hands. And euen in like manner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all assemblies of counsell they would euer iarre and striue with the THEBANS, for honour and superioritie in the armie: yet when any battell came to be fought, wherein they saw there was daunger, then their peacockes brauerie was gone, and they were glad to obey their Generals commaundement. In this iourney they brought all the cities of the prouince of ARCADIA to be in league with them, and tooke all the countrey of MESSENIA from the LACEDÆMONIANS, which they peaceably enioyed: and called home againe all the auncient inhabitants of the same, and restored them to their countrey, and replenished the citie of ITHOME. Then returning afterwardes into their countrey by the citie of CENCHREES, they ouerthrew the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entring into the straight of PELOPONNESVS, supposing to haue stopped their passage. Thus was the valiantnesse of these two worthie men greatly commended and honoured of euery bodie, for so many notable exploites and victories as they had wonne, and their maruellous good successe, greatly wondred at. But as their glorie and renowne increased abroade, so did their countrey mens malice and enuie increase against them at home: who had prepared such a welcome home for them, as was too bad and vile for so honourable seruice as they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* both at their returne, were accused of treason. For there was a speciall law at THEBES, that commaunded all such as should happen to be gouernours of BOEOTIA, to resigne their office immediatly to the new officers elect, at the beginning of the first moneth of the yeare, which in BOEOTIA they call BOVCATION: and they had kept it foure whole moneths

Pelopidas and Epaminondas victory, at the battell of Leuctres.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas iourney into Peloponnesus being both gouernours of Bœotia.

A penall lawe at Thebes, for resigning vp of offices at the yeares end.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas went ouer the riuer of Eurotas, with 70. thousand men.

The ingratitude of the Thebans, towards Pelopidas and Epaminondas.

The lawe Boucation.

moneths aboue their tearme appointed, in which time they had done all that we haue ſpoken of before, as well in the prouince of MESSENIA and of ARCADIA, as alſo in the countrey of LACONIA. *Pelopidas* was the firſt of the two that was called in by proceſſe, therefore he ſtood in the greater daunger: howbeit in the end, they were both diſcharged againe. As for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his accuſation and the attempt of his enemies (whereby they ſought to haue caſt them both away) quietly enough: iudging, that patience to thoſe that deale in ſtate and gouernement, is a great ſhew of force and magnanimitie. But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more cholericke, and ſet on beſides by ſome of his friends, did take this occaſion to be reuenged. *Meneclidas* the orator was one of thoſe that came into *Charons* houſe with *Pelopidas* and *Melon*, but notwithſtanding the THEBANS did nothing honour him, as they did the reſt. He taking this ill at their hands, being maruellous eloquent of ſpeech, but viciouſly giuen otherwayes, and a man of a vile and miſchieuous nature: did fondly abuſe his eloquence, falſly accuſing thoſe that were his betters, in honeſty and credite. And not being contented with this firſt accuſation, he practiſed ſo commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being gouernour of BOEOTIA, which he ſued for: and moreouer, he was euer againſt him in all matters of ſtate he tooke in hand. But he could neuer bring *Pelopidas* out of fauour with the people: and therefore he ſought to make bate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common tricke of all ſpitefull perſons, who when they cannot be thought ſo honeſt men as thoſe whom they enuy: to go about to prooue that they are not ſo honeſt and meete men, as thoſe whom they preferre and commend. So, in all his orations he made to the people, he continually extolled and commended *Charons* noble acts and victories, and ſpecially that victory aboue other, which the THEBANS wonne before the iourney of LEVCTRES, in a skirmiſh of horſemen, that was before the city of PLATEES, he hauing charge of the ſame: of the which he would leaue this memory. *Androcides* a CYZICENIAN and painter, was at a price with the THEBANS to paint them ſome other battell in a table, and he did draw this worke in the city ſelfe of THEBES: but as he was in hand withall, the rebellion of the THEBANS fell out againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and warre followed on the necke of that, whereupon the painter forſooke THEBES, leauing his worke in a manner done and perfect. The THEBANS kept this table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moued the people they would hang it vp in ſome temple or publicke place with an inſcription vpon it, ſaying thus: This was *Charons* victory: of purpoſe to deface and obſcure the glorie of *Pelopidas* and of *Epaminondas*. Too vaine and fond was his ambition, to ſet before ſo many noble battels and victories, one ſimple ouerthrow of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meaneſt gentlemen of all SPARTA was ſlaine, and forty other with him: and this was all he did. *Pelopidas* miſliked *Meneclidas* motion, maintaining that it was directly againſt the lawes of THEBES, which did expreſly forbid that no priuate perſon ſhould be honoured with the title of common victorie, but willed the glory thereof ſhould be attributed to all the people generally. Indeed *Pelopidas* in his orations did greatly praiſe and commend *Charon*, notwithſtanding he made open proofe, how *Meneclidas* was an ennious and ſpitefull detractour, and a naughtie wicked man, oftentimes asking the THEBANS, if they themſelues were worthy of no honour? ſo as in the end he cauſed *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great ſumme of money. But he finding himſelfe vnable to pay it, being ſo great a ſumme, practiſed afterwards to alter the whole ſtate and gouernement. I thought good to dilate this at large, becauſe me thinkes it doth ſomewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature and maners, what they were. Now about that time *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, was at open warres with many people of THESSALY, and did vſe all policie he could, to bring them all to his obedience. Whereupon the free cities ſent their Ambaſſadours vnto THEBES, to pray them to ſend them a captaine with an army to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* ſeeing *Epaminondas* occupied about the warres of PELOPONNESVS, did offer himſelfe to the THESSALIAN Ambaſſadours, being loth to drowne his experience and ſufficiencie in warres, with vnprofitable and tedious idleneſſe, knowing that in thoſe parts where *Epaminondas* lay, there needed no other captaine. Now when he came with his army into THESSALY, the citie of LARISSA yeelded preſently vnto him: where the tyrant *Alexander* came to meete with him, and to pray him to treate a peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. *Pelopidas* attempted to bring it to paſſe, ſecking in ſtead of a tyrant to make him a gentle, iuſt, and lawfull gouernour of THESSALY. But when he ſaw no perſwaſions could take place with the tyrant, and that he grew more ſtubborne and vntractable, and would not heare reaſon: and more-

Epaminondas patience.

Pelopidas condemneth Meneclidas, a ſeditious orator and accuſer.

The practiſe of ſpiteſull men.

Our forefathers did paint and ſet forth their battels.

Alexander the tyrant of Phere.

Laiſſa a citie

ouer, that he heard many grieuous complaints of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a maruellous dissolute and vnruly person in all his doings, and extreamely couetous besides: then he began to speake roundly to him, and to handle him roughly. But the tyrant thereupon stole away secretly from him, and fled with his guard and souldiers about him. So *Pelopidas* leauing the THESSALIANS out of all feare and daunger of the tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amitie one with the other, he went into MACEDON: where *Ptolomie* made warre at that time with *Alexander*, being king of MACEDON, they both hauing sent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and also to help him that had the right, against him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and restored the banished men of either side, to their lands and goods againe. For assurance of peace, he tooke the kings brother in hostage, whose name was *Philip*, and thirty other children of the noblest mens sonnes of MACEDON, whom he brought away with him to THEBES, to let the GRECIANS see, that the reputation of the THEBANS power stretched farre, and the renowne also of their maner of gouernement and iustice. It is the same *Philip*, that made warre afterwards with the GRECIANS, to take their libertie from them: howbeit being but a boy at that time, he was brought vp at THEBES in *Pammenes* house. And this is the cause, why some thought *Philip* did follow *Epaminondas* maner: and it might be peraduenture, he did learne of him to be quicke and ready in the warres, which indeed was but a peece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as to the continencie, iustice, magnamitie, and clemencie, which were the speciall points that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* could neither by nature, education, or study euer attaine vnto. The THESSALIANS hauing sent afterwards to THEBES, to complaine of *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, that did againe molest and trouble the free cities of THESSALY: *Pelopidas* was sent thither Ambassador with *Ismenias*, carying no power with him from THEBES, litle thinking he should haue needed to haue made wars: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the country self, vpon the instant necessitie offered. At the very same time also, all MACEDON was vp in armes: for *Ptolomy* had slain the King, and vsurped the kingdome, and the seruants and friends of the dead king called vpon *Pelopidas* for aid, who desiring to come euen vpon the fact, and hauing brought no men of warre out of his owne countrey with him, did presently leauy certaine men where he was, and so marched forward with them against *Ptolomy*. Now *Ptolomy* when both their powers met, did corrupt the souldiers *Pelopidas* had brought with money, to take his part. But notwithstanding this pollicie he had practised, yet he was afraid of the name onely, and greatnesse of *Pelopidas* reputation: wherefore he went vnto *Pelopidas*, as to a better man then himselfe, and making maruellous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promise, and bound it by oath, that he would keepe the Realme for the brethren of the dead King, and that he would take all those for his friends or enemies, whom the THEBANS did either loue or hate. And for assurance of his promise, he gaue him his son *Philaxenus* in hostage, and fiftie other of his friends, all the which *Pelopidas* sent vnto THEBES. But in the meane time, being maruellously offended with the treason of the souldiers against him, vnderstanding the most part of their goods, their wiues and children, were in the city of PHARSALE, he thought if he could win that, it were a maruellous good way for him to be reuenged of the treachery of the souldiers against him: whereupon he leauied certaine THESSALIANS, and went to that citie. *Pelopidas* was no sooner come thither, but *Alexander* the tyrant arriued also with his army. *Pelopidas* supposing he had come to iustifie himselfe, clearing the complaints of the THESSALIANS made against him: went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delighted in murther and shedding of bloud. Neuertheless, he hoped he durst not haue attempted any thing against him, for the authority and seigniories sake of THEBES, by whom he was sent thither, as also for his owne reputation. But the tyrant seeing him slenderly accompanied, and without traine of souldiers: tooke him prisoner, and wan the citty of PHARSALE at that present time. But this act of his put his subiects in a great feare, who seeing him commit so shamefull a deed against all equity, did thinke straight he meant to spare no man, but would vse men, and all things else that came in his hands, like a desperate man, and one that reckoned himselfe cast away. But when the THEBANS vnderstood this newes, they were maruellous sory, and straight sent an army thither, appointing other captaines then *Epaminondas*, because then they had some misliking of him. *Alexander* the tyrant hauing brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to PHERES, did suffer any man that would at the first to come and see him, and speake with him: supposing his imprisonment had killed his heart, & had made him very humble.

Philip of Macedon, deliuered for hostage to Pelopidas

Pelopidas taken prisoner by the tyrant Alexander at Pharsale.

But

But when he was told the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comfort the citizens of PHERES, and willed them to be of good cheare, telling them the hower was now come that the tyrant ſhould ſmart for all the miſchiefes he had done: and that he ſent him word to his face, he had no reaſon to hang and put his poore citizens daily to death as he did, with ſundry kinds of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him, and did let him alone, knowing that if euer he got out of his hands, he would be reuenged of him. The tyrant wondring at this great ſtomacke of his, and at his maruellous conſtancie fearing nothing: asked what he meant to long for haſtie death? *Pelopidas* being told what he ſaid, anſwered him againe: Marry, ſaid he, becauſe thou ſhouldeſt dye the ſooner, being more odious to the gods and men, then yet thou art. After this anſwer, the tyrant would neuer ſuffer any man to come and ſpeake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the daughter of the tyrant *Iaſon* deceaſed, and wife at that time of *Alexander* the tyraunt, hearing report of *Pelopidas* noble mind and courage by his keepers: ſhe had a maruellous deſire to ſee him, and to ſpeake with him. But when ſhe came to ſee him, like a woman ſhe could not at the firſt diſcerne the greatneſſe of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in ſuch miſerie: yet coniecturing by exteriour ſhew, noting his ſimple apparell, his haires and beard growne very long, and how poorely he was ſerued, and worſe entertained: ſhe thought with her ſelfe his caſe was to be pitied, and that he was in no ſtate meete for the glory of his name, wherewith ſhe fell a weeping for compaſſion. *Pelopidas* that knew not what ſhe was, beganne to muſe at the firſt: but when it was told him ſhe was *Iaſons* daughter, then he courteouſly ſaluted her for her father *Iaſons* ſake, who while he liued was his very good friend. So *Thebe* ſaid vnto him: my Lord *Pelopidas*, I pitie thy poore ladie and wife. Truly ſo do I pitie thee, quoth *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou being no priſoner, canſt abide ſuch a wicked *Alexander*. This anſwer tickled *Thebe* at the heart, who with great impatience did beare the crueltie, violence, and villanie of the tyrant her husband: that beſides all other infamous actes of his deteſtable life, committed Sodomie with her youngeſt brother. So ſhe oft viſiting *Pelopidas*, and boldly making her mone to him, telling him cloſely all the iniuries her husband offred her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by litle and litle ſhe grew to abhorre him, and to conceiue a hate in heart againſt him, deſiring reuenge on him. But now the captains of the THEBANS that were ſent to deliuer *Pelopidas*, being entred into THESSALY with their army: (whether it was through default of ignorance, or their miſhappe) they returned home with ſhame, and did nothing. Whereupon the THEBANS at their returne home condemned them euery man in the ſumme of ten thouſand Drachmes, and ſent *Epaminondas* thither againe with another armie: at whoſe comming, all THESSALY roſe incontinently, for the reputation of ſo great a captaine. And his fortune was ſo good, that he had in a manner vtterly ouerthrowne all the whole ſtate of the tyrant: his friends and captaines were ſo much afraid, and his ſubiects on the other ſide ſo well diſpoſed to rebell, and maruellous glad for the hope they had, quickely to ſee the tyrant haue his deſerued hire, for all his former wicked deedes he had committed. Notwithſtanding, *Epaminondas* preferring the deliuerie and ſafetie of *Pelopidas*, before the conſideration of his owne honour and glory, and fearing leſt *Alexander* ſeeing himſelfe in daunger to be turned out of all he had, falling into diſpaire like a bedlem beaſt, would bend all his deſperation and furie againſt *Pelopidas*: he drew theſe warres out in length, compaſſing him round about, but not fiercely ſetting vpon him with colour to prepare his way the better by delaying ſtill, thereby to ſoften the cruell mind of this tyrant, going on in this gentle ſort, and partly to cut his combe and extreame pride, but ſpecially to preſerue *Pelopidas* from the daunger and crueltie of his beaſtly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruell man, and one that neither regarded reaſon, nor iuſtice in any ſort, conſidering how he made ſome men to be buried aliue, and others to be put in the skinnes of beares and wild bores, and then to ſet hounds vpon them to teare them in peeces, or elſe himſelfe for his paſtime would kill them, with ſhooting or throwing of dartes at them. And in the cities of MELIBEA and of SCOTVSA, both of them being in league and friendſhip with him, he ſpying a time one day when the citizens were aſſembled in counſell together, ſodainely compaſſed them in with his guard and ſouldiers, and put them euery one to the ſword, euen to the litle children. And he conſecrated the dart alſo wherewith he had ſlaine his owne vnkle *Polyphron*, and hauing put garlands vpon it, he did ſacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it *Tychon*, as one would ſay, happie killer. And another time being in a Theater, where the Tragedie of *Troades* of *Eurypides* was played, he went out of the Theater, and ſent word to the players notwithſtanding, that they ſhould go on with their play,

Pelopidas ſtoutneſſe.

Thebe the wife of Alexander the tyrant.

Epaminondas ſent into Theſſaly with an armie.

The brutiſh crueltie of Alexander the tyrant.

as if he had bene ſtill among them: ſaying that he came not away for any miſliking he had of them or of the play, but becauſe he was aſhamed his people ſhould ſee him weepe, to ſee the miſeries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played, and that they neuer ſaw him pitie the death of any one man, of ſo many of his citizens as he had cauſed to be ſlaine. The guilty conſcience therefore of this cruell and heathen tyrant, did make him tremble at the onely name and reputation of *Epaminondas*: and as the common prouerbe ſaith:

He let his wings downe fall, not much vnlike the cocke,
which doth refuſe the pit prepar'de, and liſt not bide the ſhocke.

So he ſent ſtraight vnto *Epaminondas* to excuſe himſelfe. But *Epaminondas* would in no wiſe ſuffer the THEBANS, through his meanes, to make league with ſuch an helhound: onely he yeelded to abſtinence of armes for thirtie daies, vpon deliuery of *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias* into his hands, with whom he ſtraight returned vnto THEBES. Now the THEBANS being aduertiſed that the LACEDÆMONIANS and the ATHENIANS, did ſend Ambaſſadours to *Artaxerxes* the mighty king of PERSIA, to make league with him: they ſent to him *Pelopidas* for them alſo, being wiſely conſidered of them to ſend a man of ſuch fame and reputation. For *Pelopidas* paſſing firſt through countries ſubiect to the king of PERSIA, his fame was ſuch where he came, that the peoples talke was onely of him. For the report of the famous battels he had won of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was not onely caried into the next regions and countries of ASIA: but ſince the firſt newes of the iourney of LEVCTRES was brought thither, *Pelopidas* hauing after that, wonne victorie vpon victorie, his eſtimation grew ſo great, as it was blowne abroad through the world, euen to the higheſt and furtheſt parts of the Eaſt countries. And when he came to the king of PERSIAES court, the Princes, great Lords, and Captaines of PERSIA that ſaw him, had him in great admiration, ſaying: Lo this is he that conquered the LACEDÆMONIANS, and tooke all their ſeignorie and authoritie from them, both by ſea and by land, and draue the SPARTANS beyond the riuer of EVROTAS, and from mount TAVGETVM, who not long before made warres with the great king of PERSIA, being ledde vnder their king *Ageſilaus*, euen in the middeſt of ASIA, for the realmes of SVSE, and of ECBATANE. So king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe was very glad of his comming, and praiſed him aboue them all, and made his eſtimation greater then it was before, by his great and honourable entertaining of him, meaning thereby to returne the honour to himſelfe againe: becauſe men ſhould thinke that the moſt famous men of the world came to honour him, and to ſee his Court, as eſteeming both him and his greatneſſe, the onely happineſſe of the world. But when he had ſeene his face, and heard him ſpeake, and perceiued that his words were much grauer then the ATHENIANS, and plainer then the LACEDÆMONIANS: he then was further in loue with him then before, and without diſguiſing, he did honour and fauor him aboue all the other Ambaſſadours, who found that he made more eſtimation of him, then of them all. Notwithſtanding, he ſeemed to beare greater goodwill vnto *Antalcidas* LACEDÆMONIAN, then to any other of the GRECIANS: for that one day being at the table, he tooke a garland of flowers from his owne head, and waſhed it in perfuming water, and ſent it vnto him. Indeed he did not vſe *Pelopidas* with that open familiaritie, yet did he ſend him the goodlieſt and richeſt preſents he could deuiſe, and graunted him beſides all his requeſts he made vnto him: which were, that all the people of GRECE ſhould be free: that the city and countrey of MESSINA ſhould be inhabited againe: and that the citizens of THEBES by their ſucceſſours ſhould be taken, as auncient friends and allies of the kings of PERSIA. So when he had receiued theſe anſwers, he returned home againe, and would by no meanes accept any of the great preſents the king had offered him: which cauſed the other ambaſſadours of the GRECIANS to be ſo ill welcome home to their cities. For among other, *Timagoras* was accuſed to the ATHENIANS, and condemned to dye, and was executed: which if they did in reſpect of the great preſents he had taken of the king, truly they had reaſon, and it was worthily done of them. For he tooke not only gold and ſiluer enough, as much as they would giue him: but receiued a very rich bed alſo, and PERSIAN chamberlaines to make and dreſſe it vp, as if no GRECIAN ſeruants of his could haue ſerued that turne. Moreouer, he receiued foureſcore milch kine to the paile, and neateheardes to keepe them, hauing neede of cowes milke belike, to heale a diſeaſe that fell vpon him: and would needs be caried in a litter vpon mens armes from the Kings Court, vnto the *Mediterranian* ſea, the king rewarding them for their paines that caried him, with foure talents. Yet it ſeemeth the gifts he tooke did not offend the ATHENIANS ſo much, conſidering that *Epicrates* (a drudge

Epaminondas deliuered Pelopidas out of priſon.

Artaxerxes king of Perſia.

Pelopidas ſent Ambaſſador to the king of Perſia.

Pelopidas greatly honored of the king of Perſia.

Pelopidas refuſed the great gifts of the king Artaxerxes.

Timagoras Ambaſſadour for the Athenians, put to death for taking great gifts of the king of Perſia.

or

or tankerd-bearer) did not onely confesse before the people, how he had taken giftes of the king of PERSIA: but said furthermore, that he would haue a law made, that in stead of the nine officers they did yerely chuse to rule the whole city: they shold chuse nine of the pooreſt & meaneſt citizens, and send them ambassadours vnto the king of PERSIA, that they might returne home rich men with gifts. The people laughed to heare him, but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they had demaunded: not considering that *Pelopidas* estimation and worthineſse did more preuaile, and take better effect, then all the orations the other could make, and specially to a Prince that sought alwaies to entertaine those GRECIANS, which were of greateſt force and power in the warres. This Ambassage did greatly increase euery mans loue and goodwill vnto *Pelopidas*, because of the repleniſhing againe of MESSINA with inhabitants, and infranchiſing and setting at liberty of all the other GRECIANS. But the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, returning againe to his old accuſtomed cruelties, and hauing deſtoyed many cities of THESSALY, and placed his garriſons through all the country of the PHTHIOTES, ACHAIANS, and MAGNESIANS: the cities being aduertiſed of *Pelopidas* returne againe to THEBES, they sent ambaſſadours immediatly to THEBES, to pray them to send them an army, and namely *Pelopidas* for captaine, to deliuer them from the miſerable bondage of the tyrant. The THEBANS willingly graunted them, and put all things in readineſse very sodainely. But *Pelopidas* being ready to set forward in his iourney, there fell a sodaine eclypse of the Sunne, ſo as at noone day it was very darke in THEBES. *Pelopidas* seeing euery man afraid of this eclypse aboue, he would not compell the people to depart with this feare, nor with ſo ill hope to hazard the loſſe of ſeuen thouſand THEBANS, being all billed to go this iourney: but notwithſtanding, he put himſelfe alone into the THESSALIANS hands, with three hundred horſemen of ſtraungers that were glad to ſerue with him, with whom he took his iourny againſt the ſoothſayers minds, & againſt the goodwill of all his citizens, who thought this eclypse did threaten the death of ſome great perſon like himſelfe. But *Pelopidas* though he needed no ſpurre to be reuenged vpon the tyrant *Alexander*, being by nature hote, and deſirous of himſelfe to reuenge the ſpite and villanie he had offered him: yet he had a further hope to find the tyrants houſe deuided againſt himſelfe, by the former talke he had with his wife *Thebe*, in time of his impriſonment there. Neuertheleſſe, the fame and reputation of the iourney vndertaken, did wonderfully increaſe his noble courage, and the rather becauſe he was deſirous (all he could) the GRECIANS ſhould ſee, that at the very ſame time when the LACEDÆMONIANS did ſend gouernors and captaines to *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SICILE, to ſerue and aide him, and that the ATHENIANS as hirelings tooke pay of the tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, in whoſe honour they had ſet vp a ſtatue of braſſe in their city, as vnto their ſauiour: the THEBANS onely at the ſelfe ſame time tooke armes againſt them, to deliuer thoſe whom the tyrants oppreſſed, and ſought to root out all tyrannicall gouernment ouer the GRECIANS. So when he came to the city of PHARSALE, and had gathered his armie together, he went preſently into the field to meet with the tyrant. *Alexander* perceiuing *Pelopidas* had very few THEBANS about him, and that he had twiſe as many mo THESSALIANS with him, then the other had: he went vnto the temple of THETIS, to meet with *Pelopidas*. There one telling *Pelopidas*, that *Alexander* was comming againſt him with a great power, *Pelopidas* aunſwered him ſtraight, all the better, we ſhall kill the more. Now in the midſt of the valley, there are certaine round hils of a good pretie height, which they commonly call the dogs heads: they both ſtriued which of their footmen ſhould firſt get thoſe hils. *Pelopidas* hauing a great number of horſemen, and good men at armes in the field, ſent them before to giue charge vpon the enemies, that preſſed to winne the vantage of the place: and hauing ouerthrowne them, they followed the chaſe all the valley ouer. But in the meane time, *Alexander* hauing his footmen by, marched forwards and got the hils, becauſe the THESSALIANS that were further off came too late: notwithſtanding when they came to the hils, they ſought forcibly to clime them vp, being very high and ſteepe: but *Alexander* comming downe the hill, gaue charge vpon them to their diſaduantage, and ſlue the firſt that gaue the attempt to get vp againſt the hill: and the reſidue being ſore hurt, retired againe without their purpoſe. *Pelopidas* ſeeing that, founded the retraite for the horſemen that followed the chaſe, to repaire to the ſtandard, and commanded them they ſhould ſet vpon the footmen of the enemies that were in battell ray: and he himſelfe ran to helpe thoſe that fought to win the hilles. So he tooke his target on his arme, and paſſing through the rereward, he got to the foremoſt rankes: to whom, the ſight of his perſon did ſo redouble their force and courage,

Pelopidas ſecond iourny againſt the tyrãt Alexander of Pheres.

The eclypſe of the Sun made the Thebans afraid.

Battell giuen by the temple of Thetis, vnto the tyrant Alexander.

that the enemies themselues thought it had bene a fresh supply of new mens harts and other bodies then theirs with whom they had fought before, that came thus lustily to set againe vpon them. And yet they did abide two or three onsets. Howbeit in the end, perceiuing those men did still more fiercely force to get vp the hill, and moreouer how their horsemen were come in from the chase: they gaue way, and left them the place, retyring backe by litle and litle. Then *Pelopidas* hauing won the hils, stayed on the top of them, viewing the armie of his enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waued vp and downe in great disorder. And there he looked all about, to see if he could spie out *Alexander*: and at the length he found him out amongest others, in the right wing of his battell, setting his men againe in order and incouraging of them. After he had set eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his heart so rose against him vpon sight of him, that giuing place to wrath, he neither regarded his person, nor the intent of his iourney, but running farre before his men, he cryed with a loud voice to the tyrant, and chalenged the combate of him. The tyrant would not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid himselfe amongst his souldiers. But for his souldiers, the first that thought to set vpon *Pelopidas*, were slaine by him, and many left dead in the field. The residue standing stoutly to it, and close together, did passe his curaces through with their long pikes, and thrust him into the brest. The THESSALIANS seeing him thus sore handled and distressed, for pitie sake came running from the toppe of those hilles, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to helpe him. But euen as they came, he fell downe dead before them. Then did they together with their horsmen so fiercely set vpon them, that they made the whole battell of the enemies to flie: and following them in chase a great way from that place, they couered the valley with dead bodies, for they slue aboue three thousand men. It is no maruell, if the THEBANS that were at *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heauily, and lamented bitterly: calling him their father, their sauiour, and maister, as one that had taught them the worthiest things that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other friends and confederates also of the citie of THEBES, besides their exceeding in setting out their common proclamations and edicts in praise of his memory, and doing him all the honour that could be due to the most rare and excellent person that euer was: they did yet more shew their loue and affection towards him, by their passing great sorow and mourning they made for him. For it is said, that they that were at the battell, did not put off their armour, nor vnbridle their horses, nor would dresse their wounds, hearing tell of his death, before they went first and saw his body not yet cold with fighting, laying great heapes of the enemies spoils about it, as if he could haue told what they had done, nor before they had clipped off their own haires, and the haire of their horses, in token of sorow. And many of them also, when they were come into their tents and pauilions, would neither haue fire, eate, nor drinke: and all in the camp were full of sorow and mourning, as if they had not won a notable victorie, but had bene ouerthrown and made subiect by the tyrant. Afterwards when the newes of his death was spread through all the country, the Magistrates of euery citie through which *Pelopidas* bodie was conueyed, went to receiue it very honorably, accompanied with all the young men, the Priestes and children carying tokens and crownes of triumph, and other ornaments of gold, and when his funerall day was come, and that his bodie should be caried to be buried, the oldest and the noblest persons of the THESSALIANS went vnto the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might haue the burying of him: and one among them being the mouth of the rest, spake in this manner to the THEBANS. My Lords of THEBES, our good beloued friends and confederates, we only craue this good turne at your hands, wherein you shall much honour vs, and in our great calamitie somwhat also comfort vs. For we shall neuer more accompany *Pelopidas* aliue, nor requite his honorable deserts to vs, that he shall euer know them. But if it please you to let vs handle his body with our hands, and that we may bury him, and set foorth his obsequies, we will imagine then at the least that you do think that, which we our selues do certainly beleeue: that we THESSALIANS, not you THEBANS, haue receiued the greater losse of both. For you haue lost indeed a worthy Captaine, and we haue not onely receiued the like losse with you, but the hope also of recouering of our libertie. For how dare we againe send to you for another Captaine, when we cannot redeliuer you *Pelopidas*? The THEBANS hearing their petition, graunted their desire: and in mine opinion, no funerals could be done with greater pompe and honour, then the THESSALIANS performed his, being men that recken not dignitie, magnificence and pomp, to consist in ornaments of Iuorie, nor of purple: as *Philistus* doth set it out, who praiseth

Pelopidas slaine.

The great lamentation & mourning for Pelopidas death.

The oration of the Thessalians to the Thebans.

to

to the moone the burying of *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, which was the end of his tyrannie, as a ſumptuous concluſion of a ſtately tragedie. And *Alexander* the Great, at the death of *Epheſtion*, did not onely clippe his horſe haires and mules, but plucked downe alſo the battelments of the walles of the citie: becauſe it ſhould appeare, that the very walles themſelues did mourne for his death, ſhewing that deformitie in ſtead of their former beauty. But al ſuch things are done onely by force and compulſion, vpon the Lords commandements, which do but raiſe vp enuy againſt their memory for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are againſt their wils conſtrained to do the thing they miſliked: and are no iuſt proofes of honour nor goodwill, but rather vaine ſhewes of barbarous pompe, and pride in him, that diſpoſeth his authoritie and plentie of goods, in trifling toyes not to be deſired. Where contrariwiſe it plainely appeareth, that a priuate man dying in a forraine countrey, by reaſon ſhould be accounted moſt happy of all other creatures, that hauing neither his wife, kinne, nor his children by him, he ſhould be conueyed to his funerals, accompanied with ſuch multitudes of crowned people and number of cities, enuying one another, who ſhould moſt honour the funerals, as being vnrequeſted, and leaſt of all compelled. For ſaith *Eſope*, the death of a happy man is not grieuous, but moſt bleſſed, ſeeing it bringeth all good mens doings to happineſſe, and leaueth fortune to her fickle change, and ſporting pleaſure. But in my iudgement a LACEDÆMONIAN ſpake better, when he ſaid to *Diagoras* an old man, that had himſelfe in old time gotten victory in the games Olympicall, and had ſeene beſides his own children, and his childrens children (both ſonnes and daughters) crowned with victories alſo in the ſelfe ſame games: O *Diagoras*, dye preſently, elſe thou ſhalt neuer come to heauen. But theſe victories of the Olympicall and Pythian games, whoſoeuer ſhould put them all together, are not to be compared with one of the battels only, that *Pelopidas* hath fought and wonne: hauing ſpent the moſt part of his time in great calling and dignitie, and laſtly ended the ſame, being gouernour of BOEOTIA the third time (which was the higheſt office of ſtate in all his countrey) when he had deſtroyed the tyrants that kept the THEBANS in bondage, and was alſo ſlaine himſelfe, valiantly fighting for the recouerie of the THESSALIANS libertie. But as *Pelopidas* death was grieuous to the THEBANS friends and confederates: ſo fell it out very profitable for them. For the THEBANS hearing of *Pelopidas* death, did not delay reuenge, but ſent an army foorthwith of ſeuen thouſand footemen, and ſeuen hundred horſemen, vnder the conduct of *Malcitas* and of *Diogiton*. They finding *Alexanders* army ouerthrowne, and that he had loſt the moſt part of his ſtrength, did compell him to giue vp the THESSALIANS townes he kept by force againſt them, and to ſet the MAGNESIANS, the PHTHIOTES, and the ACHAIANS at libertie, withdrawing his garriſons he had placed in their ſtrong holds: and therewithall to ſweare, that from thencefoorth he would march vnder the THEBANS, againſt any enemie they ſhould leade him, or commaund him to go againſt. So the THEBANS were pacified vpon theſe conditions. Now will I tell you how the gods plagued him ſoone after for *Pelopidas* death, who (as we haue told you before) had pretily inſtructed *Thebe* his wife, that ſhe ſhould not feare the outward appearance nor power of his tyrannie, although ſhe were enuironed with ſouldiers of baniſhed men, whom the tyrant entertained to guard his perſon. Her ſelfe on the other ſide, fearing his falſhoode, as alſo hating his crueltie, conſpired her husbands death with her three brethren, *Tiſiphonus*, *Pytholaus*, *and Lycophron*, and executed her conſpiracie after this ſort. The tyrants pallace where he lay, was ſtraightly guarded euery where with ſouldiers, who nightly watched his perſon: but their bed chamber which they commonly vſed to lye in, was in the toppe of all his pallace, where they kept a dog tyed at the chamber doore to giue warning, which was a terrible dogge, and knew none but the tyrant and his wife, and his keeper that gaue him meate. Now when *Thebe* purpoſed to worke her feate, ſhe locked vp her three brethren a whole day neare vnto their bed chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time, ſhe went her ſelfe alone according to her manner, into *Alexanders* chamber: and finding him aſleepe, ſhe ſtale out ſtraight againe, and bade the keeper of the dogge to carie the dogge away, for her husband was diſpoſed to take reſt, and would haue no noiſe. There was no way to get vp to this chamber but by a ladder, which ſhe let downe: and fearing leſt her brethren ſhould make a noiſe, ſhe had couered the ladder ſtaues with wolle before ſhe let it fall downe. When ſhe had gotten them vp with their ſwords, and had ſet them before the doore, ſhe went firſt her ſelfe into the chamber, and tooke away the tyrants ſword that hung at his beds head, and ſhewed it them, as a token giuen them that he was aſleepe. When it came to the pinch to do the deede, theſe young men

The ſtrange manner of ſorrow, of Alexander the great for the death of Epheſtion.

Pelopidas happineſſe.

Eſops ſaying of the happineſſe of the dead.

Death a bleſſed thing.

The Thebans reuenged Pelopidas death.

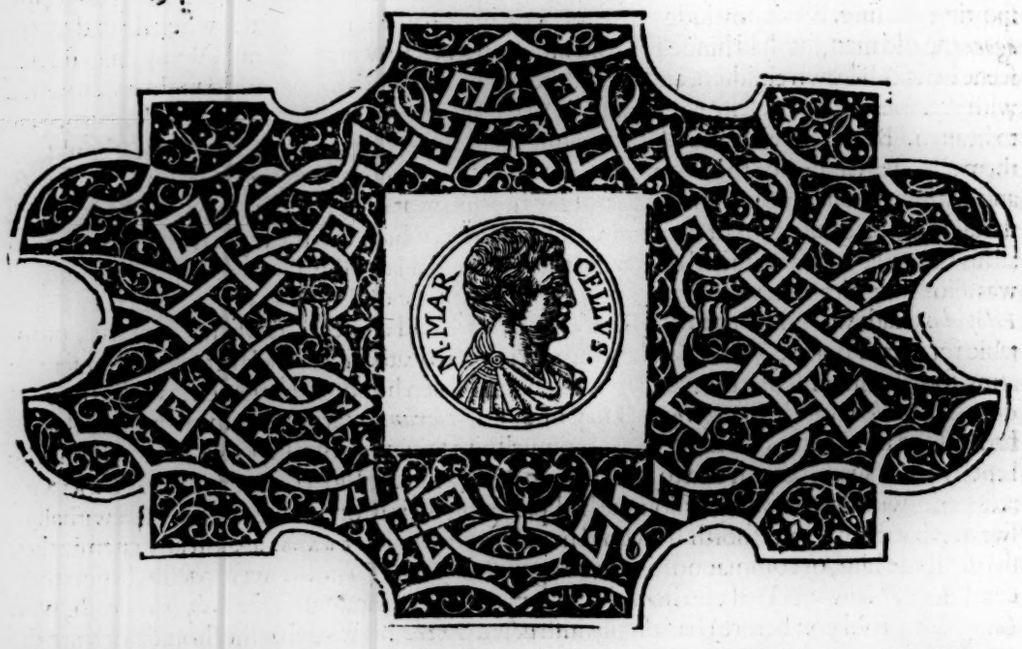
Alexander the tyrant of Pheres ſlaine by his wife.

were afraid, and their hearts began to faile them. But ſhe tooke on with them, and called them cowardly boyes, that would not ſtand to it when it came to the point, and withall, ſware in her rage that ſhe would go wake the tyrant, and open all the treaſon to him. So partly for ſhame, and partly for feare, ſhe compelled them to come in, and to ſtep to the bed, her ſelfe holding a lampe to light them. Then one of them tooke him by the feet, and bound them hard: another caught him by the haire of his head, and pulled him backwards: and the third thruſt him through with his ſword. So by chaunce he dyed ſooner then he ſhould haue done, and otherwiſe then his wicked life deſerued, for the manner of his death. So *Alexander* was the firſt tyrant that was euer ſlaine by the treaſon of his wife, whoſe body was moſt villanouſly and deſpitefully vſed after his death. For when the townes men of PHERES had drawne him through the citie in mire and dirt, they caſt him out at length to the dogges to deuour.

Alexander the tyrant of Pheres was the firſt tyrant that was ſlaine by his wife.

The end of Pelopidas life.

THE LIFE OF *Marcellus.*



Marcellus kindred.

Marcellus conditions.

MArcus *Claudius* that was fiue times Conſull at ROME, was the ſonne (as they ſay) of another *Marcus*: and as *Poſidonius* writeth, he was the firſt of his houſe ſurnamed *Marcellus*, as who would ſay, a marſhall and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at weapons, skilfull in wars, ſtrong and luſty of body, hardy, and naturally giuen to fight. Yet was he no quareller, nor ſhewed his great courage, but in warres againſt the enemie: otherwiſe he was very gentle, and faire conditioned. He loued learning, and delighted in the Greeke tong, and much eſteemed them that could ſpeake it. For he himſelfe was ſo troubled in matters of ſtate, that he could not ſtudie and follow it, as he deſired to haue done. For if God (as *Homer* ſaith) did euer make men

To vſe their youth in warres, and battels fierce and fell,
till crooked age came creeping on, ſuch feates for to expell:

They were the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of ROME at that time. For in their youth, they fought with the CARTHAGINIANS in SICILE: in their middle age, againſt the GAVLES, to keepe them from the winning of all ITALIE: and againe in their old age, againſt *Hannibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS. For their age was no priuiledge for them to be diſpenced with, in the ſeruice of their warres, as it was elſe for common citizens: but they were both for their nobilitie, as alſo

The Romaines troubled with warres.

for

for their valiantnes and experience in warres, driuen to take charge of the armies deliuered them by the Senate and people. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no battell could make him giue ground being practiſed in all fights: but yet he was more valiant in priuate combate man for man, then in any other fight. Therefore he neuer refuſed enemie that did chalenge him, but ſlue all thoſe in the field that called him to the combat. In SICILE he ſaued his brother *Octacilius* life, being ouerthrowne in a skirmiſh: for with his ſhield he couered his brothers bodie, and ſlue them that came to kill him. Theſe valiant parts of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the generals vnder whom he ſerued, with many crownes, and warlike honours, vſually beſtowed vpõ valiant ſouldiers. *Marcellus* increaſing ſtill his valiantneſſe and good ſeruice, was by the people choſen Ædilis, as of the number of thoſe that were the worthieſt men, and moſt honorable: and the Prieſts did create him Augure, which is a kind of Prieſthood at ROME, hauing authority by law, to conſider and obſerue the flying of birds, to diuine and prognoſticate things thereupon. But in the yeare of his office of Ædile, he was forced againſt his will to accuſe *Capitolinus*, his brother in office with him. For he being a raſh and diſſolute man of life, fell in diſhoneſt loue with his collegues ſonne *Marcellus*, that bare his owne name: who being a goodly young gentleman and newly come to mans ſtate, was as well thought of, and taken of euery man for his manhood and good qualities, as any way for his beautie and perſonage. The firſt time *Capitolinus* moued this diſhoneſtie to him, he did of himſelfe repulſe his ſhameleſſe offer, without any others priuitie: but when he ſaw he came againe to tempt him the ſecond time, he ſtraight reuealed it to his father. *Marcellus* his father being maruellouſly offended withall, (as he had good cauſe) went & accuſed *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the firſt, laid in many exeptions and fained excuſes, to keepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the people: but they declared plainely they would not receiue his appeale, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to anſwer the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attẽpted euer any ſuch thing, becauſe there were no witneſſes to proue it againſt him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to ſend for young *Marcellus*, who comming before them, both bluſhed, and wept together. The Senate ſeeing ſhamefaſtneſſe in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that could not be pacified: without ſeeking other proofe, they took it a cleare caſe, and ſo condemned *Capitolinus* preſently in a great ſumme of mony, which *Marcellus* conuerted into ſiluer veſſell, to ſerue at ſacrifices, and ſo did conſecrate them to the ſeruice of the gods. Now when the ROMAINES had ended their firſt warre againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the ſpace of two and twenty yeares: immediatly after that, they began a new war againſt the GAVLES. For the INSVBRIANS, being a people deriued from the GAVLES, and dwelling at the foot of the mountains of the ALPES on ITALY ſide, being able to make a good power of them ſelues, did notwithſtanding pray aide of the other GAVLES inhabiting on the other ſide of the mountains: and they cauſed the GESSATES, a mercenary people & hirelings to them that would giue pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truly me thinkes it was a maruellous matter, and wonderfull good hap for the ROMAINES, that this warre of the GAVLES came not vpon them, while they were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS: and that the GAVLES alſo had lien quiet al that while (as if they had purpoſely ſworne to ſet vpon the conquerors) expecting ſtill an end betweẽ thẽ, & then to ſet vpon the conquerors, when they had nothing to ſay to any other. Yet the ſituatiõ of their country did trouble the ROMAINES much, becauſe they were ſo neare neighbors vnto them, & had wars as it were at their own doores. And ſo did the ancient reputation of the GAVLES ſomwhat appaule the ROMAINES, who as it ſhould ſeeme they did feare more then any other nation whatſoeuer: becauſe ROME had bene takẽ before by the GAVLES. Since which time a law was made, that Prieſts and eccleſiaſticall perſons ſhould be diſpenſed with from going to the wars, vnleſſe the GAVLES did riſe againſt them. The preparation they made for this war at that time, did plainely ſhew the feare they had then of the GAVLES. For it is thought, that neuer before nor ſince, there were ſo many natural ROMAINES aſſembled together in field, as were then at that preſent. Moreouer, the new come cruelty they vſed in their ſacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before they neuer vſed any ſtrange maner in their ſacrifice, or barbarous faſhion, but were fauourable in their opinions about the ceremonies of religion, and agreeable to the GRECIANS touching the ſeruice of the gods. But then, they were compelled to obey certain oracles, and ancient prophecies they found written in *Sibyles* bookes: and they buried two GRECIANS aliue in the oxe market, a man and a woman, and likewiſe two GAVLES, a man a woman.

Marcellus ſaued his brother Octacilius.

Marcellus choſen Ædilis and Augure.

Marcellus accuſeth Capitolinus.

The Romains had wars with the Carthaginians 22. yeares together.

The vvarre of the Gaules.

Geſſates mercenary Gaules.

A lavv to exempt eccleſiaſticall perſons from the wars.

The Romaines did feare the vvarres of the Gaules.

Men and vvomen buried alius.

Vnto them they do yet continue certaine ſecret anniuerſaries in Nouember, that are not to be ſeene of euery body. The ROMAINES in their firſt battels of this warre, were often ouercome, and did ouercome: but theſe battels were to litle purpoſe for ending of the warres. In the yeare that *C. Quintius Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* were Conſuls, and ſent with great armies to make warres vpon the INSVBRIANS, people ſubiect to the ſtate of MILLANE, news were brought to ROME, there was a riuer ſeene in the country of ROMANIA, red as bloud, and three moones alſo at the very ſame time in the citie of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Prieſts and ſoothſayers that had obſerued and conſidered the tokens and ſignifications of birds on that day, when theſe two were choſen Conſuls: they told plainly there was errour in their election, and that they were directly choſen againſt all ſignes and tokens of the birds. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediatly to the camp to them, and willed them to come home to depoſe themſelues of their Conſulſhip, before they did attempt any thing as Conſuls againſt the enemies. The Conſull *Flaminius* receiued the letters in time: but becauſe he was ready to giue battell, he would not open them, before he had firſt ouerthrown his enemies, and ſpoiled their country as indeed he did. But when he was come backe to ROME againe, and had brought maruellous great ſpoiles with him, the people for all that would not go out to meete him, becauſe he did not preſently obey the letters they wrote vnto him, nor returned vpon it as they commaunded him, but contemptuouſly, without any regard of their diſpleaſure, followed his owne fantaſie: whereupon they had almoſt flatly denied him the honour of triumph. For his triumph was no ſooner ended, but they compelled him to giue ouer his Conſulſhip, and made him a priuate man with his companion. The ROMAINES therein were ſo religiouſly bent, as they would all things ſhould be referred vnto the gods good grace and pleaſure, and would ſuffer none to contemne the obſeruations and prognoſticating of the ſoothſayers, nor their auncient vſes and cuſtomes, for any proſperitie and felicitie that could happen. For they thought it more neceſſary and profitable for benefit of the common-weale, that the Senate and magiſtrates ſhould reuerence the ceremonies and ſeruice of the gods, then that they ſhould ouercome their enemies in battel. As for example, *Tiberius Sempronius*, a man as much honoured and eſteemed of the ROMAINES for his iuſtice and valiantneſſe, as any other of his time, being one yeare Conſull, did nominate and elect two other for Conſuls the yeare following, *Scipio Naſica*, and *Caius Martius*. Theſe two being entred into their Conſulſhip, and ſent from ROME alſo to their ſeuerall prouinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by chance took certain litle bookes in his hand, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the ceremonies of publike ſacrifice: and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinance he neuer heard before. And this it was: That if a magiſtrate were ſet in any tent or hired houſe without the city, to behold and obſerue the prognoſtications of birds, & that vpon any ſodain occaſion he were driuen to come againe into the city; before the birds had giuen any certaine ſignes: the ſecond time when he returned againe to end his obſeruations, there was no remedy, but he muſt leaue his tent or firſt hired houſe, and take another, and begin new obſeruations againe. *Tiberius* vtterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his obſeruations twiſe in one ſelf houſe, and had choſen there, *Naſica* and *Martius*, Conſuls to ſucceed him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it: who would not let ſlip ſo litle a fault, but wrote to the new Conſuls, and they ſtraight left their prouinces, & returned againe to ROME, willingly reſigning vp their offices. That was a prety while after. Againe alſo, about the very preſent time we write of now, there were two Prieſts of noble houſes (and noble perſons alſo) the one called *Cornelius*, & the other *Cethegus*, both which were diſgraded of their Prieſthood, becauſe they had not giuen the intrails of the ſacrificed beaſt in order as they ſhould haue done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like maner, was diſgraded of his Biſhopprick, becauſe his miter which the FLAMINES do weare, fel off his head in his ſacrificing. *Minutius* being Dictator alſo, and hauing choſen *Caius Flaminius* Generall of the horſemen: becauſe they heard the noiſe of a rat at the election of *Flaminius*, they were both put out of their authority, and other choſen in their place. Now, though they were thus preciſe euen in trifles, it was not by reaſon of any ſuperſtition mingled with their religion: but becauſe they would not break any iot of the ancient inſtitutions & ceremonies of their country. But to our ſtory againe. *Flaminius* being depriued of his Conſulſhip, *Marcellus* was created Conſul in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*. *Marcellus* being inueſted in his office, choſe *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they ſay, that the GAVLES being inclined to peace, & the Senate of ROME alſo willing to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did ſtir vp the people, and made them deſire war. Notwithſtanding, they

Flaminius and P. Furius Conſuls.

Newes brought to Rome, of ſtrange things ſeene in Romania.

Flaminius ouercame the Gaules in battell.

The great religion of the Romaines.

An ordinance for publike ſacrifice.

Marcellus and Cneus Cornelius Conſuls.

concluded

concluded peace at that time: but the GAVLES GESSATES immediatly after renued the warres againe. For there came ouer the mountaines of the ALPES, a thirtie thousand of them, and they ioyned with the INSVBRIANS, which were many moe in number then themselues. Now, they being in a maruellous iollitie, went incontinently to lay siege to the citie of ACERRES, that standeth vpon the riuer of Po: and during the siege, King *Britomarus* taking ten thousand GESSATES with him, went and destroyed all the countrey about the Po. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, all the armed footmen, and the third part of the horsemen, in his camp by ACERRES: and he himselfe with the residue of the horsemen, and sixe hundred footmen light armed, marched towards the enemie, trauelling night & day, vntil he met with ten thousand GESSATES, neare vnto a village of GAVLE on this side the mountaines, called CLASTIDIVM, which was subiect not long before to the ROMAINES. So he had no leisure to take rest, nor to refresh his men a litle: for the barbarous people knew straight he was come, and tooke him for no better then by and by ouercome, because he had so few footmen. And for his horsemen, the GAVLES made no reckoning of them: for besides themselues are very good men at armes, and excel all other in that fight, yet were their number of horsmen far aboue *Marcellus*. Therefore they straight marched towards him in a maruellous furie, and with thundering shouts, as if they would haue deuoured them at their comming. *Britomarus* their king, aduanced himself before all his companie. *Marcellus* fearing to be compassed in behind, being so small a number: he put out the wings of his horsmen as much as he could, to haue the country at large, so that his two wings were very sléder, vntil he came neare his enemies. And being ready to gallop towards the enemy, it fortuned his horse being afraid with the noise of his enemies, turned about, & caried *Marcellus* back againe in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMAINES superstition, in taking this for an euil token, & that they would take a conceit vpon the same: plucking the bridle with his left hand, turned his horse head again vpō the enemy, & then he worshipped the sun, as though he had not turned his horse by chaunce, but purposely for that cause. For it is the ROMAINES maner to turne about so, when they do honor their gods. So when they began to ioyne battel, he made a vow to *Iupiter Feretriā*, to offer him vp the goodliest spoiles of his enemies, if he did ouercome. The king of the GAVLES seeing him at that instant, imagined by the marks & tokens he saw, that he should be the General of his enemies: So he set spurs to his horse, and gallopped towards him from al his company, giuing him defiance, & chalenged him, shaking his staffe in his hand. He was the goodliest person and strongest man of all the GAVLES, and his armour was al gilt & siluered, and so set forth with sundry works and colours, that it shined as the Sun. *Marcellus* on the other side hauing viewed all the army of his enemies throughout, and perceiuing none so richly armed as the king: thought straight it was against him, that he had made his prayer and vow to *Iupiter*. Then he put his horse in full cariere against him, and came with such a force and furie to him, that he pierced his armour with his staffe, and ouerthrew him, but yet he killed him not dead: whereupon he sodainely redoubled two or three strokes besides vpon him, and so slue him right out. Then he lighted from his horse, and taking the dead Kings armour in his hand, he lift vp his eyes to heauen, and said: O *Iupiter Feretrian*, thou that doest from heauen behold and direct all marshall feates and Captaines deeds: thy selfe I call to witnesse, that I am the third ROMAINE Captaine, that being Generall of the armie, haue slaine with my owne hands, the King and Generall of the enemies: and I promise here to thee, to offer thee vp the richest spoiles of mine enemies, so thy godhead will vouchsafe to graunt vs the like good fortune in all this warre besides. His prayer ended, the men of armes of the ROMAINES ranne in among the horsemen and footemen of the GAVLES, one being vnparted from another: and fortune did so fauour them, that they wan a passing victory, in such a strange and wondefull maner, as was incredible. For it was neuer seene before nor since, that so few horsemen did ouerthrow so great a number of men of armes and footemen ranged together. Now when *Marcellus* had slaine the greater number of them, and had gotten their spoiles and all their baggage, he returned againe to his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, whom he found making warres vnfortunately with the GAVLES, before the greatest and most populous citie they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAVLES on this side the mountaines take for their chiefe citie, and from whence all other had their first originall. Whereupon they did all their possible endeuour to defend it, and did as straightly besiege the Consull *Cornelius*, as he did them. Now, when *Marcellus* was come to the camp againe, the GESSATES vnderstanding that their king *Britomarus* was slaine in battell, returned backe againe into their country,

The Gaules Gessates make warres with Rome, & come ouer the Alps.

Acerres, a citie vpon the riuer of Po.

Clastidium, a village on this side the mountaines.

The manner of the Romaines when they worship.

The combat a horsebacke betwixt Britomarus king of the Gaules, and Marcellus.

Marcellus slue king Britomarus at Clastidium.

Marcellus prayer vnto Iupiter Feretrian.

The Gaules ouercome by Marcellus.

Marcellus wan the citie of Millaine.

and the city of MILLAINE was taken. After that all the other cities thereabout yeelded of themselues, without force of siege, and the GAVLES wholy submitted themselues and al that they had, to the mercy of the ROMAINES, who graunted them peace vpon easie conditions. For these famous victories, the Senate of ROME gaue all the honour of triumph vnto *Marcellus* onely, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a sight, as any that euer past before him: what for the infinite spoiles, and the numbers of great men taken prisoners, as also for the exceeding sumptuousnesse and stately shew thereof. But the goodliest sight of all for the rarenesse, was to behold *Marcellus* selfe, carying on his shoulders the whole spoile of the barbarous King, to offer vp to *Iupiter Feretrian*. For he had cut downe a goodly yong oke of the mountaine, straight, and shut vp very long, which he had trimmed vp in forme of triumph, hanging all the armed peeces he had won of the King, very orderly round about it. Then, when all the shew of his triumph was past, he himselfe tooke the oke vpon his shoulders, and got vp vpon his triumphing charet, and so marched thorough the citie, carying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest sight, and honourablest shew of the whole triumph. His army followed after the charet, singing verses and songs of victory, in praise of the gods and their Captaine: and when he had passed through the whole city, and was come to the temple of *Iupiter* called *Feretrian*, there he set vp this yong oke, and token of triumph. This *Marcellus* is the third and last ROMAINE captaine, to whom happened this honour in our age. For the first man that euer offered vp to *Iupiter* the spoiles of the generall of their enemies, was king *Romulus*, who wan the like spoiles of *Acran*, king of the CÆNINIANS. The second was *Cornelius Cossus*, who slue *Tolumnius*, Generall of the THVSCANS. And the third was *Marcellus*, who slue with his owne hands *Britomarus* king of the GAVLES: and after him, no man euer since could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom these maner of spoiles are consecrated thus, is called *Iupiter Feretriũ*, so termed as some write, because they do cary this token of triumph to him, following the deriuation of this Greeke word, *Ferin*, which signifieth to cary: for in those former times, many Greeke words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirme it is one of the surnames of *Iupiter*, signifying as much as lightning: for *Ferire* in the Latin toung, signifieth to strike. And some say also, in wars it is properly to hurt or kil with his own hands: for the ROMAINES do vse at this day when they giue a charge vpon their enemies in battell, or that they haue them in chase flying, to cry, incouraging one another, *Feri, Feri*: which is as much, as kil, kil. And the spoiles taken from the enemies also, are generally called *Spolia*: but those which Lieutenants generall, or Generals, do take from the Generals of their enemies, when they haue slaine them, they are called particularly, *Spolia opima*. Yet some hold opinion that King *Numa Pompilius* mentioning the rich spoiles, or *Spolia opima* in his commentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commaundeth that the first spoiles which are wonne, should be consecrated to *Iupiter Feretrian*: the second vnto *Mars*: and the third vnto *Quirinus*. And that they should giue to him that had wonne the first spoiles, three hundred * Asses, the second, two hundred: and the third, a hundred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion, and vsuall taking of *Spolia opima*, referreth them to be the first spoiles wonne in a foughten field, and those which the Lieutenant of an army, or a Generall, doth take from the Generall of the enemies, after he hath slaine him with his owne hands. And thus much for the declaration of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMAINES were so ioyfull of this victory, and of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a massie cup of gold to be made of the spoile they had gotten, weighing a hundred pound weight, which they sent to offer vp in the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, in the citie of DELPHES, in token of thankes: and they made liberall diuision besides of the spoiles vnto their friends and confederates, and sent a great part of it vnto *Hieron* king of SYRACVSA, who was their confederate. Not long after, *Hannibal* being entred ITALY, *Marcellus* was sent with an army by sea, into SICILE. And after the great ouerthrow was giuen at the battell of CANNES, wherein there died so many thousand ROMAINES, and that very few of them saued themselues by flying into the citie of CANNVSIVM: they looked that *Hannibal* hauing ouercome the flower of all the ROMAINES youth, and their greatest force, would not faile to come straight to ROME. Wherefore *Marcellus* first sent fifteene hundred of his men by sea, to help to defend ROME: and hauing afterwards receiued commandement from the Senate, he came to CANNVSIVM, where he took such as were fled thither for succour after the battell, and so brought them out of the field, to defend the countrey. Now the ROMAINES hauing lost the most part of all their best Captaines, in diuers sundry battels before: of all those that remained, *Fabius Maximus* was the onely able and reputed

Marcellus triumph.

Marcellus offering vp of his rich spoiles.

The three persons that offered vp Spolia opima in Rome: Romulus. Cossus. Marcellus.

Iupiter Feretrian why so called.

Spolia opima what they be.

** That is, about thirty crownes.*

Marcellus sent into Sicile with an army.

reputed man for commendation of his honesty and wisdome, yet they misliked of him notwithstanding, for a timerous man, and of no courage, as a man too ful of doubts & considerations, and loth to put any thing in hazard: saying, he was a good captain to defend, but not to offend the enemy. Wherupon they thought good to ioyne *Marcellus* liuely youth and courage, with *Fabius* feminine feare and wisdome: and therfore some yeares they chose them both Consuls together, or els they sent one of them as Consul, and the other as Proconsul, each in his turne, to the countrey where they had wars. And for proofe hereof, *Posidonius* writeth, that the ROMAINES at that time called *Fabius Maximus* their target, and *Marcellus* their sword. Therefore *Hannibal* himselfe said, he feared *Fabius Maximus* as his gouernor, and *Marcellus* as his enemy: becausse the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to himself. Immediatly after this great victory at CANNES, *Hannibals* souldiers became so bold, so careless, & disordered, that they kept the field without feare of any thing, and dispersed themselues farre from their camp: wherefore *Marcellus* setting vpon those straglers, he slue them euery man, and so by litle and litle did still lessen the power and strength of his enemy. Afterwards he aided the cities of BIZANTIVM and of NOLA, and stablished the true deuotion and loue of the BIZANTINES towards the ROMAINES: from thence he went to NOLA, & found great sedition there betwixt the Senate & the people, becausse the Senate could not keep the people in obediẽce, but they would needs take *Hannibals* part. The cause of the peoples stubburnesse grew, by occasion of a gentleman of the city called *Bandius*, a noble gentleman to the people, and a valiant man of his hands. This *Bandius* hauing fought valiantly at the battell of CANNES, after he had slaine many a CARTHAGINIAN, was himselfe in the end striken downe, and found lying among the dead bodies, sore wounded and mangled: wherupon *Hannibal* greatly commending his valiantnesse, did not onely let him go without ransome, but also gaue him rich gifts, and made him his host and friend. Hereupon *Bandius* at his comming home, to requite *Hannibals* honor and curtesie, became one of those that most fauoured *Hannibal*, and most perswaded the people of NOLA to take his part. Notwithstanding this, *Marcellus* thinking it too great a sinne against the gods, to put a man to death that had made so great proofe of his valiantnesse, and had serued with the ROMAINES in their greatest warres and extreamest daunger, and who besides the goodnesse of his nature, had a maruellous gift also, to winne mens good wils by his great courtesie: when this *Bandius* came one day to do his dutie to him, *Marcellus* of purpose asked him what he was, though he had knowne him long before, onely to take occasion to talke with him. The other answered him, his name was *Lucius Bandius*. Then *Marcellus* seeming to be maruellous glad, and to wonder at him, sayd: and art thou that *Bandius* they speake so much of at ROME, whom they say did so notable seruice in person at the battel of CANNES, and neuer forsooke *Paulus AEmylius* the Consull, but receiued so many wounds vpon his body in defence of him? *Bandius* answered, that he was the man, & therewith shewed him many wounds he had vpon his body. *Marcellus* then replied: Alas, thou that carriest such notable markes of thy vnfained loue towards vs, what diddest thou meane, that thou camest not straight againe vnto vs? art thou perswaded we are so miserable and vnthankfull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valiantnesse of our friends, whom our enemies selues do honor? After *Marcellus* had vsed this courteous speech vnto him, and had imbraced him, he gaue him a goodly horse for seruice in the warres, and fiue hundred Drachmes of siluer besides. So after that time, *Bandius* did euer take *Marcellus* part, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, and shewed himselfe very seuere and earnest to accuse them that tooke *Hannibals* part in the citie: which were many in number, and had conspired among themselues, that the first time the ROMAINES should go into the field to skirmish with the enemies, they would shut the gates after them, and take the spoile of all their cariages. *Marcellus* being informed of this treason, did set his men in battell ray within the city, hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the sumpters and cariage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by trumpet, that no citizen vpon paine of death should approach the walles. This occasion drew *Hannibal* to come hard to the citie, seeing no watch vpon the walles, and made him the bolder to come in disorder, imagining there had bene some mutiny or sedition within, betweene the noble men and the people. But in the meane time, *Marcellus* set open the gate being hard by, and sallying out vpon the sodaine with the best men of armes he had, he gaue a charge vpon *Hannibal* in the voward. Immediatly after came out his footemen at another gate, running straight vpon *Hannibal*, with a wonderfull cry and shout: so as *Hannibal* to withstand thẽ, was driuen to deuide his men in two companies.

Posidonius vvords of Fabius and Marcellus.

Lucius Bandius, of Nola, a valiant man.

Marcellus gentlenesse.

Reward made Bandius a true subiect.

Marcellus victorie of Hannibal at Nola.

But as he was deuiding of them, ſodainly a third gate opened vpon them, from whence all the reſidue of the ROMAINES iſſued out, who ſet vpon the CARTHAGINIANS on euery ſide, they being maruellouſly amazed to be ſo ſodainely ſet on, which they looked not for: ſo hauing their hands full with thoſe that came firſt vpon them, being ſcant able to defend themſelues againſt them, and ſeeing this new and laſt charge alſo, they were forced to retire. This was the firſt time, that euer *Hannibals* ſouldiers began to giue place to the ROMAINES, who draue them backe vnto their camp, and ſlue a great number of them, and did hurt diuers of them beſides. For ſome write there were ſlaine of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, about fiue thouſand, and of the ROMAINES there died not paſt fiue hundred men. But *Titus Liuius* doth not ſet out the ouerthrow ſo great, and yet confeſſeth that *Marcellus* wan great honor by it, and that it made the ROMAINES maruellous valiant againe, after ſo many and ſundry battels as they had loſt one after another: for then they were perſwaded that they fought not with an enemy altogether inuincible, but that he might ſometime alſo, as wel as themſelues, receiue both loſſe and hurt. Therfore, one of the Conſuls dying about that time, the people cauſed *Marcellus* to be ſent for, & placed him in his roome: and in ſpite of the Senate they deferred all deputation vntill his returne from the camp. *Marcellus* came no ſooner to ROME, but he was choſen Conſull in the dead mans roome, by all the voices of the people. Notwithſtanding, when they went to chuſe him, it thundred maruellouſly: which the Prieſts and Augures tooke for an il token, but yet they durſt not openly ſpeake againſt his election, becauſe they feared the people. Howbeit *Marcellus* of himſelfe did willingly giue vp his Conſulſhip, and yet was it no exception to him for his ſeruice in the warres: for they created him Proconſull, and ſent him againe to the camp at NOLA, where he did ſeuerely puniſh ſuch as tooke *Hannibals* part: who being aduertiſed thereof, came thither with all poſſible ſpeed to helpe them: and euen at his firſt comming he offered *Marcellus* battell, which he refuſed at that time. Neuertheleſſe he tooke his time, when *Hanniball* had ſent the beſt part of his army to forage, as meaning to fight no more battels: and then he ſet vpon him, hauing giuen his footemen long pikes, ſuch as they vſe in fight vpon the ſea, and taught them alſo, how to hurt the enemie a farre off, keeping them ſtill in their hands. But the CARTHAGINIANS hauing no skill of their pikes, and fighting with ſhort iauelins in their hands, did ſtrike downe-right blowes: which was the cauſe, that they being ſet vpon by the ROMAINES, were driuen to turne their backes, and flie before them. So there were fiue thouſand of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the field, foure elephants ſlaine, and two taken aliue: and furthermore, three dayes after the battell, there came a three hundred horſemen, ſome of them SPANIARDS, and other NVMIDIANS, that ſubmitted themſelues to the ROMAINES. Neuer came there ſuch a misfortune before to *Hannibal*: who had of long time kept together in loue and amity, an army aſſembled of ſundry barbarous nations and people. Howbeit theſe three hundred continued euer after faithful to the end, both to *Marcellus*, and to all other Lieutenants and Generals of the ROMAINES. Shortly after, *Marcellus* being againe choſen Conſull the third time, went into SICILE. For *Hannibals* proſperous ſucceſſe and victories, had ſo incouraged the CARTHAGINIANS, as they ſought again to conquer this Iland: and ſpecially becauſe that after the death of *Hieronimus* the tyrant, there roſe ſome tumult at SYRACVSA. Vpon which occaſion the ROMAINES had ſent an army thither before, and a Prætor called *Appius*: at whoſe hands *Marcellus* hauing receiued the army, a great number of the ROMAINES became humble ſuters to him, to pray him to aid them in their calamity, which was this. Of thoſe that ſcaped from the battell of CANNES, ſome ſaued themſelues by flying, other were taken priſoners, of which there were ſuch a number, as it appeared that ROME had not people inough left onely to keepe the walles. Neuertheleſſe, thoſe few that remained, their hearts were ſo great, that they would neuer redeeme the priſoners, which *Hanniball* was contented to deliuer them vpon ſmal ranſome, but made a decree they ſhould not be redeemed: & ſo ſuffered ſome of thē to be killed, others to be ſold for ſlaues out of ITALY. And moreouer, thoſe that ſaued themſelues by flying, they ſent ſtraight into SICILE: commanding they ſhould not ſet a foote againe in ITALY, whileſt they had wars with *Hanniball*. Theſe were the men that came altogether, and fell downe at *Marcellus* feet, ſo ſoon as he arriued in SICILE, and humbly beſought him, to appoint them to ſerue vnder ſome enſigne, that they might fight to do their country honour and ſeruice: promiſing him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithfull ſeruice then ſhould witneſſe for them, that the ouerthrow they had at CANNES, fell vpon them rather by misfortune, then through lack of courage. Whereupon *Marcellus* hauing compaſſion on them, wrote to the

Marcellus proconſull.

Certaine Spaniards and Numidians reuolted from Hanniball.

Marcellus the third time Conſull, ſent into Sicile.

The ſeueritie of the Romaines to couwardly ſouldiers.

the Senate in their fauour, and prayed them that they would graunt him licence to supply the bands of his army, as they diminished, with those poore ROMAINES his countrymen. Many reasons passed too and fro, against this sute: neuertheless it was concluded in the end by the Senat, that the Common-wealth made no reckening of the seruice of faint hearted men like women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their seruice, yet it should not be lawfull for him to giue them any crownes or rewards of honour, for any notable seruice soeuer they did, as all Generals are wont to giue to honest men that serue valiauntly. This order of the Senate misliked *Marcellus* very much, who at his returne home out of SICILE, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to deny him that fauour, that hauing done his commonwealth such faithfull seruice diuerse times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poore ROMAINES to their honour againe. Now when *Marcellus* was in SICILE, he receiued great hurts and iniuries by *Hippocrates* Generall of the SYRACVSANS: who, to pleasure the CARTHAGINIANS, and by their meanes to make himselfe chiefe Lord of SYRACVSA, did put many ROMAINE citizens to death. Whereupon *Marcellus* went and laid siege to the city of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by assault, he hurt neuer a townes man, nor naturall citizen of the same: but such traitours as he found there, who had fled from his campe, and yeelded to the enemies, them he caused to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithstanding, *Hippocrates* had before caused it to be bruted at SYRACVSA, that *Marcellus* had put all the LEONTINES to the sword, not sparing litle children: and afterwards *Hippocrates* comming thither on the sodaine, in the feare and garboile of this false brute, he easily tooke the city. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken SYRACVSA, left foorthwith the LEONTINES, and went with his whole army, and camped hard by SYRACVSA: and sent his ambassadors to tell the SYRACVSANS truly, what he had done in the city of the LEONTINES, and quite contrary to that they were informed of. Howbeit that preuailed not, for they beleeued not *Marcellus*, because *Hippocrates* being the stronger, had won the city. Wherupon he began then to approch the wals, and to assault in euery quarter, as well by sea as by land. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gaue assault by land. *Marcellus* himselfe, with threescore gallies of fiue owers at euery bancke, well armed, and full of all sorts of artillerie & fire works, did assault by sea, and rowed hard to the wall, hauing made a great engine and deuice of battery, vpon eight gallies chained together, to batter the wal: trusting in the great multitude of his engines of batterie, and to all such other necessarie prouision as he had for wars, as also in his owne reputation. But *Archimedes* made light account of all his deuices, as indeed they were nothing comparable to the engines himselfe had inuented: and yet were not his owne such, as himselfe did recken of, to shew singularitie of worke and deuice. For those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometrie, and things done to passe the time with, at the request of king *Hieron*: who had prayed him to call to mind a litle his Geometricall speculation, and to apply it to things corporall and sensible, and to make the reason of it demonstratiue, and plaine, to the vnderstanding of the common people by experiments, and to the benefit and commoditie of vse. For this inuentiue art to frame instruments and engines (which are called mechanicall, or organicall, so highly commended and esteemed of all sorts of people) were first set forth by *Architas* and by *Eudoxus*: partly to beautifie a litle the science of Geometrie by this fineness, and partly to proue and confirme by materiall examples and sensible instruments, certaine Geometricall conclusions, whereof a man cannot find out the conceiuable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to search out two lines meane proportionall, which cannot be proued by reason demonstratiue: and yet notwithstanding is a principle and an accepted ground, for many things which are contained in the art of portraiture. Both of them haue fashioned it to the workmanship of certaine instruments, called Mesolabes or Mesographes, which serue to find these meane lines proportional, by drawing certaine curue lines, and ouerthwart and oblike sections. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and maintained against them, that they did vtterly corrupt and disgrace the worthinesse and excellencie of Geometrie, making it to descend from things not comprehensible, and without body, vnto things sensible and materiall, and to bring it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handy worke of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handy craft, or the art of engines, came to be separated from Geometry, and being long time despised by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike arts. But *Archimedes* hauing told king *Hieron*, his kinsman and very friend, that it was possible to remoue as great a waight as he would, with as litle

Couvards detested of the Romaines.

Hippocrates generall of the Syracusans.

Marcellus wonne the citie of the Leontines.

Marcellus besiegeth Syracusa.

Archimedes a notable Mathematician.

Architas and Eudoxus, famous Mathematicians.

Why Plato reproued Eudoxus and Architas.

ſtrength as he liſted to put to it: and boaſting himſelfe thus (as they report of him) and truſting to the force of his reaſons, wherwith he proued this concluſion, that if there were another globe of earth, he was able to remoue this of ours, and paſſe it ouer to the other: king *Hieron* wondring to heare him, required him to put this deuice in execution, and to make him ſee by experience, ſome great or heauy weight remoued, by litle force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a hooke of one of the greateſt carects, or hulkes of the king (that to draw it to the ſhore out of the water, required a maruellous number of people to go about it, and was hardly to be done ſo) and put a great number of men more into her, then her ordinarie burthen: and he himſelfe ſitting alone at his eaſe far off, without any ſtraining at all, drawing the end of an engine with many wheeles & pullies, faire and ſoftly with his hand, made it come as gently and ſmoothly to him, as it had floted in the ſea. The king wondring to ſee the ſight, and knowing by proofe the greatneſſe of his art: he prayed him to make him ſome engines, both to aſſault and defend in all manner of ſieges and aſſaults. So *Archimides* made him many engines, but king *Hieron* neuer occupied any of them, becauſe he raigned the moſt part of his time in peace, without any wars. But this prouiſion and munition of engines, ſerued the SYRACVSANS turne maruellouſly at that time: and not only the prouiſion of the engines ready made, but alſo the enginer and work-maſter himſelf that had inuented them. Now the SYRACVSANS ſeeing themſelues aſſaulted by the ROMAINES both by ſea and by land, were maruellouſly perplexed, and could not tell what to ſay, they were ſo afraid: imagining it was impoſſible for them to withſtand ſo great an army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his engines, and to ſet them at liberty, there flue in the aire infinit kinds of ſhot, & maruellous great ſtones, with an incredible noiſe and force on the ſodaine, vpon the footemen that came to aſſault the city by land, bearing down, and tearing in peeces all thoſe which came againſt thē, or in what place ſoeuer they lighted, no earthly body being able to reſiſt the violence of ſo heauy a weight: ſo that all their ranks were maruellouſly diſordered. And as for the gallies that gaue aſſault by ſea, ſome were ſunke with long peeces of timber like vnto the yards of ſhips, whereto they faſten their ſayles, which were ſodainly blown ouer the wals with force of theſe engines into their gallies, and ſo ſunke them by their ouer great waight. Other being hoiſſed vp by the prooes with hands of Iron, and hookes made like cranes bils, plunged their poupes into the ſea. Other being taken vp with certaine engines faſtened within, one contrary to another, made them turne in the ayre like a whirlegig, and ſo caſt them vpon the rockes by the towne wals, and ſplitted them all to fitters, to the great ſpoile and murther of the perſons that were within them. And ſometimes the ſhips and gallies were lift cleane out of the water, that it was a fearefull thing to ſee them hang and turne in the ayre as they did: vntill that caſting their men within them ouer the hatches, ſome here, ſome there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be emptie, and to breake againſt the wals, or elſe to fall into the ſea againe, when the engines left their hold. Now for *Marcellus* engine, which he brought againſt the wals, vpon a bridge made of gallies ioyned together: that was called Sambuca, by reaſon of the faſhion it had like to an inſtrument of muſicke of the ſame name, which is a harpe. The ſame being yet a good pretie way off from the wals, there fell a great ſtone vpon it ſent from the wals, weighing ten talents: then a ſecond after that, and a third one after that, the which falling al into this engine with ſuch a thunder and terrible tempeſt, brake the foundation of the engine, and tare all the bridge of the gallies ioyned together in peeces, that ſuſtained it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed withall, not knowing well what it meant: was glad to retire quickly, and ſent to make his trumpet ſound the retrait to thoſe that gaue aſſault by land. Herupon they ſate in counſell to determine what was to be done, & they reſolued, that the next morning before day they ſhould approch the wals if it were poſſible: becauſe that *Archimedes* engines, which were very ſtrong and hard wound vp, ſhould by this meanes ſend all the force and fury of their ſtones and ſhot ouer their heads, and that neare hand alſo he could do no good with them, for that they had not the ſcope of their leuell and cariage they ſhould haue. But *Archimedes* had preuented this deuice by long preparation before, hauing made prouiſion of engines for far and neare, the leuell and cariage whereof was proportioned for all diſtances: their ſhot ſhort, the arrowes not very long, many holes and arches in the walles one hard by another, where there were ſtore of crosbowes to kill neare at hand, ſet in ſuch places, as the enemies could not ſee them without. Wherefore, when the ROMAINES thought to approch, thinking they had bene ſafe and cloſe, that no man ſaw them: it amazed thē all when they were receiued againe with infinite ſhot, and ſtriken to the ground with ſtones that

fell

Archimedes with an engine drew one of the greateſt hulkes Hieron the king had, a ſhore.

The wonderful force of Archimedes engines, at Marcellus ſiege of Syracuſa.

Marcellus Sambuca.

fell vpon their heads like lead: (for there was no part of all the walles, from whence they had not the like ſhot.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retire from the wals. And yet when they were further off from them, the arrowes, ſtones, and other kind of ſhot that flue in euery place among them, killed a great number of them, ſcattered farre from thence: ſo that many of them were ſlaine and ſore wounded, and diuerſe of their ſhips ſplitted, and they not once able to be reuenged, nor to hurt their enemies, becauſe *Archimedes* had placed his engines very cloſely behind the wals, and not vpon the wals in ſight of the enemy. So that it appeared the gods fought againſt the ROMAINES, they were ſo ſlaine and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithſtanding, *Marcellus* eſcaped with life, ſafe from hurt, and mocking his workemaiſters and engineers he had in his campe, he ſaid vnto them: What, ſhall we not leaue to make wars with this Briariah engineer and Geometrician here? who ſitting ſtill vpon the wharfe in ſporting manner hath with ſhame ouerthrowne our nauie, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred hands of the Giants, diſcharging at one inſtant ſo many ſhot among vs? For indeed, all the reſidue of the SYRACVSANS, were as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparation: and he himſelfe was the only creature that moued and did all, all weapons elſe being quiet, and his engines onely occupied, to aſſault and defend. At the length *Marcellus* ſeeing his men thus afeard, as if they did but ſee the end of a rope, or any peece of timber vpon the wall, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting looſe ſome of his engines vpon them: he would no more approch the wals, nor giue aſſault, determining to ſee if he could win it by long ſiege. Notwithſtanding, *Archimedes* had ſuch a great mind, and was ſo profoundly learned, hauing hidden in him the onely treaſure and ſecrets of Geometricall inuentions: as he would neuer ſet foorth any booke how to make all theſe warlike engines, which wan him at that time the fame and glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of diuine wiſdome. But he eſteeming all kind of handicraft and inuention to make engines, and generally all maner of ſciences bringing common cõmoditie by the vſe of them, to be but vile, beggerly, and mercenarie droſſe: employed his wit & ſtudie only to write things, the beauty and ſubtilty whereof, were not mingled any thing at all with neceſſitie. For all that he hath written, are geometricall propoſitions, which are without compariſon of any other writings whatſoeuer: becauſe the ſubiect whereof they treate, doth appeare by demonſtration, the matter giuing them the grace and the greatneſſe, and the demonſtration prouing it ſo exquiſitly, with wonderfull reaſon and facilitie, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written, in more plain and ſimple tearmes, and by more eaſie principles, then thoſe which he hath inuented. Now ſõme do impute this, to the ſharpeneſſe of his wit and vnderſtanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other do referre it to the extreame paines he tooke, which made theſe things come ſo eaſily from him, that they ſeemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man liuing of himſelfe can deuiſe the demonſtration of his propoſitions, what paine ſoeuer he take to ſeeke it: & yet ſtraight ſo ſoone as he commeth to declare and open it, euery man then imagineth with himſelfe he could haue found it out well enough, he can then ſo plainly make demonſtration of the thing he meaneth to ſhew. And therefore that me thinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was ſo rauiſhed and drunke with the ſweet intiſements of this Syren, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgat his meat and drinke, and was careleſſe otherwiſe of himſelf, that oftentimes his ſeruants got him againſt his will to the baths, to waſh and annoint him: and yet being there, he would euer be drawing out of the Geometricall figures, euen in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with oyles and ſweete ſauors, with his finger he did draw lines vpon his naked body: ſo far was he taken from himſelfe, & brought into an extaſie or traunce, with the delight he had in the ſtudy of Geometrie, and truly rauiſhed with the loue of the Muſes. But amongſt many notable things he deuiſed, it appeareth, that he moſt eſteemed the demonſtration of the proportion betweene the Cylinder (to wit, the round colomne) and the ſphære or globe contained in the ſame: for he prayed his kinſmen and friends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder vpon his tombe, containing a maſſie ſphære, with an inſcription of the proportion, whereof the continent exceedeth the thing contained. So *Archimedes* being as you haue heard, did aſmuch as lay in him, both to ſaue himſelfe and SYRACVSA from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* during the ſiege at SYRACVSA, wan the citie of MEGARES in SICILE, one of the ancienteſt cities in all the Iland: and he tooke beſides, the campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by ACILES, where he ſlue aboue 8000 men, ſurpri-

Marcellus wondred at Archimedes engines.

Archimedes profoundly learned.

Archimides Syren.

Archimedes demonſtration of the Cylinder.

Marcellus victories in Sicile.

ſing them vpon the ſodaine, euen as they were preparing to lodge, and to fortifie their campe. Then he ouercame a great part of the champion countrie of SICILE, and made the cities to rebel that tooke the CARTHAGINIANS part: and in all the battels he fought, he euer ouercame them that durſt bid him battell. It chanced afterwards, that he tooke a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine priſoner, called *Danippus*: euen as he came out of SYRACVSA by ſea. The SYRACVSANS deſirous to redeeme him, ſent to him to pray he might be ranſomed. They made many parlees about his ranſome, and drew out this practiſe to diuerſe meetings: vntill *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certaine tower, that had no great watch kept vpon it, and into the which he might ſecretly conuey a certaine number of men, the wall of the city in that place being no very hard thing to ſcale. Therfore when he had giuen a good geſſe by eſtimation at the height of that tower, by often approching to it, hauing parleed many a time hard by it: he prouided skaling ladders, & took the oportunitie of a feaſt which the SYRACVSANS ſolemnized in the honor of *Diana*, on which day they gaue themſelues to all feaſting, ſporting, and playes. So he tooke not onely the tower, but filled all the wals round about with armed men before day, and brake open the maine gate & entry of the city called Hexapile. And as the SYRACVSANS beganne to ſtirre, perceiuing the ROMAINES on the wals: *Marcellus* made his men ſound their trumpets on euery ſide. Whereupon the SYRACVSANS were ſo affraid and amazed, that they began to fly, thinking all the city beſides had bene taken, where indeed the greateſt and ſtrongeſt quarter of the city called ACRADINA, was not yet touched: becauſe it is walled in round about, and ſeparated from the reſt of the city, which is deuided into two other parts, the one called the new city, & the other fortune. The two parts whereof being won, *Marcellus* by the breake of the day forced in by the gate or entrie of the Hexapile. And when his captaines told him he was happy, to win ſo goodly a city ſo eaſily: they ſay, that he (looking about him, and conſidering the greatneſſe & ſtatelineſſe of the ſame) wept for very pitie, foreſeeing whereto it ſhould come, thinking with himſelfe what a ſodaine change it ſhould haue, when his army came to ſpoile and ſacke the ſame. For there was not a captain that durſt deny the ſouldiers when they demaunded the ſpoile, and yet were there many that would needs haue it burnt and raſed to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any caſe, and beſides, it was ſore againſt his mind to grant them the ſpoile of the goods & ſlaues: ſtraightly commanding them notwithſtanding, not to lay hands of any free man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any SYRACVSAN ſlaue. Wherin, though he ſhewed great fauor and mercy, yet it grieued him to ſee ſo famous a city, brought to that miſerable ſtate: and in the midſt of all the ioy he had for his victorie, he could not refraine from weeping for pitie to ſee ſo rich and wealthie a citie, in the turning of a hand, ſpoiled and brought to nought. For it is ſaid, that the riches and goods taken away at the ſacke of SYRACVSA, were nothing inferiour to the ſpoiles of CARTHAGE, which was alſo ſacked not long after that: for the other part of the city of SYRACVSA called ACRADINA, was ſoone after alſo taken by treaſon, and ſpoiled againſt the captaines wils, ſauing the kings treaſure, which was reſerued to be caried to the common treaſure of ROME. SYRACVSA being taken, nothing grieued *Marcellus* more, then the loſſe of *Archimedes*: who being in his ſtudie when the city was taken, buſily ſeeking out by himſelfe the demonſtration of ſome Geometricall propoſition which he had drawne in figure, and ſo earneſtly occupied therein, as he neither ſaw nor heard any noiſe of enemies that ran vp and downe the citie, and much leſſe knew it was taken: he wondered when he ſaw a ſouldier by him, that bad him go with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithſtanding, he ſpake to the ſouldier, and bad him tarie vntill he had done his concluſion, and brought it to demonſtration: but the ſoldier being angry with his anſwer, drew out his ſword and killed him. Other ſay, that the ROMAINE ſouldier when he came, offered the ſwords point to him to kill him: and that *Archimedes* when he ſaw him, prayed him to hold his hand a litle, that he might not leaue the matter he looked for vnperfect, without demonſtration. But the ſoldier making no reckening of his ſpeculation, killed him preſently. It is reported a third way alſo, ſaying, that certaine ſouldiers met him in the ſtreets going to *Marcellus*, carying certaine Mathematicall inſtruments in a litle pretie coffer, as dials for the Sun, ſphæres and angles, wherewith they meaſure the greatneſſe of the body of the Sun by view: and they ſuppoſing he had caried ſome gold or ſiluer, or other precious iewels in that litle coffer, ſlue him for it. But it is moſt true, that *Marcellus* was maruellous ſory for his death, and euer after hated the villaine that ſlue him, as a curſed and execrable perſon: and how he made alſo maruellous much afterwards of *Archimedes* kinſmen for his ſake. The ROMAINES were eſteemed of at that time by all nations, for maruellous

Danippus a Lacedæmonian captaine taken priſoner.

Marcellus winneth Syracuſa.

Acradina.

Marcellus gentleneſſe.

Rich ſpoiles at Syracuſa.

Archimedes mathematitian ſlaine in his ſtudie.

Diuers opinions of Archimedes death.

maruellous expert ſouldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be dealt with: but they neuer ſhewed any example of their clemencie and curteſie, and leaſt of all of any ciuill maner to any ſtraungers, vntill *Marcellus* taught the way, whoſe actes did ſhew the GRECIANS then, that the ROMAINES were more gracious and mercifull then they. For he did ſo courteouſly intreate thoſe that had to do with him, and ſhewed ſuch fauour to priuate perſons, and alſo to whole cities: that if there were any crueltie ſhewed in the cities of ENNA, or at MEGARES, or againſt the SYRACVSANS, it was rather through their own fault and folly that were hurt, then theirs that did them the hurt. And for proofe hereof, I will recite you one example only among many. There is a citie in SICILE called ENGYIVM, it is no great thing, but a very ancient citie of name, by reaſon of the trafficke thither, for that there are certaine goddeſſes to be ſeene, whom they worſhip, called the mothers. Some ſay the CRETANS were the firſt builders and founders of the temple there, where you ſhall ſee ſpeares and helmets of copper, and vpon them are grauen the name of *Meriones*: and vpon others, *Vlyſſes* name alſo, which are conſecrated to theſe goddeſſes. This citie ſtood altogether at the deuotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* being the chiefeſt man of the ſame, was all he might againſt it, and perſwaded them openly in all their counſels to take part with the ROMAINES, prouing it by many reaſons, that his enemies counſelling the contrary, were vnprofitable members of the common wealth. Wherupon *Nicias* enemies fearing his greatneſſe and authoritie, they did conſpire among themſelues to apprehend him, and to deliuer him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* hearing of ſuch a matter, and finding that they lay in waite to take him, vſed this pollicie to preuent their treaſon. He gaue out openly very ill ſpeeches againſt the goddeſſes, and did many things in derogation of their honour: and ſaid the ſight of them (which was a matter of great credite) was but a deuice, and that there was no credit to be giuen to them. Theſe words tickled his enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the miſchiefe they pretended againſt him, to himſelfe, as the onely cauſer of his owne hurt. So they hauing appointed a day to apprehend him, by chaunce a common counſell was kept that day they had determined of: where *Nicias* ſpeaking to the people about matter of counſell, in the midſt of his oration he fell to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole aſſembly, as euery man may coniecture. Howbeit, neuer a man ſtirred, and a pretie while after he began to lift vp his head a litle, and to looke gaſtly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he ſtill gathered higher and lowder by litle and litle, vntill he ſaw all the people wonderouſly affraid and amazed, that not one of them durſt ſpeake. Then throwing his gowne from him, and renting his coate, he got vpon his feete halfe naked, and ran towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddeſſes mothers did torment him: & not a man durſt once come neare him, nor offer to ſtop him, they were ſo ſuperſtitious & fooliſhly affraid of the goddeſſes, imagining it was ſome diuine puniſhment. But by this means he eaſily got to the gates of the city, and fled from them all: and he was neuer ſeene after that time, to do, or ſpeake like a mad man in any thing. His wife that was made priuy to his deuice, and furthered his intent, went firſt and fell downe on her knees before the goddeſſes mothers in their temple, as ſhe had hartily prayed vnto them: and faining afterwards ſhe would go ſeeke her husband, that ran vp & down the fields like a mad man, ſhe went out of the city with her litle children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they eſcape without danger, & went vnto *Marcellus* to SYRACVSA. The ENGIENIANS afterwards played ſuch inſolent parts, that *Marcellus* in the end went thither, and cauſed them all to be taken and bound, as though he would haue put thē to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kiſſing his hands, beſought him to take pitie of his poore citizens, beginning firſt with thoſe that were his greateſt enemies. This good nature of *Nicias* ſo pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, and did no hurt to the city, and gaue *Nicias* certain land, beſides many other rich gifts he beſtowed vpon him. Thus it is reported in the hiſtory of *Poſidonius* the philoſopher. Now *Marcellus* being ſent for home by the ROMAINES, becauſe they had wars in their owne country, and euen at ROME gates: he departed out of SICILE returning towards ROME, and caried the goodlieſt tables, pictures, and ſtatues, and other ſuch ornaments as were in SYRACVSA, meaning firſt to beautifie his triumph with them, and to leaue them afterwards for an ornament to ROME, which before that time neuer knew what ſuch curious works meant. For, this fineneſſe, and curious tables and imagery, neuer came into ROME before, but was throughly ſet out with armour and weapons of barbarous people, and with bloudy ſpoils, and was alſo crowned with monuments of victories & triumphs

Marcellus clemencie.

Engyium a city in Sicile.

Nicias craft.

Marcellus the firſt that brought in fineneſſe & curious tables & pictures into Rome, of the ſpoiles of Syracuſa.

of diuerſe enemies, which were no pleaſant, but rather fearefull ſights to looke vpon, farre vnfit for feminine eyes. But euen as *Epaminondas* called the plain of BOEOTIA, *Mars* his ſcaffold, where he kept his games: and *Xenophon* alſo called the city of EPHESVS, the armorers ſhop: euen ſo me thinkes (as *Pindarus* ſaid) they might rightly haue tearmed ROME, the temple of *Mars* fighting. And this wan the peoples good wils much more to *Marcellus*, becauſe he did ſo paſſingly ſet foorth ROME with ſuch excellent fine toyes of GRECE. But *Fabius Maximus* on the other ſide, was better beloued of the old men: becauſe he brought no ſuch toyes with him from the city of TARENTVM, when he wan it. Indeed he brought away gold and ready coine, and much other goods that were profitable: but for images and tables, he left them ſtanding in their places, ſpeaking a thing of great note: Let vs leaue the TARENTINES their gods offended with them. And furthermore the noble men were angry with *Marcellus*, ſaying, that by this act he had purchaſed ROME great malice and hate. Firſt, becauſe he did not onely lead men priſoners in his triumph, but the gods alſo: and ſecondly, becauſe he had filled the people full of prittle prattle, and idle curioſitie, ſpending all the whole day in gazing, and wondring at the excellencie of the workemen, and of their works, where before they would fall to their labour, or elſe they went to the wars, not being acquainted with curioſitie, nor idle life, as *Euripides* ſaid, ſpeaking of *Hercules*:

In wicked practiſes he ſimple was to ſee,
but he exceld in vertuous deedes, and feats that worthy be.

Notwithſtanding, *Marcellus* did glory amongſt the GRECIANS themſelues, ſaying: that he had taught the ROMAINES to eſteeme the wonderfull workes of GRECE, which they knew not before. But at his returne out of SICILE, his enemies procured, that his honour of triumph was denyed him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left ſomewhat to do in SICILE, and that the war was not altogether ended, and fearing beſides leaſt a third triumph would make him too much enuied: he was contented with good will to haue the honor of the great triumph in the mountaine of ALBA only: and of the litle triumph, in the city of ROME. This maner of litle triumph is called in Greek *Euan*, and the ROMAINES call it *Ouatio*. And this difference there is betweene them: that in the *Ouation* triumph, the party to whom it is graunted, doth not enter into the city vpon a triumphing chariot drawne with foure horſes, nor doth cary any lawrell vpon his head in token of triumph, nor hath any trumpets or hornes blowne before him, but doth march on foot with a paire of ſlippers on his feete, hauing flutes and howboyes playing before him, and wearing a garland of firre tree vpon his head: ſo as this maner of entrie is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleaſant then fearefull ſight. Whereby it plainely appeareth, that theſe two kinds of entries they graunted to the Captaines, returning from the warres with victorie: were diſtinguiſhed in the old time, rather by the manner, then by the greatneſſe of their doings. For ſuch as had ouercome their enemies by great ſlaughter and bloudy battels, they did make their entrie with pompe of triumph, that was altogether marſhall and terrible, followed with their ſouldiers armed, and crowned with lawrell garlands, as their cuſtome was in muſtering their campe in the warres. But they on the contrary ſide, that without any exploit of armes returned home with victorie, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence: the law graunted them the honour of *Ouation* triumph, which was quiet, and full of all ioy and mirth. For the flute is an inſtrument of pleaſure belonging to peace, and the firre tree is a tree conſecrated to *Venus*, which goddeſſe, aboue all gods and goddeſſes doth moſt deteſt warres. This ſecond kind of entrie was called *Ouatio*, not as many GRECIANS haue taken it, comming of this word *Euan*, which is a voice and ſong of ioy, although they did vſe alſo to accompany the Captaines making their entry in this ſort, crying and ſinging *Euan*: but there were certaine GRECIANS that would haue fetched the deriuation of this word, from an old common cuſtome they had: and were of opinion beſides, that part of this honour did appertaine to god *Bacchus*, whoſe ſurname we call *Euius*, and ſometimes *Thriambus*. Howbeit this is not the true deriuation of the name, but after this ſort. At the great triumph and entry made, the captaine or generall that triumpheth as a Conqueror, did offer and ſacrifice (by the old orders and auncient cuſtomes of ROME) one or diuerſe oxen: where at the ſecond triumph called the *Ouation*, he only ſacrificed a mutton, which the ROMAINES call in their toung *Ouem*, and thereof it was called *Ouation*. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the law-maker of the ROMAINE lawes and cuſtomes, and the law-maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how each of them was contrarie to the other, in appointing the ſacrifices for victorie. For at SPARTA, the captaine

Marcellus entreth into Rome with Ouation triumph.

What the Ouation triumph is.

Ouation whereof it is called.

The ſacrifices of the quiet triumph.

The ſacrifices of the litle triumph Ouation

The difference betwixt the Spartans and Romaines in their ſacrifices for victorie.

or

or General that had done his feat by policy or friendſhip, the ſacrifice he did offer vp to the gods, was an oxe: and he that by force, and bloudy battell had obtained victory, only offered vp a cock for ſacrifice. For though they were very good ſoldiers, yet they thought better of his ſeruice, that by his wiſedome and wiſe perſwaſions obtained victorie: then of his, that wan it by valiantneſſe, and force of armes. Thus you may ſee which of theſe two law-makers had beſt reaſon in his ordinances. But now to *Marcellus* againe. He being choſen Conſull the fourth time, his enemies and euill willers did ſtirre vp the SYRACVSANS againſt him, and perſwaded them to complaine to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly and vncourteouſly vſed them, contrary to the auncient league and alliances made long before with the ROMAINES. *Marcellus* being ſacrificing one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were ſet in counſell, the SYRACVSANS deputies came before them, and kneeling downe beſought them to giue them audience, and that they would do them iuſtice. The other Conſul that was preſent rebuked thē, being angry that they had ſo malicioufly ſpied the occaſion of *Marcellus* abſence. But when *Marcellus* heard of it, he ſtraight left off all, and came to the Senate, and firſt ſate him downe in his Conſuls chaire, where he gaue audience as Conſull, and diſpatched diuers cauſes: when he had ſo done, he roſe out of his chaire, and came downe among them, ſtanding as a priuate perſon to anſwer at the barre, as other offenders and men accuſed, ſuffering the SYRACVSANS to alleage and ſay againſt him what they would. Then were the SYRACVSANS blanke, when they ſaw the maieſtie of *Marcellus*, and his ſtaied countenance in all things: and as they had found him before a very valiant man in wars, and vnconquerable, they found him then a man no leſſe dreadful in his Conſuls robe: ſo that they hung downe their heads, & durſt not looke him in the face. Notwithſtanding, they being ſuborned by his enemies, began at the length boldly to accuſe him, and yet with ſorrow and lamentation, the effect whereof was this: That they being the ROMAINES friends and confederates, had abidden ſuch iniuries at *Marcellus* hands, as all other Generals neuer offered their very enemies. Whereto *Marcellus* ſtraight anſwered againe to the contrary. That for many iniuries the ROMAINES had receiued of them, they ſuffered nothing but that which was vnpoſſible they ſhould not ſuffer, that reſiſted vntil they were taken by force: and yet they might thank themſelues for any thing they ſuffered, becauſe they would not obey nor conſent to reaſonable capitulations and articles of peace, which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alleage for their excuſe, that the tyrants had compelled them to make warres: when they to the contrary, becauſe they would enter into wars, were contented to be ſubiect to a tyrant. So, when both parties had ſpoken their minds, the SYRACVSANS (as the maner is) went out of the Senate houſe, and *Marcellus* alſo, leauing his fellow Conſul in his place in the Senate, and taried without the doore, attending the ſentence of the Senate, neuer altering his countenance nor wōted look, neither for feare of ſentence, nor for malice or anger againſt the SYRACVSANS, quietly looking for his iudgement. Aftewards whē the Senators voices wer gathered together, & that *Marcellus* was cleared by the moſt voices: then the SYRACVSANS fel downe at his feet weeping, & beſought him not to wreake his anger vpon them that were preſent, and moreouer that he would haue compaſſion of the reſidue of the citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and fauor extended to them, and confeſſed themſelues bound to him for euer. *Marcellus* moued with pitie by their intreaty, he pardoned them, & euer after did to the SYRACVSANS what pleaſure he could poſſible. For through his intreatie and requeſt, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his graunt vnto them, which was: that they might vſe the libertie & benefit of their owne laws, & quietly enioy their goods alſo which were left them. To requite this ſpecial grace procured them by *Marcellus*, the SYRACVSANS gaue him many honors, and among others they made a law, that euer after, as oft as any of *Marcellus* name or houſe came into SICILE, the SYRACVSANS ſhould keep a ſolemne feaſt, with garlands on their heads, and ſhould alſo ſacrifice vnto the gods. After this, *Marcellus* went againſt *Hannibal*: & where al the other Conſuls almoſt, and Generals, after the ouerthrow at CANNES, had vſed this onely policy with him, not to come to battel: he took a contrary courſe to them all, thinking that tract of time (wherby they thought to eate out *Hannibals* force) was rather a direct conſuming & deſtroying of all ITALY: & that *Fabius Maximus* ſtanding too much vpon ſafety, tooke not the way to cure the diſeaſe & weaknes of the commonweale of ROME, looking to end this war, conſuming by litle and litle the ſtrength and power of ROME, committing a fearefull phiſitions fault and error, being afraide to heale the patient ſodainely, imagining that to bring them low, doth leſſen the diſeaſe. So firſt of all he went to beſiege certain great cities of the SAMNITES, which were reuolted from

The Syracuſans accuſe Marcellus.

Marcellus being Conſull, anſwered the Syracuſans accuſations as a priuate man.

Marcellus conſtancie.

Marcellus curteſie to the Syracuſans.

Marcellus acts againſt Hannibal in his fourth conſulſhip.

obedience of the Romaines: and thoſe he wan againe with a great prouiſion of corne and mony he found in thē, beſides 3000. ſouldiers *Hanniball* left in garriſon there, whom he took priſoners.

Cneus Fuluius Viceconſull ſlaine in Apulia by Hannibal.

Hanniball after that, hauing ſlaine the Viceconſull *Cneus Fuluius* in Apvlia, with eleuen *Tribunis militum* (to wit, Colonels, euery one hauing the charge of a 1000. footmen) and ouerthrowne the greateſt part of his armie: *Marcellus* wrote letters to Rome, hoping to comfort the Senate and people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he would driue *Hanniball* out of Apvlia. Whē the Romaines had read his letters, they were nothing the more comforted, but rather (as *Liuy* writeth) more afraid & diſcoraged: becauſe they doubted the danger to come would be greater, then the loſſe paſt, taking *Marcellus* to be a far greater and better Generall, then euer was *Fuluius*. Neuertheleſſe, *Marcellus* performing the contents of his letters written to Rome, draue *Hanniball* out of Apvlia, and made him retire into Lvcania. And *Marcellus* finding him in that country, by a city called Nvmistron, lodged vpon hils, and in places of ſtrength and aduantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the firſt that preſented his enemy battel. *Hanniball* on the other ſide, came downe into the vally, and they ioyned battel: which was ſo cruelly fought, and ſo long time, as it could not be deſcerned who had the better. For the battell being begun at nine of the clocke in the morning, it was darke night ere they gaue ouer. The next morning by peepe of day, *Marcellus* ſet his men againe in battell ray, in the middeſt of all the dead bodies that lay ſlaine in the field, and chalenged *Hanniball*, to proue who ſhould haue the field. But *Hanniball* refuſed, and marched his way thence: ſo as *Marcellus* thereby had good leiſure left him to ſtrip his ſlaine enemies, and alſo to bury his own ſouldiers. When he had finiſhed that, he preſently followed his enemy by the foote, who laid many ambuſhes for him, but he could neuer trap him in any: and in euery encounter or skirmiſh they had together, *Marcellus* had euer the better, which wan him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to chuſe new Conſuls, the Senate thought good to ſend rather for the other Conſull that was in Sicile, then to remoue *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hanniball*. So when the other Conſull was come to Rome, the Senate commaunded him to name *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, becauſe the Dictator was neither choſen by the people, nor by the Senate: but one of the Conſuls or Prætors, in open aſſembly of the people, nameth ſuch a one Dictator, as he liketh of. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that this word Dictator, came vpon that word naming: for, *Dicere* in the Romaine tongue, ſignifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion, that he was called Dictator, becauſe he commandeth of himſelfe what he will, without the counſell of the Senate, & the voices of the people: and this ſeemeth to be true, becauſe the commaundements of the Senate of Rome are called *Edicta*, which we Grecians call *Diatagmata*. Now the other Conſull and cōpanion of *Marcellus* being come out of Sicile, he would needs name another Dictator then him whom the Senate offered him: and becauſe he would not be compelled to do that he was vnwilling to do, he ſtole away one night, and returned againe into Sicile. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fuluius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him: which *Marcellus* did, & authorized the peoples electiō. So he himſelf was choſen again Proconſul for the next yeare following: in the which he hauing conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the wars, they were agreed, that *Fabius* ſhould proue if he could win the citie of Tarentvm againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time ſhould keepe *Hanniball* occupied, that he might not come to aid it. This reſolution being taken betweene them, *Marcellus* went to meet *Hanniball* by the citie of Cannvsivm: who as he ſtill changed and ſhifted lodging, becauſe he would not come to the battell againſt his will, found *Marcellus* euer in his eye before him. Inſomuch as *Hanniball* remouing thus his camp, *Marcellus* plied him ſo one day with continuall alarums & skirmiſhes, that he brought thim to a battel that held all day long til night, and compelled them both to leaue off till the next morning: where *Marcellus* ſhewed againe in field by breake of the day, in battel ray. Wherat *Hānibal* being in a maruellous rage, he called his ſouldiers together, & made an oratiō to them, earneſtly mouing them once again to fight with *Marcellus*, if euer they had heretofore fought for his ſake. You ſee, ſaid he, that hauing fought ſo many battels, and gottē ſuch victories as we haue done, we cānot yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much ſoeuer we win, if we driue not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. Whē *Hanniball* had ended his oration to the Carthaginians, he led them on to the battel: where *Marcellus*, to no purpoſe, & out of time, would needs ſhew *Hanniball* a ſtratagem of warre, that turned himſelfe to the worſt. For *Marcellus* perceiuing the right wing of his army diſtreſſed, made one of his legions that was ſet in

Marcellus fought a battell with Hannibal at Numiſtron in Apulia.

The Dictator choſen by the Conſul or Prætor, not by the people nor Senate.

Whereof Dictator cometh.

Quintus Fuluius choſen Dictator by the people.

Marcellus Proconſull.

Hannibals oration to his ſouldiers.

Marcellus ſtratageme.

in ray in the rereward of his hoaſt, to march to the front of his battell, to helpe thoſe that needed aide. But this remouing of the legion, troubled them that fought, and gaue the enemies the victory: who ſlue that day two thouſand ſeuen hundred of the ROMAINES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his campe, he ſtraight called his ſouldiers before him, to whom he ſpake in this maner: that he ſaw a great deale of armour, and bodies of men, but he could ſee no ROMAINES. The ROMAINES hearing him ſay ſo, beſought him to pardon the fault they had committed. *Marcellus* anſwered, he would neuer pardon them, ſo long as they were ouercome: but whē they ouercame againe, he was content to remit al. So the next morning he agreed to bring them againe to fight with the enemie, that ſuch as were at ROME ſhould rather heare newes of their victorie, then of their running away. When he had ſaid, he appointed they ſhould giue thoſe bands that firſt turned their backes to *Hannibal*, barly for wheate. So as though many of them were in great daunger of their liues, for the ſore wounds they had rece iuedin the battell: yet there was not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more grieue them thē the grieuous wounds they had. The next morning betimes was ſet out of the Generals tent, the coate armour died in skarlet, which is the ordinary ſigne of battell: & the bands that had receiued diſhonor the day before, were placed at their owne requeſt in the front of the battell. The other Captaines beſides, that were not ouerthrowne, did leade their bands alſo to the field, and did ſet them in battell ray. *Hannibal* hearing of that, cried out: O gods, what a man is this, that can not be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the onely odde man, that neuer giueth reſt to his enemie, when he hath ouercome him, nor taketh any for himſelfe when he is ouercome. We ſhall neuer haue done with him, for any thing that I ſee, ſith ſhame, whether he win or looſe, doth ſtill prouoke him to be bolder and valianter. After orations made of both ſides, both armies marched forwards to ioyne battell. The ROMAINES being as ſtrong as the CARTHAGINIANS, *Hannibal* put his Elephants in the vowarde and front of his battell, and commanded his men to driue them vpon the ROMAINES: and ſo they did. Which in deed did ſomewhat trouble and diſorder the firſt rankes of the ROMAINES: vntill ſuch time as *Flauius* Tribune of the ſouldiers, tooke an enſigne in his hands, and marched before the beaſts, and gaue the firſt of them ſuch a thruſt with the point of his enſigne, that he made her turne backe. The firſt beaſt being turned backe thus, ran vpon the ſecond that followed her, and the ſecond made the third go backe alſo, and ſo from one to another, vntill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiuing that, commaunded his horſemen to ſet vpon the enemies with all the fury they could, in that place where he ſaw them ſomewhat troubled with theſe beaſts, that turned backe againe vpon them: and that they ſhould driue them further in amongſt them. Which they did, and gaue ſo hot a charge vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backes and runne away, and they purſued them ſtill, killing them downe right, euen to their camp ſide: where was the greateſt ſlaughter of all, by reaſon their Elephants that were wounded, fell downe ſtarke dead within the gate of their camp. And they ſay, of the CARTHAGINIANS there were ſlaine at this battel, aboue eight thouſand, and of the ROMAINES only three thouſand: howbeit all the reſt of them for the moſt part were very ſore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hannibal*, that he might march away at his pleaſure, as he did that night, & got him away far off from *Marcellus*, as knowing he was not in ſtate to follow him ouer ſodainly, becauſe of the great number of hurt men in his camp: and ſo by ſmall iourneis he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garriſon all the ſommer, in the city of SINVESSE, to heale the wounds of his ſore mangled ſouldiers. *Hannibal* hauing now gotten himſelfe at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, and hauing his army free to ſerue him as he thought good: he burned and deſtroyed all ITALY where he went, and ſtood no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill ſpoken of at ROME, and cauſed his enemies to take hold of ſuch a matter againſt him: for they ſtraight raiſed *Publius Bibulus* Tribune to accuſe him, who was a hote harebrained man, but very eloquent, and could deliuer his mind very wel. So this *Bibulus* called the people oft to counſel, & told them there, that they muſt needs call home *Marcellus*, and appoint ſome other to take the charge of the army: for as for him, ſaid he, becauſe he hath fought a litle with *Hannibal* (and as a man might ſay, wreſtled a litle with him) he is now gotten to the bathes to ſolace himſelfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenants in the camp, & went himſelf to ROME, to anſwer to the vntrue accuſations laid againſt him, and there he perceiued at his commin ȝ, how they intended to proſecute the matter againſt him vpon theſe informations. So a day of hearing was appointed for his matter, & the parties came before the people aſſēbled in coūſel, in the great liſts, or ſhew place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to giue

Marcellus ouercome in battell by Hannibal.

Marcellus hard vvords vnto his ſouldiers.

Hannibals vvords of Marcellus.

Battel betwixt Hannibal and Marcellus.

The vvorthie act of Flauius Tribunus militum.

Marcellus victory of Hannibal.

Hannibal lay in garriſon in the citie of Sinueſſe in Campania.

P. Bibulus Tribune of the people accuſeth Marcellus.

Circus Flaminius.

iudgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, ſitting in his chaire, laid open his accuſation with great circumſtance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had told his tale, anſwered him in few words, and very diſcreetly, onely touching his purgation. But the noble and chiefeſt men of the citie, roſe vp and ſpake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the people plainly that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to reckon worſe of his valiantneſſe, then their enemy did: and to iudge of him as a coward, conſidering *Hannibal* onely fled from him, of all other captaines, and would by no meanes fight with him, neuer refuſing to fight with any other whatſoeuer. Theſe perſwaſions tooke ſuch effect, as where *Marcellus* accuſer looked for his condemnation, *Marcellus* to the contrary, was not onely cleared of his accuſation, but furthermore, they choſe him Conſull againe the fift time. So being entred into his office, he wẽt firſt into THVSCAN: where viſiting the good cities one after another, and quieting them, he pacified a great ſedition in the country, when they were all ready to riſe & rebel. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to conſecrate the temple of honor and vertue, which he had built with the ſpoiles he got in the wars of SICILE. But the Prieſts were againſt it, ſaying, two gods might not be in one church. Thereupon he built another temple, and ioyned it to the firſt, being very angry the Prieſts denied ſo his conſecration: and he did take it for an euill token, beſides diuers other ſignes in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were may temples ſet on fire with lightning at one time: and the rats and miſe did gnaw the gold, that was in the chappell of *Iupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported alſo, that an oxe did ſpeake: and a child came out of the head of an Elephant, and that the child was aliue. Furthermore, the Prieſts and Soothſayers ſacrificing to the gods, to withdraw the euil from them, theſe ſiniſter tokens did threaten: they could neuer find any fauourable ſignes in their ſacrifices. Whereupon they ſought to keepe *Marcellus* ſtill at ROME, who had a maruellous earneſt deſire to be gone with ſpeed to the warres: for neuer man longed for any thing ſo much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hannibal*. In ſomuch he neuer dreamed other thing in the night, nor ſpake of any matter els in the day to his friends & cõpaniõs, nor praied to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with *Hannibal* in the field: and I thinke he would willingliеſt haue fought a priuate combat with him, in ſome walled city or inclõſed liſts for the combat. And had it not bene that he had already won himſelfe a great fame, and ſhewed himſelf to the world, (by ſundry great proofes and experience of his doings) a graue, skilfull, and a valiant Captaine as any man of his time: I would haue ſaid it had bene a pang of youth, and a more ambitious deſire, then became a man of his age, who was three ſcore yeare old at that time, when they made him Conſull againe the fift time. Neuertheleſſe, after he had ended all his propitiatory ſacrifices & purifications, ſuch as the ſoothſayers had appointed, he departed from ROME with his fellow Conſull *Quintus Criſpinus* to the wars. He found *Hannibal* lying betweene the cities of BANCIA, and VENOVSA, and ſought all the means he could to procure him to fight, but he could neuer get him to it. Howbeit *Hannibal* being aduertiſed by ſpials, that the Conſuls ſet an army to beſiege the city of the LOCRIANS, ſurnamed EPIZEPHYRIANS: (as ye would ſay) the occidentals, becauſe the GRECIANS in reſpect of the ITALIANS, are called the orientals:) he laid an ambuſh for them that went, vnder the hil of PETELIVM, which was directly in their way, where he ſlue about two thouſand fiue hundred ROMAINES. That ouerthrow did ſet *Marcellus* on fire, and made him more deſirous of battell: whereupon he remoued his campe from the place he lay in, and marched nearer to his enemie. Betweene their two camps there was a prety litle hill, ſtrong of ſituation, a wild thing ouergrown with wood: and there were high hillockes, from whence they might diſcerne a great way, both the one and the others campe, and at the foot of the ſame ran prety ſprings: inſomuch as the ROMAINES wondred, that *Hannibal* comming thither firſt, did not take that place, but had left it to his enemies. Howbeit *Hannibal* was crafty enough, leauing it of purpoſe: for as it was commodious to lodge his campe, ſo it ſerued his turne better for an ambuſh. So he filled the wood, the hollow places, and the vallies thereabout, with ſtore of ſhot and ſpearemen, aſſuring himſelfe that the place would entiſe the ROMAINES thither: and in deed he geſſed rightly, for ſo it fell out. Straight there flue a rumour abroade in the ROMAINES campe, that there was a paſſing place to lodge in, and euery man tooke vpon him like a skilfull ſouldier, to tell what vantage they ſhould haue vpon their enemies by taking that place, and ſpecially if they did lodge there, or otherwiſe built a fort vpon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to go ſee the place himſelfe, taking a few horſemen with him. Notwithſtanding, before he would take horſe, he called for his ſoothſayer to ſacrifice to the gods. The firſt beaſt that was ſacrificed, the Soothſayer ſhewed *Marcellus* the liuer

Marcellus choſen Conſull the fift time.

The temples of honor and vertue built by Marcellus.

Wonderfull ſignes were ſeene in Rome, vnfortunate to Marcellus.

Marcellus three ſcore yeare old, being choſen Conſull the fift time.
Q. Criſpinus Conſull.
Hannibal lay betwixt the cities of Bancia and Venuſa.

Mons Peteliũ.

An ambuſh laid by Hannibal.

Ill ſignes to Marcellus.

liuer of it without a head. The ſecond beaſt ſacrificed, had a faire great head of a liuer, and all the other parts were alſo ſound, and very new: that by them it appeared all the feare of the firſt ſignes and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothſayers on the other ſide ſaid, it did make them worſe afraid then before: for theſe ſo fauourable and luckie tokens of the ſacrifice, following immediatly after the firſt foule and naughtie ſignes, made them doubt them much, by reaſon of ſo ſtrange and ſodaine an alteration. But as the Poet *Pindarus* ſaith:

Nor force of burning fire, nor wall of ſteele nor ſtone,
nor whatſoeuer other thing, is here this earth vpon:
Can keepe abacke the courſe of fatall deſtiny,
nor yet reſiſt the due decrees, which come from heauen on high.

So *Marcellus* tooke his horſe, with *Quintus Criſpinus* his fellow Conſull, and his ſonne one of the Tribunes of the ſouldiers, hauing only two hundred & twenty horſemen with him, of the which there was not one ROMAINE among them, but all were THVSCANS, ſauing forty FREGELLANIANS, who from the beginning of theſe warres, had alwayes ſhewed themſelues very faithfull and louing to *Marcellus*. The hil we ſpake of before, being thicke couered with wood and buſhes, the enemies had ſet a skout to watch on the top of it, to giue warning if they ſaw any comming towards it. The ROMAINES could not ſee him, and he on the other ſide might ſee euen into their campe, and perceiue what was done: as he did aduertiſe thoſe at that time that lay in ambuſh for *Marcellus* comming: and they ſuffered him to paſſe on, vntill he came directly againſt them. Then they ſhewed vpon the ſodain, and compaſſing in *Marcellus*, they both ſhot & ſtrake at him, ſome following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty FREGELLANIANS which only ſtucke to it: who came roundly in together (notwithſtanding the THVSCANS were fled) vpon the firſt crie they heard, to defend the two Conſuls, vntill ſuch time as the Conſull *Criſpinus* hauing two wounds on his body with a dart, did turne his horſe to flie. And with that, one of the enemies gaue *Marcellus* ſuch a ſore blow with a ſpeare hauing a broade iron head, that he ranne him quite through. The FREGELLANIANS that were left aliue, being but a few in number, ſeeing *Marcellus* ſlaine, left him lying on the ground, and tooke his ſonne away with them, that was very ſore hurt, and by the ſwiftneſſe of their horſes recouered their camp, and ſaued themſelues. At this ouerthrow, there were not ſlaine aboue fortie men, and fiue and twenty taken priſoners, of which fiue of them were the Conſuls ſergeants, and their officers that caried axes before them, and the other were all horſemen. Within few dayes after, the other Conſull *Criſpinus* died alſo of his hurts, which was ſuch a misfortune, as neuer came before to the ROMAINES, that both their Conſuls were ſlaine at one battel. Now *Hannibal* made no great reckoning of all that were ſlaine, or taken at this field: but when he heard that *Marcellus* ſelfe was ſlaine at this ouerthrow, he went himſelfe ſtraight to the place to ſee him. So when he had viewed his bodie a great while, ſtanding hard by it, and conſidering his ſtrength, his ſtature, and countenance, hauing taken full view of all the parts of him, he ſpake no proud word againſt him, nor ſhewed any glad countenance, as ſome other would haue done, that had ſlaine ſo valiant and daungerous an enemie: but wondering how he came to be ſlaine ſo ſtrangely there, he tooke off his ring from one of his fingers that ſealed his letters, and giuing his bodie buriall according to his eſtate, made it to be honourably burnt, and then put all his bones and aſhes into a ſiluer pot, on which he himſelfe put a crowne of gold, and ſent it vnto *Marcellus* ſonne. It fortuned ſo, that certaine light horſemen of the NVMIDIANS met with them that caried this ſiluer pot, and would haue taken it from them by force, but they ſtood to it, and would not part withall, and ſo fighting and ſtriuing together for it, the bones and aſhes were ſcattered all about. *Hanniball* hearing this, ſaid to them that were about him: ſee, how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So he puniſhed the NVMIDIANS, and cared no more to get *Marcellus* bones together, but perſwaded himſelfe it was the will of the gods he ſhould die ſo ſtrangely, and that his body ſhould haue no buriall. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* write it thus: but *Liuy* and *Auguſtus Cæſar* ſay, that the pot was caried vnto his ſonne, and honorably buried: *Marcellus* did conſecrate many monuments in diuers places, beſides thoſe at ROME. As at CATANA in SICILE: a place for young men to exerciſe themſelues in. In the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA, in the temples of the gods called Cabires: many images and tables he brought from SYRACVSA. And in the Ile of LINDOS, in the temple of *Minerua*, where among other, there is a ſtatue of his, and this Epigramme grauen vnder it, as *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writeth:

Quintus Criſpinus ſlaine with Conſull with Marcellus.

Marcellus ſlaine in an ambuſh at the hill of Petelie.

The Conſul Criſpinus ſlain.

Marcellus funerall honored by Hanniball

Marcellus monuments.

O thou my friend (I say) which passest forth by me,
of Claudius Marcellus here, the image mayest thou see:
whose family at Rome, was of the noblest name.
Seuen times he Consull chosen was, in which he ouercame
great numbers infinite, (in open field and fight)
of such as sought his countries spoile, and put them all to flight.

Marcellus posteritie. The Author of this Epigramme reckoneth, the two times of his being Viceconsull, for two whole Consulships: but his posteritie continued alwayes in great honour, vnto *Marcellus* the sonne of *Octauia*, (*Augustus Cæsars* sister) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He died a yong man, being Ædilis of ROME, and maried vnto *Iulia*, *Augustus* daughter, with whom he liued no long time. But to honour the memory of him, *Octauia* his mother built the Librarie, and *Augustus Cæsar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and Librarie.

THE COMPARISON OF *Marcellus with Pelopidas.*

Pelopidas and Marcellus acts in warres. THese are the greatest things and best worthy of memorie (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doings: and for their maners and naturall conditions otherwise, they were all one, because they were both valiant, painfull, and noble minded: sauing that this difference onely was betweene them: that *Marcellus* in many cities he tooke by assault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much bloud: where *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did neuer put any to the sword they ouercame, neither did they take away the libertie from any citie they tooke: as it is thought the THEBANS would not haue handled the ORCHOMENIANS so cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had bene present. Now for their acts, it was a noble and wonderfull peece of seruice that *Marcellus* did, with so small a company of horsemen as he tooke with him, to ouerthrow so great a company of horsemen and footmen both, of the GAVLES: a thing that neuer Generall but himselfe did, and specially that slue with his owne hands in the field, the Generall of his enemies: which *Pelopidas* could neuer attaine vnto, for he seeking to kill *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, was slaine first himselfe, and suffered that, which he desired to haue done to another. And yet for that seruice may be obiected, the battels of LEVCTRES, and of TEGYRA, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or seceret practise done by *Marcellus*, that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile, when he slue the tyrants that kept THEBES in bondage. For that was as notable a pollicie and sodaine an enterprise stolen vpon, as none was euer greater, or more famous. It is true *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hanniball*, who was a dreadfull and a violent enemy: so were the THEBANS also at that very time with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who notwithstanding were ouercome of *Pelopidas*, at the battels of TEGYRA, and of LEVCTRES. Whereas *Marcellus* did neuer so much as once ouercome *Hanniball*, as *Polybius* writeth, but

Marcellus acts preferred before Pelopidas.

The manner of Marcellus and Pelopidas deedes.

but remained vnconquered alwaies, vntill that *Scipio* ouercame him in battell. Notwithstanding, we do giue best credit to the reports of *Cæsar*, *Liuie*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and of king *Iuba* among the GRECIANS: who write, that *Marcellus* otherwhile did ouerthrow certaine of *Hannibals* companies, howbeit they were neuer no great ouerthrowes to speake of, and it seemeth rather, it was through some mockery or deceit of that AFRICAN then otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter and worthy much commendation, that the ROMAINES were brought to that courage, as they durst abide to fight with the CARTHAGINIANS, after so many great ouerthrowes, and hauing so many Generals of their armies slaine in battell, and the whole Empire of ROME being in so great danger of vtter destruction. For it was *Marcellus* only of all other Generals, that put the ROMAINES in hart againe, after so great and long a feare throughly rooted in them: and incouraged the souldiers also to long to fight with their enemy, and not onely to hope, but to assure themselues of victory. For, where by reason of their continuall losses and fearefull ouerthrowes they had, they thought themselues happy men to escape *Hannibals* hands by running away: he taught them to be ashamed to flie like cowards, to confesse they were in distresse, to retire, and leaue the field, before they had ouercome their enemies. And where *Pelopidas* was neuer ouercome in battell being Generall, and *Marcellus* did ouercome more then any Generall in his time: it might seeme therefore that the great number of the victories of the one, should compare with the good hap of the other that was neuer ouercome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the city of SYRACVSA, and *Pelopidas* failed of taking the city of SPARTA: but yet do I thinke, that it was more valiantly done of *Pelopidas* to come so neere SPARTA as he did, and that he was the first that passed the riuer of EVROTAS with an army, which neuer enemy did before him, then it was of *Marcellus* to win all SICILE. Vnlesse some peraduenture wil say againe, this was *Epaminondas*, not *Pelopidas* act, as also in the victory of LEVCTRES: whereas no man liuing can challenge any part of glory in the doings of *Marcellus*: for he tooke SYRACVSA, being only Generall alone, and did ouerthrow the GAVLES wi hout his fellow Consull, & fought with *Hanniball*, without any mans helpe or incouragement (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the maner of wars the ROMAINES vsed then, and that trained his souldiers, that they durst fight with the enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the strangenesse of either of their deaths doth grieue me maruellously: as I do greatly wonder also, how *Hanniball* in so many battels as he fought (which are innumerable) could alwayes scape vnhurt. I cannot but greatly commend also the valiantnesse of one *Chrysantas*, whom *Xenephon* speaketh of in his booke of the institution of *Cyrus*, saying: that he hauing lift vp his sword in his hand ready to kill one of his enemies, and hearing the trumpet sound the retraite, he softly retired, and would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excused: for beside that he was very hote and desirous of battell, his anger was honourable and iust, and moued him to seeke reuenge. For as the poet *Euripides* saith:

Marcellus made the Romaines corragious.

Rashnesse in a captaine deserueth blame.

The valiantnes and obedience of Chrysantas a souldier.

The best that may betide, is when a captaine liues,
and doth suruiue the victories, which he with force atchieues:
But if he needs must fall, then let him valiantly
euen thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with honor die.

For so becommeth his death famous, and not dishonorable. But now, besides *Pelopidas* iust cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his victory ended, in the death of the tyrant: otherwise he should hardly haue found so noble an occasion to haue shewed his valiantnesse, as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily, without any instant necessity, and hauing no cause of heate or choller (which putteth all men valiant in fight besides themselues, that they know not what they do) did rashly & vnaduisedly, thrust himselfe into the middest of the danger, where he died not as a Generall, but as a light horsman and skout (abandoning his three triumphes, his fiue Consulships, and his spoiles and tokens of triumph, which he had gotten of kings with his owne hands) among venturous SPANIARDS and NVMIDIANS, that sold their bloud & liues for pay vnto the CARTHAGINIANS: so that I imagine they were angry with themselues (as a man would say) for so great and happy a victory, to haue slaine amongst FREGELLANIAN skouts, and light horsemen, the noblest and worthiest person of the ROMAINES. I would no man should thinke I speake this in reproch of the memory of these two famous men, but as a griefe only of them and their valiantnesse: which they employed so, as they blemished all their other vertues, by the vndiscreete hazarding of their persons and liues without

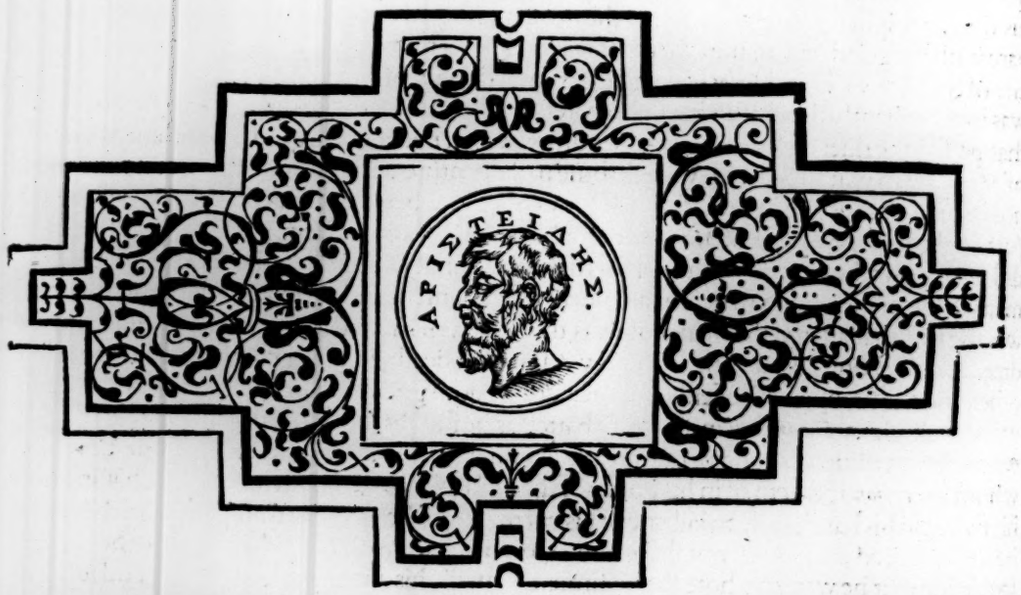
Plutarch excuseth his free speech and iudgement of these famous men.

cauſe, as if they would and ſhould haue died for themſelues, and not rather for their countrey and friends. And alſo when they were dead, *Pelopidas* was buried by the allies and confederates of the city of THEBES, for whoſe cauſe he was ſlaine: and *Marcellus* in like maner, by the enemies ſelues that had ſlaine him. And ſure the one is a happy thing, and to be wiſhed for in ſuch a caſe: but the other is farre aboue it, and more to be wondered at: That the enemy himſelfe ſhould honour his valiantneſſe and worthineſſe that hurt him, more then the office of friendſhip performed by a thankfull friend. For nothing moueth the enemy more to honour his dead enemy, then the admiration of his worthineſſe: and the friend ſheweth friendſhip many times, rather for reſpect of the benefits he hath receiued, then for the loue he beareth to his vertue.

Pelopidas and Marcellus funerals vnlike.

The end of Marcellus life.

THE LIFE OF *Ariſtides.*



Ariſtides wealth.

ARISTIDES the ſon of *Lyſimachus*, was certainly of the tribe of *Antiochides*, and of the towne of ALOPECIA. But for his goods and wealth, they diuerſly write of him. For ſome ſay, he liued poorely all the dayes of his life, and that he left two daughters, which by reaſon of their pouerty, liued vnmaried many yeares after their fathers death. And many of the oldeſt writers do confirme that for troth. Yet *Demetrius Phalerius*, in his booke intituled *Socrates*, writeth the contrary: that he knew certaine lands *Ariſtides* had in the village of PHALERIA, which did yet beare the name of *Ariſtides* lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to ſhew that he was well to liue, and that his houſe was rich and wealthy, he bringeth forth theſe proofes. Firſt, that he was one yeare Mayor or Prouoſt of ATHENS, whom they called *Archon Eponymos*, becauſe the yeare tooke the name of him that had it yearely. And they ſay he came to it by drawing of the beane, according to the auncient vſe of the ATHENIANS, and their wonted manner of making their election of the ſayd office: in which election none were admitted to draw the beane, but ſuch as were higheſt ſet in their ſubſidie bookes, according to the value and rate of their goods, whom they called at ATHENS, *Pentacoſiomedimnes*, as you would ſay, thoſe that might diſpend fiue hundred buſhels of wheat by the yeare, and vpwards. Secondly, he alledgeth he was baniſhed by the *Oſtraciſmon*, which baniſheth the nobility and great rich men onely, whom the common people enuie, becauſe of their greatneſſe, and neuer dealeth with

with poore men. The third and laſt reaſon he makes is, that he left of his gift, three footed ſtooles in the temple of *Bacchus*, which thoſe do commonly offer vp, as haue won the victory in comedies, tragedies, or other ſuch like paſtimes, whereof they themſelues had borne the charge. And thoſe three footed ſtooles remaine there yet, which they ſay were giuen by *Ariſtides*, and haue this inſcription vpon them: The tribe of *Antiochides* wanne the victorie, *Ariſtides* defrayed the charges of the games, and *Archeſtratus* the Poet taught them to play his comedies. The laſt reaſon, though it ſeeme likelieſt of them all, yet is it the weakeſt of the reſt. For *Epaminondas* (whom euery man knoweth was poore euen from his birth, and alwayes liued in great pouertie) and *Plato* the Philoſopher, tooke vpon them to defray the charges of games that were of no ſmall expence: the one hauing borne the charges of flute players at THEBES, and the other the daunce of the children which daunced in a round at ATHENS: towards the furniſhing of which charges *Dion* the SYRACVSAN gaue *Plato* money, and *Pelopidas* alſo gaue *Epaminondas* money. Now, this is not ſpoken that vertuous men ſhould alwayes refuſe the gifts of their friends, and that they might not in ſome ſort accept their friends curteſie offered them: but becauſe they ſhould thinke it vncomely and diſhonourable for them, to take any thing to enrich themſelues, or to ſpare and hoord vp. Howbeit where there is any honorable act to be done, or any publike ſhew to be made, not tending to their priuate benefit: in ſuch a caſe they ſhould not refuſe their friends louing offer, and goodwill towards them. And where *Demetrius* ſaith, the three footed ſtoole was offered vp in the temple of *Bacchus*, *Panætius* declareth plainly, that *Demetrius* was deceiued by the ſemblance of the name. For ſince the time of the wars of the MEDES, vnto the beginning of the warre of PELOPONNESVS, in all the regiſters and records kept of the defrayers of the charges of common playes, there were found but two men bearing name of *Ariſtides* that obtained victory: and neither of them both was ſonne vnto *Lyſimachus*, whom we write of at this preſent. For the one is expreſſely named the ſon of *Xenophilus*, and the other was long after the ſame *Ariſtides* we now ſpeake of: as appeareth eaſily by the writing and orthographie, which is according to the grammer rules, we haue vſed in GREECE euer ſince *Euclides* time. Moreouer it is eaſie to be knowne, by the name of the poet *Archeſtratus* that is adioyned to it: for there is no man that maketh mention of a poet of this name, in all the warres of the MEDES: but in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, many do put him in for an author and maker of rimes and ſongs that were ſung in common daunces. Yet for all *Panætius* obiections, the matter is to be better looked into, and conſidered of. But for the *Oſtraciſmon* baniſhment, it is true, that ſuch as were great men in eſtimation aboue the cõmon people, either in fame, nobility, or eloquence, they onely were ſubiect vnto this baniſhment. For *Damon* himſelfe, being *Pericles* ſchoolemaiſter, was baniſhed, only becauſe the common people thought him too wiſe. Moreouer, *Idomeneus* writeth, that *Ariſtides* was their prouoſt for a yeare, not by lot of beanes, but by voices of the ATHENIANS that choſe him. And if he were prouoſt ſince the iourney of PLATÆS, as *Demetrius* writeth, it is likely inough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable ſeruice, which other were wont to obtaine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not only defend *Ariſtides*, but alſo *Socrates* pouertie, as if it were a foule vice and reproch to be poore. For he writeth, that he had not onely a houſe of his owne, but alſo threeſcore and ten minas at vſurie, which *Criton* gaue him intereſt for. But now to our ſtory againe. *Ariſtides* was *Cliſthenes* very friend, he that reſtored the gouernement at ATHENS after the expulſion of the thirty tyrants, and did reuerence *Lycurgus* the Law-maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS for his lawes, aboue all the men in his time: and therefore he euer fauoured the ſtate of *Ariſtocratia*, that is, where the noble men rule, and haue the ſoueraignty. Howbeit he euer had *Themiſtocles* (*Neocles* ſonne) his continuall aduerſarie, as taking part with the contrary, and defending the popular ſtate of gouernement. Some ſay, that being ſchollers, and brought vp together, they were euer contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were it in ſport, or in matters of earneſt: and euer after, men beganne to ſee the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrarie affections. For *Themiſtocles* was quicke, nimble, aduenturous, and ſubtill, and would venter on any thing vpon light occaſion. *Ariſtides* contrariwiſe was very quiet, temperate, conſtant, and maruellous well ſtaied, who would for no reſpect be drawne away from equity and iuſtice, neither would lie, flatter, nor abuſe any body, though it were but in ſport. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtus* of CHIO writeth, that their malice beganne firſt of light loue, and that it grew to greatneſſe by proceſſe of time betweene them: for (ſaith he) both the one and the other of them fell in

Good men may take gifts, but after a ſort.

Damon baniſhed becauſe he was too wiſe.

Socrates was not poore.

Ariſtocratia what it ſignifieth.

Ariſtides and Themiſtocles enemies in the common-wealth.

Themiſtocles diſpoſition.

Ariſtides nature.

loue with *Steſileus*, borne in the Ile of CHOS. This fond light loue of theirs, fell not eaſily from them, nor the enuy they conceiued one againſt another, but continued againſt each other in matters of ſtate: ſuch was their malice towards one another. In which calling, *Themiſtocles* ſought the way to winne friends, by whoſe meanes he came to great preferment in ſhort time, and had made himſelfe very ſtrong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to gouerne the city of ATHENS, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall. The gods forbid (quoth he) I ſhould euer occupie the place of a gouernour, where my friends ſhould not find more fauour then ſtrangers, that do me no pleaſure. But *Ariſtides* taking another courſe by himſelfe, would not ſtand vpon his friends in gouernment. Firſt, becauſe he would do no man wrong with pleaſuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requeſts. Secondly, becauſe he ſaw many rulers and men of authority bold to do iniuſtice, and manifeſt wrong, bearing themſelues vpon their friends: but he caried this opinion, that no honeſt man, or good citizen, ſhould truſt to any bolſtring of friends, but to his owne iuſt and vpright doings. Notwithſtanding, *Ariſtides* perceiuing that *Themiſtocles* did raſhly alter many things, and euer encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings, he was enforced ſometime to croſſe *Themiſtocles* againe, and to ſpeake againſt that he preferred, partly to be euen with him, but moſt to hinder his credit and authority, which increaſed ſtill through the peoples fauour and goodwils towards him: thinking it better by contrarying him a litle to diſappoint ſometime a thing that might haue fallen out well for the common-wealth, rather then by giuing him the head, to ſuffer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time that *Themiſtocles* hauing preferred a matter very profitable for the common-wealth, *Ariſtides* was ſo much againſt it, as *Themiſtocles* purpoſe tooke no place. Moreouer *Ariſtides* was ſo earneſt againſt him, that when the counſell brake vp after *Themiſtocles* motion was reiected, he ſpake it openly before them all: that the common-wealth of ATHENS would neuer proſper vntill they both were layd in *Barathrum*, which was a priſon or hole, wherein they put all theeues and condemned men. Another time, *Ariſtides* moued a matter to the people, which diuerſe were againſt, but yet it went with him. And when the Iudge or Preſident of the counſell did put it to the people, to know their allowance of it: *Ariſtides* perceiuing by the arguments made againſt it, that the matter he preferred was hurtfull to the common-wealth, he gaue it ouer, and would not haue it paſſe. Many times alſo *Ariſtides* ſpake by other men, when he would haue a thing go forward, for feare leaſt *Themiſtocles* ſpite towards him, would hinder the benefit of the common-wealth. They found him very conſtant and reſolute in matters of ſtate, whatſoeuer happened: which wan him great commendation. For he was neuer the prouder for any honor they gaue him, nor thought himſelfe diſgraced for any ouerthrow he receiued: being alwayes of this mind, that it was the duty of an honeſt citizen, to be euer ready to offer his body and life to do his countrey ſeruice, without reſpect and hope of reward of money, or for honour and glory. Therefore when certaine verſes were repeated in the Theater, of one of the tragedies of *Æſchilus* made in commendation of the ancient ſoothſayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect:

Themiſtocles ſaying for partiality.

Ariſtides manner of dealing in the common wealth.

Barathrum a priſon or dungeon.

Ariſtides conſtancie.

He will not onely ſeeme, a iuſt man by his face,
but iuſt indeed he will be found, and vertue ſtill embrace
With all his thought and ſoule, from whence there may proceed
graue counſels, for to beautifie his countries crowne indeed.

All the people ſtraight caſt their eyes vpon *Ariſtides*, as vpon him, that in truth aboue all other moſt deſerued the praiſe of ſo great a vertue. For he was ſo ſtout and reſolute, not onely to reſiſt fauour and friendſhip, but to reiect hate and anger alſo. For in caſe of iuſtice, neither could friendſhip make him go awry for his friends ſake: nor enuy could moue him to do iniuſtice, to his very enemy. For proofe hereof it is written, that he had an enemy of his in ſute of law, and did proſecute it to iudgement: inſomuch as after the plaint was read, the Iudges were ſo angry with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would haue giuen ſentence againſt him. But *Ariſtides* riſing from his place, went and kneeled at the Iudges feete with the offender his enemie, and beſought them to giue him leaue to ſpeake, to iuſtifie and defend his cauſe, according to the courſe of law. Another time he being Iudge betweene two priuate men that pleaded before him, one of them ſayd vnto him: *Ariſtides*, this fellow mine aduerſarie here, hath done you great iniurie. My friend (quoth *Ariſtides* againe) I pray thee tell me onely the iniury he hath done thee, for I am Iudge here to do thee right, and not my ſelfe. Moreouer, he being

Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides wiſe ſaying.

choſen

chosen high treasurer of all the reuenues of ATHENS, did declare that all the officers before him, and other his late predecessours, had greatly robbed and spoiled the common treasure, but specially *Themistocles*: who was a wise man, and of great iudgement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Aristides* was to giue vp his account, *Themistocles* and many other subborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his office, and followed him so hard, that through their practise they condemned him, as *Idomeneus* writeth. Yet the noblest citizens seeing what iniurie they offered *Aristides*, tooke his cause in hand, and found meanes to procure the people not onely to release the fine imposed vpon him, but to restore him againe to his office of high treasurer for the yeare following: in the which he seemed to repent his former straightnesse in gouernment the yeare before, and dealt more fauourably with those he had to do with, and would not examine euery thing so straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were theeues and stealers of the treasure of the common-wealth, did maruellously praise and like him, and became suters for him to continue in the office. But when the day of election came, that the ATHENIANS would chuse him againe, *Aristides* selfe reproued them, and sayd: When I faithfully discharged the duty of mine office committed to me by you, I then receiued shame and reproch at your hands: and now that I haue dissembled, not seeming to see the thefts and robberies done vpon your treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainely, I am more ashamed of the honour you do me now, then I was of the fine you did set vpon me, when you condemned me the last yeare: and I am sory to speake it, that you should thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then to preserue the common-wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the common thefts the officers of the city did commit, he stopped the theeues mouthes that so highly praised and commended him for so honest a man: but yet of the noble and honest citizens he was much commended. Furthermore, on a time when *Dathis* Lieutenant to *Darius* king of PERSIA, was come with all his nauy to go a land about MARATHON, in the country of ATTICA, vpon pretence (as he sayd) to be reuenged onely of the ATHENIANS that had burnt the city of SARDIS, but indeed of mind to conquer all GREECE, and to destroy the whole countrey before him: the ATHENIANS chose ten captaines to go to the warres, among whom *Miltiades* was the chiefest man of authority. But *Aristides* drew very neare him in reputation and credit, because he did very good seruice in obtaining the victory, specially when he agreed with *Miltiades* in counsell, to giue battell vpon the barbarous people: and also when he willingly gaue *Miltiades* the whole rule and order of the army. For euery one of the ten captaines did by turnes leade the whole army for one whole day: and when *Aristides* turne came about, he gaue his preferment thereof vnto *Miltiades*, teaching his other companions, that it was no shame, but honor for them to be ruled by the wisest. Thus by his example, he appeased all strife that might haue growne among them, and perswaded them all to be contented to follow his direction and counsell, that had best experience in the warre. And so he did much aduance *Miltiades* honor. For after that *Aristides* had once yeelded his authority vnto him, euery one of the rest did the like when it came to their turne: and so they all submitted themselues vnto his rule and leading. But on the day of the battell, the place where the ATHENIANS were most combred, was in the middest of the battell, where they had set the tribes of the *Leontides*, and of *Antiochides*: for thither the barbarous people did bend all their force, & made their greatest fight in that place. By which occasion, *Themistocles* & *Aristides* fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*, they valiantly fought it out with the enemies, enuying one another: so as the barbarous people at the last being ouerthrowne, they made them flie, and draue them to their ships. But when they were imbarked and gone, the captaines of the ATHENIANS perceiuing they made not towards the Iles, which was their direct course to returne into ASIA, but that they were driuen backe by storme of wind and pyrries of the sea, towards the coast of ATTICA, and the city of ATHENS, fearing least they might find ATHENS vnfurnished for defence, and might set vpon it: they thereupon sent away presently nine tribes that marched thither with such speed, as they came to ATHENS the very same day, and left *Aristides* in the campe at MARATHON, with his tribe and countrey men, to looke to the prisoners and spoile they had won of the barbarous people. Who nothing deceiued the opinion they had of his wisdome. For notwithstanding there was great store of gold and siluer, much apparell, moueables, and other infinite goods and riches in all their tents and pauillions, and in the ships also they

Aristides chosen treasurer.

Themistocles couetously giuen.

Aristides accused and condemned, for abusing his office.

Aristides fine released, and he made treasurer againe.

Aristides openly reproueth close theeues in the common-wealth, and detesteth their praise.

Miltiades chiefe of the ten captaines that went against Dathis the king of Persians Lieutenant.

Miltiades victorie of the Persians.

had taken of theirs: he was not ſo couetous as once to touch them, nor to ſuffer any other to meddle with them, vnleſſe by ſtealth ſome prouided for themſelues. As amongſt other, there was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* prieſts, called *Dadouchos*, as you would ſay the torch-bearer (for in the ſecret ſacrifices of *Ceres*, his office was to hold the torch) whom when one of the barbarous people ſaw, and how he ware a band about his head, and long haire, he tooke him for ſome king, and falling on his knees at his feete, kiſſed his hand, and ſhewed him great ſtore of gold he had hidden and buried in a ditch. But *Callias*, like a moſt cruell, and cowardly wretch of all other on the earth, tooke away the gold, and killed the poore ſoule that had ſhewed him the place, becauſe he ſhould not tell it to others. Hereof it commeth, that the comicall Poets do call thoſe that came of him in mockerie, *Laccoplutes*, as made rich by a ditch: becauſe of the gold that *Callias* found in it. Immediatly after this battell, *Ariſtides* was choſen prouoſt of ATHENS for the yeare: albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a litle before his death, after the iourney of PLATEES. For in their Chronicles, where they ſet in order their prouoſts of ATHENS for the yeare, ſince *Xanthippides* time, there appeareth no one name of *Ariſtides* in that yeare, that *Mardonius* the king of PERSIAES Lieutenant was ouerthrowne by PLATEES, which was many yeares after: but contrariwiſe, they find *Ariſtides* enrolled among the prouoſts immediatly after *Phanippus*, in the yeare the battell was fought at MARATHON. Now the people did moſt commend *Ariſtides* iuſtice, before all his other vertues and qualities: becauſe that vertue is moſt common and in vſe in our life, and deliuereth moſt benefit to men. Hereof it came, that he being a meane man, obtained the worthieſt name that one could haue, to be called by the whole city, a iuſt man. This ſurname was neuer deſired of kings, princes, nor of tyrants, but they alwayes delighted to be ſurnamed, ſome *Poliorcetes*, to ſay, conquerors of cities: other *Cerauni*, to ſay, lightning or terrible: other *Nicanores*, to ſay, ſubduers: and ſome other, *Æti* and *Hieracles*, to ſay, Eagles or Faulcons, or ſuch like birds that prey: deſiring rather (as it ſhould appeare by thoſe ſurnames) the praiſe and reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that riſeth by vertue and goodneſſe. Yet notwithſtanding, God whom they deſire moſt to be likened to, doth excell all humaine nature in three ſeuerall things: in immortality, in power, and in vertue, of which three, vertue is the moſt honourable aud precious thing. For as the naturall Philoſophers reaſon, all the foure elements and *Vacuum*, are immortall and vncorruptible, and ſo are force and power, earth-quakes, lightning, terrible ſtormes, running riuers, and inundations of waters: but as for iuſtice and equity, no man is partaker of them, ſaue onely God, by meanes of reaſon and vnderſtanding. Therefore, becauſe men commonly haue three ſundry affections of the gods: the firſt, that they thinke them bleſſed: the ſecond, that they feare them: the third, that they reuerence them: it appeareth then that they thinke them bleſſed, for the eternitie and immortality of their godhead: that they feare them, becauſe of their omnipotencie and power: and that they loue and worſhip them, for their iuſtice and equitie. And yet notwithſtanding, of thoſe three, men do couet immortalitie, which no fleſh can attaine vnto: and alſo power, which dependeth moſt vpon fortune: and in the meane time they leaue vertue alone, whereof the gods of their goodneſſe haue made vs capable. But here they ſhew themſelues fooles. For iuſtice maketh the life of a noble man, and of one in great authority, ſeeme diuine and celeſtiall: where without iuſtice, and dealing vniuſtly, his life is moſt beaſtly, and odious to the world. But now againe to *Ariſtides*. This ſurname of a iuſt man at the beginning, made him beloued of all the people: but afterwards it turned him to great ill will, and ſpecially by *Themiſtocles* practiſe: who gaue it out euery where, that *Ariſtides* had ouerthrowne all iuſtice, becauſe by conſent of the parties he was euer choſen Arbitrator to end all controuerſies: and how by this meanes he ſecretly had procured the abſolute power of a king, not needing any gard or ſouldiers about him. The people moreouer being growne very diſſolute and licentious, by reaſon of the victory of MARATHON, and ſeeking to haue all things paſſe by them and their authority, began now to miſlike, and to be greatly offended, that any priuate man ſhould go before the reſt in good fame and reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all ſhires of ATTICA into the city of ATHENS, and ſo baniſhed *Ariſtides* with the *Oſtraciſmon*: diſguiſing the enuy they bare to his glory with the name of feare of tyranny. For this maner of baniſhment called *Oſtraciſmon*, or *Exoſtraciſmon*, was no ordinary puniſhment for any fault or offence committed: but to giue it an honeſt cloake, they ſayd it was onely a pulling downe and tying ſhort, of too much greatneſſe and authority, exceeding farre the maner and countenance of a popular ſtate. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwiſe,

The wicked part of Callias the torch-bearer.

Ariſtides choſen prouoſt of Athens.

Ariſtides called the Iuſt.

The praiſe of iuſtice.

Authority vvould be vvithout corruption.

Themiſtocles enuieth Ariſtides iuſtice.

Ariſtides baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

The nature of the Oſtraciſmon.

wiſe, then a gentle meane to qualifie the peoples enuy againſt ſome priuate perſon: which enuy bred no malice to him whoſe greatneſſe did offend them, but onely tended to the baniſhing of him for ten yeares. But afterwards when by practiſe, this *Oſtraciſmon* baniſhment was layd vpon meane men, and malefactors, as vpon *Hyperbolus* that was the laſt man ſo baniſhed, they neuer after vſed it any more at ATHENS. And by the way, it ſhall not be amiſſe to tell you here, why and wherefore this *Hyperbolus* was baniſhed. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the chiefeſt men of ATHENS at that time, and they both were euer at ſquare together, a common thing amongſt great men. They perceiuing now by the peoples aſſembling, that they went about to execute the *Oſtraciſmon*, were maruellouſly affraid it was meant to baniſh one of them: wherefore they ſpake together, and made both their followers friends with each other, and ioyned them in one tribe together, inſomuch, when the moſt voices of the people were gathered to condemne him that ſhould be baniſhed, they found it was *Hyperbolus*. The people therewith were much offended, to ſee the *Oſtraciſmon* ſo embaſed and ſcorned, that they neuer after would vſe it againe, and ſo left it off for euer. But briefly to let you vnderſtand what the *Oſtraciſmon* was, and after what ſort they vſed it: ye are to know, that at a certaine day appointed, euery citizen caried a great ſhell in his hand, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would haue baniſhed, and brought it into a certaine place railed about with wodden barres in the market place. Then, when euery man had brought in his ſhell, the magiſtrates and officers of the city, did count and tell the number of them: for if there were leſſe then 6000 citizens, that had thus brought theſe ſhels together, the *Oſtraciſmon* was not full and perfect. That done, they layd apart euery mans name written in theſe ſhels: and whoſe name they found written by moſt citizens, they proclaimed him by ſound of trumpet, a baniſhed man for ten yeares, during which time notwithſtanding, the partie did enioy all his goods. Now euery man writing thus his name in a ſhell, whom they would haue baniſhed: it is reported there was a plaine man of the countrey (very ſimple) that could neither write nor reade, who came to *Ariſtides* (being the firſt man he met with) and gaue him his ſhell, praying him to write *Ariſtides* name vpon it. He being abaſhed withall, did aske the countrey man, if *Ariſtides* had euer done him any diſpleaſure. No, ſaid the country man, he neuer did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it grieues me to heare euery man call him a iuſt man. *Ariſtides* hearing him ſay ſo, gaue him no anſwer, but wrote his owne name vpon the ſhell, and deliuered it againe to the country man. But as he went his way out of the city, he lift vp his hands to heauen, and made a prayer contrary to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, beſeeching the gods that the ATHENIANS might neuer haue ſuch troubles in hand, as they ſhould be compelled to call for *Ariſtides* againe. Notwithſtanding, within three yeares after, when *Xerxes* king of PERSIA came with his army through the countries of THESSALY and BOEOTIA, and entred into the hart of the country of ATTICA: the ATHENIANS reuoking the law of their *Oſtraciſmon*, called home againe all thoſe they had baniſhed, and ſpecially, becauſe they were affraid *Ariſtides* would take part with the barbarous people, and that his example ſhould moue many other to do the like, wherein they were greatly deceiued in the nature of the man: for before that he was called home, he continually trauelled vp and downe, perſwading and incouraging the GRECIANS to maintaine and defend their liberty. After that law was repealed by proclamation, and that *Themiſtocles* was choſen the only Lieutenant generall of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully ayd and aſſiſt him in all things, as well with his trauell, as alſo with his counſell: and thereby wan his enemie great honour, becauſe it ſtood vpon the ſafety and preſeruation of his countrey. For when *Eurybiades*, Generall of the armie of the GRECIANS, had determined to forſake the Ile of SALAMINA, and that the galleys of the barbarous people were come into the middeſt of the ſeas, and had enuironed the Iles all about, and the mouth of the arme of the ſtraight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus incloſed in, *Ariſtides* departing out of the Ile of *Ægina* with a maruellous boldneſſe, ventred through the middeſt of all the barbarous ſhips and fleete, and by good hap got in the night into *Themiſtocles* tent, and calling him out, ſpake with him there in this ſort: *Themiſtocles*, if we be both wiſe, it is high time we ſhould now leaue off this vaine enuie and ſpite we haue long time borne each other, and that we ſhould enter into another ſort of enuie more honourable and profitable for vs both: I meane, which of vs two ſhould do his beſt indeuour to ſaue GRECE: you, by ruling and commaunding all like Lieutenant generall: and I, by counſelling you for the beſt, and executing your commaundement: conſidering you are the man alone that will roundlieſt come vnto the point that is beſt: which is in my opinion, that we ſhould

Hyperbolus the laſt man baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon.

The cauſe of Hyperbolus baniſhment.

A deſcription of the Oſtraciſmon.

A tale of a plaine man that came to Ariſtides with his ſhell, to pray him to write Ariſtides name in it.

Ariſtides called from exile.

Ariſtides acts and counſels againſt king Xerxes.

hazard battell by ſea within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, and that aſſoone as might be poſſible. But if our friends and confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do aſſure you your enemies do helpe it forward. For it is ſaid, that the ſea both before and behind vs, and round about vs, is couered all ouer with their ſhips, ſo as they that would not before, ſhall now be compelled of force, and in ſpite of their hearts, to fight and beſtirre them like men: becauſe they are compaſſed in all about, and there is no paſſage left open for them to eſcape, nor to flie. Whereunto *Themiſtocles* aunſwered: I am ſory, *Ariſtides*, that herein your honeſtie appeareth greater then mine: but ſince it is ſo, that you haue deſerued the honor in beginning, and procuring ſuch an honourable and commendable ſtrife betweene vs, I will henceforth indeuour my ſelfe to exceed you in continuing this your deſire. After which anſwer, he told *Ariſtides*, how he purpoſed to mocke the barbarous king, and praied him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yeeld to his deuiſe, and to perſwade him that there was no other way to ſaue GRECE, but to fight by ſea: for *Eurybiades* gaue more credit to *Ariſtides* perſwaſions, then he did to *Themiſtocles* words: for when all the captaines were called to counſell, to determine whether they ſhould giue battell, or not: one *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN ſayd to *Themiſtocles*, that his counſell did not like *Ariſtides* at all as it ſeemed, becauſe he ſpake neuer a word to it being preſent. *Ariſtides* anſwered him ſtraight, that he vtterly miſtooke him. For (quoth he) if I did not thinke his counſell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any goodwill I beare him, but becauſe I find his counſell wiſe and ſound. While the captaines of the GRECIANS were reaſoning in this ſort, *Ariſtides* ſeeing PSYTTALEA (a litle Iland before SALAMINA within the ſtraight) full of men of warre of their enemies: imbarked immediatly the valianteſt and luſtieſt ſouldiers he had of all his countrey men, into the leaſt foyſtes or pinnaces he had among all his galleys: and went with them, and landed in that Ile, and ouerthrew all the barbarous people he found there, and put them to the ſword euery man, taking the chiefeſt of them onely priſoners: among which, were three ſons of *Sandauce*, the kings ſiſter, whom he ſent vnto *Themiſtocles*. Theſe three Lords were all ſlaine by the commandement of *Euphrantidas* the ſoothſayer, and ſacrificed to *Bacchus Omeſtes*, as to ſay, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw fleſh, and all vpon an Oracle they had receiued. That done, *Ariſtides* diſperſed his ſouldiers about the Ile, to receiue all ſuch as were by fortune of war, or of the ſea, caſt into the Iland: to the end that no enemy of theirs ſhould ſcape their hands, nor any of his friends ſhould periſh. For the greateſt fleete of all their ſhips, and the ſharpeſt encounter of the whole battell, was about this litle Iland: and therefore the tokens of triumph were ſet there. After the battell was won, *Themiſtocles* to feele *Ariſtides* opinion, ſayd vnto him: we haue done a good peece of ſeruice, but yet there is another behind of greater importance, and that is this: We muſt bring all ASIA into EVROPE, which we may eaſily do, if we ſaile with all ſpeed to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and go breake the bridge the king hath made there. Then *Ariſtides* cried out, ſtay there, neuer ſpeake of that: but I pray you let vs rather ſeeke all the wayes we can, how to driue this barbarous king out of GRECE, leaſt if we keepe him in ſtill with ſo great an army (and he ſhall ſee no way before him to eſcape out) we driue him then to fight like a deſperate man, and perill our ſelues, we cannot tell to what. When *Themiſtocles* had heard his opinion, he ſecretly ſent the Eunuke *Arnaces* his priſoner, vnto king *Xerxes*, to aduertiſe him from him, that he had altered the GRECIANS purpoſe, which was fully bent to haue broken vp the bridge he had made at the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, to paſſe ouer his army: and that he was the willinger to let him vnderſtand it, that he might the better prouide for the ſafety of his perſon. King *Xerxes* being netled with this aduertiſement, tooke ſtraight his iourney, and with all ſpeed went to recouer the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant generall in GRECE, with three hundred thouſand of the beſt ſouldiers of his army. This *Mardonius* was maruellouſly dreaded of all the GRECIANS, for the wonderfull great army he had by land, and he did threaten them alſo by his letters he wrote vnto them: You haue (ſayd he) with your ſhips by ſea, ouercome men acquainted to fight by land, and that neuer handled ower: but now, the plaines of THESSALIE, or the fields of BOEOTIA, are very faire and large for horſemen and footemen to make proofe of their valiantneſſe, if you will come to the battell in the field. He wrote letters to the ATHENIANS, by the king his maiſters commandement, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build vp their city againe, to giue them a great penſion, and furthermore to make them Lords of all GRECE, ſo they would giue ouer, and leaue off theſe warres. The LACEDÆMONIANS being forthwith aduertiſed of his letters written to the ATHENIANS, and

Ariſtides words of Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides victory of Pſyttalea.

Ariſtides wiſe counſell for Xerxes flying out of Greece.

A ſtratageme of Themiſtocles.

Xerxes left Mardonius his Lieutenant in Greece with 300000 men.

and fearing leaſt they would haue bene perſwaded by them: ſent their Ambaſſadours with all ſpeed to ATHENS, to pray them to ſend their wiues and children vnto SPARTA, and alſo to offer them victuals, to releeue their poore old people, becauſe of the great ſcarcity that was at ATHENS, for that their city was burnt and razed, and all their country beſides deſtroyed by the barbarous people. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the offers of the Ambaſſadors of LACEDÆMON, made them a maruellous anſwer through *Ariſtides* counſell, and this it was: That they bare with the barbarous people, though they thought all things were to be ſold for gold and ſiluer, becauſe they eſteemed nothing more precious, nor better in this world, then to be rich and wealthy: but on the other ſide, they were greatly offended with the LACEDÆMONIANS, that they onely regarded the preſent pouerty and neceſſity of the ATHENIANS, and did forget their vertue and noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preſeruation of GRECE, by offering them victuals to liue withall. The people approuing this anſwer, *Ariſtides* then cauſed the Ambaſſadours of SPARTA to come to the aſſembly, and commanded them to tell the LACEDÆMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the gold aboue, or vnder the ground, could not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any ſumme of money or reward, to leaue the defence of the liberty of GRECE: and to the herauld that came from *Mardonius*, he ſhewed him the Sunne, and ſayd vnto him: ſo long as yonder Sunne keepeth his courſe about the world, ſo long will the ATHENIANS be mortall enemies vnto the PERSIANS, becauſe they haue ſpoiled and deſtroyed all their countrey, and haue defiled and burnt the temples of their gods. Beſides, he willed that the prieſts, by commandement of the people, ſhould excommunicate and curſe him that would procure them to ſend vnto the PERSIANS to make peace with them, and to breake their league and alliance with the other GRECIANS. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the ſecond time to ouerrun the countrey of ATTICA, the ATHENIANS got them againe into the Ile of SALAMINA, and then they ſent *Ariſtides* Ambaſſadour vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. He ſharply tooke them vp, and reproued their ſloth and negligence, becauſe they had againe forſaken ATHENS, and left it to the ſpoile of the barbarous people: and prayed them yet they would looke to ſaue the reſt of GRECE. The Ephori (which were certaine officers that ruled all things within the city of SPARTA) when they had heard *Ariſtides* perſwaſions: ſtraight tooke order for aide, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheere, keeping that day one of their ſolemne feaſts they called *Hyacinthia*. Howbeit the next night following, they ſent out fiue thouſand citizens borne in SPARTA, into the field, all proper men & valiant ſoldiers, euery one of them carying with him ſeuen Ilotes (which are the countrey men and ſlaues in the country of LACEDÆMONIA) not making the Ambaſſadors of ATHENS priuie to it at all. Wherfore *Ariſtides* came againe another time into their counſell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and ſayd he dreamed, or elſe he mocked them: for their army which they had ſent againſt the ſtrangers (for ſo they called the PERSIANS) was already at the city of ORESTION in ARCADIA. *Ariſtides* hearing their aunſwere, replied, that they were to blame to mocke them in that ſort, to ſend away their men ſo ſecretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceiue their friends, but their enemies rather. *Idomeneus* in his ſtory reporteth the matter thus in euery point: notwithſtanding, in the decree that was made to ſend Ambaſſadours to SPARTA, *Ariſtides* is not named for Ambaſſadour, but there are other appointed: as *Cimon*, *Xanthippus*, and *Mironides*. Afterwards *Ariſtides* was choſen by voices of the people, Lieutenant generall of the army of ATHENS, in this warre againſt the PERSIANS, and went vnto the campe of the GRECIANS by the city of PLATÆES, with eight thouſand footemen well armed and appointed. There he found king *Pauſanias* the onely Generall of all the whole power and army of the GRECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and there came daily into his campe one after another, a maruellous great multitude of other GRECIANS. Now touching the army of the barbarous people, they incamped all alongſt the riuer of ASOPVS: but becauſe their campe ſtretched out a maruellous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had only fortified a peece of ground foure ſquare with a wall about, which was ten furlongs on euery ſide, to place all their cariage and chiefeſt things in. And for the GRECIANS againe, the ſoothſayer *Tiſamenus*, borne in the city of ELIDE, had told *Pauſanias*, and all the GRECIANS together, that they ſhould haue the victorie, ſo they did not aſſault at all, but only defend. And *Ariſtides*, that had ſent to the Oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, in the name of the ATHENIANS, had anſwer: they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo they did ſacrifice

The noble mind of the Athenians.

Ariſtides Lieutenant generall of the Athenians againſt Mardonius.

Pauſanias king of Lacedæmon, Generall of all Grece.

Aſopus fl.

Oracles of the victorie of Platees.

and make speciall prayers vnto *Iupiter* and *Iuno* of mount CITHÆRON, vnto *Pan*, and vnto the Nymphes *Sphragitides*, and also vnto the demy gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypsion*, *Actæon*, and *Polyidus*: and so that they did hazard battel also within their owne territories, and in the plaine of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and of *Proserpina*. This Oracle troubled *Aristides* maruellously, because the demy gods whom they had commaundement to do sacrifice vnto, were the founders and aunccstors of the PLATÆIANS: and the caue of the Nymphes *Sphragitides*, is one of the tops of the mount CITHÆRON, looking towards the West, where the Sunne setteth in sommer. They say there was an Oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many inhabitants thereabouts, and bestraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, *Nymphолepty*, as who would say, taken with the Nymphes. And againe to tell the ATHENIANS they should haue the victory, so they did hazard battell in the plaine of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and within their owne territorie: it was euen to send them backe againe into the country of ATTICA. *Aristides* being thus perplexed, *Arimnestus* captaine of the PLATÆIANS, had such a vision in the night in his sleepe. He thought, that *Iupiter* the sauiour did appeare vnto him, and asked him what the GRECIANS intended to do? and that he answered: my Lord, we must to morrow remoue our campe into the territories of ELEVSIN, & there we will fight with the barbarous people, according to the cõmandement the Oracle of *Apollo* hath giuen vs. Then that *Iupiter* replied, that they were greatly deceiued: for all that *Apollo* had declared by his Oracle was meant within the territorie of the PLATÆIANS, and that they should find it true, if they considered it well. *Arimnestus* hauing plainely seene this vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest citizens, and considering with them where this place should be, he found at the length, that at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, by the city of NYSIA, there was an old temple they called the temple of *Ceres Eleusinian*, and of her daughter *Proserpina*. When he heard them say so, he went straight and told *Aristides* of it, and found that it was an excellent place to set an army in battell ray, that had but few horsemen: for that the foot of mount CITHÆRON did let the horsemen, they could not go to the place where the temple stood, and where the plaine and valley did end: besides also, that the chappell of *Androcrates* was euen in that place, which was all hidden with thicke wood round about it. And because they should lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commaundement of the Oracle for hope of victorie, the PLATÆIANS (through *Arimnestus* counsell and aduise) made a common decree, that the confines of the city of PLATÆES should be taken away towards ATHENS side, & that the land therof shold be giuẽ clearely vnto the ATHENIANS, because they should fight with the barbarous people in their owne land, for the defence and preseruation of GRECE, according to the commaundement of the Oracle. This noble gift and present of the PLATÆIANS was so famous, as many yeares after, king *Alexander* the great hauing conquered the Empire of ASIA, built vp the wals againe of the city of PLATÆES, and when he had done, made a herauld openly proclaime it at the games Olympical, that *Alexander* had done the PLATÆIANS that honor and dignity, for a memoriall and honour of their magnanimity. Because in the warre against the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally giuen away their land vnto the ATHENIANS, for the safety of the GRECIANS: and had shewed themselues of a noble courage also, and very willing to defend the state of GRECE. Now when the army of the GRECIANS came to be set in order of battell, there fell a strife betweene the ATHENIANS and the TEGEATES, because the ATENIANS would needs (according to their old custome) haue the left wing of the battell, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had the right wing: and the TEGEATES on the contrary part, would haue the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alledging the famous acts and notable seruice of their ancestors in former wars, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutine. But *Aristides* stept betweene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the TEGEATES about their nobility and valiantnesse: and as for you, my Lords of SPARTA (said he) and you also my maisters of GRECE: we tell you, that the place neither giueth nor taketh vertue away, and we do assure you that whersoeuer you place vs, we will so defend and keepe it, as we will not impaire nor blemish the honour we haue won in former foughten battels and gotten victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common enemies: nor to brag of our aunccstors doings, but to shew our selues valiant in defence of all GRECE. For this battell will make good proofe of all the GRECIANS, how much estimation euerie citie, euery captaine, and particular person will deserue for his part. When *Aristides* had spoken, the captaines and all other of the

The Nymphes Sphragitides.

Arymnestus dreame.

The magnanimity of the Platæians.

Alexander the great doth honour the Platæians for their noble minds.

Strife betweene the Athenians and Tegeates.

Aristides wisely pacified the mutinie.

the counſell concluded in fauour of the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould haue one of the wings of the battell. But by this meanes, all GRECE ſtood in maruellous garboile at that time, and the ſtate of the ATHENIANS ſpecially in great danger. For a number of the nobleſt citizens of ATHENS, and that brought great ſubſtance with them to the warres, being now at low ſtate, and in pouerty, their goods being ſpent and gone, and ſeeing themſelues diſcountenanced, not bearing that rule and authoritie in the commonwealth they were wont to do, becauſe other were called to authority, and preferred to the offices of the city: they gathered together, and met at a houſe in the city of PLATÆES, and there conſpired to ouerthrow the authority of the people at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpoſe, then that they would rather looſe all, and betray their countrie vnto the barbarous people. While theſe things were practiſed in the campe, many being of the conſpiracy, *Ariſtides* came to an inckling of it, and was maruellous affraid, becauſe of the time: wherefore he began to be carefull of the matter, being of ſuch importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to vnderſtand the whole conſpiracie, litle knowing what a number might be drawne into this treaſon, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather reſpected that which was iuſt, then what was profitable for the time. So he cauſed eight perſons onely of the great number to be apprehended, and of theſe eight, the two firſt whom they would haue indited as principals, and were moſt to be burdened for the conſpiracy, *Æſchines* of the towne of LAMPRA, and *Egeſias* of the towne of ACHARNA, they found meanes to flie out of the campe, and to ſaue themſelues. And for the other, *Ariſtides* ſet them at liberty, and gaue them occaſion that were not diſcouered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: ſaying, that the battell ſhould be their iudge, where they ſhould purge themſelues of all accuſations layd againſt them, & ſhew the world alſo, that they neuer had any other intention but honeſt & good, towards their country. *Mardonius*, to proue the courage of the GRECIANS, had ſent all his horſemen (wherein he was farre ſtronger then the GRECIANS) to skirmiſh with them. Who were lodged at the foote of mount CITHÆRON, in ſtrong places and full of ſtones, ſauing the three thouſand MEGARIANS, that camped in the plaine: by reaſon whereof, they were ſore troubled and hurt, by the horſmen of the barbarous people that ſet vpon them on euery ſide, for they might charge them where they would. In ſomuch, in the end, perceiuing they alone could no longer reſiſt the force of ſo great a multitude of the barbarous people, they ſent with all ſpeed poſſible to *Pauſanias*, to pray him to ſend them preſent aide. *Pauſanias* hearing this newes, and ſeeing in his owne ſight the campe of the MEGARIANS almoſt all couered with ſhot and darts which the barbarous people threw at them, and that they were compelled to ſtand cloſe together in a litle corner: he wiſt not what to do. For, to go thither in perſon with the LACEDÆMONIANS that were footemen heauy armed, he thought that was no way to helpe them. So he proued to put ſome ambitious deſire and enuy of honor, among the priuate captaines & generals of the army of the other GRECIANS, which were then about him: to ſee if he could moue any mans courage and deſire, to offer himſelfe willingly to go aide the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deafe eares, but *Ariſtides*: who promiſed to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the field (one of the valienteſt captaines that ſerued vnder him) with his company of 300 choſen men, and certaine ſhot mingled amongſt them. Theſe ſouldiers were ready in a moment, & marched ſtraight in battel ray, a great pace towards the barbarous people. *Maſiſtius*, that was Generall of the horſemen of the PERSIANS, a goodly tall man, perceiuing their comming towards him: turned his horſe, & gallopped to them. The ATHENIANS taried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter mas very hote, becauſe both the one and the other ſide did the beſt they could at this firſt onſet to put the reſt of the battell in ieoperdy: and they fought ſo long, that *Maſiſtius* horſe was ſhot through the body with an arrow, that put him to ſuch paine, as he neuer lin flinging, till he caſt his maiſter on the ground, armed as he was at all peeces. So being on the ground, he could not riſe againe, aſwell for the weight of his armor, as for that the ATHENIANS came ſo ſodainly vpon him. And notwithſtanding there were many about him to hew him in peeces, yet they could find no way how to kil him, he was ſo throughly armed and loden with gold, copper, and iron, not only vpon his body and his head, but alſo on his legs and armes: vntill at the length there was one that thruſt the head of his dart through his beuer, & ſo killed him. The PERSIANS perceiuing that, fled immediatly, and forſooke the body of their Generall. Shortly after it appeared to the GRECIANS that they had ſped well at this skirmiſh, not becauſe they had ſlaine many enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous people made for the loſſe of *Maſiſtius*. For

The conſpiracy of the rich noblemen of Athens.

Mount Cithæron.

Maſiſtius Generall of the horſemen of the Perſians.

Maſiſtius ſlaine by the Athenians.

his death did ſo greeue them, that they powled themſelues, they clipped off their horſe and moyles haires, and filled beſides all the field thereabouts with pitifull cries and ſhreekes, as thoſe that had loſt the valianteſt and chiefeſt man of authority of all their campe, next vnto *Mardonius* the kings Lieutenant. After this firſt skirmiſh, both the one and the other ſide kept their campe, and would not come into the field many dayes after: for the ſoothſayers did promiſe both ſides the victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GRECIANS, ſo they did but only defend: and contrariwiſe, they did threaten them to be ouerthrowne, that did aſſault. But *Mardonius* finding victuals waxed ſcant, and that they were ſtored but for few dayes, and moreouer how the GRECIANS daily grew ſtronger by continual repaire to their campe, the longer he delayed: in the end he reſolued to tary no longer, but to paſſe the riuer of ASOPVS the next morning by breake of the day, and ſuddenly to ſet vpon the GRECIANS. So he gaue the captaines warning the night before what they ſhould do, becauſe euery man ſhould be ready: but about midnight there came a horſeman without any noiſe at all, ſo neare to the GRECIANS campe, that he ſpake to the watch, and told them he would ſpeake with *Ariſtides* Generall of the ATHENIANS. *Ariſtides* was called for ſtraight, and when he came to him, the horſeman ſayd vnto *Ariſtides*: I am *Alexander* king of MACEDON, who for the loue and great goodwill I beare you, haue put my ſelfe in the greateſt danger that may be, to come at this preſent time to aduertiſe you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will giue you battell: becauſe your enemies ſudden comming vpon you, ſhould not make you affraid, being ſuddenly charged, and ſhould not hinder alſo your valiant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight, but only ſcarcity of victuals that forceth him to do it, conſidering that the Prognoſticators are all againſt it that he ſhould giue you battell, both by reaſon of the ill tokens of their ſacrifices, as alſo by the anſwers of their Oracles, which hath put all the army in a maruellous feare, and ſtand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at aduenture, or elſe if he will needs lie ſtill, to be ſtarued to death for very famine. After king *Alexander* had imparted this ſecret to *Ariſtides*, he prayed him to keepe it to himſelfe, and to remember it in time to come. *Ariſtides* anſwered him then, that it was no reaſon he ſhould keepe a matter of ſo great importance as that from *Pauſanias*, who was the Lieutenant generall of their whole army: notwithſtanding, he promiſed him he would tell it no man elſe before the battell, and that if the gods gaue the GRECIANS the victorie, he did aſſure him, they ſhould all acknowledge his great fauour and goodwill ſhewed vnto them. After they had talked thus together, king *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe: and *Ariſtides* alſo went immediatly to *Pauſanias* tent, and told him the talke king *Alexander* and he had together. Thereupon the priuate captaines were ſent for ſtraight to counſell, and there order was giuen, that euery man ſhould haue his bands ready, for they ſhould fight in the morning. So *Pauſanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* writeth) ſayd vnto *Ariſtides*, that he would remoue the ATHENIANS from the left to the right wing, becauſe they ſhould haue the PERSIANS themſelues right before them, and that they ſhould fight ſo much the luſtier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as alſo becauſe they had ouercome them before in the firſt encounter: and that himſelfe would take the left wing of the battell, where he ſhould encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS ſide. But when all the other priuate captaines of the ATHENIANS vnderſtood it, they were maruellous angry with *Pauſanias*, & ſaid he did them wrong, and had no reaſon to let all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwayes appointed, and only to remoue them, as if they were ſlaues, to be appointed at his pleaſure, now on the one ſide, then on the other, and to ſet them to fight with the valienteſt ſouldiers they had of all their enemies. Then ſayd *Ariſtides* to them, that they knew not what they ſayd, and how before they miſliked, and did ſtriue with the TEGEATES, onely for hauing the left wing of the battell, and when it was graunted, they thought themſelues greatly honoured that they were preferred before them, by order of the captaines: and now where the LACEDÆMONIANS were willing of themſelues to giue them the place of the right wing, and did in manner offer them the preheminence of the whole army: they do not thankfully take the honor offered them, nor yet do reckon of the vantage and benefit giuen them to fight againſt the PERSIANS ſelues, their ancient enemies, and not againſt their naturall countrey men anciently deſcended of them. When *Ariſtides* had vſed all theſe perſwaſions vnto them, they were very well contented to chaunge place with the LACEDÆMONIANS: and then all the talke among them was to encourage one another, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came againſt them, had no

Alexander king of Macedon, reuealeth the Perſians ſecret counſell vnto Ariſtides.

better

them, had no better hearts nor weapons, then those whom they before had ouercome, in the plaine of MARATHON. For sayd they, they haue the same bowes, the same rich imbrodered gownes, the same golden chaines and carcanets of womanish persons, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint harts: where we haue also the same weapons and bodies we had, and our harts more liuely and couragious then before, through the sundry victories we haue since gotten of them. Further, we haue this aduantage more: that we do not fight as our other confederates the GRECIANS do, for our citie & countrie only, but also to continue the fame and renowne of our former noble seruice, which we wan at the iourneys of MARATHON and of SALAMINA: to the end, the world should not thinke that the glorie of these triumphes and victories was due vnto *Miltiades* onely, or vnto fortune, but vnto the courage and worthinesse of the ATHENIANS. Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied to chaunge the order of their battell in hast. The THEBANS on the other side that tooke part with *Mardonius*, receiuing intelligence of the altering of their battell, by traytors that ranne betweene both campes, they straight told *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did suddenly also change the order of his battell, and placed the right wing of the PERSIANS against the left wing of his enemies: either because he was affraid of the ATHENIANS, or else for greater glorie that he had a desire to fight with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commaunded the GRECIANS that tooke his part, that they should fight against the ATHENIANS. This alteration was so openly done, that euerie man might see it: whereupon *Pausanias* remoued the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, and set them in the right wing. *Mardonius* seeing that, remoued the PERSIANS againe from the right wing, and brought them to the left wing (where they were before) against the LACEDÆMONIANS: and thus they consumed all that day in changing their men too and fro. So the captaines of the GRECIANS sat in counsell at night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remoue their campe, and lodge in some other place where they might haue water at commandement: because their enemies did continually trouble and spoile that water they had about them, with their horses. Now when night came, the captaines would haue marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed: but the people went very ill willing, and they had much ado to keepe them together. For they were no sooner out of the trenches and fortification of their campe, but the most part of them ran to the city of PLATÆES, and were maruellously out of order, dispersing themselues here and there, and set vp their tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that taried behind, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was against their wils: for one of their captaines called *Amompharetus*, a maruellous hardie man, that feared no danger, and longed sore for battell, he was in such a rage with these trifling delayes, that he cried it out in the campe, that this remouing was a goodly running away, and sware he would not from thence, but would there tary *Mardonius* comming with his company. *Pausanias* went to him, and told him he must do that the other GRECIANS had consented to in counsell, by most voices. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great stone in his hands, and threw it downe at *Pausanias* feete, and told him there is the signe I giue to conclude battell, and I passe not for all your cowardly conclusions. *Amompharetus* stubburnnesse did so amaze *Pausanias*, that he was at his wits end. So he sent vnto the ATHENIANS that were onwards on their way, to pray them to tarie for him, that they might go together, and therewithall made the rest of his men to march towards the city of PLATÆES, supposing thereby to haue drawne *Amompharetus* to haue followed him, or else to let him remaine alone behind. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* vnderstanding that the GRECIANS did forsake their first lodging, he made his armie presently march in battell ray to set vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous people made great shoutes and cries, not thinking to go fight, but to sacke and spoile the GRECIANS flying away, as indeed they did litle better. For, *Pausanias* seeing the countenance of his enemies, made his ensignes to stay, and commaunded euery man to prepare to fight: but he forgate to giue the GRECIANS the signall of the battell, either for the anger he tooke against *Amompharetus*, or for the sudden onset of the enemies, which made them that they came not in straight, nor altogether to the battell after it was begun, but straggling in small companies, some here, and some there. In the meane time, *Pausanias* was busie in sacrificing to the gods, and seeing that the first sacrifices were not acceptable vnto them, by the Soothsayers obseruations they made: he commaunded the SPARTANS to throw their targets at their feete, and not to stirre out of their places, but onely to do as he bad them, without resisting their enemies. When he

The treason of the Thebans.

The stubburnnesse of Amompharetus Captaine of the Lacedæmonians.

The battell of the Grecians, with the Persians, at the city of Platæes.

had giuen this ſtraight order, he went againe and did ſacrifice, when the horſmen of the enemies were at hand, and that their arrowes flew amongſt the thickeſt of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did hurt diuerſe of them, and ſpecially poore *Callicrates* among the reſt, that was one of the goodlieſt men in all the GRECIANS hoaſt and armie. He hauing his deaths wound with an arrow, before he gaue vp the ghoſt, ſayd, his death did not grieue him, becauſe he came out of his country to die for the defence of GREECE: but it grieued him to die ſo cowardly, hauing giuen the enemy neuer a blow. His death was maruellous lamentable, and the conſtancie of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they neuer ſtirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defend themſelues againſt their enemies that came vpon them, but ſuffered themſelues to be thruſt through with arrowes, and ſlaine in the field, looking for the houre the gods would appoint them, and that their captaine would command them to fight. Some write alſo, that as *Pauſanias* was at his prayers, and doing ſacrifice vnto the gods a litle behind the battell, certaine of the LYDIANS came vpon him, and ouerthrew and tooke away all his ſacrifice: and how *Pauſanias*, and thoſe that were about him (hauing no other weapons in their hands) draue them away with force of ſtaues and whips. In memorie whereof, they ſay there is a ſolemne proceſſion kept at SPARTA on that day, which they call the LYDIANS proceſſion, where they whip and beate yong boyes about the altar. Then was *Pauſanias* in great diſtreſſe, to ſee the prieſts offer ſacrifice vpon ſacrifice, and that not one of them pleaſed the gods: at the laſt he turned his eyes to the temple of *Iuno*, and wept, and holding vp his hands, beſought *Iuno Citharon*, and all the other gods (patrons and protectours of the countrey of the PLATÆIANS) that if it were not the will of the gods the GRECIANS ſhould haue the victorie, yet that the conquerors at the leaſt ſhould buy their deaths dearely, and that they ſhould find they fought againſt valiant men and worthie ſouldiers. *Pauſanias* had no ſooner ended his prayer, but the ſacrifices fell out very fauourable, in ſo much as the Prieſts and Soothſayers came to promiſe him victorie. Thereupon, he ſtraight gaue commaundement to march toward the enemie, which flew from man to man incontinently how they ſhould march. So as he that had ſeene the ſquadron of the LACEDÆMONIANS, would haue ſayd it had bene like the body of a fierce beaſt raiſing vp the briſtles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous people ſaw they ſhould haue a hote battell, and that they ſhould meete with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they couered their bodies with great targets after the PERSIAN faſhion, and beſtowed their arrowes luſtily vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But they keeping cloſe together, and couering themſelues with their ſhields, marched on ſtill vpon them, vntill they came to ioyne with the enemie ſo luſtily, that they made their targets flie out of their hands, with the terrible thruſts and blowes of their pikes and ſpeares vpon their breaſts, and ouerthwart their faces, that they ſlue many of them, & laid them on the ground. For all that, they died not cowardly, but tooke the LACEDÆMONIANS pikes and ſpeares in their bare hands, and brake them in two by ſtrength of their armes: and then they quickly pluckt out their cimiters and axes, and luſtily layd about them, and wrong the LACEDÆMONIANS ſhields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now, whileſt the LACEDÆMONIANS were buſily fighting with the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS ſtood ſtill imbattelled farre off, and kept their ground. But when they ſaw the LACEDÆMONIANS tary ſo long, and that they came not, and heard a maruellous noiſe of men as though they were fighting, and beſides that there came a ſpeedy meſſenger vnto them ſent from *Pauſanias*, to let them vnderſtand they were fighting: then they marched with all ſpeed they could to helpe them. But as they were comming on a great pace ouer the plaine, vnto that part where they heard the noiſe: the GRECIANS that were on *Mardonius* ſide came againſt them. *Ariſtides* ſeeing them comming towards them, went a good way before his company, and cried out as loud as he could for life, and coniured the GRECIANS in the name of the gods, the protectors of GREECE, to leaue off theſe warres, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe them that ventured their liues, to defend the commonwealth and ſafety of all GREECE. But when he ſaw they would needs fight for any requeſt and coniuration he could vſe, and that they came ſtill vpon him, bending themſelues to giue charge: then he ſtayed his going to relieue the LACEDÆMONIANS, and was compelled to make head againſt thoſe that ſet vpon him and his companie, they being about fiftie thouſand men, of the which, the moſt part notwithſtanding went their waies, and left the army, ſpecially when they vnderſtood the PERSIANS were ouerthrowne and fled. The furie of the battell, and cruelleſt fight (as they ſay) was where the THEBANS were: becauſe

Callicrates ſlaine without fighting.

Note the obedience of the Spartan ſouldiers vnto death

Battell betwixt the Grecians and Perſians.

The Grecians victorie of the Perſians at Plataes.

cause the nobility and chiefest men of the country fought very earnestly for the PERSIANS, but the people refused, being led by a small number of the nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the first that ouerthrew the PERSIANS, and made them flie: & they slue *Mardonius* the kings lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one *Arimnestus* a SPARTAN gaue him vpon his head, rightly as the Oracle of *Amphiaraus* had propheried before vnto him. For *Mardonius* before the battell had sent thither a LYDIAN, and a CARIAN vnto the Oracle of *Trophonius*, of the which the prophet made answer vnto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN tongue: and the man of LYDIA lay within the sanctuary of *Amphiaraus*, where he thought in his dreame that one of the priests of the temple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying it, the priest tooke vp a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was slaine with the blow. And thus it is written. And furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS did chase the PERSIANS flying into their fortification they had in a wood: and the ATHENIANS also shortly after ouerthrew the THEBANS, whereof they slue in the field, a three hundred of the noblest and chiefest of them. For euen as the THEBANS began to turne taile, newes came vnto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intrenched themselues within their fort & strength in the wood, where the LACEDÆMONIANS did besiege them. The ATHENIANS suffered the GRECIANS that fled to saue themselues, and they went to helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the fort of the barbarous people: who went before but slenderly about it, because they had no experience to make an assault, nor force vpon a wall. But so soone as the ATHENIANS came in to them, they straight tooke it by assault, and made great slaughter of the PERSIANS and barbarous people. For of three hundred thousand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his campe, there were saued onely but fortie thousand led vnder *Artabazus*: and of the GRECIANS side, there were not slaine aboue thirteene hundred and threescore in all, amongst which also there were two and fiftie ATHENIANS, all of the tribe of *Æantides*, the which had done more valiantly that day, then any other tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cause why the *Æantides* made a solemne sacrifice vnto the Nymphes *Sphragitides*, at the common charge, according to the order giuen them by the Oracle of *Apollo*, to giue them thankes for this victorie. Of the LACEDÆMONIANS there died fourescore and eleuen: and of the TEGEATES sixteene. But I maruell *Herodotus* saith, that none but these people onely fought in that iourney against the barbarous nation, and no other GRECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graues also do shew, that it was a generall victorie and exploite of all the GRECIANS together. And moreouer, if there had bene but these three people only that had fought against them, and that all the rest had stood and looked on, and done nothing: sure there had bene no such epigram as this, engrauen vpon the altar or tombe that was set vp in the place of the battell:

Mardonius slaine by Arimnestus a Spartan with a blow of a stone.

Two hundred and threescore thousand Persians slaine.

A thousand three hundred and threescore Grecians slaine.

When the victorious Greekes, had driuen out of their land
the Persians by force of armes, which long did them withstand,
they built to mighty Ioue, this holy altar here,
and made it common for all Greece, as plainely may appeare:
in guerdon of the good, which he did them restore,
in guerdon of their liberty, which lik'd them euermore.

This battell was fought the fourth day of the moneth which the ATHENIANS call *Bædromion*, that is, about the moneth of Iuly, or after the BOEOTIANS account, the sixe and twentieth of the moneth they call *Panemus*, on which day there is kept a common assembly of the estates of GREECE, in the citie of PLATÆES, where the PLATÆIANS make a solemne sacrifice vnto *Iupiter*, protector of their liberty, to giue him thankes alwayes for this victorie. It is no maruell that there was such difference then betwixt the moneths and dayes, considering that euen now when Astronomie is more perfectly vnderstood, then it was then: some do yet beginne and end their moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great battell and ouerthrow of the barbarous people, there rose a great strife betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the reward and honour of the victorie. For the ATHENIANS would not giue place vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor suffer them to set vp anie tokens or signes of triumph. Whereupon the GRECIANS running to armes in mutinie together, by this occasion they had almost spoiled one another: had not *Aristides* through his wisdome and wise perswasions, staied, and quieted the other captaines his companions, and specially one *Leocrates* and *Myronides*, whom he wan with such discreet and gentle words, that they were contented

Strife betwixt the Athenians and Lacedæmonians for honour of the victorie.

to referre it wholly vnto the arbiterment and iudgement of the other people of GRECE. So the GRECIANS met in the ſame place together, purpoſely to decide their controuerſie. In this counſell holden there, *Theogiton* a captaine of the MEGARIANS, ſayd for his opinion, that to auoide the ciuill warre might grow betweene the GRECIANS vpon this quarrell: he thought it very requiſite, to appoint ouer the reward and honour of this victorie, vnto ſome other city, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him roſe vp *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, ſeeming to euery man there that he would haue requeſted this honour for the city of CORINTH, being indeed the third city in eſtimation of all GRECE, next vnto SPARTA and ATHENS: howbeit he made an oration in commendation of the PLATÆIANS, which was maruellouſly liked, and well thought of of euerie man: for his opinion went flatly with the PLATÆIANS, that to end this ſtrife, they ſhould giue the honour of this victorie vnto the city of PLATÆES, and ſo would neither of both parties be angrie that they ſhould be honoured. Vpon his words, *Ariſtides* firſt agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe, and then *Pauſanias* for the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the PLATÆIANS ſhould haue the reward. Now they both being agreed, before the ſpoile was deuided betweene them, they ſet aſide foureſcore talents that were giuen to the PLATÆIANS, with the which they built a temple vnto *Minerua*, and gaue her an image, and ſet out all her temple with pictures that remaine whole vntill this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithſtanding, did ſet vp their tokens of victorie by themſelues, and the ATHENIANS theirs alſo by themſelues. So, they ſending vnto the Oracle of *Apollo* in the citie of DELPHES, to know vnto what gods, and how they ſhould do ſacrifice: *Apollo* anſwered them that they ſhould build vp an altar vnto *Iupiter*, protectour of their liberty, howbeit that they ſhould put no ſacrifice vpon it, vntill they had firſt put out all the fire through the whole countrey, becauſe it had bene polluted and defiled by the barbarous people: and then, that they ſhould fetch pure and cleane fire at the common altar, whereon they do ſacrifice vnto *Apollo Pythias*, in the citie of DELPHES. This aunſwere being deliuered, the great Lords and officers of GRECE went through all the countrey, to put out the fire euerie where. And there was a man of the ſame city of PLATÆES at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered himſelfe, and promiſed he would bring them fire from the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all poſſible ſpeede that might be. So when he came to the citie of DELPHES, after he had ſprinkled and purified his bodie with cleane water, he put a crowne of laurell vpon his head, and went in that manner to take fire from the altar of *Apollo*. When he had done, he hied him againe as faſt as he could runne for life, vnto the city of PLATÆES, and came thither before the Sunne was ſet, hauing come and gone that day a thouſand furlongs. But after he had ſaluted his citizens, and deliuered them the fire he brought: he fell downe dead at their feete, and gaue vp the ghoſt. The PLATÆIANS lift him vp ſtarke dead, and buried him in the temple of *Diana Euclia*, to ſay, of good renowme: and cauſed afterwards this Epitaph following to be grauen vpon his tombe:

Corinth the third city of eſtimation in Greece.
Sparta.
Athens.
Corinth.
The Grecians graunt the honour of the victorie vnto the Platæians.
The wonderfull ſpeede of Euchidas the Platæian, a foote.
Diana Euclia.
Euchidas Epitaph.

Engraued here doth lye, Euchidas ſpeedie man,
who in one day both too and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne:
Euen from this ſelfe ſame place, which thou doeſt here behold,
ſuch haſte, poſt haſte, he ſwiftly made, thereof thou maiſt be bold.

Many thinke that this goddeſſe *Euclia* is *Diana*, and ſo they call her. But other hold opinion ſhe was the daughter of *Hercules*, and of *Myrto* the Nymph, *Menætius* daughter, and *Patroclus* ſiſter, that died a virgin, and was honored afterwards as a goddeſſe of the BOEOTIANS, and of the LOCRIANS. For in all their cities and townes in open places, they find an altar and image dedicated vnto her: and all that are maried, do ſacrifice to her vpon that altar. Afterwards there was a generall counſell holden by all the GRECIANS, in the which *Ariſtides* made a motion, that all the cities of GRECE ſhould yearely ſent their deputies at a certaine day appointed, vnto the citie of PLATÆES, there to make their prayers and ſacrifices vnto the gods: and that from fiue yeares, to fiue yeares, they ſhould celebrate common games, that ſhould be called the games of liberty: and that they ſhould alſo leauie through all the prouinces of GRECE, for maintenance of the warres againſt the PERSIANS and barbarous people, ten thouſand footemen, a thouſand horſemen, and a fleete of a hundred ſaile. Alſo that the PLATÆIANS thencefoorth ſhould be taken for deuoute and holy men, and that no man ſhould be ſo hardie as to hurt or offend them, and that they ſhould onely tend the ſacrifices vnto the gods, for the

A generall counſell holden at the city of Platæes.

health

health and prosperity of GREECE. All which articles were enacted in forme and manner aforesaid, and the PLATÆIANS bound themselues yearely to keepe solemne sacrifices and anniuersaries for the soules of the GRECIANS that were slaine in their territories, fighting for defence of the liberty of the GRECIANS. And this they obserue yet vnto this day in this sort. The sixteenth day of the moneth of *Mæmacterion* (which the BOEOTIANS call *Alalcomenies*, and is about the moneth of Ianuary) they go a procession, and before the procession there goeth a trumpetor that soundeth the alarum. Then there follow certaine chariots loden with branches of firre-tree, and with nosegayes and garlands of triumph: then a blacke bull, and certaine yong gentlemen noble men sonnes, that cary great cawdrons with two eares full of wine and milke, such as they vse to powre vpon the graues of dead men for propitiatory oblations, and other young boyes free borne, that carie oiles, perfumes, and other sweete odours in viall glasses: for no seruant or bondman may lawfully be admitted to haue any office about this mysterie, for that they whose memory they honor, died all fighting for defence of the liberty of GREECE. After all this shew, followeth the prouost of the PLATÆIANS for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the yeare besides so much as touch any iron, nor weare any other coloured gowne but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a purple coloured coate, and holdeth a funerall pot in one of his hands, which he taketh in the towne-house, and a naked sword in the other hand, and so goeth through the city in this sort after all the pompe aforesayd, vnto the Church-yard where all their graues be that were slaine at that battell. So when he commeth thither, he draweth water out of a well that is there, and with the same he washeth the foure square pillars and images that stand vpon those tombes, and then annointeth them with oyles and sweete sauours: afterwards, he sacrificeth a bull, and layeth him vpon a heape of wood hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men, and making certaine prayers and petitions vnto *Iupiter* and *Mercurie*, gods of the earth, he doth solemnly inuite the soules of those valiant men that died fighting for the liberty of GREECE, vnto the feast of the funerall sacrifice. Then he taketh a cup full of wine in his hand, and spilling it all vpon their tombes, he speaketh these words aloud: I drinke to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in defence of the liberty of GREECE. This solemne ceremony and anniuersarie, the PLATÆIANS do duely obserue vnto this present day. Now when the ATHENIANS were returned to ATHENS, *Aristides* perceiuing the people were bent to stablish a popular state, where the people might beare the whole rule and authority, iudging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noble seruice and valiant courage they had shewed in this warre: and considering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other gouernement, being yet in armes, and very stout, by reason of the famous victories they had obtained: he caused a law to be made, that all authority of gouernement should runne in equalitie among the citizens, and that thencefoorth all burgesses (as well poore as rich) should be chosen by voices of the people, and promoted to offices within the city. And moreouer, when *Themistocles* told in open assembly, that he had a thing in his head would be greatly to the profit and commoditie of the state, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for diuerse respects: the people willed him to tell it vnto *Aristides* onely, and to take his aduice in it, to know whether it was meete to be done, or not. Then *Themistocles* told him secretly betweene them, that he thought to set the arcenall on fire, where all the GRECIANS ships lay: alledging, that by this meanes the ATHENIANS should be the greatest men of power in all GREECE. *Aristides* hearing that, without any more, came presently to the people againe, and told the whole counsell openly, that nothing could be more profitable indeed for the whole commonwealth, and withall more wicked and vniust, then that *Themistocles* thought good to do. When the people heard *Aristides* aunswere, they willed *Themistocles* to let his deuice alone whatsoeuer it were: so great iusticers were the ATHENIANS, and so much did they trust *Aristides* wisedome and equitie besides. So they made *Aristides* afterwards Generall of the armie of the ATHENIANS together with *Cimon*, and sent them to make warre against the barbarous people. *Aristides* at his comming thither, seeing *Pausanias*, and the other captaines that were Generals ouer the whole army, dealing hardly, and churlishly with people their confederates, he on the contrary side, spake gently vnto them, and shewed himselfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and iust to euerie body, not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the warres. *Aristides* taking this course, it was not noted how by litle and litle he cut off the rule and authoritie of the

Solemne sacrifices and funerals kept by the Platæians yearely for the Grecians that were slaine at the battell of Platæes.

Aristides preferreth the popular state.

A wicked deuice of Themistocles.

Aristides sentence vpon Themistocles deuice.

The iustice of the Athenians Aristides and Cimon generals of the Athenians against the barbarous people.

Aristides iustice and vertue tooke from the Lacedemonians all their rule and authority in Greece.

LACEDÆMONIANS in GRECE, not by force of armes, nor by ſhips, nor by numbers of horſes, but onely by his graue and wiſe gouernement. For if the iuſtice and vertue of *Ariſtides*, and the mildneſſe and curteſie of *Cimon* made the gouernment of the ATHENIANS to be liked of, and accepted of all the other people of GRECE: the couetouſneſſe, pride and fierceneſſe of *Pauſanias*, made it much more to be deſired. For *Pauſanias* neuer ſpake vnto the other captaines of the people, allies, and confederates, but it was euer in choller, and he was too ſharpe with them: and for the poore priuate ſouldiers, he would cauſe them to be cruelly whipped for euery ſmall offence, or elſe make them ſtand a whole day together on their feete, laying a heauy iron anker vpon their ſhoulders. No man durſt go forrage, neither for ſtraw, nor reedes to make them couches of, nor durſt water their horſe before the SPARTANS: for he had ſet skouts for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Ariſtides* thought to haue ſpoken to him, and to haue told him ſomething, he frowned vpon him, and ſayd he had no leiſure to ſpeake with him now, and ſo would not heare him: whereupon the captaines of the other GRECIANS, and ſpecially thoſe of CHIO, of SAMOS, and of LESBOS, did afterwards follow *Ariſtides*, and perſwaded him to take vpon him the charge and authority to command the other people of GRECE, and to take into his protection the allies and confederates of the ſame, who long ſithence wiſhed to reuolt from the gouernement of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and onely to ſubmit themſelues vnto the ATHENIANS. *Ariſtides* anſwered them thus: that they had not onely reaſon to do that they ſayd, but that they were alſo conſtrained to do it. Notwithſtanding, becauſe the ATHENIANS might haue good ground and aſſurance of their vndoubted fidelity and good ſeruice, they ſhould deliuer them manifeſt teſtimony and aſſurance thereof, by ſome famous act attempted againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, whereby their people hereafter durſt neuer fall from the league of the ATHENIANS. *Vliades* SAMIAN, and *Antagoras* of CHIO hearing him ſay ſo, both captaines of galleys confedered together: they went one day to ſet vpon the Admirall galley of *Pauſanias*, hard by BIZANTIVM, the one of the one ſide of her, and the other on the other ſide, as ſhe was rowing before all the fleete. *Pauſanias* ſeeing them, ſtood vp ſtraight in a maruellous rage againſt them, and threatned them that before it were long he would make them know they had bene better to haue aſſaulted their owne naturall country, then to haue ſet vpon him as they had done. But they anſwered him, and bad him get him away quickly if he were wiſe, and let him thanke fortune hardly, that graunted the GRECIANS victory at the battell of PLATÆES vnder his leading: and that it was nothing elſe but the onely reuerence and reſpect of the ſame, that had made the GRECIANS hold their hands till now, from giuing him that iuſt puniſhment his pride and arrogancy had deſerued. So the end was, they left the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſtacke vnto the ATHENIANS: wherein was eaſily diſcerned the great courage, and wonderfull magnanimity of the LACEDÆMONIANS. For when they ſaw their captaines were marred and corrupted, through the ouer great authority and liberty they had, they willingly gaue vp their commandement ouer the other GRECIANS, and did no more ſend their captaines to be generals of the whole army of GRECE: thinking it better for their citizens, that they ſhould be obedient, and in euery point obſerue the diſcipline and law of their country, then if they had bene otherwiſe the onely rulers and Lords ouer the whole country. Now at what time the LACEDÆMONIANS did commaund all GRECE, as Lords, the cities and people of GRECE did pay a certaine ſum of mony, towards defraying of the charges of the warres againſt the barbarous people. But after that their ſeigniority and rule was taken from them, the GRECIANS were contented a taxe ſhould be leauied, and that euery city ſhould be reaſonably ſeſſed, according to their wealth and ability: becauſe euery city might know what they ſhould pay. And for this purpoſe, they prayed the ATHENIANS they would appoint *Ariſtides* to take order for it, vnto whom they gaue full power and authority to taxe and ſeſſe euery city indifferently, conſidering the greatneſſe of the territorie, & the reuenues of the ſame, as euery one was reaſonably able to beare it. But if *Ariſtides* were poore when he entred into that great charge & office of authority, wherein all GRECE in maner did referre themſelues vnto his diſcretion: he came out of that office more poore, and had made his aſſeſſement and taxation not onely iuſtly and truly, but alſo ſo indifferently according vnto euery mans ability, that there was no man could find fault with his doings. And like as the ancient men in old time did celebrate, and ſing out the bleſſedneſſe of thoſe that liued vnder the raigne of *Saturne*, which they called the golden age: euen ſo did the people and confederates of the ATHENIANS afterwards honour the aſſeſſement made by *Ariſtides*, calling

Pauſanias proud and couetous.

Pauſanias cruell puniſhing of his ſouldiers.

Ariſtides fine tryall of traitors.

The rebellious act of Vliades and Antagoras againſt Pauſanias.

The temperance of the Lacedemonians.

Ariſtides did ſeſſe the cities of Grece.

Ariſtides a true ſeſſor.

calling it the fortunate and blessed time of GRECE, and specially, when shortly after it did double, and treble on the sudden. For the taxe *Aristides* made, came to about foure hundred and three-score talents: and *Pericles* raised it almost vnto a third part. For *Thucydides* writeth, that at the beginning of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the ATHENIANS leauied sixe hundred talents yearely vpon their confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the oratours and counsellors for matters of state, did raise it vp higher by litle and litle, vntill it mounted vnto the summe of thirteene hundred talents. And this was not because the warres did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the ATHENIANS had receiued: but for that they did accustome the people to make distributions of money by hand vnto euery citizen, to make them set vp games, and make goodly images, and to build sumptuous temples. Thus was *Aristides* therefore iustly honoured, praised and esteemed aboue all other, for this iust imposition of taxes, sauing onely of *Themistocles*: who went vp and downe fleering at the matter, saying it was no meete praise for an honest man, but rather for a coffer well barred with iron, where a man might safely lay vp his gold and siluer. This he spake to be euen with *Aristides*, which was nothing like the sharpe gird *Aristides* gaue him openly, when *Themistocles* talking with him, told him it was an excellent thing for a captaine to be able to know, and to preuent the counsels and doings of the enemies: And so is it, sayd *Aristides* againe, not onely a needfull, but an honest thing, and meete for a worthy Generall of an army, to be cleane fingered, without bribery or corruption. So *Aristides* made all the other people of GRECE to sweare, that they would truly keepe the articles of the alliance, and he himselfe as Generall of the ATHENIANS, did take their oaths in the name of the ATHENIANS: and so pronouncing execrations and curses against them that should breake the league and oath taken, he threw iron wedges red hot into the sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them euen so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstanding, afterwards (in my opinion) when there fell out great alteration in the state, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more straightly then before: *Aristides* then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the danger and burthen of periury and execration, and that they should not let for feare thereof to do any thing whatsoeuer they thought meet or necessary. To conclude, *Theophrastus* writeth, that *Aristides* was not onely a perfect, an honest, and iust man, in priuate matters betwixt party and party: but in matters of state, and concerning the commonweale, he did many things oftentimes according to the necessity of the time, and troubles of the city, wherein violence and iniustice was to be vsed. As when the question was asked in open counsell, to know whether they might take away the gold and siluer that was left in the Ile of DELOS safely layd vp in the temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the warres against the barbarous people, and to bring it from thence vnto ATHENS, vpon the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the articles of the alliance, made and sworne among all the GRECIANS, *Aristides* opinion being asked in the same, he answered: it was not iust, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding *Aristides* had brought his city to rule aud command many thousands of people, yet was he still poore for all that, and vntill his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his pouerty, then for all the famous victories and battels he had won: and that plainly appeareth thus. *Callias Ceres* torch-bearer, was his neare kinsman, who through enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Iudges, his accusers very faintly, and to litle purpose, vttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other by-matters, left the chiefest matter, and spake thus to the Iudges: My Lords, you all know *Aristides* the sonne of *Lysimachus*, and you are not ignorant also that his vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any mans else is, or can be, in all GREECE. How thinke ye doth he liue at home: when you see him abroad vp and downe the city, in a thred-bare gowne all to tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starue at home for lacke of meate and reliefe, whom we all see quake for very cold, being so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet *M. Callias* here his cosin germaine the richest citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable, that notwithstanding *Aristides* hath done much for him, by reason of his great credit and authority among you, he suffereth him, and his poore wife & children ready to beg, to starue for any helpe he giueth him. *Callias* perceiuing the Iudges more angry with him for that, then for any matter else he was accused of: he prayed *Aristides* might be sent for, and willed him to tell truly whether he had not offered him good round sums of money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take it, which he euer refused, and answered him alwayes, that he could better boast of his pouerty, then himselfe could of his riches:

Taunts betwixt Themistocles and Aristides.

Aristides preferred necessity of time, before law and reason.

Aristides gloried in his pouerty.

A hard thing to away with pouerty.

(which he ſayd many did vſe ill, and few could vſe them well) and that it was a hard thing to find one man of a noble mind, that could away with pouerty, and that ſuch onely might be aſhamed of pouerty, as were poore againſt their wils. So *Ariſtides* confirmed all he ſpake to be true: and euery man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholy away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Ariſtides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is writtē thus by *Æſchines* the Socratian philoſopher: & *Plato* reporteth of him alſo, that notwithſtanding there were many other famous and notable men of ATHENS, yet he gaue *Ariſtides* praiſe aboue them all. For others, ſayd he, (as *Themiſtocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) haue beautified the city with ſtately porches, and ſumptuous buildings of gold and ſiluer, and with ſtore of other fine ſuperfluous deuiſes: but *Ariſtides* was only he, that vertuouſly diſpoſed himſelfe and all his doings, to the furtherance of the ſtate and commonweale. His iuſtice and good nature appeared plainely in his doings and behauiour towards *Themiſtocles*. For though *Themiſtocles* was euer againſt *Ariſtides* in all things, and a continuall enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practiſe he was baniſhed from ATHENS: yet when *Themiſtocles* was accuſed of treaſon to the ſtate, hauing diuerſe ſharpe enemies againſt him, as *Cimon*, *Alcmæon*, with diuerſe other: *Ariſtides* ſought not reuenge, when he had him at this aduantage. For he neither ſpake nor did any thing againſt him at that time to hurt him: neither did he reioyce to ſee his enemy in miſery, no more then if he had neuer enuied him in his proſperity. And touching *Ariſtides* death, ſome write that he died in the realme of PONTVS, being ſent thither about matters of the ſtate: and other thinke he died an old man in the city of ATHENS, greatly honoured and beloued of all the citizens. But *Craterus* the MACEDONIAN writeth of his death in this ſort: After that *Themiſtocles* (ſaith he) was fled, the people of ATHENS became very ſtubborne and inſolent: wherupon, many lewd men grew to be cōmon appeachers and accuſers of the noble men and chiefeſt citizens, and to ſtirre vp the malice and ill will of the common people againſt them, who were waxen proud by reaſon of their proſperity, and dominion that was enlarged. Among the reſt, *Ariſtides* was condemned for extortion and ill behauiour in the common wealth, vpon one *Diophantes* accuſation, of the village of AMPHITROPE: who burthened him, that he tooke money of the IONIANS, to make the annuall tribute ceaſe which they payed vnto ATHENS: and ſo *Craterus* ſaith, that becauſe *Ariſtides* was not able to pay the fine they ſet vpon his head (which was fiue Minas) he was driuen to forſake ATHENS, and to get him into IONIA where he died. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring forth any probable matter to proue this true he writeth: as his pleading, his ſentence and condemnation, or any decree paſſed againſt him, although he vſed great diligence elſe in collecting all ſuch matters, and vouching his authors. Furthermore, all other writers that haue ſpecially noted the faults and offences committed by the people of ATHENS in former times againſt their captaines and gouernours: they do declare *Themiſtocles* exile, *Miltiades* captiuity that died in priſon, *Pericles* fine wherein he was condemned, and *Paches* death that ſlue himſelfe in the pulpit for orations, when he ſaw he was condemned: and tell diuerſe ſuch ſtories, adding too alſo *Ariſtides* baniſhment: but yet they make no maner of mention of the condemnation which *Craterus* ſpeaketh of. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* tombe is to be ſeene at this day vpon the hauen of PHALERVS, which was ſet vp for him at the charge of the commonwealth, as it is reported, becauſe he died ſo poore a man, as they found nothing in his houſe to bury him with. Other go further, and ſay that his daughters were maried by decree of the people, at the charge of the commonwealth, and that the city gaue euery one of them three thouſand Drachmas: and his ſonne *Lyſimachus*, a hundred Minas of ſiluer, and a hundred Iugera, and at *Alcibiades* requeſt, who was the author of the decree, they gaue him foure Drachmas a day beſides, of ordinary allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lyſimachus* died, he left aliue one onely daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the people appointed, as *Calliſthenes* writeth, as much prouiſion to liue withal, as they gaue to any that wan the Olympian games. And ſithence, *Demetrius* PHAIERIAN, *Hieronymus* RHODIAN, *Ariſtoxenus* the Muſitian, and *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher, at the leaſt if the booke intituled of Nobility by any of *Ariſtotles* workes: all theſe agree together, that one *Myrto*, *Ariſtides* daughters daughter, was maried to the wiſe *Socrates*, who tooke her to his wife (hauing a wife already) becauſe ſhe was a poore widow, and could not be maried for her pouerty, hauing much a do to liue. Yet *Panætius* doth write againſt him, in his booke of *Socrates* life. But *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth in his booke he intituled *Socrates*, that he could remember very well he had ſeene one *Lyſimachus*, *Ariſtides* ſonnes ſonne, or his daughters ſonne, that was very poore, and liued of that he could get to interpret dreames, by

Ariſtides commended of Plato.

Ariſtides temperance vnto Themiſtocles.

Ariſtides death.

Ariſtides condemned for extortion.

Ariſtides tombe.

The Athenians thankefulneſſe vnto Ariſtides children.

Myrto Ariſtides daughters daughter, maried vnto Socrates.

certaine

certaine tables, wherein was written the art to interpret the signification of dreames: and that he kept commonly about the temple of *Bacchus* called *Iacchion*, vnto whom, together with his mother and his sister, he sayd he had caused the people to giue them a Triobolum a peece, euery day towards their liuing. It is very true that the selfe same *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, when he reformed the state of ATHENS, ordained that his mother and sister should haue each of them a Drachma by the day to find them withall, out of the common chamber of the city. And it is no new, nor strange thing, that the people of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe and to relieue the women that dwelt in the city: considering that in times past, *Aristogiton* hauing a litle daughter in the Ile of LEMNOS, in very hard and poore state, and that could not be bestowed in mariage for her pouerty, they caused her to be brought to ATHENS, and maried her in one of the noblest houses of the city, and made her a ioynter besides in the village of POTAMOS. Which great curtesie and humanity of theirs, hath euer deserued great fame and commendation, and yet continueth euen vntill this day, in that noble city of ATHENS, in the mouth of euery man there.

The Athenians commended for their liberality.

The end of Aristides life.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Cato the Censor.

MARCVS Cato and his ancestors, were (as they say) of the city of THVSCVLVM: but before he went vnto the warres, and dealt in matters of the common wealth, he dwelt and liued in the countrey of the SABYNES, vpon certaine land his father left him. And though to many his ancestors were knowne to haue bene obscure: yet he himselfe did highly commend his father *Marcus*, by bearing his name, and saying he was a souldier, and had serued valiantly in the field. And he telleth also of another *Cato* that was his greatgrandfather, who for his valiant seruice had bene oft rewarded of the Generals, with such honorable gifts, as the ROMAINES did vse to giue vnto them, that had done some famous act in any battell: and how that he hauing lost fiue horses of seruice in the warres, the value of the same was restored to him againe in mony of the common treasure, because he had shewed himselfe trusty and valiant for the common-wealth. And where they had a common speech at ROME to call them vpstarts, that were no gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue: it fortuned *Cato* to be called one of them. And for his part he did confesse it, that he was of the first of the house that

Cato called an vpstart.

euer had honour, and office of ſtate: but by reaſon of the noble acts and good ſeruice of his anceſtors, he maintained he was very ancient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, *Priſcus*: but afterwards by reaſon of his great wiſedome and experience, he was ſurnamed *Cato*, becauſe the Romaines call a wiſe man, and him that hath ſeene much, *Cato*. He was ſomewhat giuen to be red-faced, and had a paire of ſtaring eyes in his head, as this man telleth vs, that for ill will wrote theſe verſes of him after his death:

The diſinition of this vvord Cato.

Pluto (the god) which rules the furies infernall,
will not receiue the damned ghoſt, of Porcius in his hall:
his ſawcy coppered noſe, and fierie ſtaring eyes,
his common ſlaunderous tales, which he did in this world deuiſe,
made Pluto ſtand in dread, that he would brawle in hell,
although his bones were drie and dead, on earth he was ſo fell.

Furthermore, touching the diſpoſition of his body, he was maruellous ſtrong and luſtie, and all becauſe he did vſe to labour and toile euen from his youth, and to liue ſparingly, as one that was euer brought vp in the warres from his youth: ſo that he was of a very good conſtitution, both for ſtrength of body, and for health alſo. As for vtterance, he eſteemed it as a ſecond body, and moſt neceſſary gift, not onely to make men honeſt, but alſo as a thing very requiſit for a man that ſhould beare ſway and authority in the common wealth. He practiſed to ſpeake well in litle villages neare home, whither he went many times to pleade mens cauſes in courts iudiciall, that would retaine him of counſell: ſo as in ſhort time he became a perfect pleader, and had tongue at will, and in proceſſe of time became an excellent Orator. After he was thus well knowne, they that were familiar with him, began to perceiue a graue manner and behauiour in his life, and a certaine noble mind in him, worthie to be employed in matters of ſtate and great importance, and to be called into the common wealth. For he did not onely refuſe to take fees for his pleading, and following the cauſes he maintained: but furthermore made no reckoning of the eſtimation he wan by that manner and practiſe, as though that was not the onely marke he ſhot at. But his deſire reached further, rather to win himſelfe fame by ſeruice in the warres, and by valiant fighting with his enemy: then with ſuch a quiet and pleaſing manner of life. Inſomuch as when he was but a young ſtripling in manner, he had many cuts vpon his breſt, which he had receiued in diuerſe battels and encounters againſt the enemies. For he himſelfe writeth, that he was but ſeuenteene yeares old, when he went firſt vnto the warres, which was about the time of *Hannibals* chiefe proſperity, when he ſpoiled and deſtroyed all Italy. So when he came to fight, he would ſtrike luſtily, and neuer ſtirre foote nor giue backe, and would looke cruelly vpon his enemie, and threaten him with a fearefull and terrible voice, which he vſed himſelfe, and wiſely taught other alſo to vſe the like: for ſuch countenances, ſayd he, many times do feare the enemies more, then the ſword ye offer them. When he went any iourney, he euer marched on foote, and caried his armor vpon his backe, and had a man waiting on him that caried his victuals with him, with whom he was neuer angry (as they ſay) for any thing he had prepared for his dinner or ſupper, but did helpe to dreſſe it himſelfe for the moſt part, if he had any leiſure, when he had done the dutie of a priuate ſouldier in fortifying the campe, or ſuch other needfull buſineſſe. All the while he was abroad in ſeruice in the warres, he neuer dranke other then eleane water, vnleſſe it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a litle vineger: but if he ſaw he were weake, he wold then drinke a litle wine. Now it fortuned that *Manius Curius* the Romaine, who had triumphed thriſe, had a prety houſe and land hard by *Cato*, where he kept in times paſt, which *Cato* for a while would viſite oft. And he conſidering how litle land he had to his houſe, & what a litle houſe he had withall, and how poorely it was built, wondered with himſelfe what manner of man *Curius* had bene, that hauing bene the greateſt man of Rome in his time, and hauing ſubdued the mightieſt nations and people of all Italy, and driuen king *Pyrrus* alſo out of the ſame: yet himſelfe with his owne hands did manure that litle patch of ground, and dwell in ſo poore and ſmall a farme. Whither notwithſtanding, after his three triumphs, the Samnytes ſent their Ambaſſadors to viſite him, who found him by the fires ſide ſeething of parſeneps, and preſented him a maruellous deale of gold from their ſtate and communalty. But *Curius* returned them againe with their gold, and told them, that ſuch as were contented with that ſupper, had no need of gold nor ſiluer: and that for his part, he thought it greater honor to command them that had gold, then to haue it himſelfe. *Cato* remembring theſe things to himſelfe, went home againe,

Catoes maners and life.

Cato an excellent orator.

Cato a ſouldier at ſeuenteene yeares of age.

A grim looke giueth terror to the enemy.

This Manius Curius ouerthrew king Pyrrus being Generall of the Tarentines.

Cato the elder wondered at the thriftineſſe of Manius Curius.

The moderation of Manius Curius.

and

and began to thinke vpon his houſe, of his liuing, of his familie and ſeruants, and alſo of his expences, and to cut off all ſuperfluous charges, and fell himſelfe to labour with his owne hands, more then euer he had done before. Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of TARENTVM againe, *Cato* ſerued vnder him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with *Nearchus* the PYTHAGORIAN Philoſopher, in whom he tooke maruellous delight to heare him talke of Philoſophy. Which *Nearchus* held the ſame opinion of pleaſure, that *Plato* did, by calling it the ſweete poyſon and chiefeſt baite to allure men to ill: and ſaying that the bodie was the firſt plague vnto the ſoule, and that her onely health, remedie, and purgation ſtood vpon rules of reaſon, good examples and contemplations, that driue ſinfull thoughts and carnall pleaſures of the body, farre off from her. *Cato* moreouer gaue himſelfe much to ſobrietie and temperance, and framed himſelfe to be contented with litle. They ſay he fell in his very old age to the ſtudie of the Greeke tongue, and to reade Greeke bookes, and that he profited ſomewhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demoſthenes*, to frame his matter, and alſo to be eloquent: which plainely appeareth, in all his bookes and writings, full of authorities, examples, and ſtories taken out of Greeke authors: and many of his ſentences and morals, his adages and quicke anſwers, are tranſlated out of the ſame word for word. Now there was a noble man of ROME at that time, one of great authority, and a deepe wiſe man beſides, who could eaſily diſcerne buds of vertue ſprowting out of any towardly youth, who was of a good and honourable diſpoſition to helpe forward, and to aduance ſuch: his name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neere neighbour vnto *Cato*, who was informed by his ſeruãts of *Catoes* ſtrange life, how he wold be doing in his ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone euery day betimes in the morning to litle villages thereabout, to pleade mens cauſes that prayed his counſell, and that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in winter, that he would but caſt a litle coat on his ſhoulders, and being ſommer he would go out bare-necked to the waſt, to worke in his ground among his ſeruants and other workmen: and would beſides, ſit & eate with them together at one boord, and drinke as they did. Moreouer, they told him alſo a world of ſuch maners and faſhions he vſed, that ſhewed him to be a maruellous plaine man, without pride, & of a good nature. Then they told him what notable wiſe ſayings and graue ſentences they heard him ſpeake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to ſupper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiuing he was of a very good nature, and well giuen, and that he was a good griffe to be ſet in a better ground, he perſwaded him to come to ROME, and to practiſe there in the aſſembly of the people, in the common cauſes and affaires of the commonweale. *Cato* followed his counſell, who hauing bin no long practiſer among them, did grow ſtraight into great eſtimation, and wan him many friends, by reaſon of the cauſes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken alſo, by meanes of the ſpeciall fauour and countenance *Valerius Flaccus* gaue him. For firſt of all, by voice of the people he was choſen Tribune of the ſouldiers (to ſay, colonell of a thouſand footmen) and afterwards was made treaſurer: and ſo went forwards, and grew to ſo great credit and authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* companion in the chiefeſt offices of ſtate, being choſen Conſull with him, and then Cenſor. But to begin withall, *Cato* made choiſe of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, aboue all the Senators of ROME, and gaue himſelfe to follow him altogether: and not ſo much for the credit & eſtimation *Fabius Maximus* was of (who therein exceeded all the ROMAINES of that time) as for the modeſty and diſcreet gouernment he ſaw in him, whom he determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour and example. At which time *Cato* paſſed not for the malice and euill will of *Scipio* the great, who did ſtriue at that preſent being but a yong man, with the authority and greatneſſe of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that ſeemed to enuy his riſing & greatneſſe. For *Cato* being ſent treaſurer with *Scipio*, when he vndertooke the iourny into AFRIKE, and perceiuing *Scipioes* bountifull nature & diſpoſition to large gifts without meane to the ſouldiers: he told him plainely one day, that he did not ſo much hurt the commonwealth in waſting their treaſure, as he did great harme in changing the ancient manner of their aunceſtours: who vſed their ſouldiers to be contented with litle, but he taught them to ſpend their ſuperfluous mony (all neceſſaries prouided for) in vaine toies & trifles to ſerue their pleaſure. *Scipio* made him anſwer, he would haue no treaſurer ſhould controll him in that ſort, nor that ſhould looke ſo narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the wars, with full ſailes as it were, and that he would (and did alſo determine) to make the ſtate priuie to all his doings, but not to the mony he ſpent. *Cato* hearing this anſwer, returned with ſpeed

Nearchus the Pythagorian Philoſopher, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.

Platoes opinion of pleaſure.

Cato learned the Greeke tongue in his old age.

Cato profited much by Demoſthenes eloquence.

Valerius Flaccus a graue wiſe man.

Catoes ſtrange life.

Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus perſwaſion.

Cato choſen Tribunus militum.

Catoes offices in the Senate.

Cato followed Fabius Maximus.

Catoes emulation with Scipio the great.

Cato being treaſurer vnder Scipio African, reproued him for his vnthriftie expences.

Cato accuſeth Scipio of riot.

out of SICILE vnto ROME, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* ſpent infinitely, and that he tended playes, comedies, and wreſtlings, as if he had not bene ſent to make warres, inuaſions, and attempts vpon their enemies. Vpon this complaint the Senate appointed certaine Tribunes of the people, to go and ſee if their informations were true: and finding them ſo, that they ſhould bring him backe againe to ROME. But *Scipio* ſhewed farre otherwiſe to the commiſſioners that came thither, and made them ſee apparant victorie, through the neceſſarie preparation and prouiſion he had made for the warres: and he confeſſed alſo, that when he had diſpatched his great buſineſſe, and was at any leiſure, he would be priuately merrie with his friends: and though he was liberall to his ſouldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duty and charge in any matter of importance. So *Scipio* tooke ſhipping, and ſailed towards AFRICKE, whither he was ſent to make warre. Now to returne to *Cato*. He daily increaſed ſtill in authoritie and credit by meanes of his eloquence, ſo that diuerſe called him the *Demoſthenes* of ROME: howbeit the manner of his life was in more eſtimation then his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did ſeeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of words, and one enuied another which of them ſhould come neereſt: but few of them would file their hands with any labour as their forefathers did, and make a light ſupper and dinner, without fire or prouiſion, or would be content with a meane gowne, and a poore lodging, and finally would thinke it more honourable to defie fanſies and pleaſures, then to haue and enioy them. Becauſe the ſtate was waxen now of ſuch power and wealth, as it could no more retaine the ancient diſcipline, and former auſterity and ſtraightneſſe of life it vſed: but by reaſon of the largeneſſe of their dominion & ſeigniority, and the numbers of people and nations that were become their ſubiects, it was euen forced to receiue a medley of ſundry countrey faſhions, examples, and maners. This was a cauſe, why in reaſon men did ſo greatly wonder at *Catoes* vertue, when they ſaw other ſtraight wearied with paines and labour, tenderly brought vp like pulers: and *Cato* on the other ſide neuer ouercomen, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he moſt coueted honor, nor in his age alſo when he was gray headed and bald, after his Conſulſhip and triumph: but like a conquerour that had gotten the maiſtery, he would neuer giue ouer labor euen vnto his dying day. For he writeth himſelfe, that there neuer came gowne on his backe that coſt him aboue 100 pence, and that his hinds and workemen alwayes drunke no worſe wine, when he was Conſull and Generall of the army, then he did himſelfe: and that his cater neuer beſtowed in meate for his ſupper, aboue thirty Aſſes of ROMAINE money, and yet he ſayd it was, becauſe he might be the ſtronger, and apter to do ſeruice in the wars for his country and the commonwealth. He ſayd furthermore, that being heire to one of his friends that died, he had a peece of tapeſtry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the BABYLONIAN border, and he cauſed it ſtraight to be ſold: and that of all his houſes he had abroad in the country, he had not one wall plaſtered, nor rough caſt. Moreouer he would ſay, he neuer bought bondman or ſlaue dearer, then a thouſand fiue hundred pence, as one that ſought not for fine made men, and goodly perſonages, but ſtrong fellowes that could away with paines, as carters, horſe-keepers, neatheards, and ſuch like: and againe he would ſell them when they were old, becauſe he would not keepe them when they could do no ſeruice. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a man bought any thing deare, that was for litle purpoſe: yea, though he gaue but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to beſtow ſo litle, for that which needed not. He wold haue men purchaſe houſes, that had more ſtore of arable land and paſture, then of fine hortyards or gardeins. Some ſay, he did thus for very miſery and couetouſneſſe: other thinke, and tooke it that he liued ſo ſparingly, to moue others by his example to cut off all ſuperfluity and waſt. Neuertheleſſe, to ſell ſlaues in that ſort, or to turne them out of doores when you haue had the ſeruice of all their youth, & that they are growne old, as you vſe brute beaſts that haue ſerued whileſt they may for age: me thinkes that muſt needes proceed of too ſeuere and greedy a nature, that hath no longer regard or conſideration of humanity, then whileſt one is able to do another good. For we ſee, gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice. For nature teacheth vs to vſe iuſtice onely vnto men; but gentleneſſe ſometimes is ſhewed vnto bruite beaſts: and that commeth from the very fountaine and ſpring of all curteſie and humanity, which ſhould neuer dry vp in any man liuing. For to ſay truly, to keepe caſt horſes ſpoiled in our ſeruice, and dogs alſo, not only when they are whelpes, but when they be old: be euen tokens of loue and kindnes. As the ATHENIANS made a law, when they builded their temple called *Hecatompedon*: that they ſhould ſuffer the moyles and mules that did ſeruice in their cariages about

Catoes eloquence, his continent life, and extreame paines.

Catoes wonderfull thrift.

Catoes ſharpeneſſe.

Gentleneſſe goeth further then iuſtice.

Gentleneſſe to be vſed vnto bruite beaſts.

A gentle law made by the Athenians in fauour of their labouring moils.

about the building of the ſame, to graze euery where, without let or trouble of any man. And they ſay, there was one of their moiles thus turned at liberty, that came her ſelfe to the place to labour, going before all the other draught beaſts, that drew vp carts loden towards the caſtell, and kept them company, as though ſhe ſeemed to encourage the reſt to draw: which the people liked ſo well in the poore beaſt, that they appointed ſhe ſhould be kept whilſt ſhe liued, at the charge of the town. And yet at this preſent are the graues of *Cimons* mares to be ſeene, that wan him thrice together the prize of the horſe race at the games Olympian, and they are hard by the graue of *Cimon* himſelfe. We heare of diuerſe alſo that had buried their dogs they brought vp in their houſe, or that waited on them: as among other, old *Xanthippus* buried his dogge in the top of a cliffe, which is called the dogs pit till this day. For when the people of ATHENS did forſake their city at the comming downe of king *Xerxes*, this dogge followed his maiſter, ſwimming in the ſea by his galleys ſide, from the firme land, vnto the Iſle of SALAMINA. And there is no reaſon, to vſe liuing and ſenſible things, as we would vſe an old ſhoo or a rag, to caſt it out vpon the dunghill when we haue worn it, and can ſerue vs no longer. For if it were for no reſpect elſe, but to vſe vs alwaies to humanitie: we muſt euer ſhew our ſelues kind and gentle, euen in ſuch ſmall points of pitie. And as for me, I could neuer find in my heart to ſell my draught Oxe that had ploughed my land a long time, becauſe he could plough no longer for age: and much leſſe my ſlaue, to ſell him for a litle money, out of the countrey where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his old trade of life wherewith he was beſt acquainted, and then ſpecially, when he ſhall be as vnprofitable for the buyer, as alſo for the ſeller. But *Cato* on the other ſide gloried, that he left his horſe in SPAINE he had ſerued on in the warres during his Conſulſhip, becauſe he would not put the common wealth to the charge of bringing him home by ſea into ITALIE. Now a queſtion might be made of this, and probable reaſon of either ſide, whether this was nobleneſſe or a niggardlineſſe in him: but otherwiſe to ſay truly, he was a man of a wonderfull abſtinence. For when he was Generall of the army, he neuer tooke allowance but after three buſhels of wheate a moneth of the common wealth, for himſelfe and his whole family: and but a buſhell and halfe of barley a day, to keepe his horſe and other beaſts for his cariage. On a time when he was Prætor, the gouernement of the Iſle of SARDINIA fell to his lot: and where the other Prætors before him had put the countrey to exceeding great charge, to furniſh them with tents, bedding, clothes, and ſuch like ſtuffe, and burthened them alſo with a maruellous traine of ſeruants and their friends that waited on them, putting them to great expence in feaſting and banquetting of them: *Cato* in contrarie manner brought downe all that exceſſe and ſuperfluitie, vnto a maruellous neare and vncredible ſauing. For when he went to viſite the cities, he came on foote to them, and did not put them to a peny charge for himſelfe: and had onely one officer or bailiffe of the ſtate that wayted on him, and caryed his gowne and a cuppe with him, to offer vp wine to the gods in his ſacrifices. But though he came thus ſimply to the ſubiects, and eaſed them of their former charges, yet he ſhewed himſelfe ſeuere and bitter to them in matters concerning iuſtice: and ſpared no man, in any commaundement of ſeruice for the ſtate and commonwealth: for he was therein ſo preciſe, that he would not beare with any litle fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS vnder his gouernement, both to loue and feare the Empire of ROME, more then euer they did before: as appeareth plainely by the manner both of his ſpeaking and writing: becauſe it was pleaſant and yet graue: ſweete and fearefull: merry and ſeuere: ſententious, and yet familiar, ſuch as is meete to be ſpoken. And he was to be compared vnto *Socrates*: who (as *Plato* ſaid) at the firſt ſight ſeemed a plaine ſimple man to them that knew him but outwardly, or elſe a pleaſant taunter or mocker: but when they did looke into him, and ſound him throughly, they ſaw he was full of graue ſentences, goodly examples, and wiſe perſwaſions, that he could make men water their plants that heard him, and leade them as he would by the eare. Therefore I cannot ſee any reaſon that moues men to ſay, *Cato* had *Lyſias* grace and vtterance. Notwithſtanding, let vs referre it to their iudgements that make profeſſion to diſcerne Oratours graces and ſtiles: for my part I ſhall content my ſelfe to write at this preſent, onely certaine of his notable ſayings and ſentences, perſwading my ſelfe that mens manners are better diſcerned by their words, then by their lookes, and ſo do many thinke. On a time ſeeking to diſſwade the people of ROME, which would needes make a thankefull diſtribution of corne vnto euery citizen, to no purpoſe, he beganne to make an oration with this preface. It is a hard thing (my Lordes of ROME) to bring the belly by perſwaſion to reaſon, that hath no eares.

Xanthippus buried his dogge, that ſwamly his gallies ſide frō Athens to Salamina, and dyed when he landed.

Catoes ſtraight life.

Cato, Prætor in Sardinia.

Catoes neareneſſe in his circuit.

Catoes ſeuerity

Catoes ſpeech and writing.

The praiſe of Socrates.

Catoes ſayings.

And another time, reprouing the ill gouernment of the city of ROME, he ſaid: it was a hard thing to keepe vp that ſtate, where a litle fiſh was ſold dearer then an Oxe. He ſaid alſo that the ROMAINES were like a flocke of ſheepe: for ſaith he, as euery Weather when he is alone, doth not obey the ſhepheard, but when they are all together they one follow another for loue of the foremoſt: euen ſo are you, for when you are together, you are all contented to be led by the noſes by ſuch, whoſe counſell not a man alone of you would vſe in any priuate cauſe of your owne. And talking another time of the authoritie the women of ROME had ouer their husbands, he ſaid: other men commaund their wiues, and we commaund men, and our wiues commaund vs. But this laſt of all he borrowed of *Themiſtocles* pleaſant ſayings. For his ſonne making him do many things by meanes of his mother, he told his wife one day: The ATHENIANS commaund all GREECE, I commaund the ATHENIANS, you commaund me, and your ſonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him vſe the liberty he hath with ſome better diſcretion, foole and aſſe as he is, ſithence he can do more by that power and authoritie, then all the GRECIANS beſides. He ſaid alſo that the people of ROME did not onely delight in diuerſe ſorts of purple, but likewiſe in diuerſe ſorts of exerciſes. For ſaid he, as diuerſe commonly die that colour they ſee beſt eſteemed and is moſt pleaſant to the eye: euen ſo the luſty youthes of ROME do frame themſelues to ſuch exerciſe, as they ſee your ſelues moſt like and beſt eſteeme. He continually aduiſed the ROMAINES, that if their power and greatneſſe came by their vertue and temperance, they ſhould take heed they became no chaungelings, nor waxe worſe: and if they came to that greatneſſe by vice and violence, that then they ſhould chaunge to better, for by that means he knew very well they had attained to great honour and dignity. Againe he told them, that ſuch as ſued ambitiouſly to beare offices in the common-wealth, and were common ſuters for them: did ſeeme to be afraid to loſe their way, and therefore would be ſure to haue vſhers and ſergeants before them, to ſhew them the way, leſt they ſhould loſe themſelues in the city. He did reproue them alſo, that often choſe one man to continue one office ſtill: for it ſeemeth, ſaith he, either that you paſſe not much for your officers, or that you haue not many choiſe men you thinke worthy for the office. There was an enemy of his that led a maruellous wicked and an abhominable life, of whom he was wont to ſay, that when his mother prayed vnto the gods that ſhe might leaue her ſonne behind her, ſhe did not thinke to pray, but to curſe: meaning to haue him liue for a plague to the world. And to another alſo that had vnthriftily ſold his lands which his father had left him, lying vpon the ſea ſide, he pointed vnto them with his finger, and made as though he wondred how he came to be ſo great a man, that he was ſtronger then the ſea: for that which the ſea hardly conſumeth and eateth out by litle and litle a long time, he had conſumed it all at a clappe. Another time, when king *Eumenes* was come to ROME, the Senate entertained him maruellous honourably, and the nobleſt citizens did ſtriue, enuying one another, who ſhould welcome him beſt. But *Cato* in contrary maner ſhewed plainely, that he did ſuſpect all this feaſting and entertainement, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friends told him, I maruell why you flie from king *Eumenes* company, that is ſo good a Prince, and loues the ROMAINES ſo well. Yea, ſaid he, let it be ſo, but for all that, a king is no better then a rauening beaſt that liues of the pray: neither was there euer any king ſo happie, that deſerued to be compared to *Epaminondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themiſtocles*, nor to *Manius Curius*, or to *Hamylcar*, ſurnamed *Barca*. They ſay his enemies did malice him, becauſe he vſed commonly to riſe before day, and did forget his owne buſineſſe to follow matters of ſtate. And he affirmed, that he had rather loſe the reward of his well doing, then not to be puniſhed for doing of euill: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorantly, but not with himſelfe. The ROMAINES hauing choſen on a time three Ambaſſadours to ſend into the Realme of BYTHINIA, one of them hauing the goute in his feet, the other his head full of cuts and great gaſhes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughing, ſaid, the ROMAINES ſent an Ambaſſade that had neither feet, head nor * hart. *Scipio* ſued once to *Cato* at *Polybius* requeſt, about thoſe that were baniſhed from ACHAIA. The matter was argued afterwards in the Senate, and there fell out diuerſe opinions about it. Some would haue had them reſtored to their countrey and goods againe: other were wholly againſt it. So *Cato* riſing vp at the laſt, ſaid vnto them: It ſeemes we haue litle elſe to do, when we ſtand beating of our braines all day, diſputing about theſe old GRECIANS, whether the ROMAINES or the ACHAIANS ſhall burie them. In the end, the Senate tooke order they ſhould be reſtored vnto their country againe. Whereupon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe vnto the Senate, that the baniſhed

Themiſtocles ſaying.

Honor nouriſheth art.

Cato, againſt offices of perpetuitie.

Cato would puniſh himſelfe for offending.

**That is to ſay, vnderſtanding: for they iudged that the ſeat of reaſon was placed in the heart, following Ariſtotles opinion.*

baniſhed men whom they had reſtored by their order, might enioy their former eſtates and honours in ACHAIA, they had at the time of their baniſhment: but before he would moue the ſute vnto the Senate, he would feele *Catoes* opinion firſt, what he thought of it. Who anſwered him, ſmiling: me thinkes *Polybius* thou art like *Vlyſſes*, that when he had ſcaped out of *Cyclops* caue the giant, he would needes go thither againe, to fetch his hat and girdle he had left behind him there. He ſaid alſo, that wiſe men did learne and profite more by fooles, then fooles did by wiſe men. For wiſe men ſaid he, do ſee the faults fooles commit, and can wiſely auoide them: but fooles neuer ſtudie to follow the example of wiſe mens doings. He ſaid alſo that he euer liked young men better that bluſhed, then thoſe that looked euer whitely: and that he would not haue him for a ſouldier, that wagges his hand as he goeth, remoues his feet when he fighteth, and rowteth and ſnorteth lowder in his ſleepe, then when he cryeth out to his enemy. Another time when he would taunt a maruellous fat man: See, ſaid he, what good can ſuch a bodie do to the commonwealth, that from his chinne to his codpeece is nothing but belly? And to another man that was giuen to pleaſure, and deſired to be great with him: My friend, ſaid *Cato*, as refuſing his acquaintance: I cannot liue with him that hath better iudgement in the pallate of his mouth, then in his heart. This was alſo his ſaying, that the ſoule of a louer, liued in anothers bodie: and that in all his life time he repented him of three things. The firſt was, if that he euer told ſecret to any woman: the ſecond, that euer he went by water, when he might haue gone by land: the third, that he had bene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Alſo when he ſaw a vicious old man, he would ſay, to reproue him: O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe it not beſides with your vice. And to a ſeditious Tribune of the people that was ſuſpected to be a poiſoner, and would needes paſſe ſome wicked law by voyce of the people, he would ſay: O young man, I know not which of theſe two be worſe, to drinke the drugges thou giueſt, or to receiue the lawes thou offereſt. Another time, being reuiled by one that led a lewd & naughtie life: go thy way, ſaid he, I am no man to ſcold with thee: for thou art ſo vſed to reuile, and to be reuiled, that it is not dainty to thee: but for my ſelf, I neuer vſe to heare ſcolding, and much leſſe delight to ſcold. Theſe be his wiſe ſayings we find written of him, whereby we may the eaſilier coniecture his maners and nature. Now when he was choſen Conſul with his friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the gouernment of SPAINE fell to his lot, that is on this ſide of the riuer of BÆTIS. So *Cato* hauing ſubdued many people by force of armes, and won others alſo by friendly meanes: ſodainly there came a maruellous great army of the barbarous people againſt him, & had enuironed him ſo, as he was in maruellous danger, either ſhamefully to be taken priſoner, or to be ſlaine in the field. Wherefore he ſent preſently vnto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours vnto the marches where he was. Theſe CELTIBERIANS did aske him two hundred talents to come and help him: but the ROMAINES that were about him, could not abide to hire the barbarous people to defend them. Then *Cato* told them ſtraight, there was no hurt in it, nor any diſhonor vnto them. For ſaid he, if the field be ours, then we ſhall pay their wages we promiſed, with the ſpoile and money of our enemies: and if we loſe it, then our ſelues and they lye by it, being left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the end he wanne the battell, after a ſore conflict, and after that time he had maruellous good fortune. For *Polybius* writeth, that all the walles of the cities that were on this ſide the riuer of BÆTIS, were by his commandement razed in one day, which were many and full of good ſouldiers. Himſelfe writeth, that he tooke mo cities in SPAINE, then he remained there daies: and it is no vaine boaſt, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred cities of them. Now, though the ſouldiers vnder him had gotten well in this iourney, and were rich, yet he cauſed a pound waight of ſiluer to be giuen to euery ſouldier beſides: ſaying, he liked it better that many ſhould returne home with ſiluer in their purſes, then a few of them with gold onely. But for himſelfe he affirmed: that of all the ſpoile gotten of the enemies, he neuer had any thing, ſauing that which he tooke in meate and drinke. And yet, ſaith he, I ſpeake it not to reproue them that grow rich by ſuch ſpoiles: but becauſe I would contend in vertue rather with the beſt, then in money with the richeſt, or in couetouſneſſe with the moſt auaritious. For not onely he himſelfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his Officers alſo vnder him kept the ſame courſe. In this Spaniſh iourney, he had fiue of his ſeruants with him, whereof one of them called *Paccus*, bought three young boyes that were taken in the warres, when the ſpoile was ſold to them that would giue moſt. So *Cato* knew it. But *Paccus* being affraid to come neare his maiſter, hanged himſelfe: and then

Bluſhing in young men is a better token then paleneſſe.

A louer liueth in anothers bodie.

Cato and Valerius Flaccus Conſuls.

Catoes doings in Spaine.

Catoes abſtinence from ſpoile and briberie.

Cato ſold the boyes againe, and put the money made of them into the treaſurie cheſtes of ſauing at ROME. Now while *Cato* was in SPAINE, *Scipio* the Great that was his enemie, and ſought to hinder the courſe of his proſperitie, and to haue the honour of conquering all the reſt of SPAINE, he made all the friends he could to the people, to be choſen in *Catoes* place. He was no ſooner entred into his charge, but he made all the poſſible ſpeede he could to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* authoritie ceaſe the ſooner. *Cato* hearing of his haſtie comming, tooke onely fiue enſignes of footemen, and fiue hundred horſemen to attend vpon him home: with the which, in his iourney homeward, he ouercame a people in SPAINE called the LACETANIANS, and tooke ſixe hundred traitours alſo that were fled from the ROMAINES campe to their enemies, and did put to death euery mothers child of them. *Scipio* ſtorming at that, ſaid *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, ſaid: it was the right way to bring ROME to flouriſh, when noble borne citizens would not ſuffer meane borne men, and vpſtarts as himſelfe was, to go before them in honour: and on the other ſide when meane borne men would contend in vertue, with thoſe that were of nobleſt race, and farre aboue them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to ROME, the Senate commaunded that nothing ſhould be chaunged nor altered otherwiſe, then *Cato* had appointed it, whileſt he was in his office. So that the gouernement for which *Scipio* made ſuch earneſt ſute in SPAINE, was a greater diſgrace vnto him, then it was vnto *Cato*: becauſe he paſſed all his time and office in peace, hauing no occaſion offered him to do any notable ſeruice worthie memorie. Furthermore, *Cato* after he had bene Conſull, and had graunted to him the honour to triumph, did not as many others do, that ſeek not after vertue, but onely for worldly honour and dignitie: who, when they haue bene called to the higheſt offices of ſtate, as to be Conſuls, and haue alſo graunted them the honour to triumph: do then leaue to deale any more in matters of ſtate, and diſpoſe themſelues to liue merily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themſelues any more. Now *Cato*, farre otherwiſe behaued himſelfe: for he would neuer leaue to exerciſe vertue, but began afreſh, as if he had bene a young nouice in the world, and as one greedy of honour and reputation, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleaſure his friends or any other citizen, he would come to the market place, and pleade their cauſes for them that required his counſell, and go with his friends alſo into the warres: as he went with *Tiberius Sempronius* the Conſull, and was one of his Lieutenants at the conqueſt of the countrey of THRACE, and vnto the prouinces adioyning to the riuer of DANVEY vpon thoſe marches. After that, he was in GRECE alſo, Colonell of a thouſand footemen, vnder *Manius Aquilius*, againſt king *Antiochus* ſurnamed the Great, who made the ROMAINES ſo much affraid of him, as euer they were of enemie, but *Hannibal*. For, when he had conquered all the regions and prouinces of ASIA, which *Seleucus Nicanor* enioyed before, and had ſubdued many barbarous and warlike nations: he was ſo proud harted, as he would needs haue wars with the ROMAINES, whom he knew to be the only worthy men, and beſt able to fight with him. So he made ſome honeſt ſhew and pretence of wars, ſaying: it was to ſet the GRECIANS at liberty, who had no cauſe thereof, conſidering they liued after their owne lawes, and were but lately deliuered from the bondage of king *Philip*, and of the MACEDONIANS, through the goodnes of the ROMAINES. Notwithſtanding, he came out of ASIA into GRECE with a maruellous great army, and all GRECE was ſtraight in armes and in wonderfull daunger, becauſe of the great promiſes and large hopes the gouernours of diuerſe cities (whom the king had wonne and corrupted with money) did make vnto him. Whereupon *Manius* diſpatched Ambaſſadours vnto the citie, and ſent *Titus Quintus Flaminius* among others, who kept the greateſt part of the people from rebelling (that were eaſily drawn to giue eare to this innouation) as we haue expreſſed more amply in his life: and *Cato* being ſent Ambaſſadour alſo, perſwaded the CORINTHIANS, thoſe of PATRAS, and the ÆGIANS, and made them ſticke ſtill to the ROMAINES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some ſay they find an oration of his written in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their aunceſtours: wherein he ſaid, he tooke great pleaſure to ſee ATHENS, for the beautie and ſtatelineſſe of the citie. But this is falſe: for he ſpake vnto the ATHENIANS by an interpreter, though he could haue vttered his oration in the Greeke toung if he had bene diſpoſed: but he did like the lawes and cuſtomes of his owne countrey, and the ROMAINE tong ſo well, that he laughed at them that would praiſe and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mock *Poſthumius Albinus*, who wrote an hiſtorie in the Greeke toung, praying the readers in

Diſcord betwixt Cato and Scipio.

Cato ouercame the Lacetanians.

Catoes actes after his Conſulſhip and triumph.

The power of Antiochus the Great.

in his preface to beare with him, if they found any imperfection in the tongue: marrie, ſaid *Cato*, he had deſerued pardon indeede, if he had bene forced to haue written his ſtorie in the Greeke tongue, by order of the ſtates of GRECE, called the counſell of the Amphictyons. They ſay the ATHENIANS wondred to heare his readie tongue. For what he had vttered quickely in few words vnto the interpreter: the interpreter was driuen to deliuer them againe with great circumſtances and many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS words lay all in their lippes, and the ROMAINES words in their heades. Now king *Antiochus* kept all the ſtraites and narrow paſſages of the mountaines called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinarie way and entrie into GRECE) and had fortified them aſwell with an armie that camped at the foote of the mountaine, as alſo with walles and trenches he had made by hand, beſides the naturall ſtrength and fortification of the mount it ſelfe in ſundry places: and ſo he determined to remaine there, truſting to his owne ſtrength and fortifications aforeſaid, and to turne the force of the warres ſome other way. The ROMAINES alſo, they diſpaired vtterly they ſhould be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembring with himſelfe the compaſſe the PERSIANS had fetched about before time likewiſe to enter into GRECE: he departed one night from the campe with part of the army: to proue if he could find the very compaſſe about, the barbarous people had made before. But as they climed vp the mountaine, their guide that was one of the priſoners taken in the countrey, loſt his way, and made them wander vp and downe in maruellous ſteepe rockes and crooked wayes, that the poore ſouldiers were in maruellous ill taking. *Cato* ſeeing the daunger they were brought into by this lewd guide, commaunded all his ſouldiers not to ſtir a foote from thence, and to tarrie him there: and in the meane time he went himſelfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him (a luſtie man, and nimble to clime vpon the rockes) and ſo went forward at aduenture, taking extreame and vncredible paine, and in much daunger of his life, grabbing all night in the darke without moone light, through wild Oliue trees, and high rockes (that let them they could not ſee before them, neither could tell whither they went) vntill they ſtumbled at the length vpon a litle path way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the mountaine, where the campe of the enemies lay. So they ſet vp certaine markes and tokens, vpon the higheſt toppes of the rockes they could chooſe, by view of eye to be diſcerned furtheſt off vpon the mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the ſouldiers, whom they led towards the markes they had ſet vp: vntill at the length they found their path-way againe, where they put their ſouldiers in order to march. Now they went not farre in this path they found, but the way failed them ſtraight, and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worſe caſe then before, and in greater feare, not knowing they were ſo neare their enemies, as indeede they were. The day beganne to breake a litle, and one of them that marched foremoſt, thought he heard a noiſe, and that he ſaw the GREEKES campe at the foote of the rockes, and certaine ſouldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon *Cato* made them ſtay, and willed onely the FIRMANIANS to come vnto him, and none but them, becauſe he had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commaundement. They were with him at a trice to know his pleaſure: ſo *Cato* ſaid vnto them: My fellowes, I muſt haue ſome of our enemies taken priſoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that paſſage, what number they be, what order they keepe, how they are camped and armed, and after what ſort they determine to fight with vs. The way to worke this feate ſtandeth vpon ſwiftneſſe and hardineſſe to runne vpon them ſodainely, as Lions do, which being naked feare not to runne into the middeſt of any heard of fearefull beaſtes. He had no ſooner ſpoken theſe wordes, but the FIRMANIAN ſouldiers beganne to runne downe the mountaines as they were, vpon thoſe that kept the watch: and ſo ſetting vpon them, they being out of order, made them flie, and tooke an armed man priſoner. When they had him, they ſtraight brought him vnto *Cato*, who by oth of the priſoner, was aduertiſed how that the ſtrength of their enemies armie was lodged about the perſon of the King, within the ſtraight and valley of the ſaid mountaine: and that the ſouldiers they ſaw, were ſixe hundred ÆTOLIANS, all braue ſouldiers, whom they had choſen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the rockes ouer king *Antiochus* campe. When *Cato* had heard him, making ſmall account of the matter, as well for their ſmall number, as alſo for the ill order they kept: he made the trumpets ſound ſtraight, and his ſouldiers to march in battell with great cryes, himſelfe being the foremoſt man of all his troupe, with a ſword drawne in his hand. But when the ÆTOLIANS ſawe them comming

Cato mocked Poſthumius Albinus a Romaine for writing a ſtorie in the Greeke tongue.

King Antiochus army.

Catoes doings againſt king Antiochus.

Mount Callidromus.

Catoes oration to his ſoldiers.

The boldneſſe and valiant attempt of Catoes ſouldiers.

Cato aduertiſed of the ſtrength of king Antiochus campe.

Cato tooke the straight of Thermopyles.

downe the rockes towards them, they began to flie for life vnto their great campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all disorder. Now *Manius* at the same present also, gaue an assault vnto the walles and fortifications the king had made ouerthwart the vallies and straights of the mountaines: at which assault king *Antiochus* selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake some of his teeth out of his mouth, so that for very paine and anguish he felt, he turned his horse back, and got him behind the presse. And then there were none of his army that made any more resistance, or that could abide the fiercenesse of the ROMAINES. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, becausse it was vnpossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high rockes on the one side of them, and with bogges and deepe marishes on the other side, which they must needes fall into if their feete slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yet they fell one vpon another in the straights, and ran so in heapes together, that they cast themselues away, for feare of the ROMAINES swords that lighted vpon them in euery corner. And there *Marcus Cato*, that neuer made ceremonie or niceneſse to praise himselfe openly, nor reckened it any shame to do it: did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out vpon all victorie and famous exploites: and so did set it out with all the ostentation and braue words he could giue. For he wrote with his owne hands, and such as saw him chase and lay vpon his flying enemies that day, were driuen to say, that *Cato* was not bound to the ROMAINES, but the ROMAINES bound vnto *Cato*. And then *Manius* the Consull selfe, being in a great heat with the furie of the battell, embraced *Cato* a great while, that was also hote with chasing of the enemie, and spake aloude with great ioy before them all, that neither he, nor the people of ROME could recompence *Cato* for his valiant seruice that day. After this battell, the Consull *Manius* sent *Cato* to ROME, to be the messenger himselfe to report the newes of the victorie. So he imbarked incontinently, and had such a faire wind, that he passed ouer the seas to BRINDES without any daunger, and went from thence vnto TARENTYM in one day, and from TARENTVM in foure daies more to ROME. And so he came to ROME in fiue dayes after his landing in ITALY, and made such speed that himselfe was indeed the first messenger that brought newes of the victorie. Whereupon he filled all ROME with ioye and sacrifices, and made the ROMAINES so proud, that euer after they thought themselues able men to conquer the world both by sea and land. And these be all the martiall deedes and noble acts *Cato* did. But for his doings in ciuill pollicie and state, he seemed to be of this opinion: that to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good gouernour of the common-wealth could employ himselfe vnto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be short, he did alwaies stirre vp some accuser, as he did *Petilius* against *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reason of his nobilitie, the greatnesse of his house, and the magnanimity of his mind, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they should be able to condemne him: and so he let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he ioyned with other that accused *Lucius Scipio*, his owne brother, and followed the matter so sore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of money to the common-wealth: who being vnable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the people reuoked his condemnation. It is said that *Cato* comming through the market place one day, and meeting with a young man by the way that had ouerthrown his aduersarie in sute, and put one of his late fathers greatest enemies to open shame and foile before the people, he embraced him with a good countenance, and said vnto him: Oh my sonne, sacrifices that good children should offer to their fathers soule, be not lambes nor kiddes, but the teares and condemnations of their enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free himselfe from daunger, in administration of the common-wealth. For if they could catch the least vantage in the world of him, his enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost fiftie times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of foure score yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: that it was a harder thing to giue vp an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongst whome he liued. And yet was not this the last sute he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was foure score and tenne yeares of age, he accused *Seruius Galba*. And thus he liued as *Nestor*, in manner three ages of man, alwaies in continuall sute and action. For when he wrestled with the first *Scipio* the AFRICAN about matters of state and common-wealth, he went on vnto the time of the second, that was adopted by the first *Scipioes* sonne, the naturall sonne of *Paulus Æmylius*, who ouercame *Perseus*, king of MACEDON.

King Antiochus hurt in the face with a stone.

Catoes victory of king Antiochus.

Cato vvould praise his owne doings.

Manius sendeth Cato to Rome to carie newes of the victory.

Cato an accuser of men.

Cato fifty times accused,

Further-

Furthermore, *Marcus Cato* ten yeares after his Conſulſhip, ſued to be Cenſor, which was in ROME the greateſt office of dignitie that any citizen of ROME could attaine vnto: and as a man may ſay, the roome of all glory and honour of their common wealth. For among other authorities, the Cenſor had power to examine mens liues and manners, and to puniſh euery offendor. For the ROMAINES were of that mind, that they would not haue men marry, beget children, liue priuately by themſelues, and make feaſts and bankets at their pleaſure, but that they ſhould ſtand in feare to be reproued and enquired of by the magiſtrate: and that it was not good to giue euery body libertie, to do what they would, following his owne luſt and fancie. And they iudging that mens naturall diſpoſitions do appeare more in ſuch things, then in all other things that are openly done at noone dayes, and in the ſight of the world: vſed to chooſe two Cenſors, that were two Surueyors of maners, to ſee that euery man behaued himſelfe vertuouſly, and gaue not themſelues to pleaſure, nor to breake the lawes and cuſtomes of the common wealth. Theſe officers were called in their toung, *Cenſores*, and alwaies of cuſtome, one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a commoner. Theſe two had power and authoritie to diſgrade a Knight, by taking away his horſe, and to put any off the Senate, whom they ſaw liue diſſolutely and diſorderly. It was their office alſo, to ceſſe and rate euery citizen according to the eſtimation of their goods, to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of euery man, and to keep bookes of them, beſides many other prerogatiues they had belonging to their office. Therfore when *Cato* came to ſue for this office among other, the chiefeſt Senatours were all bent againſt him. Some of them for very enuie, thinking it ſhame and diſhonor to the Nobilitie, to ſuffer men that were meanely borne, and vpſtarts (the firſt of their houſe and name, that euer came to beare office in the ſtate) to be called and preferred vnto the higheſt offices of ſtate in all their common wealth. Other alſo that were ill liuers, and knowing that they had offended the lawes of their country: they feared his crueltie too much, imagining he would ſpare no man, nor pardon any offence, hauing the law in his owne hands. So when they had conſulted together about it, they did ſet vp ſeuen competitors againſt him, who flattered the people with many faire words and promiſes, as though they had need of magiſtrates to vſe them gently, and to do things for to pleaſe them. But *Cato* contrariwiſe, ſhewing no countenance that he would vſe them gently in the office, but openly in the pulpit for orations, threatning thoſe that had liued naughtily and wickedly, he cried out: that they muſt reforme their citie, and perſwaded the people not to chooſe the gentleſt, but the ſharpeſt Phiſitions: and that himſelfe was ſuch a one as they needed, and among the PATRICIANS *Valerius Flaccus* another, in whoſe company he hoped (they two being choſen Cenſors) to do great good vnto the common wealth, by burning and cutting off (like *Hydraes* heads) all vanitie and voluptuous pleaſures, that were crept in amongſt them: and that he ſaw well inough, how all the other ſuters ſought the office by diſhoneſt means, fearing ſuch officers as they knew would deale iuſtly and vprightly. Then did the people of ROME ſhew themſelues nobly minded, and worthy of noble gouernours. For they refuſed not the ſowerneſſe or ſeueritie of *Cato*, but reiected thoſe meale-mouthed men, that ſeemed readie to pleaſe the people in all things: and thereupon choſe *Marcus Cato* Cenſor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had bene preſent officer, and no ſuter for the office, being in themſelues to giue it to whom they thought good. The firſt thing he did after he was ſtalled in his Cenſorſhip, was that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* his friend and fellow Cenſor with him, prince of the Senate: and among many other alſo whom he thruſt out of the Senate, he put *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* off the Senate, that had bene Conſull ſeuen yeares before, and was brother alſo vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, that ouercame *Philip* King of MACEDON in battell, which was greater glorie to him, then that he had bene Conſull. But the cauſe why he put him off the Senate, was this: This *Lucius Quintius* caried euer with him a young boy to the warres, whom he gaue as good countenance and credite vnto, as to any of his beſt familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned on a time whileſt *Lucius Quintius* was Conſull and gouernour of a prouince, that he made a feaſt, and this boy being ſet at his table, hard by him, as his maner was, he began to flatter him, knowing how to handle him when he was pretily merrie: and ſoothing him, told him he loued him ſo dearely, that vpon his departing from ROME, when the ſword-players were ready to fight for life and death with vnrebated ſwords, to ſhew the people paſtime, he came his way, and left the ſight of that he neuer ſaw, that was very deſirous to haue ſeen a man killed. Thē this *Lucius Quintius*, to make him ſee the like, ſaid: care not for the ſight thou haſt loſt, boy, for I wil let thee ſee as much,

The dignitie and office of the Cenſor.

How the Cenſors were choſen.

The Senatours and Nobilitie bent all againſt Catoes ſute.

Cato choſen Cenſor.

Catoes acles in his Cenſorſhip. Cato put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senate.

The cauſe why Cato put Quintius off the Senate.

Lucius Quintius Flamminius vvickednesse and cruelitie.

And when he had spoken these wordes, he commaunded a prisoner condemned to die, to be fetched and brought into his hall before him, and the hang-man with his axe: which was forthwith done according to his commaundement. Then asked he the boy, if he would straight see the man killed: yea sir, said the boy: and with that he bad the hang man strike off his head. Most writers report this matter thus. And *Cicero* to confirme it also, wrote in his booke *de Senectute*, that the same was written in an oration *Cato* made before the people of ROME. Now *Lucius Quintius* being thus shamefully put off the Senate by *Cato*, his brother *Titus* being offended withall, could not tell what to do, but besought the people that they would commaund *Cato* to declare the cause, why he brought such shame vnto his house. Whereupon *Cato* openly before the people, made recitall of all this feast. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirming it was not so: *Cato* would haue him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who sayed he would not sweare: whereupon the people iudged straight that he deserued well that shame. So not long after, certaine games being shewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and passing beyond the ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Consuls, he went to sit aloofe off amongst the multitude. The people tooke pitie on him, and made such a do about him, as they forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other Senators that had bene Consuls: saluing the best they could, the shame and dishonour happened vnto so noble a house. *Cato* put out of the Senate also, one *Manlius*, who was in great towardnesse to haue bene made Consull the next yeare following, onely because he kissed his wife too louingly in the day time, and before his daughter: and reproouing him for it, he told him, his wife neuer kissed him, but when it thundered. So when he was disposed to be merrie, he would say it was happie with him when *Iupiter* thundered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipioes* horse from him, that had triumphed for the victories he had wonne of the great King *Antiochus*: which wanne him much ill will, because it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did beare *Scipio* the AFRICAN, that was dead. But the thing that most grieued the people, of all other extremities he vsed, was his putting downe of all feasts and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly seene in it, it was vnpossible, because it was so common a thing, and euery man was giuen so to it. Therefore *Cato* to fetch it about indirectly, did praise euery citizens goods, and rated their apparell, their coaches, their litters, their wiues chaines and iewels, and all other moueables and houshold stuffe, that had cost aboue a thousand fiue hundred Drachmes a peece, at ten times as much as they were worth: to the end that such as had bestowed their mony in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the common wealth, as their goods were ouer valued at. Moreouer, he ordained for euery thousand Asses that those trifling things were praised at, the owners thereof should pay three thousand Asses to the common treasurie: to the end that they who were grieued with this taxe, and saw other pay lesse subsidie (that were as much worth as themselues, by liuing without such toyes) might call home themselues againe, and lay aside such foolish brauerie and fineneſse. Notwithstanding *Cato*, was enuied euery way. First, of them that were contented to pay the taxe imposed, rather then they would leaue their vanitie: and next, of them also, that would rather reforme themselues, then pay the taxe. And some thinke that this law was deuised rather to take away their goods, then to let them to make any shew of them: and they haue a fond opinion besides, that their riches are better seene in superfluous things, then in necessary. Whereat they say *Aristotle* the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing: how men could thinke them more rich and happie, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar friends asked him, I know not what trifling thing, and to make him graunt it the sooner, told him it was a thing he might well spare, and did him no good: mary said he, all the goods I haue, are in such toyes as do me no good. So this couetous desire we haue to be rich, commeth of no necessary desire in nature, but is bred in vs by a false opinion from the common sort. Now *Cato* caring least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grew to be more straight and seuere. For he cut off the pipes and quils priuate men had made to conuey water into their houses and gardens, robbing the city of the water that came from their common conduit heads, and did plucke downe also mens porches that were made before their doores into the streete, and brought downe the prises of common workes in the city, and moreouer raised the common farmes and customes of the city, as high as he could:

Manlius put off the Senate for kissing his wife before his daughter.

Merrie vvith married men vvhen Iupiter thundereth.

Banqueting & feasts put downe by Cato.

Catoes counsell for reforming excise at Rome

Superfluous things reckoned for riches.

Scopas goods vvere all in toyes, that did him no good.

all

all which things together made him greatly hated and enuied of moſt men. Wherefore, *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine other being bent againſt him in open Senate, cauſed all *Catoes* couenants and bargaines made with the maiſter worke-man, for repairing and mending of the common buildings and holy places, to be made voyd, as things greatly preiudiciall to the common wealth. And they did alſo ſtirre vp the boldeſt and raſheſt of the Tribunes of the people againſt him, becauſe they ſhould accuſe him vnto the people, and make requeſt he might be condemned in the ſumme of two talents. They did maruellouſly hinder alſo the building of the pallace he built at the charge of the common wealth, looking into the market place vnder the Senate houſe: which pallace was finiſhed notwithſtanding, and called after his name, *Baſilica Porcia:* as who would ſay, the pallace *Porcius* the Cenſor built. Howbeit it ſeemed the people of Rome did greatly like and commend his gouernement in the Cenſorſhip: for they ſet vp a ſtatue of him in the temple of the goddeſſe of Health, whereunder they wrote not his victories nor triumph, but only ingraued this inſcription word for word, to this effect by tranſlation: For the honour of *Marcus Cato* the Cenſor: becauſe he reformed the diſcipline of the common wealth of Rome (that was farre out of order, and giuen to licentious life) by his wiſe precepts, good manners, and holy inſtitutions. Indeed, before this image was ſet vp for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were deſirous of ſuch things: ſaying, they did not conſider how they bragged in founders, painters, and image-makers, but nothing of their vertues: and that for himſelfe, the people did alwayes carie liuely images of him in their hearts, meaning the memorie of his life and doings. When ſome wondred why diuers meane men and vnknowne perſons had images ſet vp of them, and there were none of him, he gaue them this anſwer: I had rather men ſhould aske why *Cato* had no image ſet vp for him, then why he had any. In the end, he would haue no honeſt man abide to be praiſed, vnleſſe his praiſe turned to the benefit of the common wealth: and yet was he one of them that would moſt praiſe himſelfe. So that if any had done a fault, or ſtept awrie, and that men had gone about to reproue them, he would ſay they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offend. And ſuch as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and came ſhort of his manner, he called them left handed *Catoes*. He would ſay that in moſt daungerous times the Senate vſed to caſt their eyes vpon him, as paſſengers on the ſea do looke vpon the maiſter of the ſhip in a ſtorme: and that many times when he was abſent, the Senate would put ouer matters of importance, vntill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true, as well by other as by himſelfe. His authoritie was great in matters of ſtate, for his wiſedome, his eloquence, and great experience. Beſides this commendation, they praiſed him for a good father to his children, a good husband to his wife, and a good ſauer for his profit: for he was neuer careleſſe of them, as things to be lightly paſſed on. And therefore me thinkes I muſt needes tell you by the way ſome part of his well doing, to follow our declaration of him. Firſt of all he married a gentlewoman more noble then rich, knowing that either of both ſhould make her proud and ſtout enough: but yet he thought the nobler borne, would be the more aſhamed of diſhoneſtie, then the meaner borne: and therefore they would be more obedient to their husbands, in all honeſt manner and reaſonable things. Furthermore, he ſayd: that he that bet his wife or his child, did commit as great a ſacriledge, as if he polluted or ſpoyled the holieſt things of the world: and he thought it a greater praiſe for a man to be a good husband then a good Senatour. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of old *Socrates*, then his patience, in vſing his wife well, that was ſuch a ſhrew, and his children that were ſo hare-brained. After *Catoes* wife had brought him a ſonne, he could not haue ſo earneſt buſineſſe in hand, if it had not touched the common wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his houſe, about the time his wife did vnſwadle the young boy to waſh and ſhift him: for ſhe gaue it ſucke with her owne breaſts, and many times would let the ſlaues children ſucke of her alſo, becauſe they might haue a naturall loue towards her ſonne, hauing ſucked one milke, and bene brought vp together. When his ſonne was come to age of diſcretion, and that he was able to learne any thing, *Cato* himſelfe did teach him, notwithſtanding he had a ſlaue in his houſe called *Chilo* (a very honeſt man, and a good Grammarian) who did alſo teach many other: but as he ſayed himſelfe, he did not like a ſlaue ſhould rebuke his ſonne, nor pull him by the eares, when peraduenture he was not apt to take very ſodainely that was taught him: neither would he haue his ſonne bound to a ſlaue for ſo great a matter as that, as to haue his learning of him. Wherefore he himſelfe taught him his grammer, the law,

Baſilica Porcia built by Cato.

Catoes image ſet vp in the temple of the goddeſſe of Health.

Honor chāgeth conditions.

No man ſhould abide to be praiſed but for the common vvealth.

VVhat Cato was at home in his houſe, and towardes his vvife and children.

Cato iudgeth the noble borne gentlevvomen the beſt vvives.

Socrates patience cōmended bearing vvith the ſhrevvdnes of his vvife.

Catoes vvife vvas nurſe to her owne child.

Cato taught his ſonne.

Chilo a Grammarian.

What exercises Cato brought vp his sonne in.

and to exercise his body, not onely to throw a dart, to play at the sword, to vawt, to ride a horse, and to handle all sorts of weapons, but also to fight with fistes, to abide cold and heate, and to swim ouer a swift running riuer. He said moreouer, that he wrote goodly histories in great letters with his owne hand, because his sonne might learne in his fathers house the vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell them. He said also, that he tooke as great heed of speaking any foule or vncomely words before his sonne, as he would haue done if he had bene before the Vestall Nunnes. He neuer was in the hote house with his sonne: for it was a common vse with the ROMAINES at that time, that the sonnes in law did not bathe themselues with their fathers in law, but were ashamed to see one another naked. But afterwards they hauing learned of the GREEKES to wash themselues naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe euen with their wiues. There lacked no towardlinesse, nor good disposition in *Catoes* sonne, to frame himselfe vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himselfe willing to follow whatsoeuer his father had taught him. Howbeit he was such a weake puling, that he could not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his father was contented not to bind him to that straight and painefull life, which himselfe had kept. Yet he be-

Catoes sonne was valiant.

became valiant in the warres. For he fought maruellous stoutly in the battell, in which *Perseus* King of MACEDON was ouerthrowne by *Paulus AEmylius*: where his sword being striken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat sweatie besides, he fell into a great fury, and prayed some of his friends to help him to recouer it. So they all together ranne vpon the enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hand, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them, and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much a do, being vnder such a heape of dead bodies and other weapons as well ROMAINES as MACEDONIANS, one lying on another. *Paulus AEmylius* the Generall hearing of this act of his, did highly commend the yong man. And at this day there is a letter extant from *Cato* to his sonne, in the which he praiseth this worthy fact and toile of his, for the reco-

Cato the yonger maried Tertia Paulus Æmylius daughter. Scipio the secõd was Æmylius naturall sonne.

uering of his sword againe. Afterwards, this *Cato* the yonger maried *Tertia*, one of *Paulus AEmylius* daughters, and sister vnto *Scipio* the second, and so was matched in this noble house, not only for his owne vertues sake, but for respect of his fathers dignitie and authoritie: whereby the great care, paines, and study that *Cato* the father tooke in bringing vp his sonne, in vertue and learning, was honourably rewarded in the happie bestowing of his sonne. He euer had a great number of young litle slaues which he bought, when any would sell their prisoners in the warres. He did chuse them thus young, because they were apt yet to learne any thing he would traine them

Catoes discipline to his slaues.

vnto, and that a man might breake them like young coltes, or litle whelpes. But none of them all, how many soeuer he had, did euer go to any mans house, but when himselfe or his wife did send them. If any man asked them what *Cato* did: they answered, they could not tell. And when

Catoes opinion for sleepy men.

they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleepe: for he loued them well that were sleepy, holding opinion that slaues that loued sleep were more tractable, and willing to do any thing a man would set them to, then those that were waking. And because he thought that nothing did more prouoke slaues to mischiefe and naughtinesse, then lust and desire of women: he was contented his slaues might company with his bondwomen in his house, for a peece of mony he appointed them to pay, but with straight commaundement besides, that none of them should deale with any other woman abroade. At the first when he gaue himselfe to follow the warres, and was not greatly rich, he neuer was angry for any fault his seruants did about his person: saying that it was a foule thing for a gentleman or nobleman, to

Note how Cato altered his maner and opinion by vvealth.

fall out with his seruants for his belly. Afterwards, as he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a dinner or supper for any of his friends and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he would scourge thẽ with whips & leather thongs, that had not waited as they should haue done at the boord, or had forgottẽ any thing he would haue had done. He would euer craftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they should be friends, being euer iealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserued death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to die, he would put him to death before them all. Howbeit in his latter time he grew greedy, and gaue vp his tillage, saying that it was

Catoes good husbandry for increasing his vvealth.

more pleasant then profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his mony surely, and bring a certaine reuenue to his purse, he bestowed it vpon ponds, and naturall hote bathes, places fit for fullers craft, vpon meadowes and pastures, vpon copises and young wood: and of all these

he

he made a great and a more quiet reuenue yearely, which he would say, *Iupiter* himselfe could not diminish. Furthermore he was a great vsurer, both by land and by sea: and the vsurie he tooke by sea, was most extreame of all other, for he vsed it in this sort. He would haue them to whom he lent his money vnto, that trafficked by sea, to haue many partners, to the number of fiftie: and that they should haue so many ships. Then he would venture among them for a part onely, whereof *Quintius* his slaue whom he had manumissed, was made his factor, and vsed to saile and traffick with the merchants, to whom he had lent his mony out to vsurie. And thus he did not venture all the money he lent, but a litle peece onely for his part, and got maruellous riches by his vsurie. Moreouer he lent money to any of his slaues, that would therewith buy other yong slaues, whom they taught and brought vp to do seruice, at *Catoes* charge and cost: and then they sold them againe at the yeares end, and some of them *Cato* kept for his owne seruice, and gaue his slaues as much for them as any other offered. Therefore to allure his sonne in like maner to make profit of his mony, he told him it was no wise mans part to diminish his substance, but rather the part of a widow. Yet this was a token of a most greedy couetous mind, that he durst affirme him to be diuine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his wealth and patrimonie more then his father left him. Furthermore, when *Cato* was growne very old, *Carneades* the ACADEMICK, and *Diogenes* the STOICKE, were sent from ATHENS as Ambassadours to ROME, to sue for a release of a fine of fiue hundred talents which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS vpon a condemnation passed against them for a contempt of appearance, by the sentence of the SICYONIANS, at the sute of the OROPIANS. Immediatly when these two philosophers were arriued in the citie of ROME, the yong gentlemen that were giuen to their bookes, did visit and welcome them, and gaue great reuerence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to *Carneades*: whose grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse then the fame ranne of him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a state, as would not suppresse his praise. ROME straight was full, as if a wind had blowne this rumor into euery mans eare: that there was a GRECIAN arriued, a famous learned man, who with his eloquence would leade a man as he list. There was no other talke a while through the whole citie, he had so inflamed the yong gentlemens minds with loue and desire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delights were set aside, and they disposed themselues to no other exercise, but to the studie of Philosophie, as if some secret and diuine inspiration from aboue had procured them to it. Whereof the Lords and Senators of ROME were glad, and reioyced much to see their youth so well giuen to knowledge, and to the studie of the Greeke tongue, and to delight in the companie of these two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato*, euen from the beginning that yong men began to studie the Greeke tongue, and that it grew in estimation in ROME, did dislike of it: fearing least the youth of ROME that were desirous of learning and eloquence, would vtterly giue ouer the honour and glory of armes. Furthermore, when he saw the estimation and fame of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such sort that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chiefest of the Senate made sute to be their interpreter: he determined then to conuey them out of the citie by some honest meane and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambassadours were long there, and had no dispatch: considering also they were cunning men, and could easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might perswade them to determine some answer for them, and so to send them home againe to their schooles, to teach their children of GREECE, and to let alone the children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the lawes and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake this to the Senate, not of any priuate ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as some men thought: but because he generally hated Philosophie, and of ambition despised the muses and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had sayd, the ancient *Socrates* was but a busie man, and a stirrer vp of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to vsurp tyranny, and rule in his country: by peruerting and changing the manners and customes of the same, and alluring the subiects thereof to a disliking of their lawes and auncient customes. And he laughed at *Socrates* schoole, that taught the art of Eloquence: saying his schollers waxed old, and were still so long in learning, that they meant to vse their eloquence and pleade causes in another world, before *Minos* when they were dead. Therefore to plucke his sonne from the studie of the Greeke tongue, he sayd to him with a strained voice, and in a bigger sound then he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophecie or inspiration)

Cato a great vsurer. He tooke extreame vsury by sea.

Carneades and Diogenes Philosophers sent Ambassadors to Rome.

Cato misliked the Greeke tongue.

that ſo long as the ROMAINES diſpoſed themſelues to ſtudie the Greeke tongue, ſo long would they marre and bring all to naught. And yet time hath proued his vaine words falſe and vntrue. For the citie of ROME did neuer flouriſh ſo much, nor the ROMAINE Empire was euer ſo great, as at that time, when learning and the Greeke tongue moſt flouriſhed. Howbeit *Cato* did not onely hate the Philoſophers of GREECE, but did miſlike them alſo that profeſſed phiſicke in ROME. For he had either heard or read the anſwer *Hippocrates* made, when the King of PERSIA ſent for him, and offered him a great ſumme of gold and ſiluer, if he would come and ſerue him: who ſware he would neuer ſcrue the barbarous people, that were naturall enemies to the GRECIANS. So *Cato* affirmed, it was an oath that all other Phiſitions ſware euer after: wherefore he commaunded his ſonne to flie from them all alike, and ſayed he had written a litle booke of phiſicke, with the which he did heale thoſe of his houſe when they were ſicke, and did keepe them in health when they were whole. He neuer forbad them to eate, but did alwayes bring them vp with hearbs, and certaine light meates, as mallard, ringdoues and hares: for ſuch meates, ſaid he, are good for the ſick, and light of digeſtion, ſauing that they make them dreame and ſnort that eate them. He boaſted alſo how with this maner of phiſicke, he did alwayes keepe himſelfe in health, and his family from ſickneſſe. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his wife and his ſonne alſo. But he himſelfe was of a ſtrong nature, and a luſtie bodie, ful of ſtrength, and health, and liued long without ſickneſſe: ſo that when he was a very old man, and paſt mariage, he loued women well, and maried a young maiden for that cauſe onely. After his firſt wife was dead, he maried his ſonne vnto *Paulus Æmylius* daughter, the ſiſter of *Scipio*, the ſecond AFRICAN. *Cato* himſelfe being a widower, tooke paines with a prety yong maide that waited in his houſe, and came by ſtealth to his chamber: howbeit this haunt could not long continue ſecret in his houſe, and ſpecially where there was a young gentlewoman maried, but needs muſt be ſpied. So, one day when this yong maide went ſomewhat boldly by the chamber of yong *Cato*, to go in to his father, the yong man ſaid neuer a word at it: yet his father perceiued that he was ſomewhat aſhamed, and gaue the maide no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his ſonne and daughter in law were angry with the matter, ſaying nothing to them of it, nor ſhewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the market place (as his maner was) with a traine that followed him, amongſt whom was one *Salonius* that had bene his clearke, and waited vpon him as the reſt did. *Cato* calling him out aloud by his name, asked him if he had not yet beſtowed his daughter. *Salonius* anſwered him, he had not yet beſtowed her, nor would not before he made him priuy to it. Then *Cato* told him againe: I haue found out a husband for her, and a ſonne in law for thee, and it will be no ill match for her, vnleſſe ſhe miſlike the age of the man, for in deed he is very old, but otherwiſe there is no fault in him. *Salonius* told him againe, that for that matter, he referred all to him, and his daughter alſo, praying him euen to make what match he thought good for her: for ſhe was his humble ſeruant, and relyed wholly vpon him, ſtanding in need of his fauour and furtherance. Then *Cato* began to diſcouer, and told him plainely he would willingly marrie her himſelfe. *Salonius* therewith was abaſhed, becauſe he thought *Cato* was too old to marrie then, and himſelfe was no fit man to match in any honourable houſe, ſpecially with a Conſull, and one that had triumphed: howbeit in the end, when he ſaw *Cato* meant good earneſt, he was very glad of the match, and ſo with this talke they went on together to the market place, and agreed then vpon the mariage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the ſonne taking ſome of his kinne and friends with him, went vnto his father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thing, that for ſpite he ſhould bring him a ſteppe-mother into his houſe. Then his father cried out, and ſayd: O my ſonne, I pray thee ſay not ſo, I like well all thou doeſt, and I find no cauſe to complaine of thee: but I do it, becauſe I deſire to haue many children, and to leaue many ſuch like citizens as thou art, in the common wealth. Some ſay that *Piſiſtratus* the tyrant of ATHENS, made ſuch a like anſwer vnto the children of his firſt wife, which were men growne when he maried his ſecond wife *Timonaſſa*, of the towne of ARGOS, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Theſſalus*. But to returne againe to *Cato*, he had a ſonne by his ſecond wife, whom he named after her name, *Cato* SALONIAN: and his eldeſt ſonne died in his office being Prætor, of whom he often ſpeaketh in diuers of his bookes, commending him for a very honeſt man. And they ſay, he tooke the death of him very patiently, and like a graue wiſe man, not leauing therfore to do any ſeruice or buſines for the ſtate, otherwiſe then he did before.

Catoes phiſicall bookes.

Cato talketh with Salonius his clark about the mariage of his daughter.

Catoes anſwer to his ſonne of his ſecond mariage.

Cato maried Salonius daughter, being a very old man and had a ſon by her.

How Cato paſſed his age.

And

And therein he did not as *Lucius Lucullus*, and *Metellus* ſurnamed *Pius*, did afterwards: who gaue vp medling any more with matters of gouernement and ſtate, after they were waxen old. For he thought it a charge and dutie, whereunto euery honeſt man whileſt he liued was bound in all pietie. Nor as *Scipio* AFRICAN had done before him, who perceiuing that the glorie and fame of his doings did purchaſe him the ill will of the citizens, he changed the reſt of his life into quietneſſe, and forſooke the citie and all dealings in commonwealth, and went and dwelt in the countrey. But as there was one that told *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA, as it is written, that he could not dye more honorably, then to be buried in the tyrannie: euen ſo did *Cato* thinke, that he could not waxe more honeſtly old, then in ſeruing of the commonwealth vnto his dying day. So at vacant times, when *Cato* was deſirous a litle to recreate and refreſh himſelfe, he paſſed his time away in making of bookes, and looking vpon his husbandry in the countrey. This is the cauſe why he wrote ſo many kinds of bookes and ſtories. But his tillage and husbandry in the countrey, he did tend and follow in his youth, for his profit. For he ſaid he had but two ſorts of reuenue, tillage, and ſparing: but in age, whatſoeuer he did in the countrey, it was all for pleaſure, and to learne ſomething euer of nature. For he hath written a booke of the country life, and of tillage, in the which he ſheweth how to make tartes and cakes, and how to keepe fruites: he would needes ſhew ſuch ſingularitie and skill in all things. When he was in his houſe in the country, he fared a litle better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and ſuch as had land lying about him, to come and ſuppe with him, and he would be merry with them: ſo that his company was not onely pleaſant, and liking to old folkes as himſelfe, but alſo to the younger ſort. For he had ſeene much, and had experience in many things, and vſed much pleaſant talke profitable for the hearers. He thought the boord one of the chiefeſt meanes to breed loue amongſt men, and at his owne table would alwaies praiſe good men and vertuous citizens, but would ſuffer no talke of euill men, neither in their praiſe nor diſpraiſe. Now it is thought the laſt notable act and ſeruice he did in the common wealth, was the ouerthrow of CARTHAGE: for indeed he that wan it and razed it vtterly, was *Scipio* the ſecond, but it was chiefly through *Catoes* counſell and aduice, that the laſt warre was taken in hand againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, and chanced vpon this occaſion. *Cato* was ſent into AFRICKE to vnderſtand the cauſe and controuerſie that was betweene the CARTHAGINIANS and *Maſſiniſſa*, king of NVMIDIA, which were at great warres together. And he was ſent thither becauſe king *Maſſiniſſa* had euer bene a friend vnto the ROMAINES, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates ſince the laſt warres, in the which they were ouerthrowne by *Scipio* the firſt, who tooke for a fine of them a great part of their Empire, and impoſed vpon them beſides, a great yearely tribute. Now when he was come into that country, he found not the city of CARTHAGE in miſerie, beggerie, and out of heart, as the ROMAINS ſuppoſed: but full of luſty youths very rich and wealthy, and great ſtore of armour and munition in it for the wars, ſo that by reaſon of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE caried a high ſaile, and ſtouped not for a litle. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMAINES to leaue to vnderſtand the controuerſies betwixt the CARTHAGINIANS and *Maſſiniſſa*, and rather to prouide betimes to deſtroy CARTHAGE, that had euer bene an auncient enemie to the ROMAINES, and euer ſought to be reuenged of that they had ſuffered at their hands before, and that they were now growne to that greatnes and courage in ſo ſhort time, as in manner it was incredible: ſo as it was likely they would fall into as great enmitie with the ROMAINES, as euer they did before. Therfore ſo ſoone as he returned to ROME, he plainely told the Senate, that the loſſes and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had receiued by the laſt wars they had with them, had not ſo much diminiſhed their power and ſtrength, as the ſame had ſhewed their owne folly and lacke of wiſedome: for it was to be feared much, leſt their late troubles had made them more skilfull, then weakened them for the wars. And that they made warres now with the MVMIDIANS, to exerciſe them only, meaning afterwards to warre with themſelues: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermiſſion and ſtay of warres, onely expecting time and oportunitie to breake with them againe. They ſay moreouer, that beſides the perſwaſions he vſed, he brought with him of purpoſe AFRICKE figs in his long ſleeues, which he ſhooke out amongſt them in the Senate: & when the Senatours maruelled to ſee ſo goodly faire greene figges, he ſaid: The country that beareth them, is not aboue three daies ſailing from ROME. But yet this is more ſtraunge which they report of him beſides: that he neuer declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this

Catoes writings and monuments.

Catoes reuenue
Catoes company pleaſant both to old and young.
The table a good meane to procure loue, and how a table talke ſhould be vſed.
Cato author of the laſt wars againſt the Carthaginians.

was euer the one end of his tale: me thinketh ſtill CARTHAGE would be vtterly deſtroyed. *Publius Scipio Naſica*, vſed euer in like maner the contrarie ſpeech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE ſhould ſtand. This *Publius Scipio* ſaw, in my opinion, that the ROMAINES through their pride and inſolencie were full of abſurdities, and caried themſelues very high, by reaſon of their happy ſucceſſe and victories, and were ſo loftie minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reaſon of their great authoritie, they imagined they might bring their citie to what height they would. Therefore he ſpake it that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwaies continue as a bridle, to raine in the inſolencie of the people of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no ſufficient power to make wars with the ROMAINES, nor yet to ouercome them: and euen ſo were they not wholly to be deſpiſed, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* ſtill replied to the contrary, that therin conſiſted the greateſt daunger of all: that a city which was euer of great force and power, and had bene puniſhed by former warres and miſerie, would alwaies haue an eye of reuenge to their enemies, and be much like a horſe that had broken his haltar, that being vnbridled, would run vpon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor ſound aduice, ſo to ſuffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recouer their ſtrength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward daunger, and the feare they ſtood in to loſe their conqueſt: and ſpecially, when they left meanes within the citie ſelfe to fall ſtill againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cauſe why they ſuppoſe *Cato* was the occaſion of the third and laſt war the ROMAINES had againſt the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the warre was begun, *Cato* died, and before his death he prophecied, as a man would ſay, who it ſhould be that ſhould end thoſe wars. And it was *Scipio* the ſecond, who being a young man at that time, had charge only as a Colonel ouer a thouſand footmen: but in all battels, and whereſoeuer there was wars, he ſhewed himſelfe euer valiant and wiſe. Inſomuch as newes being brought thereof continually vnto ROME, and *Cato* hearing them, ſpake (as they ſay) theſe two verſes of *Homer*:

Scipio Naſica, againſt Cato, for the deſtroying of Carthage

Catoes death.

This only man right wiſe reputed is to be,
all others ſeeme but ſhadowes, ſet by ſuch wiſe men as he.

Which prophecie *Scipio* ſoone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreouer, the iſſue *Cato* left behind him, was a ſonne he had by his ſecond wife: who was called (as we ſaid before) *Cato* SALONIAN, by reaſon of his mother, and a litle boy of his eldeſt ſon that died before him. This *Cato* SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a ſon behind him that came to be Conſull, and was grandfather vnto *Cato* the Philoſopher, one of the moſt vertuous men of his time.

Catoes poſterity

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Aristides with Marcus Cato.*

Aristides and Catoes accesse to the commonwealth.

NOW that we haue set downe in writing, these notable and worthie things of memorie: if we will conferre the life of the one, with the life of the other, perhappes the difference betweene the one and the other will not easily be discerned, seeing there be so many similitudes and resemblances one of another. But if we come to compare them in euery particularitie, as we would do Poets workes, or pictures drawne in tables: first, in this we shall find them much a like, that hauing had nothing else to preferre and commend them, but their onely vertue and wisedome, they haue bene both gouernours in their common wealth, and haue thereby atchieued to great honour and estimation. But me thinkes when *Aristides* came to deale in matters of state, the Commonwealth and Seigniorie of ATHENS being then of no great power, it was easie for him to aduaunce himselfe, because the other Gouernours and Captaines of his time, and that were competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great authoritie. For the taxe of the richest persons then at ATHENS in reuenue, was but at fiue hundred bushels of corne and vpwards, and therefore were such called Pentacosiomedimni. The second taxe was but at three hundred bushels, and they were called knights. The third and last was at two hundred bushels, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where *Marcus Cato* comming out of a litle village from a rude countrey life, went at the first dash (as it were) to plunge himselfe into a bottomlesse sea of gouernment in the common wealth of ROME: which was not ruled then by such gouernours and captaines, as *Curius*, *Fabricius*, and *Ostilius* were in old time. For the people of ROME did no more bestow their offices vpon such meane labouring men, as came but lately from the plough and the mattocke: but they would looke now vpon the nobilitie of their houses, and vpon their riches that gaue them most money, or sued earnestly to them for the offices. And by reason of their great power and authoritie, they would be waited vpon and sued vnto, by those that sought to beare the honourable offices of the state and commonwealth. And it was no like match nor comparison, to haue *Themistocles* an aduersarie and competitor, being neither of noble house, nor greatly rich (for they say, that all the goods his father left him, were not worth aboue foure or fiue hundred talents, when he began to deale in state) in respect as to contend for the chiefest place of honour and authoritie against *Scipio* AFRICAN, *Seruilius Galba*, or *Quintius Flaminius*, hauing no other maintenance, nor helpe to trust vnto, but a toung speaking boldly with reason and all vprightnesse. Moreouer, *Aristides* at the battels of MARATHON, and of PLATÆES, was but one of the ten captains of the ATHENIANS: where *Cato* was chosen one of two Consuls among many other noble and great competitors, and one of the two Censors, before seuen other that made sute for it, which were all men of great reputation in the citie, and yet was *Cato* preferred before them all. Furthermore, *Aristides* was neuer

the chiefeſt in any victorie. For at the battell of MARATHON, *Miltiades* was the Generall: and at the battell of SALAMINA, *Themiſtocles*: and at the iourney of PLATÆES, king *Pauſanias*, as *Herodotus* ſaith, who writeth that he had a maruellous victory there. And there were that ſtriued with *Ariſtides* for the ſecond place, as *Sophanes*, *Amynias*, *Callimachus*, and *Cynegirus*, euery one of the which did notable valiant ſeruice at thoſe battels. Now *Cato* was generall himſelfe, and chiefe of all his army in worthineſſe and counſell, during the warre he made in SPAINE while he was Conſull. Afterwards alſo in the iourney where king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowne in the countrey of THERMOPYLES, *Cato* being but a Colonell of a thouſand footmen, and ſeruing vnder another that was Conſull, wanne the honour of the victory, when he did ſuddenly ſet vpon *Antiochus* behind, whereas he looked only to defend himſelfe before. And that victorie without all doubt was one of the chiefeſt acts that euer *Cato* did, who draue ASIA out of GRECE, and opened the way vnto *Lucius Scipio* to paſſe afterwards into ASIA. So then for the wars, neither the one nor the other of them was euer ouercome in battell: but in peace and ciuill gouernment, *Ariſtides* was ſupplanted by *Themiſtocles*, who by practiſe got him to be baniſhed ATHENS for a time. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greateſt and nobleſt men of ROME that were in his time ſworne enemies vnto him, and hauing alwaies contended with them euen to his laſt houre, he euer kept himſelfe on ſound ground, like a ſtout champion, and neuer tooke fall nor foile. For he hauing accuſed many before the people, and many alſo accuſing him, himſelfe was neuer once condemned, but alwaies his toung was the buckler and defence of his life and innocencie. Which was to him ſo neceſſarie a weapon, and with it he could helpe himſelfe in ſo great matters, that (in my opinion) it was the only cauſe why he neuer receiued diſhonor, nor was vniuſtly condemned: rather then for any thing elſe he was beholding to fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truely, eloquence is a ſingular gift, as *Antipater* witneſſeth, in that he wrote of *Ariſtotle* the Philoſopher after his death: ſaying, that amongſt many other ſingular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could perſwade what he liſted. Now there is a rule confeſſed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to gouerne a multitude of men, or a citie: a part whereof is Oeconomia, commonly called houſe-rule, conſidering that a citie is no other, then an aſſembly of many houſholds and houſes together, and then is the city commonly ſtrong and of power, when as the townes men and citizens are wiſe and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that baniſhed gold and ſiluer from LACEDÆMON, and coyned them money of iron, that would be marred with fire and vineger when it was hote, did not forbid his citizens to be good husbands: but like a good law-maker, exceeding all other that euer went before him, he did not onely cut off all ſuperfluous expences that commonly waite vpon riches, but did alſo prouide that his people ſhould lack nothing neceſſarie to liue withall, fearing more to ſee a begger and needie perſon dwelling in his citie, and enioy the priuiledges of the ſame, then a proud man by reaſon of his riches. Some thinkes, *Cato* was as good a father to his houſhold, as he was a good gouernour to the commonwealth: for he did honeſtly increaſe his goods, and did teach other alſo to do the ſame, by ſauing, and knowledge of good husbandry, whereof in his booke he wrote ſundry good rules and precepts. *Ariſtides* contrariwiſe, made iuſtice odious and ſlaunderous by his pouerty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans ſelfe that vſed iuſtice. And yet *Heſiodus* the Poet, that commendeth iuſtice ſo much, doth wiſh vs withall to be good husbands, reprouing ſlouth and idleneſſe, as the roote and originall of all iniuſtice. And therefore me thinkes *Homer* ſpake wiſely when he ſaid:

Cato in martiall affaires excelled Ariſtides.

Ariſtides and Catoes diſpleaſures in the common wealth.

The power of innocencie & eloquence.

Occonomia, houſe-rule.

In times paſt, neither did I labour carke nor care
for buſineſſe, for family, for food, nor yet for fare:
but rather did delight, with ſhips the ſeas to ſaile,
to draw a bow, to fling a dart in wars, and to preuaile.

As giuing vs to vnderſtand, that iuſtice and husbandry are two relatiues, and neceſſarily linked one to the other: & that a man who hath no care of his owne things, nor houſe, doth liue vniuſtly, and taketh from other men. For iuſtice is not like oyle, which Phiſitions ſay is very wholſome for mans body, if it be applyed outwardly: and in contrary maner very ill, if a man drinke it: neither ought a iuſt man to profit ſtrangers, and in the end not to care for himſelfe nor his. Therfore me thinkes this gouerning vertue of *Ariſtides* had a fault in this reſpect, if it be true that moſt authours write of him: that he had no care nor forecaſt with him to leaue ſo much, as to marrie

The nature of oyle.

No man wiſe, that is not wiſe to himſelfe.

his

his daughters withall, nor therewith to burie himselfe. Where those of the house of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Consuls of Rome, euen vnto the fourth descent. For his sons sonnes, and yet lower, his sonnes sons sons came to the greatest offices of dignitie in Rome. And *Aristides*, who was in his time the chiefest man of Grece, left his posterity in so great pouerty, that some were compelled to become soothsayers (that interpret dreames, and tell mens fortune) to get their liuing, and other to aske almes: and left no meane to any of them, to do any great thing worthy of him. But to contrary this, it might be said, pouerty of it self is neither ill nor dishonest: but where it groweth by idlenesse, careless life, vanity, and folly, it is to be reproued. For when it lighteth vpon any man that is honest, and liueth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, iust, valiant, wise, and gouerneth a common wealth well: then it is a great signe of a noble mind: for it is vnpossible that man should do any great things, that had such a base mind as to thinke alwaies vpon trifles: and that he should relecue the poore greatly, that lacketh himselfe reliefe in many things. And sure, riches is not so necessarie for an honest man that will deale truely in the common-wealth, and gouernment, as is sufficiencie: which being a contentation in it selfe, and desirous of no superfluous thing, it neuer withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the common wealth, that enioyeth the same. For God is he alone, who simply and absolutely hath no need of any thing at all: wherefore the chiefest vertue that can be in man, and that commeth neerest vnto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to haue need of least things. For like as a lustie body, and well complexioned, hath no need of superfluous fare and curious apparell: euen so a cleane life, and sound house, is kept with a litle charge: and so should the goods also be proportioned, according to vse and necessitie. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth litle, hath neuer enough. But admit he hath no desire to spend much, then he is a foole to trauell to get more then he needeth: and if he do desire it, and dare not for niggardlinesse spend part of that he laboureth for, then is he miserable. Now wold I aske *Cato* with a goodwill, if riches be made but to vse thē, why doyou boast then you haue gotten much together, when a litle doth suffice you? And if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you find, to drinke of the same tappe workemen and labourers do, not to care for purple dyed gownes, nor for houses with plastered walles: it followeth then that neither *Aristides*, nor *Epaminondas*, not *Manius Curius*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, haue forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not vse nor occupie. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed rootes and parsenips to be one of the best dishes in the world, and that did seeth them himselfe in his chimney, whilest his wife did bake his bread, to talke so much of an Asse, & to take paines to write, by what art and industrie a man might quicely enrich himselfe. For it is true, that sufficiencie and to be contented with a litle, is a good and commendable thing: but it is because it taketh from vs all desire of vnnecessarie things, and maketh vs not to passe for them. And therefore we find that *Aristides* said, when rich *Callias* case was pleaded, that such as were poore against their willes, might well be ashamed of their pouerty: but such as were willingly poore, had good cause and might iustly reioyce at it. For it were a mad part to thinke that *Aristides* pouerty proceeded of a base mind and slouthfulnes, since he might quickly haue made himselfe rich without any dishonestie at all, by taking only the spoile of some one of the barbarous people whom he had ouercome, or any one of their tents. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the victorie and battels *Cato* had won, they did in manner litle helpe to increase the Empire of Rome: for it was alreadie so great, as it could almost be no greater. But *Aristides* victories are the greatest conquests and noblest acts that the Grecians euer did in any wars: as the iourney of Marathon, the battell of Salamina, and the battel of Plateis. And yet there is no reason to compare king *Antiochus* with king *Xerxes*, nor the walles of the city of Spaine which *Cato* ouerthrew and razed, vnto so many thousands of barbarous people, which were thē ouerthrowne and put to the sword by the Grecians, aswell by land as by sea. In all which seruices, *Aristides* was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valiantnesse in fighting: notwithstanding he gaue other the glory of it, that desired it more then himselfe, as he did easily leaue the gold & siluer vnto those, that had more need of it then himself. Wherin he shewed himselfe of a nobler mind then al they did. Furthermore, for my part, I will not reproue *Catoes* maner, to commend & extoll himself so highly aboue all other, since he himself saith in an oratiō he made, that to praise himself is as much folly, as also to dispraise himselfe: but this I thinke, his vertue is more perfect, that desireth other should not praise him, then he that commonly doth vse to praise him-

Whether pouerty be an euill thing.

Whether Aristides facts or Catoes did most benefite their country.

Ambition a hatefull thing in the common vvealth.

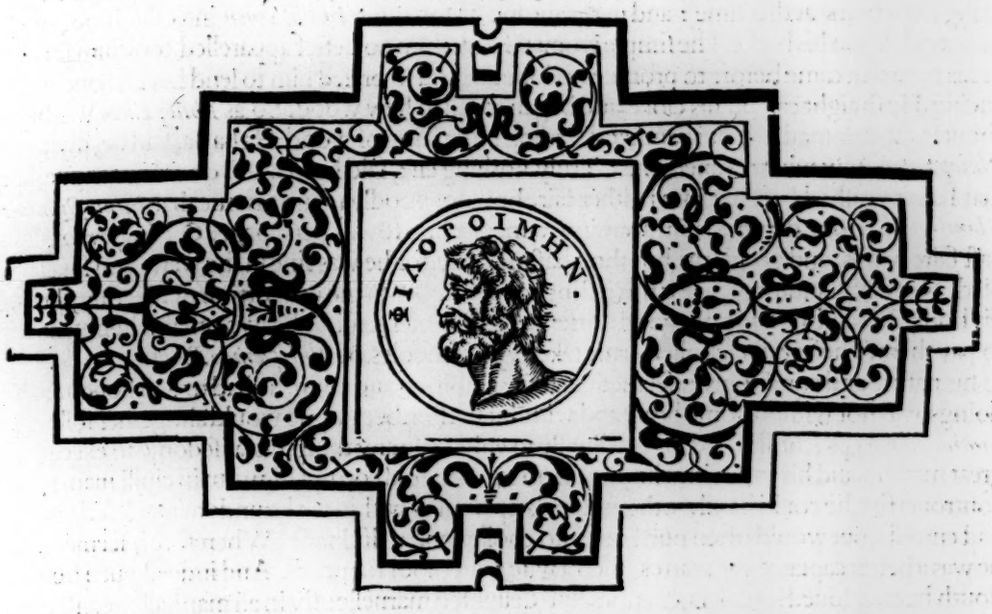
selfe. For, not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanitie, and necessarie for him that will liue amongst men of gouernment: and euen so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great enuie vnto him, that is infected withall. Of the which *Aristides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Aristides* did helpe *Themistocles* his chiefest enemie, in all his noblest acts, and did serue him (as a man would say) like a priuate souldier that guarded his person, when *Themistocles* was General, being the onely instrument and meane of his glory: which was indeed the onely cause that the city of ATHENS was saued, and restored againe to her former good state. *Cato* contrariwise, crossing *Scipio* in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and iourney vnto CARTHAGE, in the which he ouercame *Hannibal*, who vntill that time was euer inuincible: and so in the end, continuing him still in iealousie with the state, and euer accusing of him, he neuer left him till he had driuen him out of the citie, and caused his brother *Lucius Scipio* to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behauiour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperance and modesty, which *Cato* did euer commend so highly: *Aristides* truly kept them most sincerely. But *Catoes* second wife, who maried a maid (that was neither fit for his dignitie and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he cannot be excused with honestie, that being a man past mariage, brought his sonne that was maried, and his faire daughter in law, a step-mother into his house, and but a Clerks daughter, whose father did write for money, for any man that would hire him. Take it *Cato* maried her to satisfie his lust, or else for spite to be reuenged of his son, because his son could not abide his young filth he had before: either of these turneth still to his shame, as well the effect as also the cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his sonne why he maried, was also a lye. For if he had grounded his desire indeed, to haue gotten either children, as he said, that might be as honest men as his eldest sonne: then surely he had done well after the death of his first wife, if he had sought him another wife soone after, that had bene of an honest house, and not to haue lyen with a young harlatrie filth, till his sonne had spied him, and then when he saw it was knowne, to go and marie her, and to make alliance with him, not because it was honourable for him to do it, but easiest to be obtained.

Cato reproued for his second vvife.

The end of Marcus Catoes life the Censor.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Philopœmen.*



IN the citie of MANTINEA, there was a citizen in old time called *Caſſander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authoritie in gouernment there, as any man of his time whatſoeuer. Notwithſtanding, fortune frowned on him in the end, in ſomuch as he was driuen out of his country, & went to lie in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, only for the loue he bare vnto *Crauſis*, *Philopœmens* father, a rare man, and nobly giuen in all things, and one that loued him alſo very well. Now ſo long as *Crauſis* liued, *Caſſander* was ſo well vſed at his hands, that he could lack nothing: and when he was departed this world, *Caſſander*, to requite the loue *Crauſis* bare him in his life time, tooke his ſonne into his charge, being an orphane, and taught him, as *Homer* ſaid *Achilles* was brought vp by the old *Phœnix*. So this child *Philopœmen* grew to haue noble conditions, and increaſed alwayes from good to better. Afterwards, when he came to grow to mans ſtate, *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke him into their gouernement. They were two Philoſophers that had bene hearers of *Arceſilaus*, in the ſchoole of Academia, and afterwards employed all the Philoſophie they had learned, vpon their gouerning of the common wealth, and dealing in matters of ſtate, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they deliuered their citie from the tyrannie of *Ariſtodemus*, who kept it in ſubiection, by corrupting thoſe that killed him. And they did helpe *Aratus* alſo to driue the tyrant *Nicocles*, out of SICYONE. At the requeſt of the CYRENIANS, that were troubled with ciuil diſſention and factions among them, they went vnto CYRENA, where they did reforme the ſtate of the common wealth, and ſtabliſhed good lawes for them. But for themſelues, they reckoned the education and bringing vp of *Philopœmen*, the chiefeſt act that euer they did: iudging that they had procured an vniuerſall good vnto all GREECE, to bring vp a man of ſo noble a nature, in the rules and precepts of Philoſophie. And to ſay truly, GREECE did loue him paſſingly well, as the laſt valiant man ſhe brought forth in her age, after ſo many great and famous auncient captaines: and did alwayes increaſe his power and authoritie, as his glorie did alſo riſe. Whereupon there was a ROMAINE, who to praiſe him the more, called him the laſt of the GRECIANS: meaning that after him, GREECE neuer brought forth any worthy perſon, deſeruing the name of a GRECIAN. And now concerning his perſon, he had no ill face, as many ſuppoſe he had: for his whole image is yet to be ſeene in the citie of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were aliue.

Crauſis, Philopœmens father.

Caſſander, Philopœmens ſchoolemaſter.

Ecdemus and Demophanes read Philoſophie to Philopœmen.

Philopœmen the laſt famous man of Grece.

Philopœmen taken for a ſeruing man.

And for that they report of his hoſteſſe in the citie of MEGARA, who tooke him for a ſeruing man: that was by reaſon of his curteſie, not ſtanding vpon his reputation, and becauſe he went plainly beſides. For ſhe vnderſtanding that the Generall of the ACHAIANS came to Inne there all night, ſhe beſtirred her, and was very buſie preparing for his ſupper, her huband peraduenture being from home at that time: and in the meane ſeaſon came *Philopœmen* into the Inne, with a poore cloke on his backe. The ſimple woman ſeeing him no better apparelled, took him for one of his men that came before to prouide his lodging, and ſo praied him to lend her his hand in the kitchin. He ſtraight caſt off his cloke, and began to fall to hew wood. So, as *Philopœmen* was buſie about it, in commeth her husband, and finding him riuing of wood: Ha ha ha, ſaid he, my Lord *Philopœmen*, why what meaneth this? Truly nothing elſe, ſaid he in his DORICAN tongue, but that I am puniſhed, becauſe I am neither faire boy, nor goodly man. It is true that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* ſaid one day vnto him, ſeeming to mocke him for his perſonage: O *Philopœmen*, thou haſt faire hands, and good legs, but thou haſt no belly, for he was fine in the waſte, and ſmall bodied. Notwithſtanding, I take it this ieſting tended rather to the proportion of his army, then of his bodie: becauſe he had both good horſemen and footemen, but he was often without money to pay them. Theſe ieaſts, ſchollers haue taken vp in ſchooles, of *Philopœmen*. But now to deſcend to his nature and conditions: it ſeemeth that the ambition and deſire he had to win honour in his doings, was not without ſome heate and wilfulneſſe. For, becauſe he would altogether follow *Epaminondas* ſteps, he ſhewed his hardineſſe to enterpriſe any thing, his wiſedome to execute all great matters, and his integritie alſo, in that no mony could corrupt him: but in ciuill matters and controuerſies, he could hardly otherwhiles keep himſelf within the bounds of modeſtie, patience, and curteſie, but would often burſt out into choller, and wilfulneſſe. Wherefore it ſeemeth, that he was a better captaine for warres, then a wiſe gouernour for peace. And indeed, euen from his youth he euer loued ſouldiers, & armes, and delighted maruellouſly in all marſhall exerciſes: as in handling of his weapon well, riding of horſes gallantly, and in vawting nimbly. And becauſe he ſeemed to haue a naturall gift in wreſtling, certaine of his friends, and ſuch as were careful of him, did wiſh him to giue himſelfe moſt vnto that exerciſe. Then he asked them, if their life that made ſuch profeſſion, would be no hinderance to their martial exerciſes. Anſwer was made him againe, that the diſpoſition of the perſon, and maner of life that wreſtlers vſed, and ſuch as followed like exerciſes, was altogether contrary to the life and diſcipline of a ſouldier, and ſpecially touching life and limme. For wreſtlers ſtudied altogether to keepe themſelues in good plight, by much ſleeping, eating, and drinking, by labouring, and taking their eaſe at certaine houres, by not miſſing a iot of their exerciſes: and beſides, were in hazard to looſe the force and ſtrength of their bodie, if they did ſurfeit neuer ſo litle, or paſſed their ordinary courſe and rule of diet: where ſouldiers contrariwiſe are vſed to all chaunge and diuerſitie of life, and ſpecially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardneſſe and ſcarcitie, and to watch in the night without ſleepe. *Philopœmen* hearing this, did not onely forſake thoſe exerciſes, and ſcorned them, but afterwards being Generall of an army, he ſought by all infamous meanes he could to put downe all wreſtling, and ſuch kind of exerciſe, which made mens bodies vnmeete to take paines, and to become ſouldiers to fight in defence of their countrey, that otherwiſe would haue bene very able and handſome for the ſame. When he firſt left his booke and ſchoolemaiſters, and began to weare armour in inuaſions the MANTINEIANS vſed to make vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get ſome ſpoile on a ſodaine, or to deſtroy a part of their countrey: *Philopœmen* then would euer be the formoſt to go out, and the hindermoſt to come in. When he had leiſure, he vſed much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his body with toile and trauell, or elſe he would be digging of his grounds. For he had a faire mannor, not paſſing twentie furlongs out of the citie, whither he would walke cõmonly after dinner or ſupper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lie vpon ſome ill fauored mattreſſe, as the meaneſt labourer he had, and in the morning by breake of the day, he went out either with his vine-men to labour in his vineyard, or elſe with his plough-men to follow the plough, and ſometimes returned againe to the citie, and followed matters of the common wealth, with his friends and other officers of the ſame. Whatſoeuer he could ſpare and get in the wars, he ſpent it in buying of goodly horſes, in making of faire armors, or paying his poore countrymens ranſome, that were taken priſoners in the warres: but for his goods and reuenue, he ſought onely to increaſe them, by the profit of tillage, which he eſteemed the iuſteſt and beſt way of getting of goods. For he did not trifle therin, but employed his whole

Philopœmen, haſtie and wilfull.

Philopœmen delighted in warre and martiall exerciſes.

Philopœmen did reproue wreſtling.

Philopœmens gaines how they were employed.

care

care and ſtudie vpon it, as one that thought it fit for euery noble man and gentleman ſo to trauel, gouerne, and increaſe his owne, that he ſhould haue no occaſion to couet or vſurp another mans. He tooke no pleaſure to heare all kind of matters, nor to reade all ſorts of bookes of Philoſophie: but thoſe onely that would teach him moſt to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to reade *Homers* workes, ſauing thoſe places only that ſtirred vp mens hearts moſt vnto valiantneſſe. But of all other ſtories, he ſpecially delighted to reade *Euangelus* bookes, which treated of the diſcipline of warres, how to ſet battels, and declared the acts and geſts of *Alexander* the great: ſaying, that men ſhould euer bring words vnto deedes, vnleſſe they would take them for vaine ſtories, and things ſpoken, but not to profit by. For in his bookes of the feates of warre, and how battels ſhould be ordered, he was not onely contented to ſee them drawne and ſet out in charts & maps, but would alſo put them in execution, in the places themſelues as they were ſet out. And therfore when the armie marched in order of battell in the field, he would conſider & ſtudie with himſelfe, the ſodaine euents and approches of the enemies, that might light vpon them, when they comming downe to the valley, or going out of a plaine, were to paſſe a riuer or a ditch, or through ſome ſtraight: alſo when he ſhould ſpread out his armie, or elſe gather it narrow: and this he did not onely forecaſt by himſelfe, but would alſo argue the ſame with the captaines that were about him. For *Philopœmen* doubtleſſe was one of the odde men of the world, that moſt eſteemed the diſcipline of warre, (and ſometime peraduenture more then he needed) as the moſt large field & moſt fruitfull ground, that valiantneſſe could be exerciſed in: ſo that he deſpiſed and contemned all that were no ſouldiers, as men good for nothing. Whē he was come now to thirty yeares of age, *Cleomenes* King of LACEDÆMON, came one night vpon the ſodaine, and gaue an aſſault to the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, ſo luſtily, that he draue backe the watch and got into the market place, and wanne it. *Philopœmen* hearing of it, ranne immediatly to the reſcue. Neuertheleſſe, though he fought very valiantly, and did like a noble ſouldier, yet he could not repulſe the enemies, nor driue them out of the citie: but by this meanes he got his citizens leiſure, and ſome time to get them out of the town to ſaue themſelues, ſtaying thoſe that followed them: and made *Cleomenes* ſtill waite vpon him, ſo that in the end he had much a do to ſaue himſelfe being the laſt man, and very ſore hurt, and his horſe alſo ſlain vnder him. Shortly after, *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed that the MEGALIPOLITANS were gottē into the citie of MESSINA, he ſent vnto them to let them vnderſtand, that he was ready to deliuer them their citie, lands, and goods againe. But *Philopœmen* ſeeing his countrymen very glad of theſe newes, and that euery man prepared to returne againe in haſte: he ſtaid them with theſe perſwaſions, ſhewing them that *Cleomenes* deuice was not to redeliuer them their citie, but rather to take them together with their citie: foreſeeing well inough, that he could not continue long there, to keep naked walles and emptie houſes, and that himſelfe in the end ſhould be compelled to go his way. This perſwaſion ſtaid the MEGALIPOLITANS, but withall it gaue *Cleomenes* occaſion to burne and plucke downe a great part of the citie, and to carie away a great ſumme of money and a great ſpoile. Afterwards, when king *Antigonus* was come to aide the ACHAIANS againſt *Cleomenes*, and that *Cleomenes* kept on the top of the mountaines of SELLASIA, and kept all the paſſages, and wayes vnto them out of all thoſe quarters: King *Antigonus* ſet his armie in battell hard by him, determining to ſet vpon him, and to driue him thence if he could poſſibly. *Philopœmen* was at that time amongſt the horſmen with his citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the ſide of them, being a great number of footmen and excellent good ſouldiers, which did ſhut in the taile of all the armie. So they were commaunded to ſtand ſtill, and to keep their place, vntil ſuch time as they did ſhew them a red coate of armes on the top of a pike, from the other wing of the battell, where the King himſelfe ſtood in perſon. Notwithſtanding this ſtraight commandement, the captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to ſee if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the mountaines. The ACHAIANS contrariwiſe, kept their place and order, as they were commaunded. *Euclidas*, *Cleomenes* brother, perceiuing how their enemies footmen were ſeuered from their horſemen, ſodainely ſent the lighteſt armed ſouldiers and luſtieſt fellowes he had in his bands, to giue a charge vpon the ILLYRIANS behind, to proue if they could make them turne their faces on them, becauſe they had no horſemen for their guard. This was done, and theſe light armed men did maruellouſly trouble and diſorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopœmen* perceiuing that, and conſidering how theſe light armed men would be eaſily broken and driuen back, ſince occaſion ſelfe inforced them to it: he went to tell the Kings Captaines of it, that led his men of armes.

Philopœmens ſtudy and care in tillage.

Philopœmens delight to reade Euangelus bookes of the diſcipline of warres.

Philopœmen ſaued the Megalipolitans from Cleomenes King of Sparta.

Philopœmen very ſore hurt.

King Antigonus came to aid the Achaians againſt Cleomenes King of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmens noble fact in the battell againſt King Cleomenes.

But when he ſaw he could not make them vnderſtand it, and that they made no reckoning of his reaſons, but tooke him of no skill, becauſe he had not yet attained any credit or eſtimation to be iudged a man that could inuent or execute any ſtratageme of warre, he went thither himſelfe, and tooke his citizens with him: and at his firſt comming, he ſo troubled theſe light armed men, that he made them flie, and ſlue a number of them. Moreouer, to encourage the better king *Antigonus* men, and to make them giue a luſtie charge vpon the enemies, whileſt they were thus troubled and out of order, he left his horſe, and marched a foote vp hill and downe hill, in rough and ſtonie wayes, full of ſprings and quauemires, being heauily armed at all peeces as a man at armes, and fighting in this ſort very painefully and vneaſily, he had both his thighes paſt through with a dart, hauing a leather thong on the middeſt of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the fleſh, yet was it a ſtrong blow, for it pierced both thighes through and through, that the yron was ſeene on the other ſide. Then was he ſo cumbred with this blow, as if he had bene ſhackled with yrons on his feet, and knew not what to do: for the leather faſtened in the middeſt of the dart, did grieue him maruellouſly, when they thought to haue pulled the dart out of the place where it entred in, ſo as neuer a man about him durſt ſet his hands to it. *Philopœmen* on the other ſide, ſeeing the fight terrible on either ſide, and would ſoone be ended: it ſpited him to the guts, he would ſo faine haue bene among them. So at the length he made ſuch ſtrugling, putting backe one thigh, and ſetting forward another, that he knapped the ſtaffe of the dart aſunder, and made them pull out the two truncheons, the one on this ſide, and the other on the other ſide. Then when he ſaw he was at libertie againe, he took his ſword in his hand, and ran through the middeſt of them that fought, vnto the foremoſt rankes, to meete with the enemie: ſo that he gaue his men a new courage, and did ſet them on fire with enuy, to follow his valiantneſſe. After the battel was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACEDONIAN captaines, to proue them: who moued the horſemen to deuide themſelues, and giue the charge, before the ſigne that was commaunded. They anſwered him, that they were forced to do it againſt their wils, becauſe a young MEGALIPOLITAN gentleman gaue a charge with his companie, before the ſigne was giuen. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them: the young gentleman played the part of a wiſe and valiant captaine. This exploit, together with *Antigonus* teſtimonie, gaue great reputation vnto *Philopœmen*, as we may eaſily imagine. So King *Antigonus* maruellouſly intreated him he would ſerue with him, and offered him a band of men at armes, and great entertainement, if he would go with him. But *Philopœmen* refuſed his offer, and chiefly becauſe he knew his own nature, that he could hardly abide to be commanded by any. Notwithſtanding, becauſe he could not be idle, he tooke ſea, and went into CRETA, where he knew there was warres, only to continue himſelfe in exerciſe thereof. So when he had ſerued a long time with the CRETANS, which were valiant ſoldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of war, and moreouer were men of a moderate and ſpare diet: he returned home again to ACHAIA, with ſo great credit and reputation of euery one, that he was preſently choſen Generall of all the horſemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found many horſemen very il horſed, vpon litle iades, ſuch as might be gotten cheapeſt, and how they vſed not to go themſelues in perſon to the warres, but did ſend other in their ſtead: and to be ſhort, how they neither had hearts, nor experience of the warres, and all becauſe the Generals and Captaines of the people of the ACHAIANS that ſerued before him, did take no heed to thoſe matters, as fearing to offend any, becauſe they had the greateſt authoritie in their hands, to puniſh or reward whom they thought good. *Philopœmen* fearing none of all theſe things, would leaue no part of his charge and dutie vndone, but went himſelfe in perſon to all the cities, to perſwade and encourage the young gentlemen, to be well horſed, and well armed, that they might win honour in the field, be able to defend themſelues, and ouerthrow their enemies. And where perſwaſion could do no good, there he would ſet fines vpon their heads that ſo refuſed, and did vſe to muſter them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turneying, and barriers, and one to fight with another, and at ſuch times and places ſpecially, as he knew there would be multitudes of people to giue them the looking on: that in ſhort ſpace he made them very forward, proper, and readie horſemen, whoſe chiefeſt propertie is, to keepe their order and rankes in the battell. So as when neceſſitie ſerued for the whole companie of horſemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or elſe euery man by himſelf: they were ſo throughly trained in it, that al the whole troupe ſet in battell ray, did ſeeme as it were to be but one body, they remoued ſo together, and withall ſo eaſily, and at all times, and ſo oft, as they ſhould turne, on the one ſide, or on the other.

Philopœmen hurt in fight.

Antigonus ſaying of Philopœmens skill of a ſouldier.

Philopœmen choſen General of the horſmen of the Achaiãs.

Now

Now in a great battel the ACHAIANS had with the ÆTOLIANS and the ELIANS, by the riuer of Lariſſus, *Demophantus* Generall of the horſemen of the ÆTOLIANS, came from his company to fight with *Philopœmen*, who alſo made towards him, & gaue him firſt ſuch a blow with his ſpeare, that he ſtrake him ſtarke dead. When *Demophantus* fel to the ground, his ſouldiers fled by and by vpon it. This wan *Philopœmen* great honour, who gaue no place to the yongeſt men in fighting moſt valiantly with his own hands: nor to the oldeſt men in wiſdome, for the wiſe leading of his armie. Indeed the firſt man that made the people of ACHAIA grow in power and greatneſſe, was *Aratus*: for before his time ACHAIA was of ſmal reckning, becauſe the cities of the ſame ſtood deuided betweene themſelues, & *Aratus* was the firſt man that made them ioyne together, and ſtabliſhed among them an honeſt ciuil gouernment. Whereby it happened, that as we ſee in brooks and riuers where any litle thing ſtoppeth and falleth to the bottome, which the courſe of the water bringeth downe the ſtreame, there the reſt that followeth doth vſe to ſtay, and go no further: euen ſo in the cities of GREECE that were in hard ſtate, and ſore weakened, by faction one againſt another, the ACHAIANS were the firſt that ſtaid themſelues, and grew in amitie one with the other, and afterwards drew on the reſt of the cities into league with them, as good neighbours and confederates. Some by helping & deliuering them from the oppreſſion of tyrants, and winning other alſo by their peaceable gouernement and good concord: they had a meaning in this wiſe to bring all the country of PELOPONNESVS into one body and league. Neuertheleſſe, while *Aratus* liued, they depended moſt vpon the ſtrength and power of the MACEDONIANS: firſt with ſticking vnto king *Ptolomy*, and then vnto *Antigonus*, and laſt to *Philip*, who ruled in maner all the ſtate of GREECE. But when *Philopœmen* came to gouerne, and to be the chiefeſt man, the ACHAIANS being ſtrong inough to reſiſt the ſtrongeſt, would march them no more vnder any other bodies enſigne, nor would ſuffer any more ſtrange gouernours or captaines ouer them. For *Aratus* (as it ſeemed) was ſomewhat too ſoft and cold for the wars, and therfore the moſt things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the kings friendſhips with whom he was great, as we haue at large declared in his life. But *Philopœmen* being a man of execution, hardie and valiant of perſon, and of very good fortune, in the firſt battell that euer he made, did maruellouſly increaſe the courage and hearts of the ACHAIANS: becauſe vnder his charge they euer foiled their enemies, and alwayes had the vpper hand of them. The firſt thing *Philopœmon* began withal at his coming, he changed the maner of ſetting of their tables, & their faſhion of arming themſelues: for before they caried litle light targets, which becauſe they were thin and narrow, did not couer half their bodies, & vſed ſpeares far ſhorter then pikes, by reaſon wherof they were very light, & good to skirmiſh and fight a far off: but when they came to ioyne battell, their enemies then had great vantage of them. As for the order of their battels, they knew not what it meant, nor to caſt themſelues into a ſnaile or ring, but onely vſed the ſquare battell, nor yet gaue it any ſuch front where the pikes of many rankes might puſh together, and where the ſouldiers might ſtand ſo cloſe, that their targets ſhould touch one another, as they do in the ſquadron of the battell of the MACEDONIANS: by reaſon whereof, they were ſoone broken and ouerthrowne. *Philopœmen* reformed all this, perſwading them to vſe the pike and ſhield, in ſtead of their litle target, ſpeare, or bore-ſtaffe, and to put good morrians or burganets on their heads, corſelets on their bodies, and good taſſes and greaues to couer their thighes and legges, that they might fight it out manfully, not giuing a foote of ground, as light armed men that runne to and fro in a skirmiſh. And thus hauing perſwaded and taught the young men to arme themſelues throughly, firſt he made them the bolder and more couragious to fight, as if they had bene men that could not haue bene ouercome: then he turned all their vaine ſuperfluous charge, into neceſſarie and honeſt expences. But he could not poſſibly bring them altogether from their vaine and rich apparell they had of long time taken vp, the one to exceed another: nor from their ſumptuous furniture of houſes, as in beds, hangings, curious ſeruice at the table, and delicate kind of diſhes. But to begin to withdraw this deſire in them which they had, to be fine and delicate, in all ſuperfluous and vnneceſſarie things, and to like of things neceſſarie and profitable: he wiſhed them to looke more nearely to their ordinarie charge about themſelues, taking order as well for their apparell, as alſo for their diet, and to ſpare in them, to come honourably armed to the field, for defence of their countrey. Thereupon, if you had looked into the gold-ſmithes ſhoppes, ye ſhould haue ſeene nothing elſe in their hands, but breaking and battering of pots of gold and ſiluer, to be caſt and molten downe againe, and then gilding of armours and targets, and ſiluering of bits.

Philopœmen ſlue Demophantus, Generall of the horſemen of the Ætolians.

The praiſe of Philopœmen.

Aratus raiſed Achaia to greatneſſe.

Philopœmen and Aratus compared.

Aratus a ſoft man in wars.

Philopœmen chaungeth the Achaians order and diſcipline of warres.

Philopœmen turned all curioſitie and daintie fare, into braue and rich armours.

In the ſhew places for the running of horſes, there was managing and breaking of young horſes, and young men exerciſing armes. Womens hands alſo were full of morians and head peeces, whereto they tied goodly braue plumes of feathers of ſundrie colours, and were alſo full of imbrodered arming coates and caſſockes, with curious and very rich workes. The ſight of which brauerie did heaue vp their hearts, and made them gallant and liuely: ſo as enuy bred ſtraight in them who ſhould do beſt ſeruice, and no way ſpare for the warres. Indeed, ſumptuouſneſſe and brauerie in other ſights, doth ſecretly carie mens minds away, and allure them to ſeeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womaniſh perſons: becauſe this ſweete tickling, and intiſing of the outward ſenſe that is delighted therewith, doth ſtraight melt and ſoften the ſtrength and courage of the mind. But againe, the ſumptuous coſt beſtowed vpon warlike furniture, doth encourage and make great a noble heart. Euen as *Homer* ſaith it did *Achilles*, when his mother brought him new armour and weapons ſhe had cauſed *Vulcan* to make for him, and layed them at his feete: who ſeeing them, could not tarie, but was ſtraight ſet on fire with deſire to occupie them. So when *Philopœmen* had brought the youth of ACHAIA to this good paſſe, to come thus brauely armed and furniſhed into the field, he began then to exerciſe them continually in armes: wherein they did not onely ſhew themſelues obedient to him, but did moreouer ſtriue one to excell another, and to do better then their fellowes. For they liked maruellous well the ordering of the battell he had taught them, becauſe that ſtanding ſo cloſe together as they did, they thought ſurely they could hardly be ouerthrowne. Thus by continuance of time, being much vſed to weare their armour, they found them a great deale eaſier and lighter then before, beſide the pleaſure they tooke to ſee their armour ſo braue, and ſo rich: inſomuch as they longed for ſome occaſion to trie them ſtraight vpon their enemies. Now the ACHAIANS at that time were at warres with *Machanidas*, the tyrant of LACEDÆMON, who ſought by all deuiſe he could with a great armie, to become chiefe Lord of all the PELOPONNESIANS. When newes was brought that *Machanidas* was come into the countrey of the MANTINEANS, *Philopœmen* ſtraight marched towards him with his armie: ſo they met both not farre from the citie of MANTINEA, where by and by they put themſelues in order of battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of ſtrangers to ſerue them, beſides the whole force of their countrey: and when they came to ioyne battell, *Machanidas* with his ſtrangers gaue ſuch a luſtie charge vpon certaine ſlingers and archers being the forlorne hope whom *Philopœmen* had put before the battell of the ACHAIANS to begin the skirmiſh, that he ouerthrew them, and made them flie withall. But where he ſhould haue gone on directly againſt the ACHAIANS that were ranged in battell ray, to haue proued if he could haue broken them, he was very buſie, and earneſt ſtill, to follow the chaſe of them that firſt fled, and ſo came hard by the ACHAIANS that ſtood ſtil in their battell, and kept their rankes. This great ouerthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the ACHAIANS were but caſt away. But *Philopœmen* made as though it had bene nothing, and that he ſet light by it, and ſpying the great fault his enemies made, following the forlorne hope on the ſpurre, whom they had ouerthrowne, and ſtraying ſo farre from the battell of their footmen, whom they had left naked, and the field open vpon them: he did not make towards them to ſtay them, nor did ſtriue to ſtop them that they ſhould not follow thoſe that fled, but ſuffered them to take their courſe. And when he ſaw that they were gone a good way from their footemen, he made his men march vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS, whoſe ſides were naked, hauing no horſemen to gard them: and ſo did ſet vpon them on the one ſide, and ranne ſo haſtily on them to win one of their flankes, that he made them flie, and ſlue withall a great number of them. For it is ſaid, there were foure thouſand LACEDÆMONIANS ſlaine in the field, becauſe they had no man to leade them. And moreouer, they ſay they did not looke to fight, but ſuppoſed rather they had wonne the field, when they ſaw *Machanidas* chaſing ſtil thoſe vpon the ſpurre, whom he had ouerthrowne. After this *Philopœmen* retired to meete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chaſe with his ſtrangers. But by chaunce there was a great broade ditch betweene them, ſo as both of them rode vpon the bankes ſide of the ſame, a great while together, one againſt another of them: the one ſide ſeeking ſome conuenient place to get ouer and flie, and the other ſide ſeeking meanes to keepe them from ſtarting away. So to ſee the one before the other in this ſort, it appeared as they had bene wild beaſts brought to an extremitie, to defend themſelues by force, from ſo fierce a hunter as *Philopœmen* was. But whileſt they were ſtriuing thus, the tyrants horſe that was luſtie and couragious, and felt the force of his maiſters ſpurres pricking

Braue armour incourageth mens minds to ſerue nobly.

Philopœmen made warres with Machanidas tyrant of Lacedæmon.

Battell fought betweene Philopœmen and Machanidas.

Philopœmen ouercame Machanidas army tyrant of the Lacedæmonians.

pricking in his sides, that the bloud followed after, did venter to leape the ditch, comming to the bankes side, stood vpon his hindmost legs, and aduanced forward with his foremost feete, to reach to the other side. Then *Simmias* & *Polyænus*, who were about *Philopœmen* when he fought, ran thither straight to keepe him in with their borestaues that he should not leape the ditch. But *Philopœmen* who was there before them, perceiuing that the tyrants horse by lifting vp his head so high, did couer all his maisters bodie: forsooke by and by his horse, and took his speare in both his hands, and thrust at the tyrant with so good a will, that he slue him in the ditch. In memorie whereof, the ACHAIANS that did highly esteeme this valiant act of his, and his wisedome also in leading of the battell, did set vp his image in brasse, in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, in the forme he slue the tyrant. They say, that at the assembly of the common games called *Nemea*, (which they solemnize in honour of *Hercules*, not farre from the citie of ARGOS) and not long after he had won this battell of MANTINEA, being made generall the second time of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, & being at good leasure also by reason of the feast, he first shewed al the GRECIANS that were come thither to see the games and pastimes, his armie ranged in order of battell, & made them see how easily they remoued their places euery way, as necessitie and occasion of fight required, without troubling or confounding their rankes, and that with a maruellous force and readinesse. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the Musitians play, & sing to their instruments, who should win the best game, being accompanied with lustie young gentlemen apparelled in purple cloakes, & in skarlet coates and cassocks they ware vpon their armor, being all in the flower of their youth, and well giuen & disposed: who did greatly honor & reuerence their Captaine, & besides that, shewed themselues inwardly of noble hearts, being incouraged by many notable battels they had fought, in which they had euer attained the victorie, & gotten the vpper hand of their enemies. And by chance, as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the Musitian, singing certaine poems of *Timotheus*, called the *Perses*, fell into these verses:

Philopœmen slue Machanidas.

O Greekes, it is euen he, which your prosperitie
Hath giuen to you: and therewithall a noble libertie.

When he had sweetly song out aloud these noble verses, passingly well made, the whole assembly of the GRECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to see the games, cast all their eyes straight vpon *Philopœmen*, and clapped their hands one to another for ioy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soone recouer their auncient reputation: and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy minds of their auncestours. And as young horses that do alwaies looke to be ridden by their ordinarie riders, if any straunger get vp on their backes, do straight waxe straunge to be handled, and make great ado: euen so when the ACHAIANS came to any daungerous battell, their hearts were euen done, if they had any other Generall or leader then *Philopœmen*, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they saw him, euer the whole army reioyced, and desired straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valiantnesse and good fortune: and truely not without cause. For of all men, their enemies did feare him most, and durst not stand before him: because they were afraid to heare his name onely, as it seemed by their doings. For *Philip* king of MACEDON (imagining that if he could find meanes to dispatch *Philopœmen* out of the way, howsoeuer it were, the ACHAIANS would straight take part againe with him) sent men secretly into the city of ARGOS, to kill him by treason: howbeit the practise was discouered, and the king euer after was mortally hated of all the GRECIANS generally, and taken for a cowardly and wicked Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS layd siege to the city of MEGARA, and thought certainely to haue won it at the first assault, there rose a rumor suddenly amongst them, that *Philopœmen* came to aide the citie, and was not farre from it with his army. But it was a false report. Notwithstanding, the BOEOTIANS were so scared, that for feare they left their scaling ladders behind them, which they had set against the walles, to haue scaled the towne, and fled straight to saue themselues. Another time, when *Nabis* the tyrant of LACEDÆMON, that succeeded *Machanidas*, had taken the city of MESSINA vpon a sudden: *Philopœmen* being then a priuate man, and hauing no charge of souldiers, went vnto *Lysippus* generall of the ACHAIANS that yeare, to perswade him that he would send present aide vnto them of MESSINA. *Lysippus* told him, it was too late now to go thither, and that it was but a lost towne, not to be holpen: considering the enemies were in it already. *Philopœmen* perceiuing he could not procure him to go, went thither himselfe with the force of MESSINA onely, not staying for the assembly of the MEGALIPOLITANS, that were

The only name of Philopœmen made the Bœotians flie for feare.

Nabis tyrant of Lacedæmon wan the city of Messina.

in counſell about it, to giue him commiſſion by voyces of the people to take them with him: but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall generall, and the man that by nature was worthieſt of all other to commaund them. Now when he came neare vnto MESSINA, *Nabis* hearing of his comming, durſt not tarie him, though he had his army within the city, but ſtole out at another gate, and marched away in all the haſt he could, thinking himſelfe a happy man if he could ſo ſcape his hands, and retire with ſafetie, as indeed he did. And thus was MESSINA by his meanes deliuered from captiuitie. All that we haue written hitherto concerning *Philopœmen*, falleth out doubtleſſe to his great honour and glory: but afterwards he was greatly diſpraiſed for a iourny he made into CRETA, at the requeſt of the GORTYNIANS, who ſent to pray him to be their captaine, being ſore troubled with warres at that time. Becauſe *Philopœmen* went then to ſerue the GORTYNIANS, when the tyrant *Nabis* had greateſt warres with the MEGALIPOLITANS in their owne countrey: they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to flie the wars, or elſe that he ſought honour out of ſeaſon with forraine nations, when his poore citizens the MEGALIPOLITANS were in ſuch diſtreſſe, that their countrey being loſt and deſtroyed, they were driuen to keepe them within their city, and to ſow all their void grounds and ſtreetes in the ſame with corne, to ſuſtaine them withall, when their enemies were encamped almoſt hard at their towne gates. And the rather, becauſe himſelfe making wars with the CRETANS, and ſeruing ſtraungers beyond the ſea in the meane time, gaue his enemies occaſion to ſlander him that he fled, that he would not tarrie to fight for defence of his own country. Againe, there were that ſaid, becauſe the ACHAIANS did chuſe other for their generall, that he being a priuate man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had maruellouſly intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that could not abide to liue idlely, and that deſired ſpecially aboue all things to ſerue continually in the wars, and to put in practiſe his skill and diſcipline in the leading of an army. The words he ſpake one day of king *Ptolomie* do witneſſe as much: for when there were ſome that praiſed king *Ptolomie* highly, ſaying that he trayned his army well, and that he ſtill continued his perſon in exercife of armes: It is not commendable for a king (ſaid he) of his yeares, to delight in training his men to exercife armes, but to do ſome act himſelfe in perſon. Well, in the end, the MEGALIPOLITANS tooke his abſence in ſuch euill part, that they thought it a peece of treaſon, and would needs haue baniſhed him, & put him from the freedome of the city: had not the ACHAIANS ſent their Generall *Ariſtænetus* vnto them, who would not ſuffer the ſentence of baniſhment to paſſe againſt him, although otherwiſe there was euer contention betweene them about matters of the commonwealth. Afterwards, *Philopœmen* perceiuing his countrymen made no more account of him, to ſpite them withall, he made diuerſe ſmall villages and cities rebell againſt them, and taught them to ſay, & to giue it out, that they were not their ſubiects, neither paid them tribute frō the beginning: and he made them ſtand to it openly, and maintaine their ſedition againſt the city of MEGALIPOLIS, before the counſell of the ACHAIANS. Theſe things hapned ſhortly after. But whileſt he made wars in CRETA for the GORTYNIANS, he ſhewed not himſelfe a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man borne in ARCADIA, to make plaine and open wars: but he had learned the maner of the CRETANS, to vſe their owne pollicies, fine deuices, and ambuſhes againſt thēſelues. And made them know alſo, that all their crafts, were but childiſh ſports as it were, in reſpect of thoſe that were deuiſed, and put in execution, by a wiſe experienced captaine, and skilfull to fight a battell. So *Philopœmen*, hauing won great fame by his acts done in CRETA, returned againe to PELOPONNESSYS, where he found, that *Philip* king of MACEDON had bin ouercome in battel, by *T. Q. Flaminius*: & that the ACHAIANS ioyning with the ROMAINS, did make war againſt the tyrant *Nabis*, againſt whom he was made generall immediatly vpon his returne, & gaue him battell by ſea. In the which it ſeemed he fel into like misfortune, as *Epaminōdas* did: the euent of this battell falling out much worſe with him, then was looked for, in reſpect of his former courage & valiantnes. But as for *Epaminōdas*, ſome ſay he returned willingly out of ASIA, & the Iles, without any exploit don, becauſe he wold not haue his cuntrimē fleſhed with ſpoile by ſea, as fearing leſt of valiant ſoldiers by land, they would by litle & litle (as *Plato* ſaid) become diſſolute mariners by ſea. But *Philopœmen* cōtrariwiſe, preſuming on the skill he had to ſet the battell in good order by lād, wold needs take vpon him to do the ſame by ſea. But he was taught to his coſt, to know what exercife & experience meant, & how ſtrong it maketh thē that are practiſed in things. For he loſt not only the battell by ſea, being vnskilfull of that ſeruice: but he cōmitted beſides a fouler error.

Nabis flyeth Philopœmen.

Philopœmen deliuered the city of Meſſina from Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon.

Philopœmens ſecond iourney into Creta diſcommended.

Philopœmen made diuerſe cities to rebell againſt the Megalipolitās

The Cretans politicke men of warre.

Philopœmen made generall of the Achaians againſt Nabis.

Philopœmen ouercome by ſea.

For

For he cauſed an old ſhip to be rigged, which had bin very good of ſeruice before, but not occupied in 40 yeres together, & embarked his country men into the ſame, which were al likely to periſh, becauſe the ſhip had diuerſe leakes, by fault of good calking. This ouerthrow made his enemies deſpiſe him vtterly, perſwading theſelues he was fled for altogether, and had giuen them ſea roome: whereupon they laid ſiege to the city of GYTHIVM. *Philopœmen* being aduertiſed thereof, imbarked his men ſuddenly, and ſet vpon his enemies ere they wiſt it, or had any thought of his comming: and found them ſtragling vp and downe, without watch or guard, by reaſon of the victorie they had lately won. So he landed his men cloſely by night, and went and ſet fire vpon his enemies campe, and burnt it euery whit: and in this feare and hurly burly, ſlue a great number of them. Shortly after this ſtealing vpon them, the tyrant *Nabis* alſo ſtole vpon him againe vnwares, as he was to go through a maruellous ill and daungerous way: which made the ACHAIANS amazed at the firſt, thinking it vnpoſſible for them that they could euer ſcape that danger, conſidering their enemies kept all the wayes thereabouts. But *Philopœmen* bethinking himſelfe, and conſidering the nature and ſituation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he ſhewed them plainely then, that the chiefeſt point of a good ſouldier and man of warre, was to know how to put an army in battell, according to the time and ſituation of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his battell a litle, and ſorted it according to the ſituation of the place, wherin he was compaſſed: and by doing this without trouble or buſineſſe, he tooke away all feare of danger, and gaue a charge vpon his enemies in ſuch fierce wiſe, that in a ſhort time he put them all to flight. And when he perceiued that they did not flie all in troupes together towards the city, but ſcattering wiſe, abroad in the fields in euery place, he cauſed the trumpet to ſound the retraite. Then he commaunded the chaſe to be followed no further, for that all the country thereabout was full of thicke woods and groues, very ill for horſemen: and alſo becauſe there were many brookes, vallies and quauemires, which they ſhould paſſe ouer, he encamped himſelf preſently, being yet broad day. And ſo, fearing leſt his enemies would in the night time draw vnto the city, one after another, and by couples: he ſent a great number of ACHAIANS, and laid them in ambuſh amongſt the brookes and hils neare about it, which made great ſlaughter of *Nabis* ſouldiers, becauſe they came not all together in troopes, but ſcatteringly one after another as they fled, one here, another there, and ſo fell into their enemies hands, as birds into the fowlers net. Theſe acts made *Philopœmen* ſingularly beloued of the GRECIANS, and they did him great honour in all their Theaters & cõmon aſſemblies. Wherat *T. Q. Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious & couetous of honor: did much repine, & was enuious at the matter, thinking that a Conſul of ROME ſhold haue place & honor among the ACHAIANS, before a mean gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deſerued better of all GRECE, then *Philopœmen* had: cõſidering how by the only proclamatiõ of an herald, he had reſtored GRECE again to her ancient liberty, which before his coming was ſubiect to king *Philip*, & vnto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwards, *T. Quintius* made peace with the tyrant *Nabis*, who was ſhortly after very traiterouſly ſlaine by the ÆTOLIANS. Wherupon the city of SPARTA grew to a tumult, and *Philopœmen* ſtraight taking the occaſiõ, went thither with his army, & handled the matter ſo wiſely, that partly for loue, & partly by force, he wan the city, & ioyned it vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. So was he maruellouſly cõmended & eſteemed of the ACHAIANS for this notable victorie, to haue won their tribe & cõmunalty ſo famous a city, and of ſo great eſtimation. For the city of SPARTA was no ſmal increaſe of their power, being ioyned as a member of ACHAIA. Moreouer he wan by this meanes the loue & goodwil of all the honeſt men of LACEDÆMON, for the hope they had to find him a protector and defender of their liberty. Wherefore, when the tyrant *Nabis* houſe and goods were ſold, as forfeited to the ſtate: they reſolued in their counſell to make him a preſent of the money therof, which amounted to the ſum of ſixe ſcore talents, and ſent ambaſſadours purpoſ ly vnto him, to offer it him. Then *Philopœmen* ſhewed himſelfe plainely to be no counterfeit honeſt man, but a good man indeed. For firſt of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durſt preſume to offer him this mony, but euery man was afraid to tell him of it: and euery body that was appointed to do it, made ſome excuſe or other for themſelues. Notwithſtanding, in the end they made one *Timolaus* to take the matter vpon him, who was his familiar friend, and alſo his hoſt. And yet the ſame *Timolaus* when he came vnto MEGALIPOLIS, and was lodged and entertained in *Philopœmens* houſe, did ſo much reuerence him for his wiſe talke and conuerſation, for his moderate diet, & iuſt dealing with all men: that he ſaw there was no likely poſſibility to cor-

Nabis beſiegeth the city of Gythium.

Philopœmen ouercame Nabis, tyrant of Lacedemon, in battell.

Titus Quintius enuieth Philopœmen.

Nabis ſlaine by the AEolians.

Philopœmen free from couetouſneſſe.

rupt him with money, ſo as he durſt not once open his mouth to ſpeake to him of the preſent he had brought him, but found ſome other occaſion to excuſe the cauſe of his comming vnto him. And being ſent vnto him again the ſecond time, he did euen as much as at the firſt time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the laſt to open the matter vnto him, and told him the good-will the city of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopœmen* became a glad man to heare it: and when he had heard all he had to ſay to him, he went himſelfe vnto the city of SPARTA. There he declared vnto the counſell, that it was not honeſt men, and their good friends, they ſhould ſeeke to winne and corrupt with money, conſidering they might commaund their vertue vpon any occaſion, without coſt vnto them: but that they ſhould ſeeke to bribe naughty men with mony, and ſuch as by ſeditious orations in counſell did mutine, and put a whole city in vprore: to the end that hauing their mouths ſtopped with gifts, they ſhould trouble them the leſſe in the cõmonwealth. For, ſaid he, it is more neceſſary to ſtop your enemies mouths, and to ſow vp their lips from liberty of ſpeaking: then it is to keepe your friends from it. So noble a man was *Philopœmen* againſt all couetouſneſſe of mony. Shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS beginning to ſtir againe, *Diophanes* (who was then generall of the ACHAIANS) being aduertiſed of it, began to prepare to puniſh thẽ. The LACEDÆMONIANS on the other ſide preparing for the wars, did ſet all the country of PELOPONNESVS in armes. Hereupon *Philopœmen* ſought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring vnto him, that king *Antiochus*, and the ROMAINES, being at wars together at that preſent time, and they both hauing puiſſant armies one againſt another in the middeſt of GREECE, it was meete for a good generall and wiſe gouernor, to haue an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the ſame, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his country at that inſtant, but then rather to diſſemble it, & not to ſeeme to heare any fault whatſoeuer they did. *Diophanes* wold not be perſwaded, but entred the territories of LACEDÆMON with a great army, and *T. Quintius Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towards the city of SPARTA. *Philopœmen* was ſo mad with their doings, that he tooke vpon him an enterpriſe not very lawfull, nor altogether iuſt: neuertheles, his attempt proceeded of a noble mind & great courage. For he got into the city of SPARTA, and being but a priuate perſon, kept out the generall of the ACHAIANS, and the Conſull of the ROMAINS for entring the city: & when he had pacified all troubles and ſeditions in the ſame, he deliuered it vp againe as it was before, into the hands of the communalty of the ACHAIANS. Neuertheles, himſelfe being afterwards generall of the ACHAIANS, did compel the LACEDÆMONIANS to receiue thoſe home again whom they had baniſhed for certaine faults, & did put 80 naturall born citizens of SPARTA vnto death, as *Polybius* writeth: or 350, as *Ariſtocrates* another hiſtoriographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the walles of the city, and razed them to the ground, and tooke away the moſt part of their territories, and gaue them to the MEGALIPOLITANS. All thoſe whom the tyrants had made free denizens of SPARTA, he compelled them to depart the countrey of LACEDÆMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAIA, three thouſand onely excepted, who would not obey his commandement: all thoſe he ſold for ſlaues, and with the money he made of them (to ſpite them the more) he built a goodly faire walke within the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDÆMONIANS all the miſchiefe he could, and as it were, to treade them vnder the feete in their moſt grieuous miſerie, he did a moſt cruell and vniuſt act toward them. For he compelled them to leaue the diſcipline and manner of education of their children, which *Lycurgus* had of old time inſtituted: and made them to follow the maner the ACHAIANS vſed, in lieu of their old grounded country cuſtome, becauſe he ſaw they would neuer be humble minded, ſo long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and inſtitution. Thus were they driuen to put their heads in the choller, by the miſerable miſhap that befell them: and in all deſpite, to ſuffer *Philopœmen* in this manner to cut aſunder (as it were) the ſinewes of their commonwealth. But afterwards they made ſute to the ROMAINS, that they might be ſuffered to enioy their ancient diſcipline againe, which being granted them, they ſtraight left the maner of the ACHAIANS, and did ſet vp againe as much as was poſſible (after ſo great miſerie and corruption of their maners) their old ancient cuſtomes and orders of their country. Now about the time the wars began in GREECE betweene the ROMAINES and king *Antiochus*, *Philopœmen* was then a priuate man, and without any authority. He ſeeing that king *Antiochus* lay ſtill in the city of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feaſt and loue, and had maried a young maide farre vnmeete for his years: and perceiuing that his SYRIAN ſoldiers wandred vp & downe the townes in great diſorder, playing many lewde parts without guide of Captaines, he was very ſorie he

Philopœmens wiſe counſell to the Lacedæmonians, how they ſhould beſtow their gifts

Diophanes and T. Quintius Flaminius do inuade Lacedæmonia.

Philopœmens noble act.

Philopœmens cruelties to the Spartans.

Philopœmen made the Spartans forſake Lycurgus law.

Antiochus ſolace and mariage at Chalcis.

was

was not at that time generall of the ACHAIANS, and told the ROMAINES, that he enuied their victorie, hauing warres with enemies that were so easily to be ouercome. For (said he) if fortune fauoured me that I were generall of the ACHAIANS at this present, I would haue killed them euery man in the cellers and tippling houses. Now when the ROMAINES had ouercome *Antiochus*, they began to haue surer footing in GREECE, and to compasse in the ACHAIANS on all sides, and specially, by reason the heads and gouernours of the cities about them did yeeld to the ROMAINES, to win their fauour. And now their greatnesse grew in hast, by the fauour of the gods, so as they were become the monarch of the whole world, who brought them now to the end that fortune had determined. *Philopœmen* in the meane time did like a good pylot, resisting against the billowes and roughnesse of their waues: and though for the time he was forced to giue place, and to let things passe, yet for all that he was against the ROMAINS, and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by seeking euer to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence and well doing caried great authoritie among the ACHAIANS. And when *Aristænetus* MEGALIPOLITAN, (a man of great authoritie among the ACHAIANS, and one that euer bare great deuotion to the ROMAINES) said in open Senate among the ACHAIANS, that they should deny the ROMAINES nothing, nor shew themselues vnthankfull to them: *Philopœmen* hearing what he said, held his peace awhile, and suffered him to speake (though it boiled in his heart, he was so angry with him) and in the end, breaking all patience, and as one ouercome with choler, he said: O *Aristænetus*, why haue you such hast to see the vnfortunate end of GREECE? Another time, when *Manius* Consull of ROME (after he had conquered king *Antiochus*) did make request to the counsell of the ACHAIANS, that such as were banished from LACEDÆMON, might return home into their country againe, and that *Titus Quintius Flaminius* also did earnestly intreat them: *Philopœmen* was against it, not for any hatred he bare vnto the banished men, but because he would haue done it by his owne meane, and the only grace of the ACHAIANS, to the end they shold not be beholding for so good a turne, neither vnto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMAINES. Afterwards he himselfe, being Generall of the ACHAIANS, did restore them wholly to their owne againe. Thus was *Philopœmen* somtime a litle too bold & quarrellous, by reason of his great stomack: and specially when any man sought for to haue things by authority. Lastly, being three score and ten yeres of age, he was the eight time chosen general of the ACHAIANS, and hoped well, not onely to passe the yeare of his charge in peace and quietnesse, but also all the rest of his life without any stirre of new wars, he saw the affaires of GREECE take so good successe. For like as the force and strength of sickenesse declineth, as the naturall strength of the sickly body impaireth: so through all the cities & people of GREECE, the desire of quarrell & of wars surceased, as their power diminished. Neuertheles, in the end of his yeres gouernment, the gods diuine (who iustly punish all insolent words and deedes) threw him to the ground, as they suffer a rider vnfortunately to take a fall off his horse, being come almost to the end of his cariere. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good companie, where one was maruellously praised for a good captaine, said vnto them: Why maisters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken prisoner aliue of his enemies? Shortly after came newes that *Dinocrates* MESSINIAN (a priuate enemie of *Philopœmens* for certaine controuersies past betweene them, and a man generally hated besides of all honourable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawne the city of MESSINA from the deuotion of the ACHAIANS: and moreouer, that he came with an army to take a towne called COLONIDE. *Philopœmen* was at that time in the city of ARGOS, sicke of an ague, and yet hearing these newes, tooke his iorney towards MEGALIPOLIS, making all the hast he could possible, for that he came aboue 4. hundred furlongs that day. Straight he departed thence toward MESSINA, and taried not, but tooke with him a company of men at armes of the lustiest and wealthiest MEGALIPOLITANS: who were all young noble men of the city, and willingly offered themselues to go with him for the goodwill they bare him, and for the desire they had to follow his valiantnes. Thus went they on their way towards the city of MESSINA, and marched so long, that they came neare to the hill of Euander, where they met with *Dinocrates* and his company, and gaue so fierce an onset on thē that they made them all turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a releefe of 500 men to *Dinocrates*, which he had left to keepe the countrey of MESSINA. The flying men that were scattered here and there, seeing this supply, gathered themselues againe together, and shewed vpon the hils. *Philopœmen* fearing to be enuironed, and being desirous to bring his men safe home

Philopœmens counsel against the Romains.

Philopœmen chosen the eight time Generall of the Achaians being 70. yeares old.

Philopœmens iourney against Dinocrates.

Mons Euander.

againe, who moſt of loue had followed him: began to march away through narrow buſhie places, himſelf being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes vpon his enemies, and skirmiſhed with them, onely to driue them away from following of the reſt of his company, and not a man that durſt once ſet vpon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him. Howbeit *Philopœmen* ſundry times venturing farre from his company, to giue theſe young noble men leaſure to ſaue themſelues one after another: tooke no heede to himſelfe that he was alone, enuironed on euery ſide with a great number of enemies. Notwithſtanding, of all his enemies there was not a man that durſt come to handſtrokes with him, but ſtill ſlinging and ſhooting at at him a farre off, they draue him in the end amongſt ſtony places between hewne rockes, where he had much a do to guide his horſe, although he had ſpurred him that he was al of a gore bloud. And as for his age, that did not let him but he might haue ſaued himſelfe, for he was ſtrong and luſtie by the continuall exerciſe he tooke: but by curſed happe his body being weake with ſickneſſe, and wearie with the long iourney he had made that day, he found himſelfe very heauie and ill diſpoſed, that his horſe ſtumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and bruſed all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and neuer ſtirred nor ſpake: ſo that his enemies thinking he had bene dead, came to turne his body to ſtrip him. But when they ſaw him lift vp his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once vpon him and tooke him, and bound both his hands behind him, and did all the villany and miſchiefe they could vnto him, and ſuch, as one would litle haue thought *Dinocrates* would haue vſed in that ſort, or that he could haue had ſuch an ill thought towards him. So they that taried behind in the city of MESSINA, were maruellous glad when they heard theſe newes, and ran all to the gates of the city to ſee him brought in. When they ſaw him thus ſhamefully bound and pinioned, againſt the dignity of ſo many honours as he had receiued, and of ſo many triumphs and victories as he had paſſed: the moſt part of them wept for pity, to conſider the miſhap and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is ſo litle certaintie, as in manner it is nothing. Then beganne there ſome curteous ſpeech to run in the mouths of the people by litle & litle, that they ſhold remember the great good he had done them in times paſt, and the liberty he had reſtored them vnto, when he expulſed the tyrant *Nabis* out of MESSINA. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to pleaſe *Dinocrates*, ſaid they ſhould hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a dangerous enemy, and that would neuer forgiue man that had once offended him: and the rather, becauſe he would be more terrible to *Dinocrates*, then euer he was before, if he eſcaped his hands, receiuing ſuch open ſhame by him. Neuertheleſſe, in the end they caried him into a certaine dungeon vnder the ground, called the Treaſurie, (which had neither light nor aire at all into it, nor doore, nor halfe doore, but a great ſtone rolled on the mouth of the dungeon) and ſo they did let him downe the ſame, and ſtopped the hole againe with the ſtone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when theſe young noble ACHAIAN horſemen had fled vpon the ſpurre a great way from the enemy, they remembred themſelues, and looked round about for *Philopœmen*: and finding him not in ſight, they ſuppoſed ſtraight he had bene ſlaine. Thereupon they ſtaid a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiuing he anſwered not, they began to ſay among themſelues, they were beaſts and cowards to fly in that ſort: and how they were diſhonoured for euer ſo to haue forſaken their Captain, to ſaue themſelues, who had not ſpared his owne life to deliuer them from daunger. Hereupon riding on their way, and enquiring ſtill for him, they were in the end aduertiſed how he was taken. And then they went and caried thoſe newes through all the townes and cities of ACHAIA, which were very ſory for him, and tooke it as a ſigne of great ill fortune toward them. Wherupon they agreed to ſend ambaſſadors forthwith to the MESSINIANS, to demaund him: and in the meane time euery man ſhould prepare to arme themſelues to go thither, and get him either by force or loue. When the ACHAIANS had thus ſent, *Dinocrates* feared nothing ſo much, as that delay of time might ſaue *Philopœmens* life: wherefore to preuent it, as ſoone as night came, and that the people were at reſt, he ſtraight cauſed the ſtone to be rolled from the mouth of the dungeon, and willed the hangman to be let down to *Philopœmen* with a cup of poiſon to offer him, who was commanded alſo not to go from him, vntill he had drunke it. When the hangman was come downe, he found *Philopœmen* laid on the ground vpon a litle cloke, hauing no liſt to ſleepe, he was ſo grieuouſly troubled in his mind. Who when he ſaw light, and the man ſtanding by him, holding a cup in his hand with this poiſon, he ſate vpright vpon his couch, howbeit with great paine he was ſo weak:

Philopœmens misfortune.

Philopœmen taken.

Philopœmen poyſoned by Dinocrates.

and

and taking the cup in his hand, asked the hangman if he heard any newes of the horsemen that came with him, and specially of *Lycortas*. The hangman made him answer, that the most of them were saued. Then he cast his hands a litle ouer his head, and looking merrily on him, he said: It is well, seeing we are not all vnfortunate. Therewith speaking no mo words, nor making other ado, he drunke vp all the poison, and laid him downe as before. So nature straue not much withall, his body being brought so low, and thereupon the poison wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ran presently through all ACHAIA, which generally from high to low was lamented. Wherupon all the ACHAIAN youth and counsellers of their cities and townes, assembled themselues in the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, where they all agreed without delay to reuenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their Generall, vnder whose conduct they inuaded the MESSINIANS, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and sword: so as the MESSINIANS were so feared with this mercilesse furie, that they yeelded themselues, and wholly consented to receiue the ACHAIANS into their citie. But *Dinocrates* would not giue them leisure to execute him by iustice, for he killed himselfe: and so did all the rest make themselues away, who gaue aduice that *Philopœmen* should be put to death. But those that would haue had *Philopœmen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* caused them to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with al kind of torments. That done, they burnt *Philopœmens* body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from MESSINA, not in disorder, one vpon anothers neck as euery man listed: but in such an order and ray, that in the middest of the funerals, they did make a triumph of victory. For the souldiers were all crowned with garlands of laurell in token of victory, notwithstanding, the teares ranne downe their cheekes in token of sorow, and they led their enemies prisoners, shackled and chained. The funerall-pot in the which were *Philopœmens* ashes, was so couered with garlands of flowers, nosegayes, and laces, that it could scant be seene or discerned, and was caried by one *Polybius* a young man, the son of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time to the ACHAIANS: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefest of the ACHAIANS, and after them also followed all the souldiers armed, and their horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so sorrowfull in their countenance, as they are commonly which haue great cause of sorow: nor yet so ioyful, as those that came conquerors from so great a victory. Those of the cities, townes, and villages in their way as they past, came and presented themselues vnto them, to touch the funerall-pot of his ashes, euen as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the warres: and did accompany his conuoy vnto the city of MEGALIPOLIS: at the gates whereof, were old men, women, and children, which thrusting themselues amongst the souldiers, did renew the teares, sorrowes, and lamentations of all the miserable and vnfortunate citie: who took it that they had lost with their citizens, the first and chiefest place of honour among the ACHAIANS. So he was buried very honourably as appertained vnto him: and the other prisoners of MESSINA, were all stoned to death, about his sepulcher. All the other cities of ACHAIA, besides many other honours they did vnto him, did set vp statues, as like to him as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the vnfortunate time of GREECE, when the citie of CORINTH was burnt & destroied by the ROMAINES, there was a malicious ROMAINE that did what he could to haue the same pulled downe againe, by burdning and accusing *Philopœmen* (as if he had bene yet aliue) that he was alwayes enemie to the ROMAINES, and enuied much their prosperitie and victories. But after *Polybius* had aunswered him: neither the Consull *Mummius*, nor his counsellers, nor lieutenants, would suffer them to deface and take away the honours done in memory of so famous and worthy a man, although he had many wayes done much hurt vnto *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and vnto *Manius*. So, these good men then made a difference betweene dutie and profit: and did thinke honestie and profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason and iustice. Moreouer they were perswaded, that like as men receiue curtesie and goodnesse of any, so are they bound to requite them againe, with kindnesse and dutie. And as men vse to acknowledge the same: euen so ought men to honour and reuerence vertue.

Philopœmens last words.

Philopœmens death.

The Achaians did reuenge Philopœmens death.

Dinocrates slue himselfe.

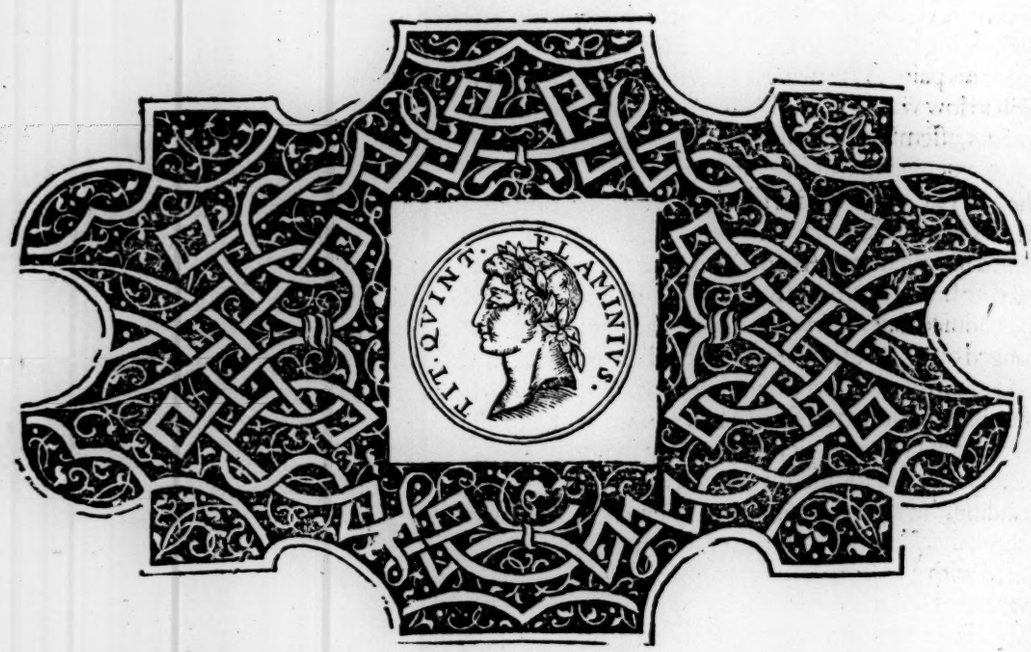
Philopœmens funerall.

Note the humanitie of the Romaines, keeping their enemies monuments from defacing.

And thus much for the life of
Philopœmen.

The end of Philopœmens life.

THE LIFE OF
Titus Quintius Flaminius.



IT is easie to see *Titus Quintius Flaminins* forme and stature, by *Philopœmens* statue of brasse, to whom we compare him: the which is now set vp at ROME, neare to great *Apollo* that was brought from CARTHAGE, and is placed right against the comming into the shew place, vnder which there is an inscription in Greeke letters. But for his nature and conditions, they say of him thus: he would quickly be angrie, and yet very readie to pleasure men againe. For, if he did punish any man that had angred him, he would do it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good also to many, and euer loued them whom he had once pleasured, as if he had done him some pleasure: and was readie to do for them still whom he found thankfull, because he would euer make them beholding to him, and thought that as honourable a thing, as he could purchase to himselfe. Because he greatly sought honour aboue all things, when any notable seruice was to be done, he would do it himselfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would euer be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could help him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercise his vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellowes and followers of honor with him. He came to mans state, when the citie of ROME had greatest warres and trouble. At that time all the youth of ROME, which were of age to carie weapon, were sent to the warre to learne to traile the pike, and how to become good captaines. Thus was he entred into marshall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the warre against *Hannibal* of CARTHAGE, where he was made Colonell of a thousand footemen, vnder *Marcellus* the Consull: who being slaine by an ambush *Hannibal* had layed for him betweene the cities of BANCIA and VENVSA, then they did chuse *Titus Quintius Flaminius* gouernour of the prouince and citie of TARENTVM, which was now taken againe the second time. In this gouernement of his, he wanne the reputation as much of a good and iust man, as he did of an expert and skilfull captaine. By reason whereof, when the ROMAINES were requested to send men to inhabite the cities of NARNIA and COSSA, he was appointed the chiefe leader of them, which chiefly gaue him heart and courage to aspire at the first to the Consulship, passing ouer all other meane offices, as to be Ædile, Tribune, or Prætor, by which (as by degrees) other yong men were wont to attaine the Consulship. Therefore when the

Titus Quintius first charge in vvarre.

Degrees of offices before one came to be Consull.

the time came that the Consuls should be elected, he did present himselfe among other, accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabite the two new townes, who did make earnest sute for him. But the two Tribunes *Fuluius* and *Manlius*, spake against him, and said: it was out of all reason, that so yong a man should in such manner prease to haue the office of the highest dignitie, against the vse and custome of Rome, before he had passed through the inferiour offices of the common-wealth. Neuertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voices of the people: who presently pronounced him Consull openly, with *Sextius Ælius*, although he was not yet thirtie yeares old. Afterwards, *Ælius* and he deuiding the offices of the state by lot, it fell vpon *T. Quintius* to make warre with *Philip* king of Macedon. In the which me thinks fortune greatly fauored the Romaines affaires, that made such a man General of these wars: for, to haue pointed a Generall that by force and violence would haue sought all things at the Macedonians hands, that were a people to be won rather by gentlenesse and perswasions, then by force and compulsion: it was all against themselues. *Philip*, to maintaine the brunt of a battell against the Romaines, had power enough of his owne in his Realme of Macedon: but to make war any long time, to furnish himselfe with mony and victuals, to haue a place and cities to retire vnto: and lastly, to haue all other necessaries for his men and armie, it stood him vpon to get the force of Greece. And had not the force of Greece bene politickly cut from him, the wars against him had not bene ended with one battell. Moreouer, Greece (which neuer before bare the Romaines any great good will) would not haue dealt then so inwardly in friendship with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle person, lowly and tractable, that wan them more by his wisedome, then by his force, and could both eloquently vtter his mind to them, and courteously also heate them speake, that had to do with him, and chiefly ministred iustice and equitie to euery man alike. For it is not to be thought that Greece would otherwise so soone haue withdrawne themselues from the rule of those, with whom they were acquainted, and gouerned: and haue put themselues vnder the rule of strangers, but that they saw great iustice and lenitie in them. Howbeit that may more plainely apppeare by declaring of his acts. *Titus* was informed, that the Generals before him sent to the warre in Macedon (as *Sulpitius*, and *Publius Iulius*) vsed to come thither about the latter end of the yeare, and made but cold warres, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against *Philip*, and all to take some straight, or to cut off victuals: which he thought was not his way to folow their example. For they tarying at home, consumed the most of their Consulship at Rome, in matters of gouernement, and so enioyed the honour of their office. Afterwards in the end of their yeare, they would set out to the wars, of intent to get another yeare ouer their heads in their office, that speding one yeare in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the wars abroad. But *Titus* not minding to trifle out the half of his Consulship at Rome, & the other abroad in the wars: did willingly leaue al his honors & dignities, he might haue enioyed by his office at Rome, and besought the Senate that they would appoint his brother *Lucius Quintius* lieutenant of their army by sea. Furthermore, he tooke with him selfe about three thousand old souldiers of those that had first ouerthrown *Asdrubal* in Spaine, and *Hannibal* afterwards in Afrike, vnder the conduct of *Scipio*, which yet were able to serue, and were very willing to go with him in his iourney, to be the strength of his army. With this company he passed the seas without danger, and landed in Epirus, where he found *Publius Iulius* encamped with his armie before King *Philip*, who of long time had lien in camp about the mouth of the riuer of Apsus, to keep the straight & passage which is the entrie into Epirus. So that *Publius Iulius* had lien still there, and done nothing, by reason of the natural force & hardnes of the place. Then *Titus* tooke the army of him, & sent him to Rome. Afterwards, himself went in person to view & cõsider the nature of the country, which was in this sort. It is a long vally walled on either side with great high mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of Tempe in Thessaly: howbeit it had no such goodly woods, nor greene forests, nor faire medows, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deep marish or quauemire, through the middest wherof the riuer called Apsvs did run, being in greatnesse and swiftnesse of streame, very like to the riuer of Penevs. The riuer did occupy al the ground at the feete of the mountaines, sauing a litle way that was cut out of the maine rocke by mans hand, and a narrow straight path by the waters side, very vnhandsome for an armie to passe that way, though they found not a man to keepe the passage. There were some in the armie that counselled *Titus* to fetch a great compasse about by the country of Dassaretide, and by the

T. Q. Flaminius, Sextius Ælius Consuls.

T. Q. Flaminius maketh war with Philip king of Macedon.

Titus courteous wan the Grecians, more then his force.

T. Q. landed in Epirus. Apsus fl.

The description of the country of Epirus.

citie of LYNCVS, where the countrey is very plaine, and the way maruellous easie. Howbeit he stood in great feare he should lack victuals, if he staid farre from the sea, and happily if he fell into any barren or leane countrey, (*Philip* refusing the battel, and purposing to flie) he should be constrained in the end to returne againe towards the sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the mountaines to set vpon his enemie, and to proue if he could win the passage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the mountaines with his armie, and when the ROMAINES forced to get vp the hilles, they were receiued with darts, slings, and shot, that lighted amongst them here & there: insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slain and hurt on either side. But this was not the end of the warre: for in the meane time there came certaine neatherds of the countrey vnto *Titus* (who did vse to keep beasts on these mountaines) and told him they could bring him a way which they knew the enemies kept not: by the which they promised to guide his armie so, that in three dayes at the furthest, they would bring them on the top of the mountaine. And becausse they might be assured that their words were true, they said they were sent to him by *Charopus*, the sonne of *Machatas*. This *Caropus* was the chiefest man of the EPIROTS, who loued the ROMAINES very wel, yet he fauoured them but vnderhand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gaue credit vnto them, and so sent one of his captaines with them, with foure thousand footmen, and three hundred horsmen. The heard-men that were their guides, went before stil, fast bound: and the ROMAINES followed after. All the day time the armie rested in thick woods, and marched all night by moon light, which was then by good hap at the full. *Titus* hauing sent these men away, rested all the rest of his camp: sauing that some dayes he entertained them with some light skirmishes to occupie the enemie withal. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compasse about, should come vnto the top of the mountaine aboue the campe of his enemies, he brought all his armie out of the campe by breake of day, and deuided them into three troupes, with the one of them he himselfe went on that side of the riuer where the way is straighteſt, making his bands to march directly against the side of the hill. The MACEDONIANS againe, they shot lustily at them from the height of the hill, and in certaine places amongst the rockes they came to the sword. At the selfesame time, the two other troupes on either hand of him, did their endeuor likewise to get vp the hil, and as it were enuying one another, they climed vp with great courage against the sharp and steep hanging of the mountaine. When the Sun was vp, they might see a farre off as it were, a certaine smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the mists we see commonly rise from the tops of the mountaines. The enemies could see nothing, becausse it was behind them, and that the top of the mountaine was possessed with the same. The ROMAINES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellows they looked for. But when they saw it increased still more and more, and in such sort, that it darkned all the aire: then they did assure them selues it was certainly the token their men did giue them that they were come. Then they began to crie out, climing vp the hils with such a lustie courage, that they draue their enemies vp the hill still, euen vnto the very rough and hardest places of the mountaine. Their fellowes also that were behind the enemies, did answer them with like loud cries from the top of the mountaine: wherewith the enemies were so astonied, that they fled presently vpon it. Notwithstanding, there was not slaine aboue two thousand of them, becausse the hardnes and straightnesse of the place did so guard them, that they could not be chased. But the ROMAINES spoiled their camp, tooke all that they found in their tents, tooke also their slaues, and wan the passage into the mountaines, by the which they entred the country of EPIRVS: and did passe through it so quietly, and with so great abstinence, that though they were far from their ships and the sea, and lacked their ordinarie portion of corne which the were wont to haue monethly, & that victuals were very scant with them at that time, yet they neuer took any thing of the country, though they found great store & plentie of all riches in it. For *Titus* was aduertised, that *Philip* passing by THESSALY, & flying for feare, had caused the inhabitants of the cities to get them to the mountains, and then to set fire on their houses, & to leaue those goods they could not carie away, by reason of the weight & vnhansome cariage thereof, to the spoile of his souldiers: and so (as it seemed) he left the whole country to the conquest of the ROMAINES. Whereupon *Titus* looking consideratly to his doings, gaue his men great charge to passe through the country without doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their enemies had now left to them as their owne. So they taried not long to enioy the benefit of their orderly and wise forbearing of the country. For, so soone as they were entred THESSALY, the

Charopus (Machatas son) the chiefe man of the Epirots.

T. Q. possessed the straights of the mountaines

The Macedonians flie.

Philips king of Macedon flieth

T. Q. Flaminius modestly forbearing spoiles vvan him manie friends.

the cities willingly yeelded themselues vnto them: and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyond the country of THERMOPYLES, did maruellously desire to see *Titus*, asking no other thing, but to put themselues into his hands. The ACHAIANS also on the other side, did renounce the league and alliance they had made with *Philip*: and furthermore did determine in their counsell, to make war with him on the ROMAINES side. And although the ÆTOLIANS were at that time friends and confederates with the ROMAINES, and that they did shew themselues very louing to take their part in the wars: neuertheless when they desired the OPVNTIANS that they would put their citie into their hands, and were offered that it should be kept & defended from *Philip*: they would not hearken thereto, but sent for *Titus*, and put themselues and their goods wholy into his protection. They say, that when king *Pyrrus* first saw the ROMAINES armie range in order of battel from the top of a hill, he said: this order of the barbarous people setting of their men in battell ray, was not done in a barbarous maner. And those also that neuer had seene *Titus* before, and came for to speake with him: were compelled in a maner to say as much. For where they had heard the MACEDONIANS say, that there came a captaine of the barbarous people that destroyed all before him by force of armes, and subdued whole countries by violence: they said to the contrary, that they found him a man indeede young of yeares, howbeit gentle, and courteous to looke on, and that spake the Greeke tongue excellently well, and was a louer only of true glorie. By reason whereof they returned home maruellous glad, and filled all the cities and towns of GRECE with good wil towards him, and said: they had seene *Titus* the captaine, that would restore them to their ancient libertie againe. Then it much more appeared, when *Philip* shewed himself willing to haue peace, and that *Titus* also did offer it him, and the friendship of the people of ROME, with these conditions, that he would leaue the GRECIANS their whole liberties, & remoue his garrisons out of their cities and strong holds: which *Philip* refused to do. And thereupon all GRECE, and euen those which fauoured *Philip*, said with one voice: that the ROMAINES were not come to make warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in fauour of the GRECIANS. Whereupon all GRECE came in, & offered themselues vnto *Titus* without compulsiō. And as he passed through the countrey of BOEOTIA, without any shew at all of warres, the chiefest men of the citie of THEBES went to meet him: who though they tooke part with the king of MACEDON, because of a priuate man called *Brachylelis*, yet they would honour *Titus*, as those which were contented to keepe league and friendship with either side. *Titus* embraced them, and spake very courteously vnto them, going on his way still faire and softly, entertaining them sometime with one matter, and sometime with another, and kept them talk of purpose, to the end his souldiers being wearied with iourneying, might in the meane time take good breath: and so marching on by litle and litle, he entred into the citie with them. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleased, but yet they durst not refuse him, though he had not at that time any number of souldiers about him. When he was within THEBES, he prayed audience, and began to perswade the people (as carefully as if he had not had the citie alreadie) that they would rather take part with the ROMAINES, then with the king of MACEDON. And to further *Titus* purpose, king *Attalus* being by chance at that time in the assēbly, did help to exhort the THEBANS very earnestly, that they would do as *Titus* perswaded them. But *Attalus* was more earnest then became a man of his yeares, for the desire he had (as was imagined) to shew *Titus* his eloquence: who did so straine and moue himselfe withall, that he sounded sodainly in the middest of his oration, whereby the rewme fell downe so fast vpon him, that it tooke away his senses, so as he fell in a traunce before them all, and few daies after was conueied againe by sea into ASIA, where he liued not long after. In the meane time, the BOEOTIANS came in to the ROMAINES, and took their part. And *Philip* hauing sent Ambassadors to ROME, *Titus* also sent thither of his men to solicite for him, in two respects. The one, if the warres continued against *Philip*, that then they would prolong his time there. The other, if the Senate did graunt him peace: that they would do him the honour, as to make and conclude it with *Philip*. For *Titus* of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare least they would send a successor to continue those wars, who should take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his frieds made such earnest sute for him, that neither king *Philip* attained that he praied: neither was there sent any other General in *Titus* place, but he stil cōtinued his charge in these wars. Wherefore, so soone as he had receiued his commission and authoritie from the Senate, he went straight towards THESSALY, with great hope to ouercome *Philip*. For he had in his armie aboue fixe and twentie thousand fighting men, whereof the ÆTOLIANS made fixe thousand footmen,

Pyrrus saying of the Romains armie.

King Attalus death.

The Bœotians yeeld vnto the Romaines.

Quintius armie.

and three thousand horsemen. King *Philips* army on the other side was no lesse in number, and they began to march one towards the other, vntilll at the length they both drew neare the citie of SCOTVSA, where they determined to trie the battell. So, neither they nor their men were afraid to see themselues one so neare another: but rather to the contrary, the ROMAINES on the one side tooke greater heart and courage vnto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselues what great honour they should win to ouercome the MACEDONIANS, who were so highly esteemed for their valiantnesse, by reason of the famous acts that *Alexander* the great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other side also, taking the ROMAINES for other maner of souldiers then the PERSIANS, beganne to haue good hope if they might winne the field, to make King *Philip* more famous in the world, then euer was *Alexander* his father. *Titus* then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to shew themselues valiant souldiers in this battell, as those which were to shew the proofe of their valiantnesse in the heart of GREECE, the goodliest Theater of the world, and against their enemies of most noble fame. *Philip* then by chaunce, or forced to it by the speed he made, because they were both ready to ioyne, did get vp vnwares vpon a charnell house, (where they had buried many bodies, being a litle hill raised vp aboue the rest, and neare the trenches of his campe) and there began to encourage his souldiers, as all Generals do before they giue battell. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they took it for an il signe that he was gotten vp on the top of a graue to speak vnto thē, he of a conceit at the matter, did of himselfe deferre to giue battel that day. The next morning, because the night was very wet by reason the South windes had blowne, the clouds were turned to a mist, and filled all the valley with a darke grosse thicke ayre, comming from the mountaines thereabouts, which couered the field betweene both campes with a mist all the morning: by reason whereof the skouts on both sides that were sent to discouer what the enemies did, in very short time met together, and one gaue charge vpon another, in a place they call the dogges heads, which are points of rockes placed vpon litle hilles one before another, and very neare one vnto another, which haue bene called so, because they haue had some likenesse of it. In this skirmish there were many chaunges, as commonly falleth out when they fight in such ill fauoured stony places: for sometime the ROMAINES fled, and the MACEDONIANS chased them: another time the MACEDONIANS that followed the chase, were glad to flie themselues, and the ROMAINES who fled before now had them in chase. This chaunge and alteration came by sending new supplies still from both campes, to relieue them that were distressed and driuen to flie. Now began the mist to breake vp, and the ayre to cleare, so that both Generals might see about them what was done in either camp: by reason whereof both of them drew on their army to the field and battell. So *Philip* had the vantage on the right wing of his army, which was placed on the height of an hanging hill, from which they came so amaine to set vpon the ROMAINES, and with such a fury, that the strongest & valiantest that could be, had neuer bin able to abide the front of their battell, so closely were they ioyned together, and their wall of pikes was so strong. But on his left wing it was not so, because the ranks of his battell could not ioyne so neare nor close target to target, the place being betwixt the hils and the rocks where the battell was comming, so as they were compelled by reason of the straightnesse & vneuennesse of the ground, to leaue it open, and vnfurnished in many places. *Titus* finding that disaduantage, went from the left wing of his battell which he saw ouerlaid by the right wing of his enemies, and going sodainely toward the left wing of King *Philips* battell, he set vpon the MACEDONIANS on that side, where he saw they could not close their ranks in the front, nor ioyne them together in the middest of the battell (which is the whole strength and order of the MACEDONIAN fight) because the field was vp hill and downe hill: and to fight hand to hand they were so pestered behind, that one thronged and ouerlaid another. For the battell of the MACEDONIANS hath this propertie, that so long as the order is kept close and ioyned together, it seemeth as it were but the body of a beast of a force inuincible. But also after that it is once open, and that they are sundred and not ioyned together, it doth not only loose the force and power of the whole body, but also of euery priuate souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diuersitie of the weapons wherwith they fight, and partly for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing and ioyning together of their ranks and orders, which doth stay vp one another, more then doth euery priuate souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the MACEDONIANS was broken, and that they ran their way: one part of the ROMAINES followed the chase, and the other ran to giue a charge vpon the flankes of the right wing which fought yet,

King Philip and Quintius met with their armies neare Scotusa.

Battell betweene Quintius and Philip King of Macedon.

The propertie of the Macedonian battell.

and

and they made great slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, began to stagger and breake, and in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing downe their weapons: insomuch as there were slaine of them eight thousand in the field, and fiue thousand taken prisoners in the chase. And had not the fault bene in the ÆTOLIANS, *Philip* had not saued himselfe by flying as he did. For whilst the ROMAINES had their enemies in chase, the ÆTOLIANS taried, and rifled all king *Philips* campe, so as they had left the ROMAINES nothing to spoile at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell and hot words betweene them, and one with another. But afterwards they angred *Titus* worse, chalenging the honour of this victorie to themselues, because they gaue it out through GREECE, that they alone had ouerthrowne king *Philip* in the battell. So that in the songs and ballades the Poets made in praise of this victorie, which euery country and townes-man had in his mouth, they alwaies put the ÆTOLIANS before the ROMAINES: as in this that followeth, which was currantly sung in euery place:

Quintius ouercame Philips army.

Mutinie betwixt the AEtolians and the Romaines.

Oh friend, which passest by: here lye we wretched pheares,
Withouten honour of the graue, without lamenting teares.
We thirty thousand were, which ended haue our daies:
In cruell coasts of Thessaly, which caused our decaies.
We haue bene ouerthrowne by th' AEtolians men of warre:
And by the Latine crewes likewise, whom Titus led from farre,
Euen out of Italy, to Macedonie land,
Vs to destroy, he (Captaine-like) did come with mighty band:
And Philip stout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face,
Is fled, more swift then Harts do run, which are pursude in chase.

Alcæus verses in disgrace of king Philip.

The Poet was *Alcæus* that made these verses for to sing, who did them in disgrace of king *Philip*, falsely increasing the number of his men which died in the battell, onely to shame and spite him the more: howbeit he spited *Titus* thereby, more then *Philip*, because it was sung in euery place. For *Philip* laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a song to counterfeit his, as followeth:

Philips verses against Alcaus

This gibbet on this hill, which passers by may marke,
Was set to hang Alcæus vp, withouten leaues or barke.

But *Titus* tooke it grieuously, who chiefly desired to be honoured amongst the GRECIANS, by reason whereof from that time forwards he dealt in the rest of his matters alone, without making account of the ÆTOLIANS: wherewith they were maruellous angry, and specially when he receiued an ambassador from *Philip*, and gaue eare vnto a treatie of peace which he offered. For then they were so netled against him, that they gaue it out through all GREECE, that *Titus* had sold peace vnto *Philip*, when he might altogether haue ended the war, and vtterly haue destroyed *Philips* whole power and Empire, who had first brought GREECE into bondage. These slanderous reports and false tales which the ÆTOLIANS spread thus abroad, did much trouble the ROMAINES friends and confederates: but *Philip* selfe pulled this suspition out of their heades, when he came in person to require peace, and did submit himself wholly to the discretion of *Titus* and the ROMAINES. *Titus* then granted him peace, and deliuered to him his realme of MACEDON, and commaunded him he should giue ouer all that he held in GREECE, and besides, that he should pay one thousand talents for tribute, taking from him all his army by sea, sauing onely ten ships: and for assurance of this peace, he tooke one of his sons for hostage, whome he sent to ROME. Wherin *Titus* certainly did very well, and wisely did foresee the time to come. For then *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE (the great enemy of the ROMAINES) was banished out of his country, and came to king *Antiochus*, whom he put in the head, and earnestly moued, to follow his good fortune, and the increase of his empire. Whome *Hanniball* so followed with these perswasions, that king *Antiochus* at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good successe, and notable acts, whereby in the wars before he had attained the surname of Great, he began now to aspire to the monarchy of the whole world, and sought how to find occasion to make wars with the ROMAINES. So that if *Titus* (foreseeing that a far off) had not wisely inclined to peace, but that the wars of *Antiochus* had fallen out together with the wars of king *Philip*, and that these two the mightiest Princes of the world had ioyned together against the city of ROME: then it had bene in as great trouble and danger, as euer it was before in the time of their wars against *Hanniball*. Howbeit, *Titus* hauing happily thrust in this peace between both wars, he cut off the warre

Priuy grudge betwixt Quintius and the AEtolians.

T. Quintius granted Philip peace.

Hannibal was with king Antiochus.

that was preſent, before the other that was comming: by which meanes he tooke from one of the kings his laſt, and from the other his firſt hope. In the meane time the tenne Commiſſioners that were ſent by the Senate from Rome to *Titus*, to aide and aſſiſt him in the order of the affaires of Grece, did counſell him to ſet all the reſt of Grece at liberty, and onely to keepe in their hands with good garriſon, the cities of Chalcide, of Corinth, and of Demetriade, to make ſure that by practiſe they ſhould not enter into league and alliance with *Antiochus*. Then the Ætolians (that were the common ſlanderers of *Titus* proceedings) began openly to make theſe cities to rebell, and did ſummon *Titus* to looſe the chaines of Grece: for ſo did king *Philip* call theſe three cities. Then they asked the Grecians in mockerie, whether they were willing now to haue heauier fetters on their legges then before, being ſomewhat brighter and fairer then thoſe they had bene ſhackled with: and alſo whether they were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking off the fetters from the Grecians legs, and tying them about their necks. *Titus* being maruellouſly troubled and vexed with this, moued the ten Counſellers ſo earneſtly, that he made them graunt his requeſt in the end, that thoſe three cities alſo ſhould be deliuered from garriſon: becauſe the Grecians thencefoorth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberalitie was not throughly perfourmed, and accompliſhed in euery reſpect on them all. Wherefore when the feaſt called Iſthmia was come, there were gathered together an infinit multitude of people, come to ſee the ſport of the games played there: for Grece hauing bene long time troubled with wars, they ſeeing themſelues now in ſure peace, and in very good hope of ful libertie, looked after no other thing, but delighted onely to ſee games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by ſound of trumpet in the aſſembly, that euery man ſhould keepe ſilence. That done, the herald went forward, and thruſt into the midſt of the multitude, and proclaimed out aloud: that the Senate of Rome, and *T. Quintius Flaminius*, Conſull of the people of Rome (now that they had ouerthrowne king *Philip* and the Macedonians in battell) did thenceforth diſcharge from all garriſons, and ſet at liberty from all taxes, ſubſidies, and impoſitions for euer, to liue after their old ancient lawes, and in full liberty: the Corinthians, the Locrians, thoſe of Phocide, thoſe of the Iles of Eubœa, the Achaians, the Phthiotes, the Magneſians, the Theſſalians, and the Perrhœbians. At the firſt time of the Proclamation, all the people could not heare the voice of the herald, and the moſt part of thoſe that heard him, could not tell directly what he ſaid: for there ran vp and downe the ſhew-place where the games were plaid, a confuſed brute and tumult of the people, that wondred, and asked what the matter meant, ſo as the he herald was driuen againe to make the proclamation. Whereupon after ſilẽce made, the herald putting out his voice far louder then before, did proclaime it in ſuch audible wiſe, that the whole aſſembly heard him: and then roſe there ſuch a loud ſhout and crie of ioy through the whole people, that the ſound of it was heard to the ſea. Then all the people that had taken their places, and were ſet to ſee the Sword-players play, roſe vp all on their feet, letting the games alone, and went together with great ioy to ſalute, to embrace, and to thanke *Titus* the recouerer, protector, and patrone of all their liberties of Grece. Then was ſeene (which is much ſpoken of) the power of mens voyces: for crowes fell downe at that preſent time among the people, which by chance flew ouer the ſhew-place at that time that they made the ſame outſhout. This came to paſſe, by reaſon the aire was broken and cut aſunder with the vehemencie and ſtrength of the voyces, ſo as it had not his naturall power in it, to keepe vp the flying of the birdes: which were driuen of neceſſitie to fall to the ground, as flying through a void place where they lacked aire. Vnleſſe we will rather ſay, that it was the violence of the crie, which ſtrooke the birds paſſing through the aire, as they had bene hit with arrowes, and ſo made them fall down dead to the earth. It may be alſo, that there was ſome hurling wind in the aire, as we do ſee ſomtime in the ſea, when it riſeth high, and many times turneth about the waues, by violence of the ſtorme. So it is, that if *Titus* had not preuented the whole multitude of people which came to ſee him, & that he had not got him away betimes, before the games were ended: he had hardly ſcaped from being ſtifled amongſt thẽ, the people came ſo thicke about him from euery place. But after that they were weary of crying and ſinging about his pauilion vntill night, in the end they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kin, friends or citizens, they did kiſſe and embrace one another for ioy, and ſo ſupped and made merrie together. In their more reioycing yet, as we may thinke full well, they had no other talke at the table, but of the wars of Grece, diſcourſing among thẽ what ſundry great wars they had made, what they had endured heretofore,

Chalcide, Corinth, Demetriade, called by Philip of Macedon, the Chaines of Greece.

Iſthmia.

Crowes flying, fell downe by the ſound of mens voyces.

heretofore, and all to defend and recouer their liberty. And yet for all that, they could neuer ſo ioyfully, nor more aſſuredly obtaine it, then they did euen at that preſent, receiuing the honorableſt reward, and that which deſerued greateſt fame through the world: that by the valiantneſſe of ſtrangers who fought for the ſame (without any ſpilt bloud of their owne in compariſon, or that they loſt the life of any one man, whoſe death they had cauſe to lament) they were ſo reſtored to their auncient freedome and liberty. It is a very rare thing amongſt men, to find a man very valiant, and wiſe withall: but yet of all ſorts of valiant men, it is harder to finde a iuſt man. For *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and all other the famous captaines of former times, had very good skill to leade an armie, and to win the battell, as well by ſea as by land: but to turne their victories to any honourable benefite, or true honour among men, they could neuer skill of it. And if you do except the battell againſt the barbarous people, in the plaine of MARATHON, the battell of SALAMINA, the iourney of PLATÆES, the battell of THERMOPYLES, the battell *Cimon* fought about CYPRVS, and vpon the riuer of Eurymedon: all the other wars and battels of GREECE that were made, fell out againſt themſelues, and did euer bring them into bondage: and all the tokens of triumph which euer were ſet vp for the ſame, was to their ſhame and loſſe. So that in the end, GREECE was vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrowne, and that chiefly through the wickednes and ſelfe-will of her gouernors and captaines of the cities, one enuying anothers doing. Where a ſtraunge nation, the which (as it ſhould ſeeme) had very ſmall occaſion to moue them to do it, (for that they haue had no great familiaritie with auncient GREECE, and through the counſell and good wiſedome of the which, it ſhould ſeeme very ſtraunge that GREECE could receiue any benefite) haue notwithſtanding with daungerous battels and infinite troubles, deliuered it from oppreſſion and ſeruitude of violent Lords and tyrants. This and ſuch like talke, did at that time occupie the GRECIANS heads: and moreouer, the deedes following did anſwer and performe the words of the proclamation. For at one ſelfe time, *Titus* ſent *Lentulus* into ASIA, to ſet the BARGILIANS at liberty, and *Titillius* into THRACIA, to remoue the garriſons out of the Iles and cities which *Philip* had kept there: and *Publius Iulius* was ſent alſo into ASIA, vnto king *Antiochus*, to ſpeake vnto him to ſet the GRECIANS at liberty which he kept in ſubiection. And as for *Titus*, he went himſelfe vnto the citie of CHALCIDE, where he tooke ſea, and went into the prouince of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tooke all the garriſons of the cities, and redeliuered the gouernement of the commonwealth vnto the citizens of the ſame. Afterwards when time came that the feaſt of Nemea was celebrated in the citie of ARGOS in the honour of *Hercules*, *Titus* was choſen iudge and rector of the games that were plaid there: where, after he had ſet all things in very good order, pertaining vnto the ſolemnitie of the feaſt, he cauſed againe ſolemne proclamation to be made openly, for the generall liberty of all GREECE. Furthermore viſiting the cities, he did ſtabliſh very good lawes, reformed iuſtice, and did ſet the inhabitants and citizens of euery one of them in good peace, amity and concord one with another: and did call home alſo all thoſe that were outlawes and baniſhed men, & pacified all old quarrels and diſſentions among them. The which did no leſſe pleaſe and content him, that by perſwaſions he could bring the GRECIANS to be reconciled one with the other: then if he had by force of armes ouercome the MACEDONIANS. In ſomuch, as the recouery of the liberty which *Titus* had reſtored vnto the GRECIANS, ſeemed vnto them the leaſt part of the goodneſſe they had receiued at his hands. They ſay, that *Lycurgus* the orator ſeeing the collectors of taxes, carie *Zenocrates* the Philoſopher one day to priſon, for lacke of payment of a certaine impoſition, which the ſtraungers inhabiting within the citie of ATHENS were to pay: he reſcued him from them by force, and moreouer proſecuted law ſo hard againſt them, that he made them pay a fine for the iniurie they had done vnto ſo worthie a perſon. And they tell, how the ſame Philoſopher afterwards meeting *Lycurgus* children in the citie, ſaid vnto them: I do well requite your fathers good turne he did me: for I am the cauſe that he is praiſed and commended of euery man, for the kindneſſe he ſhewed on my behalfe. So the good deedes of the ROMAINES, and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius* vnto the GRECIANS, did not onely reape this benefite vnto them, in recompence that they were praiſed and honoured of all the world: but they were cauſe alſo of increaſing their dominions and Empire ouer all nations, and that the world afterwards had great affiance and truſt in them, and that moſt iuſtly. So that the people and cities did not onely receiue the Captaines and Gouernours the ROMAINES ſent them: but they alſo went to ROME vnto them, and procured them to come, and did put themſelues into their hands. And not only the cities and commu-

Quintius care to ſtabliſh the liberty of the Grecians.

The feaſt Nemea kept at Argos.

Lycurgus the orator, reſcued Zenocrates the Philoſopher, and ſaued him from priſon.

nalties, but kings and princes alſo which were oppreſſed by other more mighty then themſelues) had no other refuge, but to put themſelues vnder their protection: by reaſon whereof in a very ſhort time (with the fauour and helpe of the gods, as I am perſwaded) all the world came to ſubmit themſelues to their obedience, and vnder the protection of their Empire. *Titus* alſo did glorie more, that he had reſtored GRECE againe vnto liberty, then in any other ſeruice or exploit he had euer done. For when he offered vp vnto the temple of *Apollo* in the city of DELPHES, the targets of ſiluer with his owne ſhield, he made theſe verſes to be grauen vpon them, in effect as followeth:

O noble twins Tyndarides, Dan Ioue his children deare,
Throw out loude ſhouts of ioy and mirth, reioyce and make good cheare.
O noble kings of Spartan ſoyle, which take delight to ride
Your trampling ſteedes, with fomy bit, and trappings by their ſide:
Reioyce you now, for Titus he, the valiant Romaine Knight,
Theſe gifts ſo great to you hath got, euen by his force and might:
That hauing taken cleane away from off the Greekiſh neckes,
The heauie yoke of ſeruitude, which held them thrall to checkes,
Vnto their former libertie he hath reſtorde them free,
Which altogether periſht was, as men might plainely ſee.

He gaue a crowne of maſſie gold vnto *Apollo*, vpon the which he made this inſcription to be written:

A valiant Romaine Knight, euen Titus by his name,
A captaine worthy by deſert of high renowne and fame:
To thee (Apollo god) this crowne of pure fine gold
Hath giuen, thy godhead to adorne with iewels manifold:
Therefore let it thee pleaſe (Apollo god of grace)
With fauour to requite this loue to him and to his race:
That his renowned fame and vertue may be ſpred,
And blazed through the world ſo wide, to ſhew what life he led.

So hath the citie of CORINTH enioyed this good hap, that the GRECIANS haue bene twice proclaimed to be ſet at liberty: the firſt time by *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and the ſecond time by *Nero* in our time, and at the ſelfe ſame inſtant when they ſolemnely kept the feaſt called Iſthmia. Howbeit the firſt proclamation of their libertie (as we haue told you before) was done by the voice of an herald: & the ſecond time it was done by *Nero* himſelf, who proclaimed it in an oration he made vnto the people in open aſſembly, in the market place of the city of CORINTH. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, *Titus* began then a goodly and iuſt warre againſt *Nabis* the curſed and wicked tyrant of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit in the end he deceiued the expectation of GRECE: for when he might haue taken him, he would not do it, but made peace with him, forſaking poore SPARTA, vnworthily oppreſſed vnder the yoke of bondage: either becauſe he was affraid that if the warre held on, there ſhould come a ſucceſſour vnto him from ROME, that ſhould carie the glorie away to end the ſame, or elſe he ſtood iealous and enuious of the honour they did vnto *Philopœmen*: who hauing ſhewed himſelfe in euery place as excellent a captaine as euer came in GRECE, and hauing done notable acts and famous ſeruice, both of great wiſedome, and alſo of valiantneſſe, and ſpecially in the ACHAIANS warre: he was as much honoured and reuerenced of the ACHAIANS in the Theaters and common aſſemblies, euen as *Titus* was. Whereat *Titus* was maruellouſly offended, for he thought it vnreaſonable, that an ARCADIAN who had neuer bene generall of an armie, but in ſmall litle warres againſt his neighbors, ſhould be as much eſteemed and honoured, as a Conſull of ROME, that was come to make wars for the recouerie of the liberty of GRECE. But *Titus* alleadged reaſonable excuſe for his doings, ſaying, that he ſaw very well he could not deſtroy this tyrant *Nabis*, without the great loſſe and miſerie of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore, of all the honours the ACHAIANS euer did him (which were very great) me thinkes there was none that came neare any recompence of his honorable and well deſeruing, but one onely preſent they offered him, and which he aboue all the reſt moſt eſteemed: and this it was. During the ſecond warres of AFRICKE, which the ROMAINES had againſt *Hannibal*, many ROMAINES were taken priſoners in the ſundry battels they loſt, and being ſold here and there, remained ſlaues in many countries: and amongſt other, there

were

Nero did ſet Greece at libertie.

VVhy Quintius made peace with Nabis the tyrant of Lacedæmon.

The honour of Philopœmen.

were disperſed in GRECE to the number of twelue hundred, which from time to time did moue men with pitie and compaſſion towards them that ſaw them in ſo miſerable chaunge and ſtate of fortune. But then much more was their miſerie to be pitied, when theſe captiues found in the ROMAINES army, ſome of them their ſonnes, other their brethren, and the reſt their fellowes and friends, free and conquerours, and themſelues ſlaues and bondmen. It grieued *Titus* much to ſee theſe poore men in ſuch miſerable captiuitie, notwithſtanding he would not take them by force from thoſe that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for fiue hundred pence a man, and hauing gathered them together into a troupe, they preſented all the ROMAIN captiues vnto *Titus*, euen as he was ready to take ſhip to returne into ITALY: which preſent made him returne home with greater ioy and contentation, hauing receiued for his noble deedes ſo honourable a recompence, and worthy of himſelfe, that was ſo louing a man to his citizens and countrey. And ſurely, that onely was the ornament (in my opinion) that did moſt beautifie his triumph. For theſe poore redeemed captiues did that, which the ſlaues are wont to do on that day when they be ſet at liberty: to wit, they ſhaue their heads, and do weare litle hats vpon them. The ROMAINES that were thus redeemed, did in like maner: and ſo followed *Titus* charret, on the day of his triumph and entry made into ROME in the triumphing maner. It was a goodly ſight alſo, to ſee the ſpoiles of the enemies, which were caried in the ſhew of this triumph: as ſtore of helmets after the GRECIANS faſhion, heapes of targets, ſhields, and pikes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull ſumme of gold and ſiluer. For *Itanus* the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that there was brought a maruellous great maſſe of treaſure in niggots of gold, of three thouſand ſeuen hundred and thirteene pound weight, and of ſiluer, of forty three thouſand, two hundred, three ſcore and ten pound weight, and of gold ready coyned in peeces called *Philips* fourteene thouſand, fiue hundred, and fourteene, beſides the thouſand talents king *Philip* ſhould pay for a raunſome: the which ſumme, the ROMAINES afterwards forgaue him, chiefly at *Titus* ſute and interceſſion, who procured that grace for him, and cauſed him to be called a friend and confederate of the people of ROME, and his ſonne *Demetrius* to be ſent vnto him againe, who remained before as an hoſtage at ROME. Shortly after, king *Antiochus* went out of ASIA into GRECE with a great fleet of ſhips, & a very puiſſant army, to ſtirre vp the cities to forſake their league and alliance with the ROMAINS, and make a diſſention among them. To further this his deſire and enterpriſe, the ÆTOLIANS did aide and backe him, which of long time had borne great and ſecret malice againſt the ROMAINES, and deſired much to haue had warres with them. So they taught king *Antiochus* to ſay, that the war which he tooke in hand, was to ſet the GRECIANS at liberty, whereof they had no neede, becauſe they did already enioy their libertie: but for that they had no iuſt cauſe to make warre, they taught him to cloke it the honeſteſt way he could. Wherefore the ROMAINES fearing greatly the riſing of the people, and the rumour of the power of this great king, they ſent thither *Manius Acilius* their generall, and *Titus*, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS ſakes. Which arriuall did more aſſure them that already bare goodwill to the ROMAINES, after they had once ſeene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the reſt that began to flie out, and to ſhrinke from them, thoſe *Titus* kept in obedience from ſtarting, remembring them of the friendſhip and goodwill they had borne him, euen like a good skilfull Phiſitian that could giue his patient Phiſicke to preſerue him from a contagious diſeaſe. Indeede there were ſome (but few of them) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the ÆTOLIANS: and though he had iuſt cauſe of offence towards them, yet he ſaued them after the battell. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome in the country of THERMOPYLES, fled his way, and in great haſt tooke the ſea to returne into ASIA. And the Conſull *Manius* following his victory, entred into the country of the ÆTOLIANS, where he tooke certaine townes by force, and left the other for a pray vnto king *Philip*. So *Philip* king of MACEDON on the one ſide, ſpoiled and ſacked the DOLOPIANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMIANS, and the APERANTINES: and the Conſull *Manius* on the other ſide, deſtroyed the city of HERACLEA, and laid ſiege to the city of NAVPACTVM, which the ÆTOLIANS kept. But *Titus* taking compaſſion of them, to ſee the poore people of GRECE thus ſpoiled and turned out of all: went out of PELOPONNESVS (where he was then) vnto *Manius Acilius* campe, and there reproued him for ſuffering king *Philip* to vſurpe the benefit and reward of his honourable victory, ſtill conquering many people, kings, and countries, whilſt he continued ſiege before a city, and onely to wreake his anger vpon them. Afterwards, when they that were beſieged ſaw *Titus* from their wals, they called him by his name, and held

Twelue hundred Romains ſold for ſlaues.

The Achaians redeemed the Romaines that were ſold for ſlaues in Grece

The ceremonie of ſlaues manumiſſed. T. Quintius triumph.

Manius Acilius Conſull, & T. Quintius Lieutenãt ſent into Grecce.

Antiochus ouerthrowne in Thermopyles, by Manius the Conſull.

vp their hands vnto him, praying him he would take pitie vpon them: but he gaue them neuer a word at that time, and turning his backe vnto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he ſpake with *Manius*, and appeaſing his anger, got him to graunt the Ætolians truce for certaine daies, in which time they might ſend Ambaſſadors to Rome, to ſee if they could obtaine grace and pardō of the Senate. But the moſt trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreat for the Chalcidians, with whom the Conſull *Manius* was more grieuouſly offended, then with all the reſt: becauſe that king *Antiochus* after the wars was begun, had maried his wife in their citie, when he was paſt yeares of mariage, and out of all due time. For he was now very old, and being in his extreame age, and in the middeſt of his wars, he fell in dotage with a young gentlewoman, the daughter of *Cleoptolemus*, the faireſt woman that was at that time in all Greece. Therefore the Chalcidians were much affected vnto king *Antiochus*, and did put their city into his hands, to ſerue him in this warre, for a ſtrong and ſafe retiring place. Whereupon, when *Antiochus* had loſt the battell, he came thither with all poſſible ſpeed, and taking from thence with him his paſſing faire young Queene which he had maried, and his gold, his ſiluer and friends, he tooke the ſeas incontinently, and returned into Asia. For this cauſe the Conſull *Manius* hauing wonne the battell, did march ſtraight with his armie towards the citie of Chalcide in a great rage and furie. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwaies lye vpon him to pacifie his anger, and did ſomuch intreate him, together with the other Romaines of ſtate and authoritie in counſell: that in the end, he got him to pardon them of Chalcide alſo. Who, becauſe they were preſerued from perill by his meanes, they to recompence this fact of his, did conſecrate vnto him, all their moſt ſtately and ſumptuous buildings and common works in their citie, as appeareth yet by the ſuperſcriptions remaining to be ſeene at this day. As in the ſhew-place of exerciſes: the people of Chalcide did dedicate this ſhew-place of exerciſes, vnto *Titus* and *Hercules*. And in the temple called Delphinium: the people of Chalcide did conſecrate this temple vnto *Titus*, and vnto *Apollo*. And furthermore, vnto this preſent time, there is a Prieſt choſen by the voice of the people, purpoſely to do ſacrifice vnto *Titus*: in which ſacrifice, after that the thing ſacrificed is offered vp, and wine powred vpon it, the people ſtanding by, do ſing a ſong of triumph made in praiſe of him. But becauſe it were too long to write it all out, we haue onely drawne in briefe the latter end of the ſame: and this it is:

Quintius intreateth for the AEtolians.

King Antiochus maried Cleoptolemus daughter in the city of Chalcide.

Honours done vnto T. Quintius for ſauing the Chalcidias and the Grecians.

The cleare vnſpotted faith of Romaines we adore,
And vow to be their faithfull friends both now and euermore.
Sing out you Muſes nine to Ioues eternall fame:
Sing out the honour due to Rome, and Titus worthy name.
Sing out (I ſay) the praiſe of Titus and his faith:
By whom you haue preſerued bene from ruine, dole, and death.

Now the Chalcidians did not alone honour and reuerence *Titus*, but he was generally honoured alſo by the Grecians as he deſerued, and was maruellouſly beloued for his courteſie and good nature: which argueth plainely that they did not fainedly honour him, or through compulſion, but euen from the heart. For though there was ſome iarre betwixt him & *Philopœmen* at the firſt about ſeruice, for emulation of honour, and after betwixt him and *Diophanes* alſo, both generals of the Achaians: yet he neuer bare them any malice in his hart, neither did his anger moue him at any time to hurt them any way, but he euer ended the heat of his words in counſell and aſſemblies, where he vttered his mind frankely to them both. Therefore none thought him euer a cruell man, or eager of reuenge: but many haue thought him raſh, and haſtie of nature. Otherwiſe, he was as good a companion in company as poſſibly could be, and would vſe as pleaſant wiſe mirth as any man. As when he ſaid to the Achaians, on a time, who would needes vniuſtly vſurpe the Ile of the Zazynthians, to diſſwade them from it: my Lords of Achaia, if ye once go out of Peloponnesvs, you put your ſelues in daunger, as the torteyſes do, when they thruſt their heads out of their ſhelles. And the firſt time he parled with *Philip* to treate of peace: when *Philip* ſaid vnto him, you haue brought many men with you, and I am come alone. Indeede it is true you are alone, ſaid he, becauſe you made all your friends and kin to be ſlaine. Another time, *Dinocrates* Messinian being in Rome, after he had taken in his cups in a feaſt where he was, he diſguiſed himſelfe in womans apparell, and daunced in that maner: and the next day following he went vnto *Titus*, to pray him to helpe him through with his ſute, which was, to make the city of Messina to rebell, and leaue the tribe of the Achaians.

Quintius curteſie and good nature. Emulation betwixt Titus Quintius and Philopœmen.

Titus Quintius ſayings.

Titus

Titus made him answer, that he would think vpon it: but I can but wonder at you (said he) how you can daunce in womans apparell, and sing at a feast, hauing such matters of weight in your head. In the counsel of the Achaians, king *Antiochus* Ambassadors being come thither, to moue them to breake their league with the Romaines, and make their alliance with the king their maister, they made a maruellous large discourse of the great multitude of souldiers that were in their maisters armie, and did number them by many diuers names. Whereunto *Titus* answered, and told how a friend of his hauing bidden him one night to supper, & hauing serued so many dishes of meat to his boord, as he was angrie with him for bestowing so great cost vpon him, as wondring how he could so sodainly get so much store of meate, and of so diuers kinds. My friend said to me againe, that all was but porke dressed so many waies, and with so sundry sawces. And euen so (quoth *Titus*) my lords of Achaia, esteeme not king *Antiochus* armie the more, to heare of so many men of armes, numbred with their launces, and of such a number of footmen with their pikes: for they are all but Syrians, diuersly armed, onely with ill fauored litle weapons. Furthermore, after *Titus* had done these things, and that the war with *Antiochus* was ended, he was chosen Censor at Rome, with the son of that same *Marcellus*, who had bene fiue times Consul. This office is of great dignitie, & as a man may say, the crowne of all the honors that a citizen of Rome can haue in their common wealth. They put off the Senate, foure men onely, but they were not famous. They did receiue all into the number of citizēs of Rome, that would present themselues to be enrolled in their common register: with a prouiso, that they were borne free by father and mother. They were compelled to do it, by *Terentius Culeo*, Tribune of the people, who to despite the Nobilitie, perswaded the people of Rome to commaund it so. Now at that time two of the noblest and most famous men of Rome were great enemies one against another: *Publius Scipio* African, & *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Of these two, *Titus* named *Publius Scipio* African, to be prince of the Senate, as the chiefest and worthiest person in the city: and got the displeasure of the other, which was *Cato*, by this mishap. *Titus* had a brother called *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, nothing like vnto him in conditiō at al: for he was so dissolutely & licentiously giuen ouer to his pleasure, that he forgot al comelinesse & honestie. This *Lucius* loued wel a yōg boy, & caried him alwaies with him whē he went to the wars, or to the charge & gouernmēt of any prouince. This boy flattering him, one day said vnto *Lucius Quintius*, that he loued him so wel, that he did leaue the sight of the sword-players at the sharpe, which were making readie to the fight, although he had neuer seene man killed before, to waite vpon him. *Lucius* being very glad of the boyes words, answered him straight, thou shalt loose nothing for that my boy, for I will by and by please thee as well. So he commanded a condemned man to be fetched out of prison, and withall called for the hangman, whom he willed to strike off his head in the midst of his supper, that the boy might see him killed. *Valerius Antias* the Historiographer writeth, that it was not for the loue of the boy, but of a woman which he loued. But *Titus Liuius* declareth, that in an oration which *Cato* himselfe made, it was written that it was one of the Gavles: who being a traitor to his country men, was come to *Flaminius* gate with his wife and children, and that *Flaminius* making him come into his hall, killed him with his owne hand, to please a boy he loued, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howbeit, it is verylikely that *Cato* wrote in this sort, to aggrauate the offence, & to make it more cruel. For, many haue written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offendour condemned to die: and among other, *Cicero* the orator doth recite it in a book he made of Age, where he made it to be told vnto *Catoes* owne person. Howsoeuer it was, *Marcus Cato* being chosen Censor, and cleansing the Senate of all vnworthy persons, he put off the same *Lucius Quintius Flaminius*, although he had bin Consull: which disgrace did seeme to redound to his brother *Titus Quintius Flaminius* also. Wherupon both the brethrē came weeping with all humilitie before the people, and made a petition that seemed very reasonable & ciuill: which was that they would command *Cato* to come before them, to declare the cause openly why he had with such opē shame defaced so noble a house as theirs was. *Cato* then without delay, or shrinking back, came with his cōpaniō into the market place, where he asked *Titus* out aloud, if he knew nothing of the supper where such a fact was cōmitted. *Titus* answered, he knew not of it. Then *Cato* opened the whole matter as it was, and in the end of his tale, he bad *Lucius Quintius* sweare openly, if he would denie that he had said was true. *Lucius* answered not a word. Whereupon the people iudged the shame was iustly laid vpon him: and so to honour *Cato*, they did accompanie him from the pulpit for orations, home vnto his owne house. But *Titus* being much offended at the disgrace of his brother,

Antiochus Ambassadors do boast of their kings great armie. Titus Quintius wittie answere to the Ambassadours bragges.

T. Quintius chosen Censor with Marcellus.

P. Scipio, and M. P. Cato great enemies. Secret grudge betwixt Titus and Cato.

A cruell deed of Lucius Quintius.

Cato being Censor did put Lucius Quintius Flaminius off the Senate.

T. Quintius vnworthy acts against Cato.

became enemie to *Cato*, and fel in with thoſe that of long time had hated him. And ſo by practiſe he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of leaſes, and all deedes of ſales made by *Cato* during his office, were called in, and made voide: and cauſed many ſutes alſo to be commenced againſt him. Wherein, I cannot ſay he did wiſely or ciuilly, to become mortall enemie to an honeſt man, a good citizen, and dutifull in his office for his yeare, but vnworthie kinſman, who had iuſtly deſerued the ſhame layed vpon him. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after when the people were aſſembled in the Theater to ſee games played, and the Senators were ſet according to their cuſtome, in the moſt honourable places: *Lucius Flaminius* came in alſo, who in lowly and humble maner went to ſit downe in the furtheſt ſeates of the Theater, without regard of his former honour: which when the people ſaw, they tooke pitie of him, and could not abide to ſee him thus diſhonoured. So they cried out to haue him come and ſit among the other Senators the Conſuls, who made him place, and receiued him accordingly. But to returne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition and couetous greedie mind he had of honour, was very well taken and eſteemed, ſo long as he had any ocaſion offered him exerciſe it in the warres, which we haue ſpoken of before. For, after he had bene Conſull, of his owne ſeeking he became a Colonell of a thouſand footemen, not being called to it by any man. So when he began to ſtoupe for age, and that he had giuen ouer as a man at the laſt caſt, to beare office any longer in the ſtate: they ſaw plainely he was ambitious beyond meaſure, to ſuffer himſelfe in old age to be ouercome with ſuch youthfull violence, being farre vnmeete for any of his yeares. For me thinkes his ambition was the onely cauſe that moued him to procure *Hannibals* death, which bred him much diſliking and il opinion with many. For, after *Hanniball* had fled out of his owne countrey, he went firſt vnto king *Antiochus*: who, after he loſt the battell in PHRYGIA, was glad the ROMAINES granted him peace with ſuch conditions as themſelues would. Wherfore *Hannibal* fled againe from him, and after he had long wandered vp and downe, at the length he came to the Realme of BITHYNIA, and remained there about king *Pruſias*, the ROMAINES knowing it well enough: and becauſe *Hanniball* was then an old broken man, of no force nor power, and one whom fortune had ſpurned at her feete, they made no more reckening of him. But *Titus* being ſent Ambaſſadour by the Senate, vnto *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA, and finding *Hannibal* there, it grieued him to ſee him aliue. So that notwithſtanding *Pruſias* maruellouſly intreated him, to take pity vpon *Hannibal* a poore old man, and his friend who came to him for ſuccour: yet he could not perſwade *Titus* to be content he ſhould liue. *Hanniball* long before had receiued anſwere of his death from an oracle, to this effect:

Lucius Quintius reſtored to his place by the people.

T. Quintius ambition.

T. Quintius cauſe of Hannibals death.

Titus ſent Ambaſſador vnto Pruſias king of Bithynia.

Hannibal deceiued by an oracle concerning his death.

The land of Lybia, ſhall couer vnder mould,
The valiant corpes of Hanniball, when he is dead and cold.

So *Hanniball* vnderſtood that of LYBIA, as if he ſhould haue died in AFRIKE, and bene buried in CARTHAGE. There is a certaine ſandie country in BITHYNIA, neare to the ſeas ſide, where there is a litle village called LIBYSSA, and where *Hanniball* remained continually. He miſtrufting king *Pruſias* faint heart, and fearing the ROMAINES malice alſo, had made ſeuen priuie caues and vaults vnder ground long before, that he might ſecretly go out at either of them which way he would, and euery one of them came to the maine vault where himſelfe did lie, and could not be diſcerned outwardly. When it was told him that *Titus* had willed *Pruſias* to deliuer him into his hands, he ſought then to ſaue himſelfe by thoſe mines: but he found that all the vents out, had watch and ward vpon them by the kings commandement. So then he determined to kil himſelf. Now ſome ſay, that he wound a linnen towell hard about his necke, and commanded one of his men he ſhould ſet his knee vpon his buttocke, and weighing hard vpon him, holding the towell faſt, he ſhould pull his necke backward with all the power and ſtrength he could, and neuer lin preſſing on him, till he had ſtrangled him. Other ſay that he drank buls bloud, as *Midas* & *Themiſtocles* had done before him. But *Titus Liuius* writeth, that he had poiſon which he kept for ſuch a purpoſe, and tempered in it a cup he held in his hands, and before he drank, he ſpake theſe words: come on, let vs deliuer the ROMAINES of this great care, ſith my life is ſo grieuous vnto them, that they thinke it too long to tarie the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate ſo much: and yet *Titus* by this ſhall win no honourable victorie, nor worthie the memorie of the auncient ROMAINES, who aduertiſed king *Pyrrus* their enemie, euen when he made warres with them, and had won battels of them, that he ſhould beware of poiſoning which was intended towards him. And this was *Hannibals* end, as we find it written. The newes whereof being come to ROME vnto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* too violent and cruell, to haue made *Hanniball*

Hanniball kept at Libyſſa in Bithynia.

Hannibals death.

Midas and Themiſtocles poiſoned themſelues.

Hannibals laſt words.

Looke in Pyrrus life for the ſtorie at large.

kill

kill himselfe in that sort, when extremitie of age had ouercome him alreadie, and was as a bird left naked, her feathers falling from her for age: and so much the more, because there was no instant occasion offered him to vrge him to do it, but a couetous mind of honor, for that he would be chronicled to be the cause and author of *Hannibals* death. And then in contrariwise they did much honour and commend the clemencie and noble mind of *Scipio* AFRICAN: who hauing ouercome *Hannibal* in battell, in AFRICKE selfe, being then indeed to be feared, and had bene neuer ouercome before: yet he did not cause him to be driuen out of his country, neither did ask him of the CARTHAGINIANS, but both then, and before the battell, when he parled with him of peace, he tooke *Hannibal* curteously by the hand, and after the battell, in the conditions of peace he gaue them, he neuer spake word of hurt to *Hannibals* person, neither did he shew any crueltie to him in his miserie. And they tell how afterwards they met againe together in the citie of EPHESVS, and as they were walking, that *Hannibal* tooke the vpper hand of *Scipio*: and that *Scipio* bare it patiently, and left not off walking for that, neither shewed any countenance of misliking. And in entring into discourse of many matters, they descended in the end to talke of auncient Captaines: and *Hannibal* gaue iudgement, that *Alexander* the great was the famousest captaine, *Pyrrus* the second, and himselfe the third. Then *Scipio* smiling, gently asked him: what wouldest thou say then, if I had not ouercome thee? Truly, quoth *Hannibal*, I would not then put my selfe the third man, but the first, and aboue all the captaines that euer were. So diuerse greatly commending the goodly sayings and deeds of *Scipio*, did maruellously mislike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may say) laid his hands vpon the death of an other man. Other to the contrarie againe said, it was well done of him, saying, that *Hannibal* so long as he liued, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMAINES, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lustie age, it was not his hand nor bodie that troubled the ROMAINES so much, but his great wisedome, and skill he had in the wars, and the mortall hate he bare in his heart towards the ROMAINES, which neither yeares, nor age would diminish or take away. For mens naturall conditions do remaine still, but fortune doth not alwayes keepe in a state, but changeth still, and then quickneth vp our desires to set willingly vpon those that warre against vs, because they hate vs in their harts. The things which fell out afterwards, did greatly proue the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of *Titus*. For one *Aristonicus*, son of the daughter of a plaier vpon the citherne, vnder the fame and glory of *Eumenes*, whose bastard he was, filled al ASIA with warre and rebellion, by reason the people rose in his fauour. Againe *Mithridates*, after so many losses he had receiued against *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and after so many armies ouerthrowne by battell and warres, and after so many famous captaines lost and killed: did yet recouer againe, and came to be of power both by sea and land against *Lucullus*. Truly *Hannibal* was no lower brought then *Caius Marius* had bene: for he had a King to his friend, that gaue him entertainement for him and family, and made him Admirall of his ships, and Generall of his horsemen and footmen in the field. *Marius* also went vp and downe AFRIKE a begging for his liuing, insomuch as his enemies at ROME laughed him to scorne: and soone after notwithstanding they fell downe at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murthered, and slaine within ROME by his commandement. Thus we see no man can say certainly he is meane or great, by reason of the vncertaintie of things to come: considering there is but one death, and change of better life. Some say also, that *Titus* did not this act alone, and of his owne authoritie: but that he was sent Ambassadour with *Lucius Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hannibal* to death, by what meanes soeuer they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we do not find any notable thing written of *Titus* worthie of memorie, neither in peace, nor in warres. For he died quietly of a naturall death at home in his countrey.

Scipio Africans clemencie commended.

Talke betwixt Scipio African & Hannibal.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

Aristonicus.

Mithridates.

Marius.

To be mean or great in this life is nothing: but death bringeth the estimation.

THE COMPARISON OF
Titus Quintius Flaminius with Philopœmen.

T. Quintius benefits vnto Grece.

IT is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefits that came to the GRECIANS, neither *Philopœmen*, nor all the other former captaines are to be compared with *Titus*. For all the auncient Captaines almost being GRECIANS, made warres with other GRECIANS: but *Titus* being a ROMAINE, and no GRECIAN, made warres for the libertie of GRECE. When *Philopœmen* was not able to help his poore citizens distressed sore, and vexed with wars, he sailed away into CRETA. *Titus* hauing ouercome *Philip* King of MACEDON in battell, did restore againe to libertie all the people and cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any will narrowly examine the battels of either partie: they shall find that *Philopœmen* being Generall of the ACHAIANS, made more GRECIANS to be slaine, then *Titus* did of the MACEDONIANS, fighting with them for the libertie of the GRECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quicke and sodainly angred, the other was very hard to be pacified.

Philopœmens malice.

Titus left King *Philip* his Realme and Crowne after he had ouercome him, and vsed great clemency towards the ÆTOLIANS: where *Philopœmen* for spite and malice, took townes and villages from his owne natiue countrey, and citie wherein he was borne, that had alwayes payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* continued a sound friend to them, to whom he had once professed friendship, and done pleasure vnto: and *Philopœmen*, in a geare and anger, was readie to take away that he had giuen, and to ouerthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For *Philopœmen* when he had done the LACEDÆMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwards raze the walles of their citie, and spoiled and destroyed all their countrey: and lastly, ouerthrew their whole gouernement.

Titus Quintius wiser then Philopœmen.

It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate choller, he was himselfe cause of his owne death, for that he made more haste then good speed, to go out of time to set vpon those of MESSINA: and not as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wisedome, and euer considered what was best to be done. But if we looke into the number of battels, and victories: the warre which *Titus* made against *Philip* was ended with two battels: whereas *Philopœmen* in infinite battels in which he had the better, neuer left it doubtfull, but that his skill did euer help him more to the victorie, then the good fortune he had.

Quintius commaunded good souldiers. Philopœmen made good souldiers.

Moreouer, *Titus* wan honour by meanes of the power of ROME, when it flourished most, and was in best prosperitie: *Philopœmen* made himselfe famous by his deedes, when GRECE began to stoupe and fall altogether. So that the deedes of the one, were common to all the ROMAINES: and the deeds of the other, were priuate to himselfe alone. For *Titus* was Generall ouer good and valiant souldiers, that were alreadie trained to his hand: and *Philopœmen* being chosen Generall, did traine his men himselfe, and made them afterwards very expert and valiant, that were but meane and greene souldiers before. And whereas *Philopœmen* had continuall warres with the GRECIANS, it was not for any good fortune he had, but that it made

made a certaine proofe of his valiantneſſe. For where all other things are anſwerable to his, there we muſt iudge that ſuch as ouercome, haue the moſt courage. Now *Philopœmen* making warres with the moſt warlike nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDÆMONIANS) did ouercome the ſubtilleſt of them, by fineneſſe and pollicie: and the moſt valiant by proweſſe and hardineſſe. But *Titus* ouercame, by putting that onely in practiſe, which was alreadie found and ſtabliſhed: as the diſcipline of warres, and order of battell, in the which his ſouldiers had long before bene trained. Whereas *Philopœmen* brought into his country, both the one and the other, and altered all the order which before they were accuſtomed vnto. So that the chiefeſt point how to win a battell, was found out anew, and brought in by the one, into a place where it was neuer before: and onely employed by the other, which could very good skill to vſe it, and had found it out alreadie before. Againe, touching the valiant acts done in the perſon of themſelues, many notable acts may be told of *Philopœmen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrary. For there was one *Archedamus* an ÆTOLIAN, who flouting *Titus* one day, ſaid in his reproch: that at a day of battell, when *Philopœmen* ran with his ſword in his hand, to that ſide where he ſaw the MACEDONIANS fighting, and making head againſt the enemy, *Titus* held vp his hands vnto heauen, and was buſie at his prayers to the gods, not ſtirring one foote, when it was more time to handle the ſword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds *Titus* euer did, were done alwayes as a Conſull, or Lieutenant, or a Magiſtrate: whereas *Philopœmen* ſhewed himſelfe vnto the ACHAIANS, a man no leſſe valiant, and of execution, being out of office, then when he was a Generall. For when he was a Generall, he did driue *Nabis* the tyrant of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of MESSINA, and deliuered the MESSINIANS out of bondage: and being a priuate man, he ſhut the gates of the citie of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and of *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and kept them both from comming in, and thereby ſaued the citie from ſacking. Thus being borne to commaund, he knew not onely how to commaund according to the law, but could commaund the law it ſelfe vpon neceſſitie, and when the common wealth required it. For at ſuch a time he would not tarie while the Magiſtrates which ſhould goueme him, did giue him authoritie to commaund, but he tooke it of himſelfe, and vſed them when the time ſerued: eſteeming that he which knew better then they what was to be done, was more truly their Generall, then he whom they had choſen. And therefore they do well, that do commend *Titus* acts, for his clemencie and curteſie vſed to the GRECIANS: but much more the noble and valiant acts of *Philopœmen* vnto the ROMAINES. For it is much eaſier to pleaſure and gratifie the weake, then it is to hurt and reſiſt the ſtrong. Therefore, ſithence we haue throughly examined and compared the one with the other, it is very hard to iudge altogether the difference that is betweene them. Peraduenture therefore the iudgement would not ſeeme very ill, if we do giue the GRECIAN for diſcipline of warre, the preheminence and praiſe of a good Captaine: and to the ROMAINE, for iuſtice and clemencie, the name and dignitie of a moſt iuſt and courteous gentleman.

A Generall muſt not be at his praiers when he ſhould occupie his ſword.

Quintius clemencie to the Grecians. Philopœmens loue to the Romaines.

The end of Titus Quintius Flaminius life.

THE LIFE OF *Pyrrus.*

Pyrrus kindred and beginning of the kingdome of Epirus.

IT is written, that ſince *Noes* floud, the firſt King of the THESPROTIANS, and of the MOLOSSIANS, was *Phaëton*, one of thoſe who came with *Pelaſgus* into the Realme of EPIRVS. But ſome ſay otherwiſe, that *Deucalion*, and his wife *Pyrra* remained there, after they had built and founded the temple of Dodone, in the countrey of the MOLOSSIANS. But howſoeuer it was, a great while after that, *Neoptolemus* the ſonne of *Achilles*, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the countrey, and after him left a ſucceſſion of Kings, which were called after his name, the PYRRIDES: becauſe that from his infancie he was ſurnamed *Pyrrus*, as much to ſay, as red: and one of his legitimate ſonnes whom he had by *Lanaſſa*, the daughter of *Cleodes* the ſonne of *Hillus*, was alſo named by him *Pyrrus*. And this is the cauſe why *Achilles* is honored as a god in EPIRVS, being called in their language, *Aſpetos*, that is to ſay, mightie, or very great. But from the firſt kings of that race vntil the time of *Tharrytas*, there is no memorie nor mention made of them, nor of their power that raigned in the meane time, becauſe they all became very barbarous, and vtterly voide of ciuilitie. *Tharrytas* was indeed the firſt that beautified the cities of his countrey with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in ciuill lawes and cuſtomes, and made his name famous to the poſteritie that followed. This *Tharrytas* left a ſonne called *Alcetas*, of *Alcetas* came *Arymbas*, of *Arymbas* and *Troiade* his wife, came *AEacides*, who maried *Phthia* the daughter of *Menon* THESSALIAN, a famous man in the time of the warres, ſurnamed LAMIAN, and one that had farre greater authoritie then any other of the confederates, after *Leoſthenes*. This *Æacides* had two daughters by his wife *Phthia*, to ſay, *Deidamia* and *Troiade*, and one ſonne called *Pyrrus*. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, draue him out of his kingdome, and put the crowne into the hands of the ſonnes of *Neoptolemus*. Whereupon all the friends of *Æacides* that could be taken, were generally murthered and ſlaine outright. *Androclides* and *Angelus* in the meane time ſtole away *Pyrrus*, being but a ſuckling babe (whom his enemies neuertheleſſe eagerly ſought for to haue deſtroyed) and fled away with him as faſt as poſſibly they might, with few ſeruants, his nurſes and neceſſary women only to looke to the child and giue it ſucke: by reaſon whereof their flight was much hindred, ſo as they could go no great iorneys, but that they might eaſily be ouertaken by them that followed. For which cauſe they put the child into the hands of *Androclion*, *Hippias*, & *Neander*, three luſty yong mē, whom they truſted with him, and commanded them to runne for life to a certaine citie of MACEDON, called

Pyrrus, red.

How Pyrrus being an infant was ſaued.

called MEGARES, and they themſelues in the meane time, partly by intreaty, and partly by force, made ſtay of thoſe that followed them till night. So as with much ado hauing driuen them backe, they ran after them that caried the childe *Pyrrus*, whom they ouertooke at ſunne ſet. And now, weening they had bene ſafe, and out of all daunger, they found it cleane contrarie. For when they came to the riuer vnder the towne walles of MEGARES, they ſaw it ſo rough and ſwift, that it made them afraide to behold it: and when they gaged the forde, they found it vnpoſſible to wade through, it was ſo high riſen and troubled with the fall of the raine, beſides that the darkneſſe of the night made euery thing ſeeme fearefull vnto them. So as they now that caried the child, thought it not good to venter the paſſage ouer of themſelues alone, with the women that tended the child: but hearing certaine countrimen on the other ſide, they prayed and beſought them in the name of the gods, that they would helpe them to paſſe ouer the child, ſhewing *Pyrrus* vnto them a farre off. But the countrimen by reaſon of the roaring of the riuer vnderſtood them not. Thus they continued a long ſpace, the one crying, the other liſtning, yet could they not vnderſtand one another, till at the laſt one of the companie bethought himſelfe to pill off a peece of the barke of an oke, and vpon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and neceſſity of the child. Which he tied to a ſtone to giue it weight, and ſo threw it ouer to the other ſide of the riuer: other ſay, that he did pricke the barke through with the point of a dart which he caſt ouer. The countrimen on the other ſide of the riuer, hauing read what was written, and vnderſtanding thereby the preſent danger the child was in: felled downe trees in all the haſt they could poſſibly, bound them together, and ſo paſſed ouer the riuer. And it fortuned that the firſt man of them that paſſed ouer, and tooke the child, was called *Achilles*: the reſidue of the countrimen paſſed ouer alſo, and tooke the other that came with the child, and conueyed them ouer as they came firſt to hand. And thus hauing eſcaped their hands, by eaſie iourneys they came at the length vnto *Glaucias* king of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his houſe ſitting by his wife: and layd downe the child in the middeſt of the floore before him. The king hereupon ſtaied a long time without vttering any one word, weighing with himſelfe what was beſt to be done: becauſe of the feare he had of *Caſſander*, a mortall enemie of *Æacides*. In the meane time, the child *Pyrrus* creeping of all foure, tooke hold of the kings gowne, and ſcrawled vp by that, and ſo got vp on his feete againſt the kings knees. At the firſt, the king laughed to ſee the child: but after it pitied him againe, becauſe the child ſeemed like an humble ſuter that came to ſeek ſanctuarie in his armes. Other ſay, that *Pyrrus* came not to *Glaucias*, but vnto the altar of the familiar gods, alongſt the which he got vp on his feete, and embraced it with both his hands. Which *Glaucias* imagining to be done by gods prouidence, preſently deliuered the child to his wife, gaue her the charge of him, and willed her to ſee him brought vp with his owne. Shortly after, his enemies ſent to demaund the child of him: and moreouer, *Caſſander* cauſed two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliuer the child *Pyrrus* into his hands. Howbeit *Glaucias* would neuer graunt thereunto, but contrarily, when *Pyrrus* was come to twelue yeares old, brought him into his countrey of EPIRVS with an armie, and ſtabliſhed him king of the realme againe. *Pyrrus* had a great maieſtie in his countenance, but yet indeed more fearefull then friendly. He had alſo no teeth in his vpper iaw that ſtood diſtinctly one from another, but one whole bone throughout his gumme, marked a litle at the top onely, with certaine rifts in the place where the teeth ſhould be deuided. Men held opinion alſo, that he did heale them that were ſicke of the ſpleene, by ſacrificing a white cocke, and touching the place of the ſpleene on the left ſide of them that were ſicke, ſoftly with his right foote, they lying on their backes: and there was not ſo poore nor ſimple a man that craued this remedy of him, but he gaue it him, and tooke the cocke he ſacrificed, for reward of the remedie, which pleaſed him very well. They ſay alſo, that the great toe of his right foote had ſome ſecret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they burnt his bodie, all the reſt being conſumed to aſhes, his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all: but of that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was ſeuenteene yeares of age, thinking himſelfe ſure inough of his kingdome, it chanced him to make a iourney into ILLYRIA, where he maried one of *Glaucias* daughters, with whom he had bene brought vp. But his backe was no ſooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe againſt him, and draue out his friends and ſeruants, and deſtroyed all his goods, and yeelded themſelues vnto his aduerſarie *Neoptolemus*. King *Pyrrus* hauing thus loſt his kingdome, and ſeeing himſelfe forſaken on all ſides, went to *Demetrius* (*Antigonus* ſonne) that had maried his ſiſter *Deidamia*, who in her yong age was aſſured

Megara a city of Macedon.

Glaucias king of Illyria.

Pyrrus countenance and teeth.

Pyrrus healed them that were ſicke of the ſplene.

The fire could dot burne Pyrrus great toe.

Pyrrus realme taken from him in his abſence.

to *Alexander* the ſonne of *Alexander* the great, and of *Roxane*, and was called his wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, *Demetrius* then maried her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was ſtricken neare to the city of HIPSVS, where all the kings fought together, *Pyrrus* being then but a yong man, and with *Demetrius*, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valianteſt prince amongſt them all. Furthermore, when *Demetrius* was ouercome, and had loſt the battell, *Pyrrus* neuer forſooke him, but faithfully did keepe for him the cities of GREECE, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when peace was concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Ptolomie*, *Pyrrus* was ſent an hoſtage for *Demetrius* into the realme of ÆGYPT: where he made *Ptolomie* know (both in hunting and in other exerciſes of his perſon) that he was very ſtrong, hard, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiuing that *Berenice* amongſt all king *Ptolomies* wiues, was beſt beloued and eſteemed of her husband, both for her vertue and wiſedome, he began to entertaine and honour her aboue all the reſt. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himſelfe towards the great (by whom he might win benefit) and knew alſo how to creepe into their credit: and in like maner was he a great ſcorner and deſpiſer of ſuch as were his inferiours. Moreouer, for that he was found maruellous honorable and of faire condition, he was preferred before all other yong princes, to be the husband of *Antigona*, the daughter of Queene *Berenice*, whom ſhe had by *Philip*, before ſhe was maried vnto *Ptolomie*. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of that mariage, more and more in eſtimation and fauour by meanes of his wife *Antigona*, who ſhewed her ſelfe very vertuous and louing towards him: he found meanes in the end, to get both men and money to returne againe into the realme of EPIRVS, and to conquer it: ſo was he then very well receiued of the people, and the better, for the malice they bare to *Neoptolemus*, becauſe he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithſtanding, *Pyrrus* fearing leaſt *Neoptolemus* would repaire vnto ſome of the other kings, to ſeeke aide againſt him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that they ſhould both together be kings of EPIRVS. But in proceſſe of time, ſome of their men ſecretly made ſtrife againe betweene them, and ſet them at defiance one with another: and the chiefeſt cauſe as it is ſayd, that angred *Pyrrus* moſt, grew vpon this: The kings of EPIRVS had an ancient cuſtome of great antiquitie, after they had made ſolemne ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Martiall*, in a certaine place in the prouince of MOLOSSIDE, called PASSARON) to take their oath, and to be ſworne to the EPIROTS, that they would raigne well and iuſtly, according to the lawes and ordinances of the countrey: and to receiue the ſubiects oaths interchangeably alſo, that they ſhould defend and maintaine them in their kingdome, according to the lawes in like manner. This ceremony was done in the preſence of both the kings, and they with their friends did both giue and receiue preſents each of other. At this meeting and ſolemnity, among other, one *Gelon* a moſt faithfull ſeruant and aſſured friend vnto *Neoptolemus*, who beſides great ſhewes of friendſhip and honour he did vnto *Pyrrus*, gaue him two paire of draught oxen, which one *Myrtilus* a cup-bearer of *Pyrrus* being preſent, and ſeeing, did craue of his maiſter. But *Pyrrus* denyed to giue them vnto him, whereat *Myrtilus* was verie angrie. *Gelon* perceiuing that *Myrtilus* was angrie, prayed him to ſup with him that night. Now ſome ſay, he ſought to abuſe *Myrtilus*, becauſe he was faire and young: and beganne to perſwade him after ſupper to take part with *Neoptolemus*, and to poyſon *Pyrrus*. *Myrtilus* made as though he was willing to giue eare to this perſwaſion, and to be well pleaſed withall. But in the meane time, he went and told his maiſter of it, by whoſe commaundement he made *Alexicrates*, *Pyrrus* chiefe cup-bearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practiſe, as though he had alſo giuen his conſent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterpriſe. This did *Pyrrus* to haue two witneſſes, to proue the pretended poyſoning of him. Thus *Gelon* being finely deceiued, and *Neoptolemus* alſo with him, both imagining they had cunningly ſpunne the threed of their treaſon: *Neoptolemus* was ſo glad of it, that he could not keepe it to himſelfe, but told it to certaine of his friends. And on a time going to be merrie with his ſiſter, he could not keepe it in, but muſt be pratling of it to her, ſuppoſing no bodie had heard him but her ſelfe, becauſe there was no liuing creature neare them, ſauing *Phænareta Samons* wife, the kings chiefe heardman of all his beaſts, and yet ſhe was layd vpon a litle bed by, and turned towards the wall: ſo that ſhe ſeemed as though ſhe had ſlept. But hauing heard all their talke, and no bodie miſtruſting her: the next morning ſhe went to *Antigona* king *Pyrrus* wife, and told her euery word what ſhe

Pyrrus valiantneſſe at the battell of Hipſus.

Pyrrus behauiour.

Pyrrus maried to Antigona the daughter of Philip king of Macedon, and of his wife Berenice.

Pyrrus reſtored to his kingdome againe.

Pyrrus deuideth the realme of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

ſhe had heard *Neoptolemus* ſay to his ſiſter. *Pyrrus* hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time: but hauing made ſacrifice vnto the gods, he bad *Neoptolemus* to ſupper to his houſe, where he ſlue him, being well informed before of the goodwill the chiefeſt men of the realme did beare him, who wiſhed him to diſpatch *Neoptolemus*, and not to content himſelfe with a peece of EPIRVS only, but to follow his naturall inclination, being borne to great things: and for this cauſe, this ſuſpition alſo falling out in the meane while, he preuented *Neoptolemus*, and ſlue him firſt. And furthermore, remembring the pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomy* and *Berenice*, he named his firſt ſonne by his wife *Antigona*, *Ptolomie*, and hauing built a city in the PRESQVE, an Ile of EPIRVS, did name it BERENICIDA. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he firſt determined with himſelfe how to winne that which lay neareſt vnto him: and ſo tooke occaſion by this meanes, firſt to ſet foote into the Empire of MACEDON. The eldeſt ſonne of *Caſſander*, called *Antipater*, put his owne mother *Theſſalonica* to death, and draue his brother *Alexander* out of his owne countrey, who ſent to *Demetrius* for helpe, and called in *Pyrrus* alſo to his aide. *Demetrius* being troubled with other matters, could not ſo quickly go thither. And *Pyrrus* being arriued there, demaunded for his charge ſuſtained, the city of NYMPHÆA, with all the ſea coaſts of MACEDON: and beſides all that, certaine lands alſo that were not belonging to the auncient crowne and reuenues of the kings of MACEDON, but were added vnto it by force of armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All theſe, the yong king *Alexander* leauing vnto him, he tooke poſſeſſion thereof, and put good garriſons into the ſame in his owne name: & conquering the reſt of MACEDON in the name of *Alexander*, put his brother *Antipater* to great diſtreſſe. In the meane time king *Lyſimachus* lacking no goodwill to helpe *Antipater* with his force, but being buſied in other matters, had not the meane to do it. Howbeit knowing very wel that *Pyrrus* in acknowledging the great pleaſures he had receiued of *Ptolomie*, would denie him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit letters to him in *Ptolomies* name, & thereby inſtantly to pray and require him to leaue off the warres begun againſt *Antipater*, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the ſum of three hundred talents. *Pyrrus* opening the letters, knew ſtraight that this was but a fetch and deuice of *Lyſimachus*. For king *Ptolomies* common maner of greeting of him, which he vſed at the beginning of his letters, was not in them obſerued: To my ſon *Pyrrus*, health. But in thoſe counterfeit was, king *Ptolomie*, vnto king *Pyrrus*, health. Whereupon he preſently pronounced *Lyſimachus* for a naughty man: neuertheleſſe, afterwards he made peace with *Antipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be ſworne vpon the ſacrifices vnto the articles of peace. There were three beaſts brought to be ſacrificed, a goate, a bull, and a ramme: of the which, the ramme fell downe dead of himſelfe before he was touched, whereat all the ſtanders by fell a laughing. But there was a Soothſayer, one *Theodotus*, that perſwaded *Pyrrus* not to ſweare: ſaying, that this ſigne and token of the gods did threaten one of the three kings with ſudden death. For which cauſe *Pyrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres being ended, *Demetrius* notwithſtanding came to him, knowing well inough at his comming that *Alexander* had no more need of his aide, and that he did it onely but to feare him. They had not bene many daies together, but the one began to miſtruſt the other, and to ſpie all the wayes they could to intrap each other: but *Demetrius* embracing the firſt occaſion offered, preuented *Alexander*, and ſlue him, being a yong man, and proclaimed himſelfe king of MACEDON in his roome. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrels before againſt *Pyrrus*, becauſe he had ouerrun the countrey of THESSALIE: and furthermore, greedy couetouſneſſe to haue the more (which is a common vice with princes and noble men) made, that being ſo neare neighbours, the one ſtood in feare and miſtruſt of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all MACEDON betweene them, and were to make diuiſion of one ſelfe kingdome: now I ſay began the matter and occaſion of quarrell to grow the greater betweene them. Whereupon *Demetrius* went with his army to ſet vpon the ÆTOLIANS, and hauing conquered the countrey, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there with a great army: and himſelfe in perſon in the meane time, marched againſt *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* on the other ſide againſt him. They both miſſed of meeting, & *Demetrius* going on further on the one ſide, entred into the realme of EPIRVS, & brought a great ſpoile away with him: *Pyrrus* on the other ſide marched on, till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whom he gaue battel, & it was valiantly fought out betweene the ſoldiers of either partie, but ſpecially betweene the two Generals. For doubtleſſe, *Pantauchus* was the valianteſt captaine, the

Pyrrus ſlue Neoptolemus.

Berenicida, a city of Epirus in the Ile of Preſque.

Pyrrus firſt iourney into Macedon.

King Lyſimachus craft to deceiue Pyrrus.

Theodotus iudgement, a Soothſayer.

Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.

Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant in AEtolia.

Pyrrus fight with Pantauchus.

stoutest man, and of the greatest experience in armes, of all the captaines and souldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon, *Pantauchus* trusting in his strength and courage, aduanced himselfe forwards, and lustily chalenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other side being inferiour to no king in valiantnesse, nor in desire to win honour, as he that would ascribe vnto himselfe the glorie of *Achilles*, more for the imitation of his valiancie, then for that he was descended of his bloud: passed through the middest of the battell vnto the first ranke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they began to charge one another, first with their darts, and then comming nearer, fought with their swords, not only artificially, but also with great force and furie: vntill such time as *Pyrrus* was hurt in one place, and he hurt *Pantauchus* in two. The one neare vnto his throte, and the other in his leg: so as in the end *Pyrrus* made him turne his backe, and threw him to the ground, but neuertheless killed him not. For, so soone as he was downe, his men tooke him, and caried him away. But the EPIROTS encouraged by the victorie of their king, and the admiration of his valiantnesse, stucke to it so lustily, that in the end they brake the battell of the MACEDONIAN footmen: and hauing put them to flight, followed them so liuely, that they slue a great number of them, and tooke fiue thousand prisoners. This ouerthrow did not so much fill the hearts of the MACEDONIANS with anger, for the losse they had receiued, nor with the hate conceiued against *Pyrrus*: as it wan *Pyrrus* great fame and honour, making his courage and valiantnesse to be wondred at of all such as were present at the battell that saw him fight, and how he layd about him. For they thought that they saw in his face the very life and agility of *Alexander* the great, and the right shadow as it were, shewing the force and furie of *Alexander* himselfe in that fight. And where other kings did but only counterfeit *Alexander* the great in his purple garments, and in numbers of souldiers and gards about their persons, and in a certaine fashion and bowing of their neckes a litle, and in vttering their speech with an high voice: *Pyrrus* only was like vnto him, and followed him in his marshall deeds and valiant acts. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in warlike discipline, the bookes he wrote himselfe thereof, do amply proue and make manifest. Furthermore, they report, that king *Antigonus* being asked, whom he thought to be the greatest Captaine: made answer, *Pyrrus*, so farre forth as he might liue to be old, speaking onely of the captaines of his time. But *Hanniball* generally said, *Pyrrus* was the greatest captaine of experience and skill in warres of all other, *Scipio* the second, and himselfe the third: as we haue written in the life of *Scipio*. So it seemeth that *Pyrrus* gaue his whole life and studie to the discipline of warres, as that which indeed was princely and meete for a king, making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that he being at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of the flute, *Python* or *Cephesias*: whereunto he answered, that *Polyperchon* in his opinion was the best captaine, as if he would haue sayd, that was the only thing a prince should seeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his friends, easie to forgiue when any had offended him, and maruellous desirous to requite and acknowledge any curtesie or pleasure by him receiued. And that was the cause why he did verie vnpatiently take the death of *Æropus*, not so much for his death (which he knew was a common thing to euerie liuing creature) as for that he was angrie with himselfe he had deferred the time so long, that time it selfe had cut him off from all occasion and meanes to requite the curtesies he had receiued of him. True it is that money lent may be repaied againe vnto the heires of the lender: but yet it grieueth an honest nature, when he cannot recompence the goodwill of the lender, of whom he hath receiued the good turne. Another time *Pyrrus* being in the city of AMBRACIA, there were certaine of his friends that gaue him counsell to put a naughty man out of the city, that did nothing but speake ill of him. But he answered: It is better (quoth he) to keepe him here still, speaking ill of vs but to a few, then driuing him away, to make him speake ill of vs euery where. Certaine youths were brought before him on a time, who making merrie together, drinking freely, were bold with the king to speake their pleasure of him in very vndutifull sort. So, *Pyrrus* asking them whether it was true they said so, or no: it is true, and it please your grace, sayd one of them, we sayd it indeed, and had not our wine failed vs, we had spoken a great deale more. The king laughed at it, and pardoned them. After the death of *Antigona*, he maried many wiues to increase his power withall, and to get moe friends. For he maried the daughter of *Autoleon* king of PÆONIA, and *Bircenna* the daughter of *Bardillis*, king of ILLYRIA, and *Lanassa*, the daughter of *Agathocles*, tyrant of SYRACVSA, that brought him for her dower the Ile of CORPHVE, which her father had taken.

Pyrrus victory of Pantauchus.

Pyrrus likened to Alexander the great.

Pyrrus skill in warlike discipline.

Hannibals iudgement of Captaines.

Pyrrus wise answer.

Pyrrus goodnesse and curtesie.

Certaine witty sayings of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus wiues and children.

By

By *Antigona* his first wife, he had a sonne called *Ptolomie*: by *Lanassa*, another called *Alexander*: and by *Bircenna*, another (the yongest of all) called *Helenus*: all which though they were martiall men by race and naturall inclination, yet were they brought vp by him in warres, and therein trained as it were euen from their cradle. They write, that one of his sonnes being but a boy, asked him one day to which of them he would leaue his kingdome: *Pyrrus* answered the boy, to him that hath the sharpest sword. That was much like the tragicall curse wherewith *Oedipus* cursed his children:

Let them (for me) deuide, both goods, yea rents and land:
With trenchant sword, and bloudy blowes, by force of mighty hand.

So cruell, hatefull, and beastly is the nature of ambition and desire of rule. But after this battell, *Pyrrus* returned home againe to his countrey, full of honour and glorie, his hart highly exalted, and his mind throughly contented. And as at his returne the EPIROTS his subiects called him an Eagle, he answered them: if I be an Eagle, it is through you that I am so, for your weapons are the wings that haue raised me vp. *Pyrrus called an Eagle.* Shortly after, being aduertised that *Demetrius* was fallen sicke, and in great danger of death, he suddenly went into MACEDON, onely to inuade it, and to make prey thereof: howbeit he had indeed almost taken the whole realme, and made himselfe Lord of all without stroke striken. *Pyrrus inuadeth Macedon.* For he came as farre as the city of EDESSA, and found no resistance: but rather to the contrarie, many of the country willingly came to his campe, and submitted themselues. The danger *Demetrius* was in to loose his realme, did moue him more, then the disease and sickenesse of his body. And on the other side, his friends, seruants, and captaines, hauing gathered a great number of men of warre together in a maruellous short time, marched with great speed towards *Pyrrus*, being earnestly bent to do some exploite against him: who being come into MACEDON but to make a roade onely vpon them, would not tarie them, but fled, and flying, lost part of his men, because the MACEDONIANS followed him hard, and set vpon him by the way. But now, though they had driuen *Pyrrus* thus easily out of MACEDON, *Demetrius* for all that did not make light account of him: but pretending greater things (as to recouer the lands and dominions of his father, with an armie of an hundred thousand fighting men, and of fiue hundred saile which he put to the sea) would not stand to make warres against *Pyrrus*, neither yet leaue the MACEDONIANS (whilest he was absent) so dangerous a neighbor, and so ill to deale withall. *Demetrius armie both by land and sea.* But lacking leisure to make warres with *Pyrrus*, concluded a peace with him, to the end he might with the more libertie set vpon the other kings. Thus now, the peace concluded betwixt *Demetrius* and *Pyrrus*, the other kings and princes began to find out *Demetrius* intent, and why he had made so great preparation: and being affraid thereof, wrote vnto *Pyrrus* by their Ambassadours, that they wondred how he could let go such oportunity and occasion, and to tary till *Demetrius* might with better leisure make warres vpon him. And why he chose rather to tary and fight with him for the altars, temples, and sepulchers of the MOLOSSIANS, when he should be of greater power, and haue no warres elsewhere to trouble him: then now that he might easily driue him out of MACEDON, hauing so many things in hand, & being troubled as he was in other places. And considering also that very lately he had taken one of his wiues from him, with the city of CORPHVE. For *Lanassa* misliking, that *Pyrrus* loued his other wiues better then her (they being of a barbarous nation) got her vnto CORPHVE: and desiring to marie some other king, sent for *Demetrius*, knowing that he of al other kings would soonest be wonne thereunto. *Demetrius maried Lanassa Pyrrus wife.* Whereupon *Demetrius* went thither, and maried her, and left a garrison in his city of CORPHVE. Now these other kings that did aduertise *Pyrrus* in this sort, themselues did trouble *Demetrius* in the meane while: who tracted time, and yet went on with his preparation notwithstanding. For on the one side *Ptolomy* entred GRECE with a great armie by sea, where he caused the cities to reuolt against him and *Lysimachus* on the other side also, entring into high MACEDON by the countrey of THRACIA, burnt and spoiled all as he went. *Pyrrus* also arming himselfe with them, went vnto the city of BERROEA, imagining (as afterwards it fell out) that *Demetrius* going against *Lysimachus*, would leaue all the low countrey of MACEDON naked, without garrison or defence. And the selfe same night that *Pyrrus* departed, he imagined that king *Alexander* the great did call him, and also that he went vnto him, and found him sicke in his bed, of whom he had very good words and entertainement: in so much as he promised to helpe him throughly. *Pyrrus dreame.* And *Pyrrus* imagined also that he was so bold to demaund of him againe: How (my Lord) can you helpe me, that lie sicke in your bed? & that *Alexander* made answer: with

my name only. And that moreouer he ſuddenly therewithall got vp on his horſe *Niſea*, and rode before *Pyrrus* to guide him the way. This viſion he had in his dreame, which made him bold, and furthermore encouraged him to go on with his enterpriſe. By which occaſion, marching forward with all ſpeed, in few dayes he ended his intended iourney to the citie of BERROEA, which ſuddenly he tooke at his firſt comming to it: the moſt part of his armie he layed in garriſon there, the reſidue he ſent away vnder the conduct of his captaines, here and there, to conquer the cities thereabouts. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence hereof, and hearing alſo an ill rumour that ran in his campe amongſt the MACEDONIANS, durſt not leade them any further, for feare leaſt (when he ſhould come neere to *Lyſimachus* being a MACEDONIAN king by nation, and a prince eſteemed for a famous captaine) they would ſhrinke from him, and take *Lyſimachus* part: for this cauſe therfore he turned againe vpon the ſudden againſt *Pyrrus*, as againſt a ſtrange prince, and ill beloued of the MACEDONIANS. But when he came to encampe neare him, many coming from BERROEA into his campe, blew abroad the praiſes of *Pyrrus*, ſaying, that he was a noble prince, inuincible in wars, and one that curteouſly intreated all thoſe he tooke to his party: and amongſt thoſe, there were other that were no naturall MACEDONIANS borne, but ſet on by *Pyrrus*, and fained themſelues to be MACEDONIANS, who gaue out, that now occaſion was offered to ſet them at liberty, from *Demetrius* proud and ſtately rule, and to take king *Pyrrus* part, that was a curteous prince, and one that loued ſouldiers and men of warre. Theſe words made the moſt part of *Demetrius* army very doubtfull, in ſo much as the MACEDONIANS looked about, to ſee if they could find out *Pyrrus* to yeeld themſelues vnto him. He had at that preſent left off his head-peece: by meane whereof, perceiuing he was not knowne, he put it on againe, and then they knew him a far off, by the ſight of his goodly faire plume, and the goates hornes which he caried on the top of his creaſt. Whereupon there came a great number of MACEDONIANS to his part, as vnto their ſoueraigne lord and king, & required the watchword of him. Other put garlands of oken boughs about their heads, becauſe they ſaw his men crowned after that ſort. And ſome were ſo bold alſo, as to go to *Demetrius* himſelfe, and tell him, that in their opinions he ſhould do very well and wiſely to giue place to fortune, and referre all vnto *Pyrrus*. *Demetrius* hereupon, ſeeing his campe in ſuch vprore, was ſo amazed, that he knew not what way to take, but ſtole away ſecretly, diſguiſed in a thred-bare cloake, and a hood on his head to keepe him from knowledge. *Pyrrus* forthwith ſeazed vpon his campe, tooke all that he found, and was preſently proclaimed in the field, king of MACEDON. *Lyſimachus* on the other ſide, came ſtraight thither after him, and ſayd that he had holpen to chaſe *Demetrius* out of his realme, and therefore claimed halfe the kingdome with him. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* not truſting the MACEDONIANS too farre as yet, but rather ſtanding in doubt of their faith: graunted *Lyſimachus* his deſire, and thereupon deuided all the cities and prouinces of the realme of MACEDON betweene them. This partition was profitable for them both at that preſent, and ſtood then to good purpoſe to pacifie the warre, that otherwiſe might ſuddenly haue riſen betweene them. But ſhortly after, they found that this partition was no end of their enmity, but rather a beginning of quarrell and diſſention betweene them. For they whoſe auarice and inſatiable greedy appetite, neither the ſea, the mountaines, nor the vnhabitable deſerts could containe, nor yet the confines that ſeparate ASIA from EVROPE determine: how ſhould they be content with their owne, without vſurping others, when their frontiers ioyne ſo neere together, that nothing deuides them? Sure it is not poſſible. For to ſay truly, they are willingly together by the eares, hauing theſe two curſed things rooted in them: that they continually ſeeke occaſion how to ſurpriſe each other, and either of them enuies his neighbours well doing. Howbeit in apparance they vſe theſe two termes of peace and warres, as they do money: vſing it as they thinke good, not according to right and iuſtice, but for their priuate profit. And truly they are men of far greater honeſty, that make open war, and auow it: then thoſe that diſguiſe and colour the delay of their wicked purpoſe, by the holy name of iuſtice or friendſhip. Which *Pyrrus* did truly then verifie. For deſiring to keepe *Demetrius* downe from riſing another time, and that he ſhould not reuiue againe, as eſcaped from a long dangerous diſeaſe: he went to aide the GRECIANS againſt him, and was at ATHENS, where they ſuffered him to come into the caſtle, and do ſacrifice there vnto the goddeſſe *Minerua*. But comming out of the caſtle againe the ſame day, he told the ATHENIANS he was greatly beholding vnto them for their curteſie, and the great truſt they had repoſed in him: wherefore to requite them againe, he gaue them counſell, neuer to ſuffer prince nor king from thenceforth to enter into their city, if they

Pyrrus ſecond iourney into Macedon.

Pyrrus praiſes.

How Pyrrus ware his head-peece.

Pyrrus proclaimed king of Macedon.

Macedon deuided betweene Pyrrus and Lyſimachus.

Couetouſneſſe hath no end.

Peace, and warre, vſed like money.

Pyrrus aided the Grecians againſt Demetrius.

they were wiſe, nor once open their gates vnto them. So, after that he had made peace with *Demetrius*, who within ſhort time being gone to make warres in ASIA, *Pyrrus* yet once againe (perſwaded thereunto by *Lyſimachus*) cauſed all THESSALY to riſe againſt him, & went himſelfe to ſet vpon thoſe garriſons which *Demetrius* had left in the cities of GREECE, liking better to continue the MACEDONIANS in war, then to leaue them in peace: beſides that, himſelfe alſo was of ſuch a nature, as could not long continue in peace. *Demetrius* thus in the end being vtterly ouerthrowne in SYRIA, *Lyſimachus* ſeeing himſelfe free from feare on that ſide, and being at good leiſure, as hauing nothing to trouble him otherwaies: went ſtraight to make warre vpon *Pyrrus*, who then remained neare vnto the city of EDESSA, and meeting by the way with the conuoy of victuals comming towards him, ſet vpon the conducters, and rifled them wholly. By this meanes, firſt he diſtreſſed *Pyrrus* for want of victuals: then he corrupted the princes of MACEDON with letters and meſſengers, declaring vnto them, what ſhame they ſuſtained to haue made a ſtranger their king (whoſe anceſtors had euer bin their vaſſals & ſubiects) and to haue turned all thoſe out of MACEDON, that had bene familiar friends of king *Alexander* the great. Many of the MACEDONIANS were won by theſe perſwaſions: which fact ſo feared *Pyrrus*, that he departed out of MACEDON with his men of warre, the EPIROTS, and other his confederates: and ſo loſt MACEDON by the ſelfe ſame meanes he wan it. Kings and princes therefore muſt not blame priuate men, though they change and alter ſometime for their profit: for therein they do but follow the example of princes, who teach them all diſloyaltie, treaſon, and infidelity, iudging him moſt worthie of gaine, that leaſt obſerueth iuſtice and equity. So *Pyrrus* being come home againe to his kingdome of EPIRVS, forſaking MACEDON altogether, fortune made him happy inough, and indeed he had good meanes to liue peaceably at home, without any trouble, if he could haue contented himſelfe only with the ſoueragnty ouer his owne naturall ſubiects. But thinking, that if he did neither hurt other, nor that other did hurt him, he could not tell how to ſpend his time, and by peace he ſhould pine away for ſorow, as *Homer* ſayd of *Achilles*:

He languiſhed and pin'd by taking eaſe and reſt:
And in the warres where trauell was, he liked euer beſt.

Lyſimachus maketh warre with Pyrrus.

And thus ſeeking matter of new trouble, fortune preſented him this occaſion. About this time, the ROMAINES by chance made warre with the TARENTINES, who could neither beare their force, nor yet deuiſe how to pacifie the ſame, by reaſon of the raſhneſſe, folly, and wickedneſſe of their gouernors, who perſwaded them to make *Pyrrus* their Generall, and to ſend for him for to conduct theſe warres: becauſe he was leſſe troubled at that time, then any of the other kings about them, and was eſteemed of euery man alſo to be a noble ſouldier, and famous captaine. The elders and wiſe men of the city, vtterly miſliked that counſell: but ſome of them were put to ſilence, through the noiſe and furie of the people, who cried for warres. Some other ſeeing them checked, and taken vp by the multitude in this maner, would no more repaire to their common aſſemblies. Among the reſt, there was one *Meton*, an honeſt worſhipfull citizen, who when the day was come that the people ſhould conclude in counſell, the decree for the calling in of *Pyrrus*: all the people of TARENTVM being aſſembled, and ſet in the Theater, this *Meton* put an old withered garland of flowers vpon his head, and carying a torch in his hand as though he had bin drunke, and hauing a woman minſtrell before him playing on a pipe, went dancing in this goodly aray through the middeſt of the whole aſſembly. And there (as it happeneth commonly in euerie hurly burly of people that will be maiſters themſelues, and where no good order is kept) ſome of them clapped their hands, other burſt out in a laughter, and euery man ſuffered him to do what he luſt: but they all cried out to the woman minſtrell, to play on and ſpare not, and to *Meton* himſelfe, that he ſhould ſing, and come forward. So *Meton* made ſhew as though he prepared himſelf vnto it: and when they had giuen ſilence to heare him ſing, he ſpake vnto them with a loud voice in this maner: My Lords of TARENTVM, ye do well ſure, not to forbid them to play and to be merry that are ſo diſpoſed, whileſt they may lawfully do it: and if ye be wiſe, euerie of you alſo (as many as you be) will take your liberty whileſt you may enioy it. For when king *Pyrrus* ſhall be in this city, you ſhall liue I warrant you after another ſort, and not as ye now do. Theſe words of *Meton* moued many of the TARENTINES, and ſuddenly there ran a rumor through all the aſſembly, that he had ſayd truly. But they that had offended the ROMAINES, fearing if peace were made, that they ſhould be deliuered into their hands, they checked the people, asking them if they were ſuch fooles, as would abide to be mocked and played withall to their teeth: and with

The Tarentines hauing warre with the Romaines, determine to make king Pyrrus their Generall

Meton counterfeiting the foole, wiſely perſwaded the Tarentines not to ſend for Pyrrus.

Tarentum a city in Italie.

Metons counſell to the Tarentines.

thoſe words all ranne vpon *Meton* and draue him out of the Theater. The decree thus confirmed by voices of the people, they ſent Ambaſſadours into EPIRVS, to cary preſents vnto king *Pyrrus*, not only from the TARENTINES, but from other GRECIANS alſo that dwelt in ITALY, ſaying that they ſtood in need of a wiſe and skilfull captaine, that was reputed famous in martiall diſcipline. And as to the reſt, for numbers of good ſouldiers, they had men inough in ITALY, and were able to bring an army into the field, of the LVCANIANS, the MESSAPIANS, the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, of twenty thouſand horſe, and three hundred thouſand footemen being all aſſembled together. Theſe words of the Ambaſſadours did not only lift vp *Pyrrus* hart, but made the EPIROTS alſo maruellous deſirous to go this iourney. There was in king *Pyrrus* court one *Cineas* THESSALIAN, a man of great vnderſtanding, and that had bene *Demoſthenes* the orators ſcholler, who ſeemed to be the only man of all other in his time in common reputation, to be moſt elequent, following the liuely image and ſhadow of *Demoſthenes* paſſing eloquence. This *Cineas*, *Pyrrus* euer entertained about him, and ſent him Ambaſſador to the people and cities thereabouts: where he verified *Euripides* words:

The Tarentines ſend Ambaſſadours to Pyrrus.

Cineas the orator, a Theſſalian borne, and attending in Pyrrus court.

As much as trenchant blades, in mighty hand may do,
So much can skill of eloquence, atchieue and conquer to.

And therfore *Pyrrus* would often ſay, that *Cineas* had won him moe townes with his eloquence, then he himſelfe had done by the ſword: for which he did greatly honor & imploy him in all his chiefe affaires. *Cineas* perceiuing that *Pyrrus* was maruellouſly bent to theſe wars of ITALY, finding him one day at leiſure, diſcourſed with him in this ſort: It is reported, and it pleaſe your maieſtie, that the ROMAINES are very good men of war, and that they command many valiant and warlike nations: if it pleaſe the gods we do ouercome them, what benefit ſhall we haue of that victory? *Pyrrus* anſwered him againe, thou doeſt aske me a queſtion that is manifeſt of it ſelfe: for when we haue once ouercome the ROMAINES, there can neither GRECIAN nor barbarous city in all the countrey withſtand vs, but we ſhall ſtraight conquer all the reſt of ITALY with eaſe: whoſe greatneſſe, wealth, and power, no man knoweth better then my ſelfe. *Cineas* pawſing a while, replied: and when we haue taken ITALY, what ſhall we do then? *Pyrrus* not finding his meaning yet, ſayd vnto him: SICILIA as thou knoweſt is hard adioyning to it, & doth as it were offer it ſelfe vnto vs, and is a maruellous populous and rich land, and eaſie to be taken: for all the cities within the Iland are one againſt another, hauing no head that gouernes them ſince *Agathocles* died, more then orators only that are their counſellors, who will ſoone be won. Indeed it is likely which your grace ſpeaketh, quoth *Cineas*: but when we haue won SICILIA, ſhall then our wars take end? If the gods were pleaſed, ſayd *Pyrrus*, that victorie were atchieued, the way were then broad open for vs to attaine great conqueſts. For who would not afterwards go into AFRICKE, and ſo to CARTHAGE, which alſo will be an eaſie conqueſt, ſince *Agathocles* ſecretly flying from SYRACVSA, and hauing paſſed the ſeas with a few ſhips, had almoſt taken it? And that once conquered, it is moſt certaine there durſt not one of all our enemies that now do daily vexe and trouble vs, lift vp their heads or hands againſt vs. No ſurely, ſayd *Cineas*: for it is a cleare caſe, that with ſo great a power we may eaſily recouer the realme of MACEDON againe, and command all GRECE beſides, without let of any. But when we haue all in our hands, what ſhall we do in the end? Then *Pyrrus* laughing, told him againe: we will then (good *Cineas*) be quiet, and take our eaſe, and make feaſts euery day, and be as merry one with another as we can poſſible. *Cineas* hauing brought him to that point, ſayd againe to him: My Lord, what letteth vs now to be quiet, and merry together, ſith we enioy that preſently without further trauell & trouble, which we wil now go ſeeke for abroad, with ſuch ſhedding of bloud, & ſo manifeſt danger? and yet we know not whether euer we ſhall attaine vnto it, after we haue both ſuffered, and cauſed other to ſuffer infinite ſorowes and troubles. Theſe laſt words of *Cineas*, did rather offend *Pyrrus*, then make him to alter his mind: for he was not ignorant of the happy ſtate he ſhould thereby forgo, yet could he not leaue off the hope of that he did ſo much deſire. So he ſent *Cineas* before vnto the TARENTINES, with three thouſand footemen: and afterwards the TARENTINES hauing ſent him great ſtore of flatbottomes, gallies, and of all ſorts of paſſengers, he ſhipped into them twentie Elephants, three thouſand horſemen, and two and twenty thouſand footemen, with fiue hundred bowmen and ſlings. All which thus readie, he wayed ankers, and hoiſed ſailes, and was no ſooner in the maine ſea, but the North wind blew very roughly, out of ſeaſon, and draue him to leeward. Notwithſtanding, the ſhip which he was in himſelfe, by great toile:

Cineas graue talke with Pyrrus, to moderate his ambitious mind.

Pyrrus iudgement of orators corruption.

A dangerous thing to withſtand the princes mind.

Pyrrus iourney into Italie.

Pyrrus danger by tempeſt on the ſea.

toile of the pilots and mariners turning to windward, and with much ado, and maruellous danger recouered the coaſt of ITALIE. Howbeit the reſt of his fleete were violently diſperſed here and there, whereof ſome of them failing in their courſe to ITALY, were caſt into the ſeas of LYBIA, and SICILIA. The other not able to recouer the point of APVLIA, were benighted, and the ſea being high wrought, by violence caſt them vpon the ſhore, and againſt the rockes, and made ſhipwrackes of them, the Admirall onely reſerued, which through her ſtrength, and the greatneſſe of her burthen, reſiſted the force of the ſea that moſt violently beat againſt her. But afwards, the wind turning and comming from the land, the ſea cruelly raking ouer the height of her forecaſtell, in fine brought her in manifeſt perill of opening, and ſplitting, and in danger to be driuen from the coaſt, putting her out againe to the mercie of the winds, which chaunged euerie hower. Wherefore *Pyrrus* caſting the perill euerie way, thought beſt to leape into the ſea. After him foorthwith leapt his gard, his ſeruants, and other his familiar friends, venturing their liues to ſaue him. But the darkneſſe of the night, and rage of the waues (which the ſhore breaking, forced ſo to rebound backe vpon them) with the great noiſe alſo, did ſo hinder their ſwimming, that it was euen day before they could recouer any land, and yet was it by meanes that the wind fell. As for *Pyrrus*, he was ſo ſea beaten, and wearied with the waues, that he was able to do no more: though of himſelfe he had ſo great a heart, and ſtout a courage, as was able to ouercome any perill. Moreouer, the MESSAPIANS (vpon whoſe coaſt the ſtorme had caſt him) ran out to helpe him, and diligently laboured in all they could poſſible to ſaue him, and receiued alſo certaine of his ſhips that had ſcaped, in which were a few horſemen, about two thouſand footemen, and two Elephants. With this ſmall force, *Pyrrus* marched on his iourney to go by land vnto TARENTVM: and *Cineas* being aduertiſed of his coming, went with his men to meete him. Now when he was come to TARENTVM, at the firſt he would do nothing by force, nor againſt the goodwill of the inhabitants: vntill ſuch time as his ſhips that had eſcaped the dangers of the ſea, were all arriued, and the greateſt part of his army come together againe. But when he had all his army he looked for, ſeeing that the people of TARENTVM could neither ſaue themſelues, nor be ſaued by any other, without ſtraight order and compulſion, becauſe they made their reckoning that *Pyrrus* ſhould fight for them, and in the meane time they would not ſtirre out of their houſes from bathing themſelues, from banqueting, and making good cheere: firſt of all he cauſed all the parkes and places of ſhew to be ſhut vp, where they were wont to walke and diſport themſelues, in any kind of exerciſe, & as they walked to talke of wars as it were in paſtime, and to fight with words, but not to come to the blowes. And further he forbad all feaſtings, mummeries, and ſuch other like pleaſures, as at that time were out of ſeaſon. He trained them out alſo to exerciſe their weapons, and ſhewed himſelfe very ſeuere in muſters, not pardoning any whoſe names were billed to ſerue in the warres: inſomuch as there were many (which vnacquainted with ſuch rough handling and gouernment) forſooke the city altogether, calling it a bondage, not to haue libertie to liue at their pleaſure. Furthermore, *Pyrrus* hauing intelligence that *Leuinus* the ROMAINE Conſull came againſt him with a great puiſſant army, and that he was already entred into the land of LVCANIA, where he deſtroyed and ſpoiled all the countrey before him: albeit the TARENTINES aide of their confederates, was not as yet come, he thought it a great ſhame to ſuffer his enemies approch ſo neare him, & therfore taking that ſmall number he had, brought them into the field againſt *Leuinus*. Howbeit he ſent an Herauld before to the ROMAINES, to vnderſtand of them, if (before they entred into this war) they could be content the controuerſies they had with all the GRECIANS dwelling in ITALY, might be decided by iuſtice, and therein to refer themſelues to his arbiterment, who of himſelfe wold vndertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Conſull *Leuinus* made anſwer, that the ROMAINES would neuer allow him for a Iudge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherfore *Pyrrus* going on ſtill, came to lodge in the plaine which is betweene the cities of PANDOSIA, and of HERACLEA: & hauing newes brought him that the ROMAINES were encamped very neare vnto him on the other ſide of the riuer of SIRIS, he tooke his horſe, and rode to the riuers ſide to view their campe. So hauing throughly conſidered the forme, the ſituation, and the order of the ſame, the manner of charging their watch, and all their faſhions of doing: he wondered much thereat. And ſpeaking to *Megacles*, one of his familiars about him, he ſayd: this order *Megacles* (quoth he) though it be of barbarous people, yet is it not barbarouſly done, but we ſhall ſhortly proue their force. After he had thus taken his view, he began to be more carefull then he was before, and purpoſed to tarie till

Pyrrus caſt on ſhore vpon the countrey of the Meſſapians.

Pyrrus being receiued of the Tarentines reformed their vaine voluptuous life.

Martiall diſcipline.

Leuinus Conſull ſent againſt Pyrrus.

Pyrrus camped in the plaine, betweene Pandoſia and Heraclea. Siris fl.

the whole aide of their confederates were come together, leauing men at the riuers side of SIRIS, to keepe the passage, if the enemies ventured to passe ouer, as they did indeed. For they made hast to preuent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, and passed their footmen ouer vpon a bridge, and their horsemen at diuerse fords of the riuer: insomuch as the GRECIANS fearing least they should be compassed in behind, drew backe. *Pyrrus* aduertised thereof, and being a litle troubled therewithall, commaunded the captaines of his footemen presently to put their bands in battell ray, and not to stirre till they knew his pleasure: and he himselfe in the meane time marched on with three thousand horse, in hope to find the ROMAINES by the riuer side, as yet out of order, and vtterly vnprouided. But when he saw a farre off a great number of footemen with their targets ranged in battell, on this side the riuer, and their horsemen marching towards him in verie good order: he caused his men to ioyne close together, and himselfe first began the charge, being easie to be knowne from other, if it had bene no more but his passing rich glistering armour and furniture, and withall, for that his valiant deedes gaue manifest proofe of his well deserving fame and renowne. For, though he valiantly bestirred his hands and bodie both, repulsing them he encountred withall in fight, yet he forgate not himselfe, nor neglected the iudgement and foresight, which should neuer be wanting in a Generall of an army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discreetly gaue order for euery thing, riding to & fro, to defend and encourage his men in those places, where he saw them in most distresse. But euen in the hottest of the battell, *Leonatus* MACEDONIAN spied an ITALIAN a man of armes, that followed *Pyrrus* vp and downe where he went, and euer kept in manner of euen hand with him, to set vpon him. Wherfore he sayd to *Pyrrus*: My Lord, do you not see that barbarous man there vpon a bay horse with white feete? Sure he looketh as though he meant to do some notable feate and mischiefe with his owne hands: for his eye is neuer off you, but waiteth only vpon you, being sharpe set to deale with your selfe and none other, and therefore take heed of him. *Pyrrus* answered him, It is impossible *Leonatus*, for a man to auoide his destiny: but neither he, nor any other ITALIAN whatsoeuer, shall haue any ioy to deale with me. And as they were talking thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his speare in the middest, and setting spurs to his horse, charged vpon *Pyrrus*, and ran his horse through and through with the same. *Leonatus* at the selfe same instant serued the ITALIANS horse in the like maner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, saued him presently, and slue the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it out right valiantly. The ITALIANS name was *Oplacus*, borne in the city of FERENTVM, and was captaine of a band of men of armes. This mischance made king *Pyrrus* looke the better to himselfe afterwards, and seeing his horsemen giue backe, sent presently to hasten his footemen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and deliuering his armour and cloake to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Megacles* armor, returned againe to the battell against the ROMAINES, who valiantly resisted him, so that the victory depended long in doubt: for it is sayd, that both the one side and the other did chase, and was chased, aboue seuen times in that conflict. The changing of the kings armour serued verie well for the safety of his owne person, howbeit it was like to haue marred all, and to haue made him loose the field. For many of his enemies set vpon *Megacles*, that ware the kings armor: and the partie that slue him dead, and threw him starke to the ground, was one *Dexius* by name, who quickly snatched off his head-peece, tooke away his cloake, & ran to *Leuinus* the Consull, crying out aloud, that he had slaine *Pyrrus*, and withall shewed forth the spoiles he supposed to haue taken from him. Which being caried about through all the bands, and openly shewed from hand to hand, made the ROMAINES maruellous ioyfull, and the GRECIANS on the contrary, both afeard and right sorowfull: vntill such time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and passed alongst all his bands bare headed, and bare faced, holding vp his hand to his souldiers, and giuing them to vnderstand with his owne voice, that it was himselfe. The Elephants in the end were they indeed that wanne the battell, and did most distresse the ROMAINES: for, their horses seeing them a farre off, were sore afraid, and durst not abide them, but caried their maisters backe in despite of them. *Pyrrus* at the sight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horsmen to giue charge vpon them whilest they were in this disorder, and that so lustily, as they made the ROMAINES flie, and sustaine great slaughter. For *Dionysius* writeth, that there died few lesse, then fifteene thousand ROMAINES at that battell. But *Hieronymus* speaketh onely of seuen thousand. And of *Pyrrus* side, *Dionysius* writeth, there were slaine thirteene thousand. But *Hieronymus* saith lesse then foure

Pyrrus battell.

Pyrrus first conflict with the Romaines.

Pyrrus wisedom and foresight in battell.

Pyrrus changed his armour and cloake.

Megacles slaine, taken for Pyrrus.

Pyrrus victory of Leuinus the Consull.

foure thousand: howbeit they were all of the best men of his army, and those whom he most trusted. King *Pyrrus* presently hereupon also tooke the ROMAINES campe, which they forsooke, & wan many of their cities from their alliance, spoiled, and ouercame much of their country. In so much as he came within sixe and thirtie mile of ROME, whither came to his aide, as confederates of the TARENTINES, the LVCANIANS, and the SAMNITES, whom he rebuked because they came too late to the battell. Howbeit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not a litle glad and proud to haue ouerthrowne so great an armie of the ROMAINES with his owne men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On the other side, the ROMAINES hearts were so great, that they would not depose *Leuinus* from his Consulship, notwithstanding the losse he had receiued: and *Caius Fabricius* sayd openly, that they were not the EPIROTS that had ouercome the ROMAINES, but *Pyrrus* had ouercome *Leuinus*: meaning thereby, that this ouerthrow chaunced vnto them, more through the subtiltie and wise conduction of the Generall, then through the valiant feats and worthinesse of his armie. And hereupon they speedily supplied their legions againe that were diminished, with other new souldiers in the dead mens place, and leauied a fresh force besides, speaking brauely and fiercely of this warre, like men whose hearts were nothing appauled. Whereat *Pyrrus* maruelling much, thought good first to send to the ROMAINES, to proue if they would giue any eare to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the city of ROME was no easie matter to compasse or attaine, with that strength he presently had: and also that it would be greatly to his glorie, if he could bring them to peace after this his valiant victorie. And hereupon he sent *Cineas* to ROME, who spake with the chiefest of the citie, and offered presents to them and their wiues, in the behalfe of the king his maister. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receiue any at his hands, but answered all with one voice: that if the peace might be generall to all, they all priuatly would be at the kings commandement, and would be glad of his friendship. Moreouer, when *Cineas* had talked in open audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had deliuered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to giue eare vnto them, although he offered to deliuer them their prisoners home againe without ransome, that had bene taken at the battell, and promised also to aide them in the conquest of ITALIE, requiring no other recompence at their hands, sauing their goodwils onely to his maister, and assurance for the TARENTINES, that they should not be annoyed for anie thing past, without demaund of other matter. Neuertheless in the end, when they had heard these offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willing to make peace: alledging that they had already lost a great battell, and how they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE should ioyne together with king *Pyrrus* power. But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor dealt in matters of state at all by reason of his age, and partly because he was blind, when he vnderstood of king *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common bruite that ranne through the citie, how the Senate were in mind to agree to the capitulations of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but caused his seruants to carie him in his chaire vpon their armes vnto the Senate doore, his sonnes, and sonnes in law taking him in their armes, caried him into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honour the comming in of so notable and worthie a personage: and he so soone as they had set him in his seate, began to speake in this sort: Hitherunto with great impatience (my Lords of ROME) haue I borne the losse of my sight, but now, I would I were also as deafe as I am blind, that I might not (as I do) heare the report of your dishonourable consultations determined vpon in Senate, which tend to supuert the glorious fame and reputation of ROME. What is now become of all your great and mightie bragges you blazed abroad through the whole world? That if *Alexander* the great himselfe had come into ITALIE, in the time that our fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not haue sayd euerie where that he was altogether inuincible, as now at this present they do: but either he should haue left his bodie slaine here in battell, or at the leastwise haue bene driuen to flie, and by his death or flying should greatly haue enlarged the renowme and glorie of ROME. You plainely shew it now, that all these words spoken then, were but vaine and arrogant vaunts of foolish pride: considering that you tremble for feare of the MOLOSSIANS and CHAONIANS, who were euer a pray to the MACEDONIANS: and that ye are afraid of *Pyrrus* also, who all his life time serued and followed one of the gard vnto *Alexander* the great, and now is come to make warres in these parts, not to aide the

Cineas sent Ambassador to Rome.

The noble mind of the Romaines.

Appius Claudius dissuaded the Romaines from making peace with Pyrrus.

Appius Claudius oration to the Senate.

» GRECIANS inhabiting in ITALY, but to flie from his enemies there about his owne country, of-
» fering you to conquer all the reſt of ITALY with an army, wherwith he was nothing able to keepe
» a ſmall part of MACEDON only for himſelfe. And therefore you muſt not perſwade your ſelues,
» that in making peace with him, you ſhall thereby be rid of him: but rather ſhall you draw others
» to come and ſet vpon you beſides. For they will vtterly deſpiſe you, when they ſhall heare ye are
» ſo eaſily ouercome, and that you haue ſuffered *Pyrrus* to eſcape your hands, before you made
» him feele the iuſt reward of his bold preſumptuous attempt vpon you: carying with him for a
» further hier, this aduantage ouer you, that he hath giuen a great occaſion both to the SAMNITES,
» and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that *Appius* had told this tale vn-
to the Senate, euery one through the whole aſſembly, deſired rather warre then peace. They diſ-
patched *Cineas* away thereupon with this anſwer, that if *Pyrrus* ſought the ROMAINES friend-
ſhip, he muſt firſt depart out of ITALY, and then ſend vnto them to treate of peace: but ſo long as
he remained there with his army, the ROMAINES would make warre vpon him, withall the force
and power they could make, yea although he had ouerthrowne and ſlaine ten thouſand ſuch
captaines as *Leuinus* was. They ſay that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at ROME, intrea-
ting for this peace, did curiouſly labour to conſider and vnderſtand the maners, order, and life of
the ROMAINES, and their common weale, diſcourſing thereof with the chiefeſt men of the city:
and how afterwards he made ample report of the ſame vnto *Pyrrus*: and told him amongſt other
The maieſtie of the Senate of Rome. things, that the Senate appeared to him, a Councell-houſe of many kings. And furthermore (for
the number of people) that he feared greatly they ſhould fight againſt ſuch a ſerpent, as that
which was in old time in the mariſhes of LERNE, of which, when they had cut off one head, ſe-
uen other came vp in the place: becauſe the Conſul *Leuinus* had now leauied another army, twiſe
as great as the firſt was, and had left at ROME alſo, many times as many good able men to carie
armour. After this, there were ſent Ambaſſadors from ROME vnto *Pyrrus*, and amongſt other,
Caius Fabricius, Ambaſſi-dor to Pyrrus. *Caius Fabricius* touching the ſtate of priſoners. *Cineas* told the king his maiſter, that this *Fabricius*
was one of the greateſt men of account in all ROME, a right honeſt man, a good captaine, and a
Caius Fabricius a noble captaine, but very poore. very valiant man of his hands, yet poore indeed he was notwithſtanding. *Pyrrus* taking him ſe-
Fabricius refuſed king Pyrrus gifts. cretly aſide, made very much of him, and amongſt other things, offered him both gold and ſil-
uer, praying him to take it, not for any diſhoneſt reſpect he meant towards him, but onely for a
pledge of the goodwill and friendſhip that ſhould be betweene them. *Fabricius* would none
of his gift: ſo *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithſtanding the next morning thinking to
feare him, becauſe he had neuer ſeene Elephant before, *Pyrrus* commanded his men, that when
they ſaw *Fabricius* and him talking together, they ſhould bring one of his greateſt Elephants,
and ſet him hard by them, behind a hanging: which being done at a certaine ſigne by *Pyrrus* gi-
uen, ſuddenly the hanging was pulled backe, and the Elephant with his truncke was ouer *Fabri-
cius* head, and gaue a terrible and fearefull crie. *Fabricius* ſoftly giuing backe, nothing afraid,
laughed and ſayd to *Pyrrus* ſmiling: neither did your gold (oh king) yeſterday moue me, nor
your Elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whileſt they were at ſupper, falling in talke of
diuerſe matters, ſpecially touching the ſtate of GREECE, and the Philoſophers there: *Cineas* by
The opinion of the Epicurians touching felicitie. chance ſpake of EPICVRVS, and rehearſed the opinions of the EPICVRIANS touching the
gods and gouernment of the common wealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleaſure,
how they fled from all office and publicke charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of
true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortall, neither moued with pity nor
anger, and led an idle life full of all pleaſures and delights, without taking any regard of mens do-
ings. But as he ſtill continued this diſcourſe, *Fabricius* cried out aloud, and ſayd: the gods
graunt that *Pyrrus* and the SAMNITES were of ſuch opinions, as long as they had warres a-
gainſt vs. *Pyrrus* maruelling much at the conſtancie and magnanimity of this man, was more
deſirous a great deale to haue peace with the ROMAINES, then before. And priuatly prayed *Fa-
bricius* very earneſtly, that he would treate for peace, whereby he might afterwards come and re-
maine with him, ſaying: that he would giue him the chiefe place of honor about him, amongſt all
his friends. Whereunto *Fabricius* anſwered him ſoftly: that were not good (oh king) for your
ſelfe, quoth he: for your men that preſently do honour and eſteeme you, by experience if they
once knew me, would rather chuſe me for their king, then your ſelfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke,
whoſe words *Pyrrus* tooke not in ill part, neither was offended with them at all, as a tyrant wold
haue bene: but did himſelfe report to his friends and familiars the noble mind he found in him,

and

and deliuered him vpon his faith onely, all the ROMAINE priſoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree vnto peace, they might yet ſee their friends, and keepe the feaſt of *Saturne* with them, and then to ſend them backe againe vnto him. Which the Senate eſtabliſhed by decree, vpon paine of death to all ſuch as ſhould not performe the ſame accordingly. Afterwards *Fabricius* was choſen Conſull, and as he was in his campe, there came a man to him that brought him a letter from king *Pyrrus* Phiſition, written with his owne hands: in which the Phiſition offered to poyſon his maiſter, ſo he would promiſe him a good reward, for ending the warres without further danger. *Fabricius* deteſting the wickednes ſe of the Phiſition, and hauing made *Q. Æmylius* his colleague and fellow Conſull alſo to abhorre the ſame: wrote a letter vnto *Pyrrus*, and bad him take heed, for there were that meant to poyſon him. The contents of his letter were theſe: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus Æmylius* Conſuls of ROME, vnto king *Pyrrus* greeting. You haue (ô king) made vnfortunate choiſe, both of your friends and of your enemies, as ſhall appeare vnto you by reading of this letter which one of yours hath written vnto vs: for you make warres with iuſt and honeſt men, and do your ſelfe truſt altogether the wicked and vnfaithfull. Hereof therefore we haue thought good to aduertiſe you, not in reſpect to pleaſure you, but for feare leaſt the misfortune of your death might make vs vniuſtly to be accuſed: imagining that by trecherie or treaſon, we haue ſought to end this war, as though by valiantneſſe we could not otherwiſe atchieue it. *Pyrrus* hauing read this letter, and proued the contents thereof true, executed the Phiſition as he had deſerued: and to requite the aduertiſement of the Conſuls, he ſent *Fabricius* and the ROMAINES their priſoners, without paying of ranſome, and ſent *Cineas* againe vnto them, to proue if he could obtaine peace. Howbeit the ROMAINES, becauſe they would neither receiue pleaſure of their enemies, & leaſt of all reward, for that they conſented not vnto ſo wicked a deed: did not onely refuſe to take their priſoners of free gift, but they ſent him againe ſo many SAMNITES, and TARENTINES. And furthermore, for peace and his friendſhip, they would giue no eare to it, before the wars were ended, and that he had ſent away his armie againe by ſea, into his kingdom of EPIRVS. Wherfore *Pyrrus* ſeeing no remedy, but that he muſt needs fight another battell, after he had ſomewhat refreſhed his armie, drew towards the city of ASCVLVM, where he fought the ſecond time with the ROMAINES: and was brought into a maruellous ill ground for horſemen, by a very ſwift running riuer, from whence came many brookes and deepe mariſhes, inſomuch as his Elephants could haue no ſpace nor ground to ioine with the battell of the footmen, by reaſon wherof there was a great nũber of men hurt and ſlaine on both ſides. And in the end, the battell being fought out all day long, the darke night did ſeuer thẽ: but the next morning, *Pyrrus* to win the aduantage to fight in the plain field, where he might preuaile with the force of his Elephants, ſent firſt certaine of his bands to ſeize vpon the naughtie ground they had fought on the day before. And by this pollicy hauing brought the ROMAINES into the plaine field, he thruſt in amongſt his Elephants, ſtore of ſhot, & ſlingmen, and then made his armie march (being very well ſet in order) with great furie againſt his enemies. They miſſing the other dayes turnings and places of retire, were now compelled to fight all on a front in the plaine field: and ſtriuing to breake into the battell of *Pyrrus* footmen before the Elephants came, they deſperatly preaſed in vpon their enemies pikes with their ſwords, not caring for their owne perſons what became of them, but only looked to kill and deſtroy their enemies. In the end notwithſtanding, after the battell had holden out very long, the ROMAINES loſt it, and they firſt began to breake and flie on that ſide where *Pyrrus* was, by reaſon of the great force and fury of his charge, and much more through the violence of the Elephants: againſt which, the ROMAINES valiantneſſe nor courage could ought preuaile, but that they were driuen to giue thẽ place (much like the rage of ſurging waues, or terrible trembling of the earth) rather then tary to be troden vnder feete, and ouerthrowne by them, whom they were not able to hurt againe, but be by them moſt grieuouſly martyred, & their troubles thereby yet nothing eaſed. The chaſe was not long, becauſe they fled but into their campe: and *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that there died ſix thouſand men of the ROMAINES, and of *Pyrrus* part about three thouſand fiue hundred and fiue, as the kings owne Chronicles do witneſſe. Neuertheleſſe, *Dionyſius* makes no mention of two battels giuen neare vnto the city of ASCVLVM, nor that the ROMAINES were certainely ouerthrowne: howbeit he affirmeth that there was one battell only that continued vntill Sunne ſet, and that they ſcarcely ſeuered alſo when night was come on, *Pyrrus* being hurt on the arme with a ſpeare, and his cariage robbed and ſpoiled by the SAMNITES beſides.

King Pyrrus Phiſition writeth to Fabricius, and offereth to poyſon his maiſter.

Fabricius letter to Pyrrus, aduertiſing him of his Phiſitions treaſon.

Pyrrus ſendeth the Romaines their priſoners without ranſome.

Pyrrus ſecond battell with the Romaines, by the city of Aſculum.

Pyrrus victorie of the Romaines.

The writers agree not about Pyrrus battell.

And further, that there died in this battell, aboue fifteene thousand men, as well of *Pyrrus* side, as of the ROMAINES part: and that at the last, both the one and the other did tetire. And some say, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* answered one, who reioyced with him for the victorie they had wonne: If we win another of the price, quoth he, we are vtterly vndone. For indeed then had he lost the most part of his armie he brought with him out of his realme, and all his friends and captaines in manner euerie one, or at the least there lacked litle of it: and besides that, he had no meanes to supply them with other from thence, and perceiued also that the confederates he had in ITALY, began to waxe cold. Where the ROMAINES to the contrary, did easily renew their army with fresh souldiers, which they caused to come from ROME as need required (much like vnto a liuely spring, the head whereof they had at home in their country) and they fainted not at all for any losses they receiued, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, stoutly determining to abide out the warres, what euer betide. And thus whilest *Pyrrus* was troubled in this sort, new hopes and new enterprises were offered vnto him, that made him doubtfull what to do. For euen at a clap came Ambassadors to him out of SICILIA, offering to put into his hands, the cities of SYRACVSA, of AGRIGENTVM, and of the LEONTINES, and beseeching him to aide them to driue the CARTHAGINIANS out of the Ile, thereby to deliuer them from all the tyrants. And on the other side also, newes was brought him from GRECE, how *Ptolomy* surnamed the lightning, was slaine, and all his armie ouerthrowne in battell against the GAYLES, and that now he should come in good houre for the MACEDONIANS, who lacked but a king. Then he cursed his hard fortune, that presented him all at once, such sundrie occasions to do great things: and as if both enterprises had bene already in his hand, he made his account that of necessitie he must loose one of them. So, long debating the matter with himselfe, which of the two wayes he should conclude vpon: in the end he resolued, that by the warres of SICILIA, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, considering that AFRICKE was not far from them. Wherefore, disposing himselfe that way, he sent *Cineas* thither immediatly to make his way, and to speake to the townes and cities of the countrey as he was wont to do: and in the meane time left a strong garrison in the city of TARENTVM, to keepe it at his deuotion, wherewith the TARENTINES were very angrie. For they made request vnto him, either to remaine in their country to maintaine wars with them against the ROMAINES (which was their meaning why they sent for him) or else if he would needs go, at the leastwise to leaue their city in as good state as he found it. But he answered them againe very roughly, that they should speake no more to him in it, and that they should not chuse but tarie his occasion. And with this answer he tooke ship, and sailed towards SICILIA: where so soone as he was arriued, he found all that he hoped for, for the cities did willingly put themselues into his hands. And where necessitie of battell was offered him to employ his armie, nothing at the beginning could stand before him. For, with thirtie thousand footmen, two thousand fiue hundred horsemen, and two hundred saile which he brought with him, he draue the CARTHAGINIANS before him, and conquered all the country vnder their obedience. Now at that time, the city of ERIX was the strongest place they had: and there were a great number of good souldiers within to defend it. *Pyrrus* determined to proue the assault of it, and when his army was ready to giue the charge, he armed himselfe at al peeces from top to toe, and approching the wals, vowed vnto *Hercules* to giue him a solemne sacrifice, with a feast of common playes, so that he would graunt him grace to shew himselfe vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting in SICILIA, worthy of the noble ancestours from whence he came, and of the great good fortune he had in his hands. This vow ended, he straight made the trumpets sound to the assault, and caused the barbarous people that were on the wals, to retire with force of his shot. Then when the scaling ladders were set vp, himselfe was the first that mounted on the wall, where he found diuerse of the barbarous people that resisted him. But some he threw ouer the wals on either side of him, & with his sword slue many dead about him, himselfe not once hurt: for the barbarous people had not the heart to looke him in the face, his countenance was so terrible. And this doth proue that *Homer* spake wisely, and like a man of experience, when he sayd: that valiantnesse onely amongst all other morall vertues is that, which hath sometimes certaine furious motions and diuine prouocations, which makes a man besides himselfe. So the city being taken, he honourably performed his vowed sacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept a feast of all kinds and sorts of games and weapons. There dwelt a barbarous people at that time about MESSINA, called the MAMERTINES, who did much hurt to the GRECIANS thereabouts,

Ambassadors out of Sicilia, to pray aide of Pyrrus.

Pyrrus iourney into Sicilia.

Pyrrus vvonne the city of Erix in Sicilia.

Homer of valiantnesse.

abouts, making many of them pay taxe and tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of warre and good ſouldiers, and had their name alſo of *Mars*, becauſe they were marſhiall men, and giuen to armes. *Pyrrus* led his armie againſt them, and ouerthrew them in battell: and put their collectors to death, that did leauy and exact the taxe, and razed many of their fortreſſes. And when the CARTHAGINIANS required peace and his friendſhip, offering him ſhips and money, pretending greater matters: he made them a ſhort aunſwer, that there was but one way to make peace and loue betweene them, to forſake SICILIA altogether, and to be contented to make *Mare Libycum* the border betwixt GRECE and them. For his good fortune, and the force he had in his hands, did ſet him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into SICILIA, aſpiring firſt of all vnto the conqueſt of LYBIA. Now, to paſſe him ouer thither he had ſhips inough, but he lacked owers and mariners: wherefore when he would preſſe them, then he began to deale roughly with the cities of SICILIA, and in anger compelled, and ſeuerely puniſhed them, that would not obey his commandement. This he did not at his firſt comming, but contrarily had won all their good wils, ſpeaking more curteouſly to them then any other did, and ſhewing that he truſted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But ſodainely being altred from a popular prince, vnto a violent tyrant, he was not only thought cruell and rigorous, but that worſt of all is, vnfaithfull and vngratefull: neuertheleſſe, though they receiued great hurt by him, yet they ſuffered it, and granted him any needfull thing he did demaund. But when they ſaw he began to miſtruſt *Thænon* and *Soſtratus*, the two chiefe captaines of SYRACVSA, and they who firſt cauſed him to come into SICILIA, who alſo at his firſt arriuall deliuered the city of SYRACVSA into his hands, and had bene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compaſſe that he had done in SICILIA: when I ſay they ſaw he would no more carie them with him, nor leaue them behind him for the miſtruſt he had of them, and that *Soſtratus* fled from him, and abſented himſelfe, fearing leaſt *Pyrrus* would do him ſome miſchiefe: and that *Pyrrus* moreouer, had put *Thænon* to death, miſtruſting that he would alſo haue done him ſome harme, then all things fell out againſt *Pyrrus*: not one after another, nor by little and litle, but altogether at one inſtant, and all the cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe ſome of them confederate with the CARTHAGINIANS, and others with the MAMERTINES, to ſet vpon him. But when all SICILIA was thus bent againſt him, he receiued letters from the SAMNITES and TARENTINES, by which they aduertiſed him, how they had much ado to defend themſelues within their cities and ſtrongholds, and that they were wholly driuen out of the field: wherefore they earneſtly beſought him ſpeedily to come to their aide. This newes came happily to him, to cloake his flying, that he might ſay it was not for diſpaire of good ſucceſſe in SICILIA that he went his way: but true it was indeed, that when he ſaw he could no longer keepe it, then a ſhip could ſtand ſtill among the waues, he ſought ſome honeſt ſhadow to colour his departing. And that ſurely was the cauſe why he returned againe in ITALIE. Neuertheleſſe, at his departure out of SICILE, they ſay that looking backe vpon the Ile, he ſayd to thoſe that were about him: O what a goodly field for a battell (my friends) do we leaue to the ROMAINES and CARTHAGINIANS, to fight the one with the other? And verily ſo it fell out ſhortly after, as he had ſpoken. But the barbarous people conſpiring together againſt *Pyrrus*, the CARTHAGINIANS on the one ſide watching his paſſage, gaue him battell on the ſea, in the verie ſtraight it ſelfe of MESSINA, where he loſt many of his ſhips, and fled with the reſt, and tooke the coaſt of ITALIE. And there the MAMERTINES on the other ſide, being gone thither before, to the number of eighteene thouſand fighting men, durſt not preſent him battell in open field, but taried for him in certaine ſtraights of the mountaines, and in verie hard places, and ſo ſet vpon his rereward, and diſordered all his armie. They ſlue two of his Elephants, and cut off a great number of his rereward, ſo as he was compelled himſelfe in perſon to come from his vantgard, to helpe them againſt the barbarous people, which were luſtie valiant men, and old trained ſouldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a ſword, and was in great daunger: inſomuch as he was forced to retire out of the preaſe and fight: which did ſo much the more encourage his enemies: amongſt which there was one more aduenturous then the reſt, a goodly man of perſonage, faire armed in white armour, who aduancing himſelfe farre before his campany, cried out to the king with a bold and fierce voice, and chalenged him to fight with him if he were aliue. *Pyrrus* being mad as it were with this brauerie, turned againe with his guard, in ſpite of his men, hurt as he was. And beſides that, he was all on a fire with choler, and his face all bloudie

The Mamertines why ſo called.

Pyrrus cruelty in Sicilia.

The Sammites and Tarentines ſent for Pyrrus to returne into Italie.

Pyrrus returne into Italie out of Sicile.

Pyrrus hurt on his head with a ſword

and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous villaine that had challenged him: and gaue him ſuch a blow on his head with all his force & power, that what by the ſtrength of his arme, and through the goodneſſe of the temper and mettal of the ſword, the blow claue his head right in the middeſt, downe to the ſhoulders: ſo that his head being thus deuided, the one part fell on the one ſhoulder, and the other part on the other. This matter ſuddenly ſtaied the barbarous people, and kept them from going any further, they were ſo afraid and amazed, to ſee ſo great a blow with ones hand, and it made them thinke indeede that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more. *Pyrrus* holding on his iourney, arriued at the length in the city of TARENTVM, with twentie thouſand footemen, and three thouſand horſe. And with theſe (ioyning thereto the choiceſt men of the TARENTINES) he went incontinently into the field to ſeeke out the ROMAINES, who had their campe within the territories of the SAMNITES, which were then in very hard ſtate: for their harts were killed, becauſe that in many battels and encounters with the ROMAINES, they were euer ouerthrowne. They were very angry beſides with *Pyrrus*, for that he had forſaken them, to go his voyage into SICILIA, by reaſon whereof there came no great number of ſouldiers into his campe. But notwithſtanding, he deuided all his ſtrength into two parts, whereof he ſent the one part into LVCANIA, to occupie one of the ROMAINE Conſuls that was there, to the end he ſhould not come to aide his companion: and with the other part he went himſelfe againſt *Manius Curius*, who lay in a very ſtraunge place of aduantage, neare to the citie of BENEVENTO, attending the aide that ſhould come to him out of LVCANIA, beſides alſo that the Soothſayers (by the ſignes and tokens of the birds and ſacrifices) did counſell him not to ſtirre from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary, deſiring to fight with *Manius* before his aide came vnto him, which he looked for out of LVCANIA, tooke with him the beſt ſouldiers he had in all his armie, and the warlikeſt Elephants, and marched away in the night, ſuppoſing to ſteale vpon *Manius* on the ſudden, and giue an aſſault vnto his campe. Now *Pyrrus* hauing a long way to go, and through a woddy countrey, his lights and torches failed him, by reaſon whereof many of his ſouldiers loſt their way, and they loſt a great deale of time alſo, before they could againe be gathered together: ſo as in this ſpace the night was ſpent, and the day once broken, the enemies perceiued plainely how he came downe the hils. This at the firſt ſight made them muſe awhile, and put them in a litle feare: neuertheleſſe *Manius* hauing had the ſignes of the ſacrifices fauourable, and ſeeing that occaſion did preſſe him to it, went out into the field, and ſet vpon the vaward of his enemies, and made them turne their backes. The which feared all the reſt in ſuch wiſe, that there were ſlaine a great number of them in the field, and certaine Elephants alſo taken. This victorie made *Manius Curius* leaue his ſtrength and come into the plaine field, where he ſet his men in battell ray, and ouerthrew his enemies by plaine force on the one ſide: but on the other he was repulſed by violence of the Elephants, and compelled to draw backe into his owne campe, wherein he had left a great number of men to guard it. So when he ſaw them vpon the rampers of his campe all armed, readie to fight, he called them out, and they comming freſh out of places of aduantage, to charge vpon the Elephants, compelled them in a verie ſhort time to turne their backes, and flie through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble and diſorder: ſo as in the end, the whole victorie fell vpon the ROMAINES ſide, and conſequently by meanes of that victorie, followed the greatneſſe and power of their Empire. For the ROMAINES being growne more couragious by this battell, and hauing increaſed their force, and wonne the reputation of men vnconquerable, immediatly after conquered all ITALIE beſides, and ſoone after that, all SICILIA. To this end (as you ſee) came king *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer ITALIE and SICILIA, after he had ſpent fixe yeares continually in warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, and his armie conſumed. Notwithſtanding, his noble courage remained alwaies inuincible, what loſſes ſoeuer he had ſuſtained: and moreouer whileſt he liued, he was euer eſteemed the chiefeſt of all the kings and princes in his time, as well for his experience and ſufficiency in warres, as alſo for the valiantneſſe and hardineſſe of his perſon. But what he wanne by famous deeds, he loſt by vaine hopes: deſiring ſo earneſtly that which he had not, as he forgot to keepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him vnto a dice-player, that caſteth well but cannot vſe his lucke. Now hauing brought backe againe with him into EPIRVS, eight thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſemen, and being without money to pay them, he deuiſed with himſelfe to ſeeke out ſome new warre

Pyrrus with a blow of his ſword cleue his enemies head in the middſt, & layed it on his ſhoulders.

Manius Curius Conſull.

Pyrrus third battell with the Romaines.

Pyrrus ouerthrowne by Manius Curius in battell.

Pyrrus compared to a dice-player.

Pyrrus returns into Epirus out of Italie.

warre to entertaine those souldiers, and keepe them together. Wherefore vpon a new aide of certaine GAVLES being come vnto him, he entred into the realme of MACEDON (which *Antigonus, Demetrius* sonne held at that time) with intent onely to make a forrey, and to get some spoile in the country. But when he saw that he had taken diuerse holds, and moreouer, that two thousand men of warre of the country came and yeelded themselues vnto him, he began to hope of better successe, then at the first he looked for. For vpon that hope he marched against king *Antigonus* selfe, whom he met in a very straight valley, and at his first comming, gaue such a lustie charge vpon his rereward, that he put all *Antigonus* armie in great disorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the GAVLES in the rereward of his armie to close it in, which were a conuenient number, and did valiantly defend the first charge: and the skirmish was so hot, that the most of them were slaine. After them the leaders of the Elephants perceiuing they were enuironed on euerie side, yeelded themselues and their beasts. *Pyrrus* seeing his power to be now increased, with such a supplie, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might moue him: thrust further into the battell of the MACEDONIANS, who were all afraid, and troubled for the ouerthrow of their rereward, so as they could not once base their pikes, nor fight against him. He for his part holding vp his hand, and calling the captaines of the bands by their names, straightwaies made all the footemen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his side: who flying saued himselfe with a few horsemen, and kept certaine of the cities in his realme vpon the sea coast. But *Pyrrus* in all his prosperitie iudging nothing more to redound to his honor and glorie, then the ouerthrow of the GAVLES, layed aside their goodliest and richest spoiles, and offered vp the same in the temple of *Minerua Itonida*, with this inscription:

Pyrrus victory of Antigonus king of Macedon.

Antigonus flieth from king Pyrrus.

When Pyrrus had subdu'd, the puissant Gaules in fields,
He caused of their spoiles to make, these targets, armes and shields:
The which he hanged vp, in temple all on high,
Before Minerua (goddesse here) in signe of victorie:
When he had ouercome, the whole and huzie hoast,
The which Antigonus did bring, into his countries coast:
Ne maruell should it seeme, though victorie he wonne,
Since valiantnesse brings victorie, and euermore hath done:
And valiantnesse alwaies, hath constantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in Æacus his race.

Immediatly after this battell, all the cities of the realme of MACEDON yeelded vnto him: but when he had the city of ÆGES in his power, he vsed the inhabitants thereof very hardly, & specially because he left a great garrison of the GAVLES there which he had in pay. This nation is extreme couetous, as then they shewed themselues: for they spared not to breake vp the tombes wherein the kings of MACEDON lay buried, and tooke away all the gold and siluer they could find: and afterwards with great insolency cast out their bones into the open wind. *Pyrrus* was told it, but he lightly passed it ouer, and made no reckoning of it: either because he deferred it till another time, by reason of the warres he had then in hand: or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous people at that time. But whatsoeuer the matter was, the MACEDONIANS were verie angrie with *Pyrrus*, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, hauing not yet made all things sure in MACEDON, not being fully possest of the same: new toyes and hopes came in his head, and (mocking *Antigonus*) sayd he was a mad man to go apparelled in purple like a king, when a poore cloake might become him like a priuate man. Now, *Cleonymus* king of SPARTA being come to procure him to bring his armie into the countrie of LACEDÆMON, *Pyrrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the bloud royall of SPARTA, but because he was a cruell man, and would do all things by authority, they loued him not at SPARTA, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, and made *Areus* king, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell *Cleonymus* had against the commonwealth of SPARTA: but besides that, he had another priuate quarrell, which grew vpon this cause. In his old yeares, *Cleonymus* had maried a faire young lady called *Chelidonida*, which was also of the bloud royall, and the daughter of *Leotychides*. This Ladie being fallen extremely in loue with *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* sonne, a goodly young gentleman, and in his lustie youth, she greatly vexed and dishonoured her husband *Cleonymus*, who was ouer head and eares in loue and iealousie with her: for there was not one in all SPARTA, but plainely knew that his wife made none account of him.

The couetousnesse of the Gaules.

Areus made king of Sparta, and Cleonymus put downe.

And thus his home ſorowes, being ioyned with his outward common griefes, euen for ſpite, deſiring a reuenge, in choler he went to procure *Pyrrus* to come vnto SPARTA, to reſtore him againe to his kingdome. Hereupon he brought him into LACEDÆMONIA forthwith, with fiue and twenty thouſand footmen, two thouſand horſe, and foure and twentie Elephants: by which preparation, though by nothing elſe, the world might plainely ſee, that *Pyrrus* came with a mind not to reſtore *Cleonymus* againe vnto SPARTA, but of intent to conquer for himſelfe (if he could) all the country of PELOPONNESVS. For in words he denied it to the LACEDÆMONIANS themſelues, who ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, when he was in the city of MEGALIPOLIS, where he told them that he was come into PELOPONNESVS, to ſet the townes and cities at liberty which *Antigona* kept in bondage: & that his true intent and meaning was to ſend his yong ſonnes into SPARTA (ſo they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the LACONIAN manner, and from their youth haue this aduantage aboue all other kings, to haue bene well brought vp. But fayning theſe things, and abuſing thoſe that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heed of him, till he came within the coaſt of LACONIA, into the which he was no ſooner entred, but he began to ſpoile and waſt the whole country. And when the Ambaſſadors of SPARTA reproued and found fault with him, for that he made warres vpon them in ſuch ſort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them anſwer, No more haue you your ſelues vſed to proclaime that, which you purpoſed to do to others. Then one of the Ambaſſadors called *Mandricidas*, replied againe vnto him in the LACONIAN tongue: If thou be a god, thou wilt do vs no hurt, becauſe we haue not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou ſhalt meete with another that ſhall be better then thy ſelfe. Then he marched directly to SPARTA, where *Cleonymus* gaue him counſell euen at the firſt, to aſſault it. But he would not ſo do, fearing (as they ſayd) that if he did it by night, his ſouldiers would ſacke the city: and ſayd it ſhould be time inough to aſſault it the next day at broad day light, becauſe there were but few men within the towne, and beſide they were verie ill prouided. And furthermore, king *Areus* himſelfe was not there, but gone into CRETA to aide the GORTYNIANS, who had warres in his owne country. And doubtleſſe, that only was the ſauing of SPARTA from taking, that they made no reckoning to aſſault it hotly: becauſe they thought it was not able to make reſiſtance. For *Pyrrus* camped before the town, throughly perſwaded with himſelf, that he ſhould find none to fight with him: & *Cleonymus* friends & ſeruants alſo did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrrus* ſhould haue come to ſupper to him, & lodged with him. When night was come the LACEDÆMONIANS coũſelled together, and ſecretly determined to ſend away their wiues, and litle children into CRETA. But the women themſelues were againſt it, and there was one among them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate houſe with a ſword in her hand, to ſpeake vnto them in the name of all the reſt, and ſayd: That they did their wiues great wrong, if they thought them ſo faint-hearted, as to liue after SPARTA were deſtroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in counſell, that they ſhould caſt a trench before the enemies campe, and that at both ends of the ſame they ſhould burie carts in the ground vnto the middeſt of the wheeles, to the end that being faſt ſet in the ground, they ſhould ſtay the Elephants, and keepe them from paſſing further. And when they began to go in hand withall, there came wiues and maides vnto them, ſome of them their clothes girt vp round about them, and others all in their ſmockes, to worke at this trench with the old men, aduiſing the young men that ſhould fight the next morning, to reſt themſelues in the meane while. So the women tooke the third part of the trench to taske, which was ſixe cubites broad, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundred foote long, as *Philarchus* ſaith, or litle leſſe as *Hyeronimus* writeth. Then when the breake of day appeared, and the enemies remoued to come to the aſſault: the women themſelues fetched the weapons which they put into the young mens hands, and deliuered them the taske of the trench ready made, which they before had vndertaken, praying them valiantly to keepe and defend it, telling them withall, how great a pleaſure it is to ouercome the enemies, fighting in view and ſight of their natiue country, and what great felicity and honour it is to die in the armes of his mother and wife, after he hath fought valiantly like an honeſt man, and worthy of the magnanimity of SPARTA. But *Chelidonida* being gone aſide, had tied a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to ſtrangle and hang her ſelfe, rather then to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chance the city ſhould come to be taken. Now *Pyrrus* marched in perſon with his battell of footmen, againſt the front of the SPARTANS, who being a great number alſo, did tarie his comming on the other ſide of the trench: the which, beſides that

The cauſe of Pyrrus inuading Peloponneſus.

Pyrrus ſtratageme to the Spartans.

Mandricidas ſtout anſwer to king Pyrrus.

Pyrrus beſiegeth Lacedemon.

The courage of the women of Sparta.

Women wrought in the trench.

Women encouraged their men to fight.

Pyrrus battell.

that it was very ill to passe ouer, did let the souldiers also to fight steadily in order of battell, because the earth being newly cast vp, did yeeld vnder their feete. Wherefore, *Ptolomy* king *Pyrrus* son, passing all alongst the trench side with two thousand GAVLES, and all the choise men of the CHAONIANS, assaied if he could get ouer to the other side at one of the ends of the trench where the carts were: which being set very deepe into the ground, and one ioyned vnto another, they did not only hinder the assailants, but the defendants also. Howbeit in the end, the GAVLES began to plucke off the wheeles of these carts, & to draw them into the riuer. But *Acrotatus*, king *Areus* sonne, a yong man, seeing the danger, ran through the city with a troupe of three hundreth lusty youths besides, and went to inclose *Ptolomie* behind, before he espied him, for that he passed a secret hollow way till he came euen to giue the charge vpon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towards him, one running in anothers necke, and so in great disorder were thrust into the trenches, and vnder the carts: insomuch as at the last, with much ado, and great bloudshed, *Acrotatus* and his companie draue them backe, and repulsed them. Now the women and old men, that were on the other side of the trench, saw plainly before their face, how valiantly *Acrotatus* had repulsed the GAVLES. Wherefore after *Acrotatus* had done this exploite, he returned againe through the city vnto the place from whence he came, all on a goare-bloud: couragious and liuely, for the victory he came newly from. The women of SPARTA thought *Acrotatus* farre more noble and fairer to behold, then euer he was: so that they all thought *Chelidonida* happy to haue such a friend and louer. And there were certaine old men, that followed him crying after him, go thy way *Acrotatus* and enioy thy loue *Chelidonida*: beget noble chidren of her vnto SPARTA. The fight was cruell on that side where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the SPARTANS fought very valiantly. Howbeit, amongst other, there was one named *Phillius*, who after he had fought long, and slaine many of his enemies with his owne hands, that forced to passe ouer the trench, perceiuing that his hart fainted for the great number of wounds he had vpon him, called one of them that were in the ranke next behind him, and giuing him his place, fell downe dead in the armes of his friends, because his enemies should not haue his bodie. In the end, the battell hauing continued all the day long, the night did separate them: and *Pyrrus*, being laid in his bed, had this vision in his sleepe: He thought he stroke the city of LACEDÆMON with lightning, that he vtterly cõsumed it: whereat he was so passing glad, that euen with the very ioy he awaked: and thereupon forthwith commaunded his captaines to make their men ready to the assault, and told his dreame vnto his familiars, supposing that out of doubt it did betoken he should in that approach take the city. All that heard it, beleeued it was so, sauing one *Lysimachus*: who to the contrary sayd, that this vision liked him not, because the places smitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also afraid, that the gods did signifie vnto him, that he should not enter into the city of SPARTA. *Pyrrus* answered him: That sayd he, is a matter disputable to and fro in an open assemply of people, for there is no maner of certaintie in it. But furthermore, euery man must take his weapon in his hand, and set this sentence before his eyes:

Acrotatus valiantnesse.

Pyrrus dreame.

A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life,
In iust defence of maisters cause, with speare and bloudy knife.

Alluding vnto *Homers* verses, which he wrote for the defence of his country. And saying thus, he rose, and at the breake of day led his armie vnto the assault. On the other side also, the LACEDÆMONIANS with a maruellous courage and magnanimity, farre greater then their force, bestirred themselues wonderfully to make resistance, hauing their wiues by them, that gaue them their weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to giue meate and drinke to them that needed, & did also withdraw those that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewise for their part, indeuored themselues withal their might to fill vp the trench with wood and other things, which they cast vpon the dead bodies & armours lying in the bottome of the ditch: and the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, labored all they could possible to let thẽ. But in this great broile, one perceiued *Pyrrus* on horsebacke to haue leapt the trench, past ouer the strength of the cartes, and made force to enter into the citie. Wherefore those that were appointed to defend that part of the trench, cryed out straight, and the women fell a shrecking, and running as if all had bene lost. And as *Pyrrus* passed further, striking downe with his owne hands all that stood before him, a CRETAN shot at him, and stroke his horse through both sides: who leaping out of the preasse for paine of his wound, dying, caried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him vpon the hanging

Pyrrus in danger of his life, at the siege of Sparta.

of a steepe hill, where he was in great danger to fall from the top. This put all his seruants and friends about him in a maruellous feare, and therewithall the LACEDÆMONIANS seeing them in this feare and trouble, ranne immediatly vnto that place, and with force of shot draue them all out of the trench. After this retire, *Pyrrus* caused all assault to cease, hoping the LACEMONIANS in the end would yeeld, considering there were many of them slaine in the two dayes past, and all the rest in a maner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the citie (whether it were to proue the valiantnesse of the inhabitants themselues, or at the least to shew what power they were of, euen in their greatest need and distresse, when the LACEDÆMONIANS had small hope left) brought one *Aminias Phocian* from CORINTH, one of king *Antigonus* captaines with a great band of men, and put them into the city to aide them: and straight after him, as soone as he was entred, king *Areus* arriued also on the other side from CRETA, and two thousand souldiers with him. So the women went home to their houses, making their reckoning that they should not need any more to trouble themselues with warres. They gaue the old men libertie also to go and rest themselues, who being past all age to fight, for necessities sake yet were driuen to arme themselues, & take weapon in hand: and in order of battell placed the new-come soldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* vnderstanding that new supplies were come, grew to greater stomacke then before, and inforced all that he could to win the towne by assault. But in the end, when to his cost he found that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gaue ouer the siege, and went to spoile all the countrey about, determining to lie there in garrison all the winter. He could not for all this auoide his destinie: for there rose a sedition in the citie of ARGOS betweene two of the chiefest citizens, *Aristeas* and *Aristippus*: and because *Aristeas* thought that king *Antigonus* did fauor his enemie *Aristippus*, he made hast to send first vnto *Pyrrus*, whose nature and disposition was such, that he did continually heape hope vpon hope, euer taking the present prosperitie, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he sought to recouer himselfe, and to restore his losse by some other new attempts. So that neither for being conquerour, nor ouercome, he would euer be quiet, but alwayes troubled some, and himselfe also: be reason whereof, he suddenly departed towards ARGOS. But king *Areus* hauing layd ambushes for him in diuerse places, and occupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to passe, gaue a charge vpon the GAVLES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the taile of his armie. Now, the selfe same day *Pyrrus* was warned by a soothsayer, who sacrificing had found the liuer of the sacrificed beast infected: that it betokened the losse of some most neere vnto him. But when he heard the noise of the charge giuen, he thought not on the warning of the soothsayer, but commanded his sonne to take his houshold seruants with him, and to go thither: and he himselfe in the meane time with as great hast as he could, made the rest of his armie to march, to get them quickly out of this dangerous way. The fray was very hot about *Ptolomie Pyrrus* son, for they were all the chiefe men of the LACEDÆMONIANS with whom he had to do, led by a valiant captaine, called *Eualcus*. But as he fought valiantly against those that stood before him, there was a souldier of CRETA called *Oræsus*, borne in the city of APTERA, a man very readie of his hand, and light of foote, who running alongst by him, stroke him such a blow on his side, that he fell downe dead in the place. This prince *Ptolomie* being slaine, his company began straight to flie: and the LACEDÆMONIANS followed the chase so hotly, that they tooke no heed of themselues, vntill they saw they were in the plaine field far from their footmen. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* vnto whom the death of his sonne was newly reported, being on fire with sorow and passion, turned suddenly vpon them with the men of armes of the MOLOSSIANS, and being the first that came vnto them, made a maruellous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that euerie where before that time he was terrible and inuincible, hauing his sword in his hand: yet then he did shew more proofe of his valiantnesse, strength, and courage, then he had euer done before. And when he had set spurs to his horse against *Eualcus* to close with him: *Eualcus* turned on the one side, and gaue *Pyrrus* such a blow with his sword, that he misséd litle the cutting off his bridle hand: for he cut indeed all the raines of the bridle asunder. But *Pyrrus* straight ranne him through the bodie with his speare, and lighting off from his horse, he put all the troupe of the LACEDÆMONIANS to the sword that were about the bodie of *Eualcus*, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the captaines was cause of that losse vnto their countrey for nothing, considering that the warres against them were ended. But *Pyrrus* hauing now as it were made sacrifice of these poore bodies of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for the soule of his dead

King Areus arriued in Sparta with new aide.

Sedition in the city of Argos.

Pyrrus repulsed from Sparta, goeth vnto Argos.

Ptolomie king Pyrrus sonne slaine by Oræsus Cretan.

Pyrrus slue Eualcus.

dead ſonne, and fought thus wonderfully alſo, to honor his funerals, conuerting a great part of his ſorow for his death, into anger and wrath againſt the enemies: he afterwards held on his way directly towards ARGOS. And notwithſtanding that king *Antigonus* had already ſeazed the hils that were ouer the valley, he lodged neare vnto the city of NAVPLIA: and the next morning following ſent an herauld vnto *Antigonus*, and gaue him defiance, calling him wicked man, and challenged him to come downe into the valley to fight with him, to try which of them two ſhould be king. *Antigonus* made him anſwer, that he made warres as much with time as with weapon: and furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were wearie of his life, he had wayes inough open to put himſelfe to death. The citizens of ARGOS alſo ſent Ambaſſadours vnto them both, to pray them to depart, ſith they knew that there was nothing for them to ſee in the city of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a neuter, and friend vnto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed vnto it, & gaue them his ſon for hoſtage. *Pyrrus* alſo made them faire promiſe to do ſo too, but becauſe he gaue no caution nor ſufficient pledge to performe it, they miſtruſted him the more. Then there fell out many great and wonderfull tokens, as well vnto *Pyrrus*, as vnto the ARGIVES. For *Pyrrus* hauing ſacrificed oxen, their heads being ſtriken off from their bodies, they thruſt out their tongues, and licked vp their owne bloud. And within the city of ARGOS, a ſiſter of the temple of *Apollo Lycias*, called *Apolloníde*, ran through the ſtreetes, crying out that ſhe ſaw the city full of murther, and bloud running all about, and an Eagle that came vnto the fray, howbeit ſhe vaniſhed away ſuddenly and no body knew what became of her. *Pyrrus* then comming hard to the wals of ARGOS in the night, and finding one of the gates called *Diamperes*, opened by *Ariſteas*, he put in his GAVLES: who poſſeſſed the market place before the citizens knew any thing of it. But becauſe the gate was too low to paſſe the Elephants through with their towers vpon their backes, they were driuen to take them off, & afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, and in tumult: by reaſon wherof they loſt much time, ſo that the citizens in the end perceiued it, and ran incontinently vnto the caſtell of *Aſpides*, & into other ſtrong places of the city. And therwithall, they ſent with preſent ſpeed vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and helpe them, and ſo he did: and after he was come hard to the wals, he remained without with the ſcouts, and in the meane time ſent his ſon with his chiefeſt Captaines into the towne, who brought a great number of good ſouldiers, and men of warre with him. At the ſame time alſo arriued *Areus* king of SPARTA, with a thouſand of the CRETANS, and moſt luſtie SPARTANS: all which ioyning together, came to giue a charge vpon the GAVLES that were in the market place, who put them in a maruellous feare & hazard. *Pyrrus* entring on that ſide alſo of the city called *Cylabaris* with terrible noiſe and cries, when he vnderſtood that the GAVLES anſwered him not luſtily & couragiouſly, he doubted ſtraight that it was the voice of men diſtreſſed, and that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with ſpeed to relieue them, thruſting the horſemen forwards that marched before him with great danger and paine, by reaſon of the holes and ſinkes, and water conduicts, whereof the city was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confuſion amongſt them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man ſaw what he had to do, nor could heare what was commanded, by reaſon of the great noiſe they made, ſtraying here and there vp and downe the ſtreetes, the one ſcattered from the other: neither could the captaines ſet their men in order, as well for the darkneſſe of the night, as alſo for the confuſed tumult that was all the city ouer, and for that the ſtreetes alſo were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both ſides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning whereof, *Pyrrus* perceiued the caſtell of *Aſpides*, full of his armed enemies. And furthermore, ſuddenly as he was come into the market place, amongſt many other goodly common workes ſet out to beautifie the ſame, he ſpied the images of a Bull and a Wolfe in copper, the which fought one with another. This ſight made him affraid, becauſe at that preſent he remembred a prophecy that had bene told him, that his end and death ſhould be when he ſaw a Wolfe and a Bull fight together. The ARGIVES report, that theſe images were ſet vp in the market place, for the remembrance of a certaine chance that had happened in their country. For when *Danaus* came thither firſt, by the way called *Pyramia* (as one would ſay, land ſowne with corne) in the country of THYREATIDE, he ſaw as he went, a Wolfe fight with a Bull: whereupon he ſtaied to ſee what the end of their fight would come to, ſuppoſing the caſe in himſelfe, that the Wolfe was of his ſide, becauſe that being a ſtranger as he was, he came to ſet vpon the naturall inhabitants of the country. The Wolfe in the end obtained the victorie: wherefore *Danaus* making his prayer vnto *Apollo Lycias*, followed on

Antigonus anſwer to Pyrrus challenge.

Tokens of Pyrrus death.

Pyrrus fight in the city of Argos.

Aſpides, the caſtell in Argos.

A Bull and VVolfe in copper, ſet vp in the city of Argos fighting together.

Danaus vvan the city of Argos from king Gelanor.

Apollo Lycius.

Gelanor king of the Argiues.

his enterpriſe,and had ſo good ſucceſſe, that he draue *Gelanor* out of ARGOS, who at that time was king of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cauſe why they ſay theſe images of the wolfe and bull were ſet vp in the market place of ARGOS. *Pyrrus* being halfe diſcouraged with the ſight of them,& alſo becauſe nothing fell out well according to his expectation, thought beſt to retire: but fearing the ſtraightneſſe of the gates of the city, he ſent vnto his ſon *Helenus*, whom he had left without the city with the greateſt part of his force and armie, commaunding him to ouerthrow a peece of the wall, that his men might the more readily get out,and that he might receiue them, if their enemies by chance did hinder their comming out. But the meſſenger whom he ſent, was ſo haſtie and fearefull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well vnderſtand what *Pyrrus* ſayd vnto him,but reported his meſſage quite contrarie. Whereupon the young prince *Helenus* taking the beſt ſouldiers he had with him, and the reſt of his Elephants,entred into the city to helpe his father,who was now giuing backe: and ſo long as he had roome to fight at eaſe, retiring ſtill,he valiantly repulſed thoſe that ſet vpon him,turning his face oft vnto them. But when he was driuen vnto the ſtreete that went from the market place to the gate of the city, he was kept in with his owne men that entred at the ſame gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bad them go backe, the noiſe was ſo great: and though the firſt had heard him, and would haue gone backe, yet they that were behind, and did ſtill thruſt forward into the preaſe, did not permit them. Beſides this moreouer,the biggeſt of all the Elephants by misfortune fell downe ouerthwart the gate, where he grinding his teeth did hinder thoſe alſo,that would haue come out and giuen backe. Furthermore, another of the Elephants that were entred before into the city, called *Nicon* (as much to ſay,as conquering) ſeeking his gouernor that was ſtricken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes: ranne vpon them that came backe vpon him,ouerthrowing friends and foes one in anothers necke, till at the length hauing found the body of his maiſter ſlaine,he lift him vp from the ground with his troncke,and carying him vpon his two tuſhes, returned backe with great furie,treading all vnder feete he found in his way. Thus euery man being thronged and crowded vp together in this ſort, there was not one that could helpe himſelfe: for it ſeemed to be a maſſe and heape of a multitude, and one whole body ſhut together, which ſometime thruſt forward, and ſometime gaue backe, as the ſway went. They fought not ſo much againſt their enemies, who ſet vpon them behind: but they did themſelues more hurt then their enemies did. For if any drew out his ſword,or baſed his pike,he could neither ſcabard the one againe, nor lift vp the other, but thruſt it full vpon his owne fellowes that came in to helpe them, and ſo killed themſelues one thruſting vpon another. Wherefore *Pyrrus* ſeeing his people thus troubled and harried to and fro,tooke his crowne from his head which he ware vpon his helmet, that made him knowne of his men a farre off,and gaue it vnto one of his familiars that was next vnto him: and truſting then to the goodneſſe of his horſe, flew vpon his enemies that folowed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a pike,but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore *Pyrrus* ſet vpon him that had hurt him,who was an ARGIAN borne,a man of meane condition,and a poore old womans ſon, whoſe mother at that preſent time was gotten vp to the top of the tiles of a houſe,as all other women of the city were,to ſee the fight. And ſhe perceiuing that it was her ſonne whom *Pyrrus* came vpon, was ſo afrighted to ſee him in that danger, that ſhe tooke a tile,and with both her hands caſt it vpon *Pyrrus*. The tile falling off from his head by reaſon of his head-peece, lighted full in the nape of his necke,and brake his necke-bone aſunder: wherewith he was ſuddenly ſo benummed,that he loſt his ſight with the blow, the raines of his bridle fell out of his hand, & himſelfe fell from his horſe to the ground,by *Licymmias* tombe,before any man knew what he was,at the leaſt the common people. Vntill at the laſt there came one *Zopyrus* that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other ſouldiers alſo that ran ſtraight to the place,and knowing him,dragged his body into a gate,euen as he was comming againe to himſelfe out of this traunce. This *Zopyrus* drew out a SLAVON ſword he wore by his ſide, to ſtrike off his head. But *Pyrrus* caſt ſuch a grim countenance on him betweene his eyes,that made him ſo afraid,and his hand ſo to ſhake therewith,that being thus amazed,he did not ſtrike him right in the place where he ſhould haue cut off his head, but killed him vnder his mouth about his chinne,ſo that he was a great while ere he could ſtrike off his head. The matter was ſtraight blowne abroad amongſt diuerſe: whereupon *Alcyoneus* running thither,asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ranne preſently vnto his father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friends, and caſt

Helenus Pyrrus ſonne.

The ſtraunge loue of an Elephant to his keeper.

King Pyrrus ſlaine with a tile throwne by a woman.

Alcyoneus king Antigonus ſon.

Pyrrus

Pyrrus head before him. *Antigonus* looking vpon it, when he knew it, layd vpon his ſonne with his ſtaffe, and called him cruell murderer, and vnnaturall barbarous beaſt: and ſo hiding his eyes with his cloake, wept for pitie (remembring the fortune of his grandfather *Antigonus*, and of his father *Demetrius*) and then cauſed *Pyrrus* head and body to be honorably burnt and buried. Afterwards *Alcyoneus* meeting *Helenus* (king *Pyrrus* ſonne) in very poore ſtate, muffled vp with a poore ſhort cloake: vſed him very curteouſly with gentle words, and brought him to his father. *Antigonus* ſeeing his ſonne bringing of him, ſayd vnto him: this part now (my ſonne) is better then the firſt, and pleaſeth me a great deale more. But yet thou haſt not done all thou ſhouldeſt: for thou ſhouldeſt haue taken from him his beggerly cloake he weareth, which doth more ſhame vs that are the gainers, then him that is the looſer. After he had ſpoken theſe words, *Antigonus* embraced *Helenus*, and hauing apparelled him in good ſort, ſent him home with honourable conuoy into his Realme of Epirvs. Furthermore, ceazing all *Pyrrus* campe and armie, he curteouſly vſed all his friends and ſeruants.

Antigonus curteſie towards Pyrrus body and friends.

The end of Pyrrus life.

THE LIFE OF *Caius Marius.*

IT is not knowne what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintus Sertorius*, who had all Spaine in his hands at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that deſtroyed the city of Corinth. For this name of *Achaicus* that was giuen vnto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* vnto *Scipio*, and of *Numidicus* vnto *Metellus*: were all ſurnames giuen them, by reaſon of the conqueſts they wan. By this reaſon *Poſidonius* thinketh to ouercome them that ſay, that the third name the Romaines haue, is their proper name: as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out ſo, ſayd he, then it muſt needs follow that they which haue two names, ſhould haue no proper name. But on the other ſide alſo, he doth not conſider that by the like reaſon he ſhould ſay, that women haue no names: for there is not a woman in Rome that is called by her firſt name, which *Poſidonius* iudgeth to be the proper name of the Romaines. And that of the other two, the one is the common name of all the houſe or familie, as of the Pompeians, of the Manlians, and of the Cornelians, like as the Heraclides and the Pelopides are amongſt the Grecians: and the other is a ſurname taken of the

The names of the Romaines.

deeds, or of the nature, forme, or ſhape of the body, or of ſome other like accident, as are theſe ſurnames, *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, and *Sylla*. Euen as amongſt the GRECIANS likewiſe, *Mnemon*, which ſignifieth hauing good memorie: *Grypos*, hauing a crooked noſe: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diuerſitie of cuſtome would deliuer obiection ſufficient to the contrarie, to him that liſted. And furthermore, as touching the fauour of *Marius* face, we haue ſeene an image of his in marble at RAVENNA, a city of the GAVLES, which doth liuely repreſent that rough ſeueritie of nature and maner, which they ſay was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and giuen to the warres, and hauing followed the ſame altogether from his youth, more then the ciuill life: when he came to authority, he could not bridle his anger and cholericke nature. And they ſay furthermore, that he neuer learned the Greeke tongue, nor vſed it in any matters of weight: as though it had bene a mockerie to ſtudy to learne the tongue, the maſters whereof liued in bondage vnder others. After his ſecond triumph, in the dedication of a certaine temple, he made Greeke playes to ſhew the ROMAINES paſtime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but ſit downe only, and went his way ſtraight. Whrefore me thinkes, that as *Plato* was wont to ſay oft vntò *Xenocrates* the Philoſopher, who was of a curriſh nature, had his head euer occupied, and too ſeuere: *Xenocrates*, my friend, I pray thee do ſacrifice to the *Graces*. So if any man could haue perſwaded *Marius* to haue ſacrificed to the *Muſes*, and to the GRECIAN *Graces*: (that is to ſay, that he had knowne the Greeke tongue) to ſo many famous and glorious deeds as he did, both in peace and warres, he had not ioyned ſo vnfortunate and miſerable an end as he made, through his choler and extreme ambition, at ſuch yeares, and through an vnſatiable couetouſneſſe, which like boiſterous winds made him to make ſhipwracke of all, in a moſt cruell, bloudie, and vnnaturall age. The which is eaſily knowne in reading the diſcourſe of his doings. Firſt of all he was of a meane houſe, borne of poore parents by father & mother, that got their liuings by ſweat of their browes. His father as himſelfe, was called *Caius*: *Fulcinia* was his mother. And this was the cauſe why he began ſo late to haunt the citie, and to learne the ciuility and maners of ROME, hauing bene brought vp alwaies before in a litle poore village called CIRROEATON, within the territorie of the city of ARPOS: where he led a hard country life, in reſpect of thoſe that liued pleaſantly and finely in the cities, but otherwiſe well reformed, and neareſt vnto the maners of the ancient ROMAINES. The firſt iourny he made vnto the wars, was againſt the CELTIBERIANS in SPAINE, vnder *Scipio* AFRICAN, whē he went to beſiege the city of NVMANTIA: where his captaines in ſhort time found that he was a better ſoldier then any other of his companions. For he did maruellous eaſily receiue the reformation of manners, and the diſcipline of warres, which *Scipio* aduanced amongſt his ſouldiers, that were ill trained before, and giuen ouer to all pleaſure. And they ſay, that in the ſight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his enemies, and ſlue him: vpon which occaſion, *Scipio* to make him loue him, did offer him many courteſies and pleaſures. But ſpecially one day aboue the reſt, hauing made him ſup with him at his table, ſome one after ſupper falling in talke of Captaines that were in ROME at that time: one that ſtood by *Scipio*, asked him (either becauſe indeed he ſtood in doubt, or elſe for that he would curry fauour with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the ROMAINES ſhould haue after his death, like vnto him. *Scipio* hauing *Marius* by him, gently clapped him vpon his ſhoulder, and ſayd: Peraduenture this ſhall be he. Thus happily were they both borne, the one to ſhew from his youth that one day he ſhould come to be a great man, and the other alſo for wiſely coniecturing the end, by ſeeing of the beginning. Well, it fortuned ſo, that theſe words of *Scipio* (by report) aboue all things elſe put *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene ſpoken by the Oracle of ſome god, and made him bold to deale in matters of ſtate and common wealth: where by meanes of the fauor and countenance *Cæcilius Metellus* gaue him (whoſe houſe his father and he had alwayes followed and honored) he obtained the office of Tribuneſhip. In this office he preferred a law touching the maner how to giue the voices in election of the Magiſtrates, which did ſeeme to take from the Nobility the authority they had in iudgement. And therefore the Conſull *Cotta* ſtepped vp againſt it, and perſwaded the Senate to reſiſt that law, and not ſuffer it to be authorized, and therewithall preſently to call *Marius* before them to yeeld a reaſon of his doing. So was it agreed vpon in Senate. Now *Marius* comming into the Senate, was not abaſhed at anie thing, as ſome other young man would haue bene, that had but newly begun to enter into the world as he did, and hauing no other notable calling or qualitie in him, ſauing his vertue onely to commend him: but taking boldneſſe of himſelfe (as the noble acts he afterwards did,

Marius fauor.

Marius could no skill of the Greeke tongue.

Platoes ſaying to Xenocrates.

Marius parents, maners, and country.

Marius firſt iourney vnto the warres.

Scipio Africans iudgement of Marius.

Marius Tribune of the people.

Cotta Conſull.

did, gaue shew of his valure) he openly threatned the Consull *Cotta* to send him to prison, if he did not presently withdraw the conclusion he had caused to be resolued vpon. The Consul then turning himselfe vnto *Cæcilius Metellus*, asked how he liked it? *Metellus* standing vp, spake in the behalfe of the Consull: and then *Marius* calling a sergeant out, commaunded him to take *Metellus* selfe, and to carie him to prison. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but neuer a one would take his matter in hand: so that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the conclusion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returning with great honour into the market place among the assembly of the people, caused this law to passe and be authorized: and euery man held opinion of him that he would proue a stout man, and such a one, as would not stoupe for any feare, nor shrinke for bashfulnesse, but would beard the Senate in fauour of the people. Notwithstanding he shortly after changed opinion, and altered the first, by another act he made: for when another went about to haue a lawe made, to distribute corne vnto euery citizen without payment of any pennie, he was vehemently against it, and ouerthrew it: so that thereby he came to be alike honoured and esteemed of either partie, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the preiudice of the commonwealth. After he had bene Tribune, he sued for the chiefest office of Ædilis. Of the Ædiles there are two sorts: the first is called *AEdilitas Curulis*, so named, because of certaine chaires that haue crooked feete, vpon which they sit when they giue audience. The other is of lesse dignitie, and that is called *AEdilitas popularis*: and when they haue chosen the first and greater Ædilis at Rome, they presently proceed the same day also in the market place vnto election of the lesser. *Marius* seeing plainely that he was put by the chiefest of the Ædiles, turned againe straight yet to demaund the second: but this was misliked in him, and they tooke him for too bold, too shameless, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one self day he had two denials and repulses, which neuer man but himselfe before had. And neuertheless, all this could not cut his combe, but shortly after he sued also for the Prætorship, and he lacked but a litle of the deniall of that: yet in the end, being last of all chosen, he was accused to haue bribed the people, and bought their voices for mony. And surely amongst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of *Cassius Sabacon* within the bars where the election is made, running too and fro among them that gaue their voices, because this *Sabacon* was *Marius* very great friend. The matter came before the Iudges, and *Sabacon* was examined vpon it: wherunto he answered, that for the great extreame heat he felt, he was very dry, and asked for cold water to drinke, and that this man had brought him some in a pot where he was, howbeit that he went his way assoone as euer he had drunke. This *Sabacon* was afterwards put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many iudge that he was worthy of this infamie, for that he was periured in iudgement, or because he was so subiect & giuē to his pleasure. *Caius Herennius* was also called for a witnesse against *Marius*: but he did alleadge for his excuse, that the lawe and custome did dispence with the Patron, to be a witnesse against his follower and client, and he was quit by the Iudges. For the Romaines alwaies call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaner then themselues into their hands: saying, that *Marius* predecessors, and *Marius* himselfe, had euer bene followers of the house of the Herennians. The Iudges receiued his answer, and allowed therof. But *Marius* spake against it, alleadging that since he had receiued this honor to beare office in the commonwealth, he was now growne from this base condition, to be any more a follower of any man: the which is not true in all. For euery office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the office, nor yet his posteritie to be vnder the patronage of another, nor doth discharge him from the dutie of honoring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the law doth permit to sit in the crooked chaire called *Curulis*, that is to say, caried vpon a charret through the city. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this cause, *Marius* had but ill successe, and that the Iudges were against him all they could: yet in the end for all that, at the last hearing of this matter, *Marius*, contrarie to all mens opinions, was discharged, because the Iudges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He vsed himselfe very orderly in his office of Prætorship, and after his yeare was out, when it came to deuide the prouinces by lot, Spaine fell vnto him, which is beyond the riuer of Bætis: where it is reported that he scowred all the country therabouts of theeues and robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruell and sauage, for the rude, barbarous, and vnciuill maner and fashion of life of the inhabitants there. For the Spaniards were of opinion euen at that time, that it was a goodly thing to liue vpon theft and robbery. At his returne to Rome out

Two sorts of AEdiles.
AEdilitas Curulis.
AEdilitas popularis.
Marius denyed to be AEdilis.
Marius chosen Prætor.
Sabacon put off the Senate.
Caius Herennius pleaded in Marius behalf touching the patron and client
Marius acts in Spaine.
The opinion of Spaniards in old time.

Eloquence and riches raised men to authoritie.

of Spaine, desiring to deale in matters of the cõmonwealth, he saw that he had neither eloquẽce nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in credit and authoritie, did carie the people euen as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great account of his constancie and noble mind they found in him, of his great paines and trauell he tooke continually, and of the simplicitie of his life: which were causes to bring him to honour and

How Marius credit and estimation grew.

Iulia, Martus wife.

preferm̃et, insomuch as he maried very highly. For he maried *Iulia*, that was of the noblest house of the *Cæsars*, and aunt vnto *Iulius Cæsar*: who afterwards came to be the chiefest man of all the Romaines, and who by reason of that alliance betweene them, seemed in some things to follow *Marius*, as we haue written in his life. *Marius* was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be iudged by an act he did, putting himselfe into the hands of Surgeons. For his shankes and legges were full of great swollen veines, and being angrie because it was no pleasant thing to behold, he determined to put himselfe into the hands of Surgeons to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legges to the Surgeon to worke vpon, he would not be bound as others are in like case: but patiently abode all the extreame paines a man must of necessitie feele being cut, without stirring, groning or sighing, still keeping his countenance, and said neuer a word. But when the Surgeon had done with his first legge, and would haue gone to the other, he would not giue it him: nay said he, I see the cure is not worth the paine I must abide. Afterwards *Cæcilius Metellus* the Consull, being appointed to go into Africke to make warre with king *Iugurth*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenants. *Marius* being there, seeing notable good seruice to be done, and occasion to shew his manhood, was not of mind in this voyage to increase *Metellus* honour and reputation, as other Lieutenants did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him foorth for his Lieutenant, but Fortune her selfe that presented him a fit occasion to raise him to greatnes, and (as it were) did lead him by the hand into a goodly field, to put him to the proofe of that he could do. And for this cause therefore, he endeuoured himselfe to shew all the possible proofes of valiantnesse and honour he could. For the wars being great continually there, he neuer for feare refused any attempt or seruice, how daungerous or painefull soeuer it were, neither disdained to take any seruice in hand, were it neuer so litle: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wisedome and foresight, in that which was to be done, and striuing with the meanest souldiers in liuing hardly and painefully, he wan the goodwill & fauor of euery man. For to say truly, it is a great comfort & refreshing to soldiers that labour, to haue companions that labour willingly with them. For they thinke, that their company labouring with them, doth in maner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the Romaine souldier maruellously to see the generall eate openly of the same bread he eateth, or that he lyeth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himselfe is the first man to set his hand to any worke when a trench is to be cast, or their campe to be fortified. For they do not so much esteeme the Captaines that honour and reward them, as they do those that in daungerous attempts, labour and venture their liues with them. And further, they do farre better loue them that take pains with them, then those that suffer them to liue idlely by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the loue and goodwils of his souldiers: he straight filled all Lybia and the city of Rome with his glory, so that he was in euery mans mouth. For they that were in the campe in Africke, wrote vnto them that were at Rome, that they should neuer see the end of those wars against this barbarous king, if they gaue not the charge vnto *Marius*, and chose him Consull. These things misliked *Metellus* very much, but specially the misfortune that came vpon *Turpilius* did maruellously trouble him: which fell out in this sort: *Turpilius* was *Metellus* friend, yea he and all his parents had followed *Metellus* in this warre, being maister of the workes in his campe. *Metellus* made him gouernor ouer the city of Vacca, a goodly great city: and he vsing the inhabitants of the same very gently and curteously, mistrusted nothing till he was fallen into the hands of his enemies through their treason. For they had brought king *Iugurth* into their city vnknowing to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but only begged him of the king, and let him go his way safe. And this was the cause why they accused *Turpilius* of treason. *Marius* being one of his Iudges in the counsell, was not cõtented to be bitter to him himself, but moued many of the counsel besides to be against him: so that *Metellus* by the voyces of the people, was driuen against his will to condemne him to suffer as a traitor: and shortly after it was found and proued, that *Turpilius* was wrongfully condemned and put to death. To say truly, there was not one of the counsell but were very sorie with *Metellus*, who maruellous impatiently tooke the death of

Marius temperance and patience.

Cæcilius Metellus Consull.

Marius, Metellus Lieutenant in the warre against Iugurth.

The labour and presence of the Generall maketh the souldiers worke willingly.

Marius the author of Turpilius false accusation and death.

Vacca a great citie.

The cause of the supposed treason against Turpilius.

Turpilius wrongfully put to death.

the

the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily reioyced, and tooke it vpon him that he purſued his death, and was not aſhamed to make open vants, that he had hanged a furie about *Metellus* neck, to reuenge his friends bloud, whom he guiltleſſe had cauſed to be put to death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they ſay, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him with all, ſaid vnto him: O good man, thou wilt leaue vs then, and returne to Rome to ſue for the Conſulſhip: and canſt thou not be contented to tarie to be Conſull with my ſon? Now his ſon at that time was but a boy. But howſoeuer the matter went, *Marius* left him not ſo, but laboured for leaue all he could poſſible. And *Metellus* after he had vſed many delayes and excuſes, at the length gaue him leaue, twelue daies only before the day of election of the Conſuls. Wherfore *Marius* made haſt, and in two daies and a night came from the campe to Vtica vpon the ſea ſide, which is a maruellous way from it: and there before he tooke ſhip, did ſacrifices vnto the gods, & the Sooth-ſayer told him, that the gods by the ſignes of his ſacrifices, did promiſe him vncredible proſperity, and ſo great, as he himſelf durſt not hope after. Theſe words made *Marius* hart greater: wherupon he hoiſſed ſaile, and hauing a paſſing good gale of wind in the poope of the ſhip, paſſed the ſeas in foure daies, and being landed, rode poſt to Rome. When he was arriued, he went to ſhew himſelfe vnto the people: who were maruellous deſirous to ſee him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the people vnto the pulpit for orations, after many accuſations which he obiected againſt *Metellus*, in the end he beſought the people to chuſe him Conſull, promiſing that within few daies he would either kill, or take king *Iugurth* priſoner. Whereupon he was choſen Conſull without any contradiction. And ſo ſoone as he was proclaimed, he began immediatly to leauie men of war, cauſing many poore men that had nothing, and many ſlaues alſo, to be enrolled againſt the order of auncient cuſtome: where other Captaines before him did receiue no ſuch manner of men, and did no more ſuffer vnworthy men to be ſouldiers, then they did allow of vnworthy officers in the commonwealth: in doing the which euery one of them that were enrolled, left their goods behind them, as a pledge of their good ſeruice abroad in the wars. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be moſt hated, but they were his ſtout proud words full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offend the noble men in the city. For he proclaimed it euery where abroad as it were, that his Conſulſhip was a ſpoile he had gotten of the effeminate rich noble men through his valiantneſſe, and that the wounds which he had vpon his body for the ſeruice of the cõmonwealth, were thoſe that recommended him to the people, and were his ſtrength, and not the monuments of the dead, nor the images & ſtatues of others. And oft times naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile *Beſtia*, both noble men, and of great houſes, who hauing bene Generals of the Romaine armie, had very ill fortune in the countrey of Lybia: he called them cowards and ſimple ſouldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their anceſtors would rather haue wiſhed to haue left their children that came of them like vnto himſelf, then ſuch as they had bene: conſidering that they themſelues had won honour and glory, not for that they were deſcended of noble bloud, but through their deſerued vertue and valiant deedes. Now *Marius* ſpake not theſe words in a fooliſh brauerie, and for vaine glory onely, to purchaſe the ill will of the nobilitie for nothing: but the common people being very glad to ſee him ſhame and deſpite the Senate, and meaſuring alwaies the greatneſſe of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward ſtill not to ſpare the nobility, and to reproue the great men, ſo that he euer held with the communaltie. And furthermore, when he was paſſed ouer againe into Africke, it ſpited *Metellus* to the heart, becauſe that he hauing ended all the warre, that there remained almoſt no more to take or win, *Marius* ſhould come in that ſort to take away the glory and triumph out of his hands, hauing ſought to riſe and increaſe by vnthankfulneſſe towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went another way, and left the army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenants, to deliuer the ſame vnto him. Howbeit, the reuenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end vpon *Marius* owne necke: for *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands the honor of ending this war, euen as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, and after what ſort, I will repeat it in few words, becauſe we haue written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* king of high Numidia, was father in law vnto king *Iugurth*, vnto whom he gaue no great aide, whilſt he made wars with the Romains, becauſe he hated his vnfaithfulneſſe, and feared leſt he would make himſelf greater then he was: but in the end, after *Iugurth* had fled, and wandred vp and downe in euery place, he was conſtrained of very neceſſity to caſt his laſt hope and anker vpon him, as his finall refuge, and ſo repaire vnto him. King *Boc-*

Diſpleaſure betwixt Metellus and Marius.

Marius firſt time of being Conſull.

Marius offended the nobilitie.

Marius depriued Metellus of the honour of conquering of king Iugurth.

Bocchus king of Numidia, deliuereth Iugurth vnto Sylla.

chus receiued him rather for ſhame, becauſe he durſt not puniſh him, then for any loue or good will he bare him: and hauing him in his hands, ſeemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and ſecretly to write the contrary vnto him. But in the meane time, he practiſed treaſon vnder hand, and ſent priuily for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was Quæſtor (to ſay, high treaſurer) vnder *Marius*, and of whom he had receiued certaine pleaſures in thoſe warres. *Sylla* truſting to this barbarous king, went at his ſending for to him. But when he was come, king *Bocchus* repented him of his promiſe, and altered his mind, ſtanding many daies in doubt with himſelfe how to reſolue, whether he ſhould deliuer king *Iugurth*, or keepe *Sylla* himſelfe: yet at the laſt he went on with his purpoſe and intented treaſon, and deliuered king *Iugurth* aliue into *Syllaes* hands. And this was the firſt originall cauſe of the peſtilent and mortall enmitie that grew afterwards betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to haue vtterly ouerthrowne the citie of Rome, and to haue razed the foundation of the empire vnto the ground. For many enuying the glorie of *Marius*, gaue it out euery where, that this act of the taking of king *Iugurth*, appertained only vnto *Sylla*: and *Sylla* himſelfe cauſed a ring to be made, which he ware commonly, and had grauen vpon the ſtone of the ſame, how *Bocchus* deliuered *Iugurth* into his hands. And afterwards he made it alwayes his ſeale to deſpite *Marius* withall, who was an ambitious and proud man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glory of his doings: and *Sylla* did it eſpecially at the procurement of enemies and ill willers, who gaue the glory of the beginning and chiefe exploits of this war, vnto *Metellus*, and the laſt and finall concluſion vnto *Sylla*, to the end that the people ſhould not haue *Marius* in ſo great eſtimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this enuie, detraction and hatred againſt *Marius*, was ſoone after extinguiſhed and troden vnder foote, by reaſon of the great daunger that fell vpon all Italy out of the Weſt: and they neuer ſpake of it afterwards, knowing that the commonwealth ſtood in need of a good Captaine, and that they began to looke about, and conſider who ſhould be that great wiſe Pylot, that might ſaue and preſerue it from ſo great and dangerous a ſtorme of warre. For there was not a noble man of all the auncient houſes of Rome, that durſt vndertake to offer himſelfe to demand the Conſulſhip: but *Marius* being abſent, was choſen Conſull the ſecond time. For *Iugurth* was no ſooner taken, but newes came to Rome of the comming downe of the Teutons, and of the Cimbres, the which would not be beleeued at the firſt, by reaſon of the infinite number of the fighting men which was ſaid to be in their company, and for the vncredible force and power of the armies which was iuſtified to come: but afterwards they knew plainely, that the rumour that ran abroad was leſſe then the truth fell out indeed. For they were three hundred thouſand fighting men all armed, who brought with them alſo another multitude as great (or more) of women and children: which wandred vp and downe ſeeking countries and townes to dwell and liue in, as they heard ſay the Gaules had done in old time, who leauing their owne countrie, came, and had poſſeſſed the beſt part of Italy, which they had taken away from the Thuscans. Now to ſay truly, no man knew of what nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no friendſhip with any other people, as alſo becauſe they came out of a farre country, as a cloud of people that was ſpread all ouer Gaule and Italy. It was doubted much they were a people of Germanie, dwelling about the North ſea: and this they coniectured by view of the greatnes of their bodies, and alſo for that they had dark blue eyes and red, beſides that the Germains in their tong do cal theeues and robbers, Cimbres. Other ſay that Celtica, for the great length & largenes of the country, ſtretching it ſelfe from the coaſt of the great Ocean ſea, & from the north parts, drawing towards the mariſhes Mœotides, and the Eaſt, runneth into Scythia, or Tartaria Pontica: and that for neighborhood theſe two nations ioyned together, and went out of their countrey, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many ſundry times, marching yerely in the ſpring further and further into the country. And thus by continuance of time, they paſſed by force of armes through all the firme land of Europe: and that for this cauſe, although they had many particular names according to the diuerſitie of their nations, yet all this maſſe & multitude of people gathered together, were called notwithſtanding, the army of the Celtoscythes, as who would ſay, the Celtotartares. Other hold opinion that the nation of the Cimmerians, who were known in old time for ancient Grecians, the one part of them were not very great in reſpect of the whole, the which being fled (or driuen out of their country for ſome ciuill diſſention) were compelled by the Tartares to paſſe beyond the mariſhes Mœotides, into the countries of Asia, vnder the conduction of a captain called *Ligdamis*.

Lucius Sylla Quæſtor vnder Marius.

The originall cauſe of the ciuill wars betwixt Marius and Sylla.

The comming into Italy of the Teutons & Cimbres.

The army of the Teutons and Cimbres, 300000 men.

Cimbri.

Cimmerij.

But

But the residue of them which were a far greater number, and more warlike men, they dwelt in the furthest parts of the earth, adioyning vnto the great Ocean sea, in a darke shadowed country couered with wonderfull forrests, of such length, and so great and thicke, and the trees so high, that the Sun can haue no power vpon the ground, and they ioyne hard vpon the great forrest of Hercynia. And furthermore, they are vnder such a climate, where the pole is of such a height by the inclination of the circles equidistant, which they call Parallelles, that it is not farre from the point that answereth directly to the plummet vpon the head of the inhabitants: and where the dayes are equinoctiall. They do deuide all their time in two parts, the which giueth *Homer* occasion to faine, that when *Vlysses* would call vpon the dead, he went into the country of the CIMMERIANS, as into the country of hell. And this is the cause why they say these barbarous people left their owne countries to come into ITALY, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwards they say (and not without great likelihood) that they were surnamed CIMBRES: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely coniecture, then by any assured troth of historie. And as for the multitude of men, the most part of historiographers do write, that they were rather mo then lesse, then we haue spoken of: and that they were so hardy and valiant, that nothing could stand before them, they did so great things by the strength of their hands, where they fought with any, so violently and so sodainly, that they seemed to be like a lightning fire all about where they came. By meanes whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and caried away all that they found, hand ouer head: and there were many ROMAINE captaines appointed gouernors to keepe that, which the ROMAINES held in GAVLE beyond the mountaines, who with great armies were shamefully ouerthrowne by them. The cowardlinesse of those whom they had ouercome, was the chiefest cause that moued them to direct their iourney to ROME. For when they had vanquished the first they fought withall, & gotten great riches also: they were so fleshed by this, that they determined to stay no where before they had destroyed ROME, and sacked all ITALY. The ROMAINES hearing of this out of all parts, sent for *Marius* to giue him the conduction and leading of these wars, and chose him Consul the second time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the law, that did expressly forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and vntill also a certaine time appointed had past betweene the vacation and election, before they could chuse him officer twise in one office. Some alleadged this law, of intent to hinder the election: but the people repulsed them, obiecting to the contrarie, that this was not the first time the law had giuen place to the benefit of the commonwealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate the law at that present was no lesse, then former occasions by the which they chose *Scipio* Consull, against the course and time appointed by the lawe, not for any feare they stood in to lose their owne country, but for the desire they had to destroy the country of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason whereof the people proceeded to election. And *Marius* bringing home his army againe out of LYBIA into ITALY, tooke possession of his Consulship the first day of Ianuary (on which day the ROMAINES begin their yeare) and therewithall made his triumph into the city of ROME, shewing that to the ROMAINS, which they thought neuer to haue seene: and that was, king *Iugurth* prisoner, who was so subtill a man, and could so well frame himselfe vnto his fortune, and with his craft and subtiltie was of so great courage besides, that none of his enemies euer hoped to haue had him aliue. But it is said, that after he was led in this triumph, he fell mad straight vpon it: and the pompe of triumph being ended, he was caried into prison, where the sergeants for hast to haue the spoile of him, tare his apparell by force from off his backe: and becausethey would take away his rich gold eare-rings that hung at his eares, they pulled away with them the tippe of his eare, and then cast him naked to the bottome of a deepe dungeon, his wits being altogether troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he said: O *Hercules*, how cold are your stoues? He liued there yet sixe daies, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwaies to prolong his miserable life vnto the last houre: the which was a iust deserued punishment for his wicked life. In this triumph were caried (as they say) three thousand and seuen hundred pound weight in gold, and of siluer niggots, fiue thousand seuen hundred and lxxv. pound weight: & more in gold and ready coine, eight and twenty thousand and seuen hundred crownes. After this triumph *Marius* caused the Senate to assemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the company with his triumphing robe, either because he forgot it, or else of too grosse & vnciuill arrogancie: but perceiuing that all the assembly misliked of it, he rose suddenly, and tooke his long Consuls gowne, and then returned quickly

Marius chosen Consull the second time against the law.

Law must giue place for common benefit.

Marius triumph into Rome for king Iugurth.

How Marius trained his ſouldiers.

againe into his place. Furthermore, *Marius* departing to go to the wars, thought to traine his army by the way, and to harden his ſouldiers vnto labour, cauſing them to run euery way, making great long iournies, compelling each ſouldier to carie his owne furniture, and to prepare him neceſſary victuals to find himſelf withall: ſo that euer after they made a prouerb of it, & called ſuch as were painefull & willing to do that which they were commanded without grudging, *Marius* moiles. Other notwithſtanding, do ſhew another cauſe and beginning of this Prouerbe: for they ſay, that *Scipio* lying at the ſiege of the citie of NVMANTIA, would not only take view of the armour and horſes of ſeruice that were in his armie, but alſo of the moiles and other beaſts of burden, becauſe he would ſee how they were kept and furniſhed. So *Marius* brought his horſe and moile to the muſter which he kept himſelfe, fat, faire, and very well dreſt, and his moiles haire ſo ſlike and ſmooth, and therewithall ſo luſty and trim, as none of the reſt were like vnto them. *Scipio* took great pleaſure to ſee theſe beaſts ſo well kept, and in ſo good plight: inſomuch as he ſpake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And vpon his words, this manner of talke was taken vp euer after, and became a common prouerbe: when they meane to mocke any man that is painefull, and giuen to ſore labour, making as though they would praiſe him, they call him *Marius* moile. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for *Marius* (in mine opinion) that theſe barbarous people (like in force to the beating backe of the raging ſeas) turned their firſt furie towards SPAINE: and that he in the meane ſpace had time and leiſure to traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers, to make them bold, and withall, himſelfe to be throughly knowne amongſt them. For when by litle and litle they had learned not to offend, nor diſobey, then they found his rough commaunding, and ſharpe ſcueritie in puniſhing ſuch as ſlacke their dutie, both profitable and very neceſſary, beſides that it was alſo iuſt and reaſonable. Againe his great furie, his ſharpe words, and his fierce lookes after they had awhile bene vſed to them, by litle and litle they ſeemed nothing ſo fearefull to the, as to their enemies. But the thing that pleaſed the ſouldiers more then all the reſt, was his iuſtice and vpright dealing: whereof they report ſuch an example: *Marius* had a nephew of his in his campe called *Caius Lucius*, who had charge of men in the army. This *Lucius* was taken for a maruellous honeſt man, ſauing that he had this foule vice in him, that he would be ſuddenly in loue with faire young boyes: and as at that time he fell in loue with a trim young ſtripling, called *Trebonius*, that ſerued vnder him, and hauing many times lewdly enticed him, and neuer could obtaine his purpoſe, at the laſt ſent for him one night by his ſeruant. The young man might not diſobey his captaine being ſent for, but preſently went vnto him. When he was come into his tent, and that his Captaine did ſtriue with all his force to do him villanie: he drew out his ſword, and killed him in the place. And this was done when *Marius* was out of his campe: who ſo ſoone as he returned, cauſed the Marſhall to bring the yong man before him. Many ſtepped forth ſtraight to accuſe him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himſelfe, and to name many witneſſes, who had both ſeene and knowne how his dead Captaine had oftentimes offered him diſhonour, and how that he had continually reſiſted his abhominable motion, and would neuer yeeld himſelfe vnto him, for any gift or preſent he could offer him. Wherfore *Marius* commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, cauſed preſently one of thoſe crownes to be brought vnto him, which are vſed to be giuen to them that in a day of battell haue done ſome valiant deed, and he himſelfe did crowne *Trebonius* withall, as one that had done a noble act, and at ſuch a time, as good and honeſt examples were requiſite. This iudgement of *Marius* being caried to ROME, ſtood him to great good purpoſe towards the obtaining of his third Conſulſhip: beſide alſo that they looked for the comming backe of theſe barbarous people about the ſpring, with whom the ROMAINE ſouldiers would not fight vnder any other captaine then *Marius*. Howbeit they came not ſo ſoone againe as they looked for them, but *Marius* paſſed ouer alſo the yeare of his third Conſulſhip. So time comming about againe for the election of new Conſuls, and his companion alſo being dead, he was driuen to go himſelfe vnto ROME, leauing the charge of his campe in his abſence vnto *Manius Acilius*. At that time there were many noble men that ſued for the Conſulſhip: but *Lucius Saturninus* one of the Tribunes, who had the communaltie vnder his girdle as he would himſelfe, more then any of the other Tribunes, and being wonne vnder hand by *Marius*, made many orations, in the which he perſwaded the people to chuſe *Marius* Conſull the fourth time. *Marius* to the contrary, ſeemed to refuſe it, ſaying that he would none of it, though the people choſe him. Whereupon *Saturninus* called him traitor, crying out, that his refuſall in ſuch a danger and time of neceſſitie, was an

Marius moiles.

Marius commended for his iuſtice.

Marius third Conſulſhip.

Manius Acilius Lieutenant of the army, vnder Marius.

Lucius Saturninus Tribune.

apparant

apparant part to betray the common wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse packe betwixt *Saturninus* and *Marius*, by such as could see day at a litle hole. Neuertheless, the people considering that their present troubles required *Marius* skill and good fortune in the warres, they made him Consull the fourth time, and ioyned *Catulus Luctatius* Consull with him, a man that was greatly honoured of the Nobilitie, and not misliked also of the common people. *Marius* hauing newes of the approching of the barbarous people, passed ouer the Alpes with great speed, and fortifying his camp by the riuer of RHONE, he brought great prouision of all kinds of victuals thither with him, least being straighted by lacke thereof, he should be forced to come to battel at any other time but euen as he would himself, & as it should seeme good vnto him. And where before that time the transporting of victuals vnto his camp by sea was very long, and dangerous, and a maruellous great charge besides: he made it very short and easie by this meanes. The mouth of the riuer of RHONE had gathered together so much mud, and such store of sand, which the waues of the sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was become very high and deep: so as the banks made the entry into it very narrow, hard, & dãgerous for great ships of burdẽ that came from the sea. *Marius* considering this matter, set his men a worke while they had nothing to do, and made them digge a large trench and deepe channell, into the which he turned a great part of the riuer, and caried it to a conuenient place of the coast, where the water fell into the sea by an open gulfe, whereby he made it able to carie the greatest ships that were: and besides that, it was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with winds nor waues. The channell carieth yet his name, and is call *Marius* channell or trench. These barbarous people deuided themselues into two armies to passe into ITALIE, so that it fell out to the one part which were the CIMBRES, to go through high GERMANIE, and to force that passage which *Catulus* kept: and vnto the other part, which were the TEVTONS and AMBRONS, to passe through the countrey of the GENOVESIANS by the sea side against *Marius*. Now the CIMBRES hauing the greater compasse to fetch about, stayed longer, and remained behind: but the TEVTONS and the AMBRONS going their way first, had in few dayes dispatched their iourney they had to go, to bring them to the campe where the ROMAINES lay, vnto whom they presented themselues by infinite numbers, with terrible faces to behold, and their cries and voices farre contrary vnto other mens. They tooke in a maruellous deale of ground in length to campe vpon, and so came forth to defie *Marius* and prouoke him to battell in open field. *Marius* made no reckoning of all their bragging defiances, but kept his men together within his camp, taking on terribly with them that would rashly take vpon them to moue ought to the contrary, and which through impatience of choller would needs go forth to fight, calling them traitors to their country. For said he, we are not come to fight for our priuate glorie, neither to winne triumphs nor victories for our selues: but we must seeke by all meanes to diuert and put by this great shower of warres from vs, and this lightning and tempest, that it ouercome not all ITALY. These words he spake vnto the priuate captaines which were vnder him, as vnto men of hauiour and qualitie: but as for the common souldiers, he made them stand vpon the trenches of his campe, one after another to behold the enemies, and to acquaint themselues with sight of their faces, their countenance, and marching, and not to be afraid of their voices, & the maner of their speech, which was wonderful strange and beastly: and also that they might know the fashion of their weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order and ordinarie viewing of them; in time he made the things that seemed fearefull vnto his men at the first sight, to be afterwards very familiar: so that they made no more wondring at them. For he iudged, the thing which indeed is true, that a rare and new matter neuer seene before, for lack of iudgement & vnderstanding maketh things vnknowne to vs, more horrible and fearefull then they are: and to the contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare, and terror of those things, which by nature are indeed fearefull. The which was seene then by experience. For they being daily acquainted to looke vpon these barbarous people, it did not only diminish some part of the former feare of the ROMAINE souldiers: but furthermore, they whetting their choller with the fierce vntollerable threats and bragges of these barbarous brutish people, did set their hearts afire to fight with them, because they did not only wast and destroy all the country about them, but besides that, came to giue assault euen vnto their campe, with such a boldnesse, that the ROMAINE souldiers could no longer suffer them, and they letted not to speake words that came to *Marius* eares himself: What cowardlinesse hath *Marius* euer knowne in vs, that he keepes vs thus from fighting, and vnder locke and key as it were, in the gard of porters, as if we were women?

Marius fourth Consulship vvith Catulus Luctatius.

Rhodanus fl.

Marius chanell.

The Cimbres vvent through Germanie into Italie.

The Teutons and Ambrons fall vpon Marius to passe into Italy, through the territorie of Genua.

Let vs therefore ſhew our ſelues like men, and go aske him if he looke for any other ſouldiers, beſides our ſelues to defend ITALY: and if he haue determined to employ vs as pioners only, when he would caſt a trench to rid away the mud, or to turne a riuer contrary. For therein hath he only hitherto employed vs in great labour, and they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Conſulſhips, whereof he maketh his boaſt vnto them at ROME. Is he afraid they ſhould take him as they did *Carbo* & *Capio*, whom the enemies haue ouerthrowne? He muſt not be afraid of that: for he is a captain of another maner of valour and reputation then they were, and his army much better then theirs was. But howſoeuer it be, yet were it much better (in prouing) to looſe ſomething, then to be idle, and to ſuffer our friends & confederats to be deſtroyed and ſacked before our eyes. *Marius* was maruellous glad to heare his men complaine thus, and did comfort them, and told them that he did nothing miſtruſt their courage and valiantneſſe: howbeit that through the counſell of certaine prophecies and oracles of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for victorie. For he euer caried a SYRIAN woman in a litter about with him called *Martha*, with great reuerence, whom they ſaid had the ſpirit of prophecie in her: and that he did euer ſacrifice vnto the gods by her order, and at ſuch time as ſhe willed him to do it. This SYRIAN woman went firſt to ſpeake with the Senate about theſe matters, and did foretell and prognoſticate what ſhould follow: but the Senate would not heare her, and made her to be driuen away. Whereupon ſhe went vnto the women, and made them ſee proofe of ſome things ſhe vaunted of, and ſpecially *Marius* wife, at whoſe feete ſhe was ſet one day in aſſembly of the cõmon playes, to ſee the ſword players fight for life & death: for ſhe told her certainly which of them ſhould ouercome. Wherupon this Ladie ſent her vnto her husband *Marius*, who made great reckning of her, and caried her euer in a litter with him whereſoeuer he went. She was alwaies at *Marius* ſacrifices, apparelled in a gowne of purple in graine, claſped to her with claſpes, & held a ſpeare in her hand wound all about with noſegayes, & garlands of flowers tied on with laces. This maner of geſt made many doubt whether *Marius* ſhewed this woman openly, beleeuing indeed that ſhe had the gift of prophecie: or elſe that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleeue it, to helpe her faining. But that which *Alexander* the MINDIAN wrote touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondred at. For he ſaid, there were two of them followed *Marius* in his warres, and that they euer ſhewed themſelues and miſſed not, when he ſhould win any great battell, and that they did know them by latin collers they ware about their neckes, which the ſouldiers had tied about them, and afterwards let them go where they would: by reaſon whereof, they did know the ſouldiers againe, and it ſeemed alſo that they ſaluted them, and were very glad when they ſaw them, and perſwaded themſelues, that it was a ſigne & token of good lucke to follow. Many ſignes and tokens were ſeene before the battell: howbeit all the reſt were ordinarie ſights, ſauing that which was reported to be ſeene at TVDERTVM, and AMERIA, two cities of ITALY. For they ſay, there were ſeene ſpeares & targets in the night, burning like fire in the element, which firſt were caried vp and down here & there, and then met together euen as men moue and ſtir that fight one with another, vntill at the length, the one giuing backe, and the other following after, they all vaniſhed away, and conſumed towards the Weſt. About the ſelfeſame time alſo, there came from the citie of PESSINVNTA, *Barabaces*, the chiefe prieſt of the great mother of the gods, who brought news, that the goddeſſe had ſpoken to him within her ſanctuarie, and told him that the victorie of this war ſhould fall out on the ROMAINES ſide. The Senate beleeued it, & ordained that they ſhould build a temple vnto that goddeſſe, to giue her thankes for the victorie which ſhe did promiſe thẽ. *Barabaces* alſo would haue preſented himſelfe vnto the people in open aſſembly, to tell them as much. But there was one *Aulus Pompeius* a Tibune that would not ſuffer him to do it, calling him tumbler or iugler, and violently thruſt him behind the pulpit for orations: but the miſchance that fel vpon *Pompeius* afterwards, made them the more to beleeue *Barabaces* words. For *Pompeius* the Tribune no ſooner came home vnto his houſe, but a great vehement ague tooke him, wherof he died the ſeuenth day after, as all the world could witneſſe. Now the TEVTONS perceiuing that *Marius* ſtirred not at all out of his campe, they proued to aſſault him: howbeit they were ſo well receiued with ſhot and ſlings, that after they had loſt certaine of their men, they gaue it ouer, and determined to go further, perſwading themſelues that they might eaſily paſſe the Alpes without danger. Wherefore truſſing vp all their baggage, they paſſed by *Marius* campe: at which time it appeared more certainly then before, that they were a maruellous great multitude of people, by the length of time which they took to paſſe their way. For it is ſaid, they were paſſing by his camp

Martha, a wiſe woman or propheteſſe.

The attire of Martha in time of ſacrifice.

A wonder of the Vultures ſhewed to Marius.

Wonders ſeen

Barabaces the prieſt of the mother of the gods.

Aulus Pompeius Tribune.

ſixe dayes continually together. And as they came raking by the Romaines campe, they asked them in mockerie, if they would write or ſend home any thing to their wiues, for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all paſſed and gone, and continued on their iourney ſtill, *Marius* alſo raiſed his campe, and followed them faire and ſoftly foot by foote, and euer kept hard at their taile as neare as he could, alwayes fortifying his campe very well, and euer chuſing ſtrong places of ſituation and aduantage to lodge in, that they might be ſafe in the night time. So they marched on in this ſort, vntil they came vnto the citie of Aix, from whence they had not far to go, but they entred ſtraight into the mountaines of the Alpes: wherfore *Marius* prepared now to fight with them, and choſe out a place that was very ſtrong of ſituation to lodge his campe in, howbeit there lacked water. And they ſay he did it of purpoſe, to the end to quicken his mens courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and told him that they ſhould ſtand in great danger to abide maruellous thirſt if they lodged there. Whereunto he made anſwer: ſhewing them the riuer that ran hard by the enemies campe, ſaying withall, that they muſt go thither and buy drinke with their bloud. The ſouldiers replied againe: and why then do ye not leade vs thither, whileſt our bloud is yet moiſt? He gently anſwered them againe: becauſe the firſt thing we do, we muſt fortifie our campe. The ſouldiers though they were angrie with him, yet they obeyed him: but the ſlaues hauing neither drinke for themſelues, nor for their cattell, gathered together a great troupe of them, and went towards the riuer: ſome of them carying axes, other hatchets, other ſwords and ſpeares, with their pots to carie water, determining to fight with the barbarous people, if otherwiſe they could not come by it. A few of the barbarous people at the firſt fought with them, becauſe the moſt part of their companie were at dinner, after they had bathed, and others were ſtil in the bathe waſhing themſelues, finding in that place many ſprings of hot natural bathes. Thus the Romaines found many of the barbarous people making merrie, and taking their pleaſure about theſe bathes, for the great delight they tooke to conſider the pleaſantneſſe of the place: but when they heard the noiſe of them that fought, they began to runne one after another vnto the place from whence the noiſe came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for *Marius* any longer to keepe the Romaine ſouldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their ſlaues ſhould haue bene ſlaine of the barbarous people: and moreouer, becauſe the valianteſt ſoldiers of their enemies called the Ambrons (who before had ouercome *Manlius* and *Cæpio*, two Romaine Captaines with their armies, and that made of themſelues thirtie thouſand fighting men) ran to armes, being very heauie of their bodies, as hauing filled their bellies well, but otherwiſe valiant and couragious fellows, and more liuely then they were wont to be, by reaſon of the wine they had drunk. They ran not furiouſly to fight out of order, neither did they crie out confuſedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noiſe with their harneſſe all after one ſort, they oft rehearſed their owne name, Ambrons, Ambrons, Ambrons: which was, either to call one another of them, or elſe to feare the Romaines with their name onely. The Italians alſo on the other ſide, being the firſt that came downe to fight with them, were the Ligvrians, dwelling vpon the coaſt of Genva, who hearing this noiſe and crie of theirs, plainly vnderſtanding them: anſwered them againe with the like noiſe & crie, Ligvrians, Ligvrians, Ligvrians, ſaying, that it was the true ſurname of all their nation. And ſo before they ioyned together, this crie was redoubled many a time on either ſide: and the Captaines of both parts made their ſouldiers crie out all together, contẽding for enuy one againſt another, who ſhould crie it loudeſt. This contention of crying, inflamed the ſouldiers courages the more. Now the Ambrons hauing the riuer to paſſe, were by this meanes put out of order, & before they could put themſelues in battell ray againe, after they had paſſed the riuer, the Ligvrians ran with great fury to ſet vpon the foremoſt: and after them, (to aide the Ligvrians that had begun the charge) the Romaines themſelues fell alſo vpon the Ambrons, comming downe from the places of aduantage vpon theſe barbarous people, and compelled them by this meanes to turne their backes, and flie. So the greateſt ſlaughter they made, fortuned vpon the banke of the riuer, whereinto they thruſt one another in ſuch ſort, that all the riuer ran bloud, being filled with dead bodies. And they that could get ouer the riuer againe, and were on the other ſide, durſt not gather together any more to ſtand to defence: ſo as the Romaines ſlue them, and draue them into their campe, euen vnto their cariage. Then their women came out againſt them with ſwords and axes in their hands, grinding their teeth: and crying out for ſorrow and anger, they charged aſwell vpon their owne people that fled, as vpon them that chaſed them: the one as traitors, and the other as enemies.

Marius bold words to his ſouldiers, and their anſwer.

Battel betwixt the Ambrons and Marius.

Marius ouercame the Ambrons.

The mannifeſtneſſe of the women.

Furthermore, they thruſt themſelues amongſt them that fought, and ſtroue by force to pluck the Romaines targets out of their hands, and took hold of their naked ſwords bare handed, abiding with an inuincible courage to be hacked and mangled with their ſwords. And thus was the firſt battell giuen (as they ſay) by the riuers ſide, rather by chance vnlooked for, then by any ſet purpoſe, or through the Generals counſell. Now the Romaines after they had ouercome the moſt part of the Ambrons, retiring backe by reaſon the night had ouertaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had giuen ſuch an ouerthrow) ſing ſongs of victorie & triumph, nor make good cheare in their tents one with another, and leaſt of all ſleep: (which is the beſt and ſweeteſt refreſhing for men that haue fought happily) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, becauſe their camp was not trenched & fortified, and becauſe they knew alſo that there remained almoſt innumerable thouſands of barbarous people, that had not yet fought: beſides alſo, that the Ambrons that had fled and ſcaped from the ouerthrow, did howle out all night with loud cries, which were nothing like mens lamentations and ſighes, but rather like wild beaſts bellowing and roaring. So that the bellowing of ſuch a great multitude of beaſtly people, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the mountaines thereabouts and the running riuer to redound againe of the ſound and eccho of their cries maruellouſly: by reaſon whereof, all the valley that lay betweene both, thundred to heare the horrible and fearefull trembling. This made the Romaine ſouldiers afeard, and *Marius* himſelf in ſome doubt: becauſe they looked to haue bene fought withall the ſame night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithſtanding, the barbarous people did not aſſault them that night, nor the next day following, but onely prepared themſelues vnto battell. And in the meane time *Marius* knowing that there was aboue the place where they were camped, certaine caues and litle valleys couered with wood: he ſecretly ſent *Claudius Marcellus* thither with three thouſand footmen well armed, and commanded him to keepe cloſe in ambuſh, vntil he ſaw that the barbarous people were fighting with him, and that then he ſhould come and ſet vpon their rereward. The reſidue of his armie, they ſupped when time came, and after ſupper repoſed themſelues. The next morning at the breake of day, *Marius* brought his men into the field out of his fort: where he put them in order of battell, ſending his horſemen before to draw the enemies out to skirmiſh. The Teutons ſeeing them come, had not the patience to tarie till the Romaines were come downe into the plaine field to fight without aduantage, but arming themſelues in haſte, and in a rage, ran vp the hil to the Romaines, where they ſtood in battel ray. *Marius* taking good regard to that they did, ſent here and there vnto the priuate captaines, charging them they ſhould not ſtirre, and onely to temporize & forbeare, vntil the enemies came within a ſtones caſt of them: and that they ſhould then throw their darts at them, and afterwards draw their ſwords, and repulſe the barbarous people with their ſhields. For he did foreſee, that when they ſhould clime vp againſt the hill (vpon the hanging whereof the Romaines had ſet their battel) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and rankes could ſtand cloſe together to any effect or purpoſe: becauſe they could not haue ſure footing, nor march aſſuredly, but would eaſily be throwne backward if they were neuer ſo litle repulſed, by reaſon of the hanging of the hill. *Marius* gaue this order vnto his folke, and therewithall was himſelf the firſt man that put it in execution: for he was as trim a warrier, and as valiant a ſouldier, as any man in all his army: beſides, not one amongſt them all would venture further, and be more bold then himſelfe. So when the Romaines had reſiſted them, and ſtaid them ſodainly, going with furie to haue won the hill, perceiuing themſelues to be repulſed, they gaue backe by litle and litle, vntill they came into the field, and then began the foremoſt of them to gather together, and to put themſelues in battel ray vpon the plaine, when ſodainly they heard the noiſe and charging of them that were in the taile of their armie. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occaſion when it was offered him, becauſe that the noiſe of the firſt charge comming vp againſt the hils thereabouts, vnder the which he lay in ambuſh, gaue him aduertiſement thereof: whereupon he cauſed his men preſently to ſhew, & running with great cries, came to giue a charge vpō thoſe which were in the taile of the barbarous people, putting the hindmoſt to the ſword. They made their fellows whoſe backs were next vnto them, to turne their faces, and ſo from man to man, til at the length in ſhort time all their battel began to wauer in diſorder: and they made no great reſiſtance, when they ſaw they were ſo charged before & behind, but began ſtraight to flie for life. The Romaines following them hard at the heels, killed & tooke priſoners aboue a hundred thouſand of them, and took moreouer their carts, their tents & all their cariage.

Marius ſecond battell vvith the Teutons.

Marius victory of the Teutons and Ambrons.

Which

Which the whole armie by conſent agreed to preſent vnto *Marius*, excepting nothing, ſauing that which was inbezelled and conueied away vnder hand. Now, though this was a maruellous honorable & right noble preſent, yet they thought it not a recompence ſufficient for that he had deſerued, for the valour he had ſhewed of a famous Captaine, in leading of his armie, and for the good order he kept in this war: ſo happy thought they themſelues to haue eſcaped ſo great a danger. Notwithſtanding, ſome writers do not agree, that the ſpoile of the barbarous people was giuen vnto *Marius*: nor that there were alſo ſo great a number of men ſlaine as we haue ſpoken of. But they ſay, that after this battell, the MARSILLIANS did incloſe their vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that the bodies being rotten and conſumed vpon the fields through the great raine that fell vpon them the winter following, the ground waxed ſo fat, and did ſoake the greaſe ſo deepe in the ſame, that the ſommer following they did beare an incredible quantitie of all ſorts of fruites. And by this meanes were *Archilocus* words proued true, that the arable land doth wax fat with ſuch rottenneſſe or putrifaction. And it is ſaid alſo, that of ordinarie after great battels, there falleth great ſtore of raine. Either it is by meane of ſome god, that powring downe pure raine water, doth purifie, waſh, and cleanſe the ground, defiled & polluted with mans bloud: or elſe it happeneth by naturall cauſe: for that the ouerthrow of ſo many dead bodies, and of the bloud ſpilt, ingendreth a moiſt, groſſe, and heauy vapor, which doth thicken the aire (that by nature is changeable, and eaſie to alter) from a very ſmall or litle beginning, vnto an exceeding great change. After this battell, *Marius* cauſed the harneſſe and ſpoiles of the barbarous people to be laid aſide, that were left whole and faire to ſight, to beautifie and enrich the pomp of his triumph. Then he cauſed the reſt to be gathered together on a great heape, and laid vpon a ſtack of wood, to make a noble ſacrifice vnto the gods, all his armie being armed about him, crowned with garlands of triumph, & himſelfe apparelled in a long gowne of purple, according to the cuſtome of the ROMAINES in ſuch a caſe, & holding a torch burning in both his hands, which he firſt lifted vp vnto heauen. And as he was turning downe the torch to put fire to the ſtack of wood, they ſaw ſome of his friends a good way off on horſebacke, comming poſt vnto him: then ſodainly there was a great ſilence made of all the aſſembly, euery man deſirous to heare what good newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted off their horſes, they ranne ſtraight to embrace *Marius*, and brought him newes that he was choſen Conſull the fift time: and preſented him the letters ſent him from ROME confirming the ſame. And thus, this new ioy falling out beſides the victorie, the priuate ſouldiers did ſhew the great ioy and pleaſure they tooke in both, with great ſhouts and beating vpon their harneſſe: and the captaines alſo, they crowned *Marius* againe with new garlands of lawrel which they put about his head: & that done, he put fire vnder the ſtack of wood, and ended his ſacrifice. But that which neuer ſuffereth men quietly to enioy the good hap of any victorie clearely, but in this mortall life doth euer mingle the ill with the good, be it either fortunne or ſpite of fatall deſtinie, or elſe the neceſſitie of the natural cauſes of earthly things: did ſhortly after this great ioy bring news vnto *Marius*, of his companion *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſul, who was like a cloud in a faire bright day, & brought the city of ROME againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went againſt the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keep the ſtraights of the mountaines, in hope to let the barbarous people for paſſing: becauſe that in ſo doing, he had bene compelled to deuide his armie into many parts, and had weakened himſelfe very much if he had taken that courſe. Wherfore comming a litle on this ſide the Alpes towards ITALY, he planted himſelfe vpon the riuer of ATHESIS, and built a bridge vpon it, to paſſe and repaſſe ouer his men when he would, and ſet vp at either end of the bridge two ſtrong forts well fortified, that he might more commodiouſly helpe the places on the other ſide of the riuer, if the barbarous people by chaunce would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the ſtraights of the mountaines. Now, theſe barbarous people had ſuch a glorie in themſelues, and diſdained their enemies ſo much, that more to ſhew their force and boldneſſe, then of any neceſſitie that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they ſuffered it to ſnow vpon them being ſtarke naked, and did climbe vp to the top of the mountaines, through great heapes of yce and ſnow. And when they were at the very top of all, they layd their long broade targets vnder their bodies, and lay all along vpon them, ſliding downe the ſteepe high rockes, that had certaine hangings ouer of an infinit height. In the end, they came to the camp neare vnto the ROMAINES by the riuers ſide, and conſidered how they might paſſe it ouer: and began to fill it vp, tearing downe (like giants) great hils of earth which they found thereabouts, brought thither great trees

Much raine followeth after great battels.

Marius the fift time Conſull.

Athesis fl.

which they pulled vp whole by the rootes, threw in great peeces of rockes which they brake, and whole towers of earth after them, to ſtop and breake the courſe of the riuer. But beſides all this, they threw great timber into the riuer, which being caried downe the ſtreame, came with ſuch a force, and hit againſt the poſts of the bridge ſo violently, that they ſhaked the ROMAINES bridge maruellouſly. Whereupon many of the ſouldiers of the great campe were afraid, and forſaking it, began to retire. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfect good Captaine ſhew, that he made leſſe account of his owne priuate honour and eſtimation, then he did of the generall honour of all his ſouldiers. For, ſeeing that he could not perſwade his men by any reaſon to tarie, and that in this feare they diſlodged, in diſorder againſt his will: he himſelfe commanded the ſtanderd bearer of the Eagle to march on, and ran to the formoſt that went their way, and marched himſelfe before them all, to the intent that the ſhame of this retire ſhould altogether light vpon him, and not vpon his countrey: and that it might appeare the ROMAINES did follow their captaine, & not flie away. The barbarous people therfore aſſaulting the fort at the end of the bridge of the riuer of ATHESIS, tooke it, & all the men that were in it. And becauſe the ROMAINES defended it like valiant men, and had luſtily ventured their liues to the death for defence of their country: the barbarous people let them go vpon compoſition, which they ſware to keepe faithfully, by their Bul of copper. This Bull afterwards was taken when they loſt the battell, and caried (as they ſay) into *Catulus Luctatius* houſe, as the chiefeſt thing of the victorie. Furthermore, the barbarous people finding the country open without any defence, ſcattered here and there, and deſtroyed all where they came. Wherupon the ROMAINES ſent for *Marius* to ROME to go againſt them: and after he was arriued, euery man thought he ſhould haue entred in triumph, becauſe alſo the Senate did graunt it him very willingly. But he would not do it, either becauſe he would not depriue his ſouldiers and the captaines that had fought vnder him, of any part of the honour that was due vn to them, they being abſent: or becauſe that he would warrant the people from the preſent dãger they were in, by laying aſide the glorie of his former victories, into the hands of the good fortune of ROME, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwards, by a more honorable and perfect confirmation of the ſecond. Wherefore after he had made an oration to the people and Senate, according to the time, he went his way immediatly towards *Catulus Luctatius*, whoſe comming did comfort him much: and ſent alſo for his armie that was yet in GAVLE beyond the mountaines. And after his armie was come, he paſſed the riuer of Po, to keepe the barbarous people from hurting ITALY on this ſide the Po. Now the CIMBRES ſtill deferred to giue battell, becauſe they looked for the TEVTONS, and ſaid: that they maruelled much what they meant to tary ſo long: either becauſe they knew not indeed of their ouerthrow, or elſe for that they would not ſeeme to know it, becauſe they handled them cruelly that brought the news of their deaths. At the length, they ſent vnto *Marius* to aske him lands and townes ſufficient to keepe them and their brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambaſſadors what brethren they meant. They anſwered, that they were the TEVTONS. Whereat the ſtanders by began to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them, ſaying: Care not for thoſe brethren, ſaid he, for we haue giuen thẽ ground enough, which they will keepe for euer. Theſe Ambaſſadorus found his mocke ſtraight, and began to reuile and threaten him, that the CIMBRES ſhould preſently make him repent it, and the TEVTONS ſo ſoone as they arriued. Why, ſaid *Marius* vnto them againe, they are come alreadie: and there were no honeſtie in you, if you ſhould go your way and not ſalute them, ſince they are your brethrẽ. And as he ſpake theſe words, he commanded his men to bring him the kings of the TEVTONS bound and chained, that had bene taken within the mountaines of the Alpes by the SEQVANI. The CIMBRES vnderſtanding this by report of their Ambaſſadours, preſently marched towards *Marius*, who ſtirred not at all, but onely fortified and kept his campe. They ſay that it was for this battel that *Marius* firſt inuented the new deuice he brought in for the dart which the ROMAINES were wont alwayes to throw againſt the enemies at the firſt charge. For before, the ſtaffe of the dart was faſtened vnto the yron, and the yron vnto the ſtaffe, with two litle yron pins that paſſed through the wood: and then *Marius* left one of the yron pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a litle thin pin of wood: eaſie to be broken, in place of the ſame, making it craftily, to the end that when the dart was throwne, and ſtucke in the enemies target, it ſhould not ſtand right forward, but bow downewards towards the yron, that the woodden pin being broken, the ſtaffe of the dart ſhould hang downewards, holding yet by the yron pin running quite through at the point. So *Bœorix* King of the CIMBRES, comming neare to *Marius* campe with a ſmall

Catulus Luctatius the Conſull flieth from the Cimbres.

Marius refuſed to enter in triumph.

Marius goeth towards Catulus Luctatius to helpe him. Po flu.

Marius mocke to the Cimbres.

The Cimbres march againſt Marius.

Marius deuice for altering the dart in fight.

Bœorix King of the Cimbres.

ſmall number of horſemen, ſent him defiance, and willed him to appoint a day and place for battell, that they might trie it out, who ſhould be owners of the country. Whereunto *Marius* made anſwer, that it was not the manner of the Romaines to counſell with their enemies, of the time and place when they ſhould giue battell: but neuertheleſſe, he would not ſticke to pleaſure the Cimbres ſo much. And thus they agreed betweene them, that it ſhould be the third day following, in the plaine of Verſelles, which was very commodious for the horſemen of the Romaines: and alſo for the barbarous people to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both armies failed not to meete according to appointment, but appeared ranged in battell, the one before the other. *Catulus Luctatius* the other Conſul, had in his campe twenty thouſand, and three hundred ſouldiers: and *Marius* had in his campe two and thirty thouſand fighting men, which he placed in the two wings of the battell, ſhutting in *Catulus* with his men in the midſt; as *Sylla* writeth it, who was preſent at the ſame: ſaying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to ouerthrow his enemies with the two wings of the battell, to the end that the whole victorie ſhould light vpon his two wings, and that *Catulus* and his men in the midſt ſhould haue no part thereof. For he could not ſo much as front the enemie, becauſe that commonly when the front of a battell is of ſuch a breadth, the two wings are euer ſtretched out before, and are made like the creſſant of a moone, where the middeſt is thickeſt and fartheſt in. And it is written alſo in other ſtories, that *Catulus* himſelfe accuſing the malice of *Marius*, becauſe he did ſo: ſpake it to excuſe his owne diſhonour. As for the Cimbres, the troupes of their footmen comming out of their fortes leiſurely, did put themſelues into a ſquadron, as broad as long, for in euery ſide they occupied almoſt thirty furlong: but their horſemen which were fifteene thouſand, marched before in ſumptuous furniture. For they had helmets on their heads faſhioned like wild beaſts necks, and ſtrange beuers or buffes to the ſame, and ware on their helmets great high plumes of feathers, as they had bene wings: which to ſight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good curaſes on their backs, and caried great white targets before them: and for weapons offenſiue, euery man had two darts in his hand to beſtow a farre off, and when they came to hand ſtrokes, they had great heauy ſwords, which they fought withall neare hand. But at that time they did not march directly in ranke againſt the army of the Romaines, but turned a litle on the right hand, meaning to incloſe the Romaines betweene them and their footmen that were on the left hand. The Romaine Captaines found their pollicy ſtraight, but they could not keepe their ſouldiers backe: for there was one that cried, The enemies fled, and immediatly all the reſt began to run after. In the meane time, the footmen of the barbarous people that were like to a ſea before them, came forwards ſtill: and then *Marius* hauing waſhed his hands, and lifting them to heauen, promiſed and vowed a ſolemne ſacrifice vnto the gods of an hundred oxen. *Catulus* alſo made a vow, lifting vp his hands to heauen in like manner, that he would build a temple vnto Fortune for that day: and it is reported, that *Marius* hauing ſacrificed, when they ſhewed him the intrailes of the beaſts ſacrificed, he cried out aloude, The victory is mine. But when they came to giue the charge, *Marius* had a great misfortune happened him, powred vpon him by Gods iuſtice, who turned his craft againſt himſelfe, as *Sylla* writeth: for there roſe very credibly ſo great a duſt, that both armies loſt the ſight one of another. And hereupon *Marius* being the firſt that ranne to begin the charge, and hauing placed his men about him, miſſed to meete with his enemies: and being paſſed beyond their battell, wandred a great while vp and downe the field, whileſt the barbarous people fought againſt *Catulus*. So that the greateſt furie of the battell was againſt *Catulus* and his armie: in the which, *Sylla* writeth he was himſelfe, and ſaith, that the heat and the Sun which was full in the Cimbres faces, did the Romaines maruellous pleaſure at that time. For the barbarous people being very hard brought vp to away with cold (becauſe they were borne and bred in a cold countrey, ſhadowed altogether with woods and trees as we haue ſaid) were to the contrarie very tender againſt the heat, & did melt with ſweating againſt the Sun, and gaped ſtraight for breath, putting their targets before their faces: for it was alſo in the hart of ſommer, about the ſeuen and twentieth day of the moneth of Iuly that this battell was giuen, and this duſt alſo made the Romains the bolder, and kept thē that they could not ſee the innumerable multitude of their enemies far from them. And euery man running to ſet vpon them that came againſt him, they were ioyned together in fight, before that the ſight of their enemies could make them afraid. And furthermore, they were ſo good ſouldiers, and ſo able to take paines, that how extreame ſoeuer the

Two and fiftie thouſand and three hundred men betweene Marius and Catulus.

The Romaines battell.

The battell of the Cimbres.

A duſt raiſed that neither army could ſee one another.

The Sun full in the Cimbres faces.

The field fought the 27. of Iuly.

heate was, no man was ſeene ſweate nor blow, though they ran at the firſt to ſet vpon them: and this hath *Catulus Luctatius* himſelf left in writing vnto the praiſe of his ſoldiers. So were the moſt part of the barbarous people, and ſpecially of the beſt ſouldiers, ſlaine in the field. And becauſe they ſhould not open nor breake their rankes, the formoſt rancks were all tied and bound together with girdles, leather thongs, and long chaines of iron: and they that fled, were chaſed and followed into their campe by the Romaines, where they met with horrible and fearefull things to behold. For, their wiues being vpon the top of their carts, apparelled all in black, ſlue all thoſe that fled, without regard of perſons: ſome their fathers, other their husbands or their brethren, and ſtrangling the litle young babes with their owne hands, they caſt them vnder the cart wheeles, and betweene the horſe legs, and afterwards ſlue themſelues. And they ſay, that there was a woman hanged at the end of a cart ladder, hauing hanged vp two of her children by the neckes at her heeles. And that the men alſo, for lacke of a tree to hang themſelues on, tyed ſlipping halters about their neckes, vnto the hornes and feete of the oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwards with goades to make them fling and leape ſo long, that dragging them all about and treading them vnder feet, at the length they killed them. Now though numbers were ſlaine by this meanes, yet were there threeſcore thouſand of them taken priſoners, and the number of them that were ſlaine, came to twiſe as many moe. In this manner *Marius* ſouldiers ſpoiled the campe of the Cimbres: but the ſpoiles of dead men that were ſlaine in the field, with their enſignes and trumpets, were all brought (as it is ſaid) vnto *Catulus* campe, which was a plaine teſtimonie to ſhew that *Catulus* and his ſouldiers had won the field. Strife riſing thus betweene the ſouldiers of both campes about it, that the matter might be tried friendly betweene them: they made the ambaſſadors of Parma their arbitrators, who were by chance at that time in the army. *Catulus Luctatius* ſoldiers led the ambaſſadors to the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, ſhewing them the enemies bodies pierced through with their pikes, which were eaſie to be knowne, becauſe *Catulus* had made them graue his name vpon their pikes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the honor of this great victory, as well for the firſt battell he wan alone, when he ouerthrew the Teutons and the Amerons, as for his great calling, hauing bene Conſull fiue times. And furthermore, the common people at Rome, called him the third founder of the city of Rome, thinking themſelues now deliuered from as great a danger, as before time they had bene in from the ancient Gaules. And euery man feaſting at home with his wife and children, offred the beſt diſhes of meat they had to ſupper, vnto the gods, and vnto *Marius*: and would needes haue him alone to triumph for both victories. But he would not in any caſe, but triumphed into the city with *Catulus Luctatius*, meaning to ſhew himſelfe curteous and moderate in ſo great proſperitie: and peraduenture alſo fearing *Catulus* ſouldiers, who were in readineſſe and prepared (if *Marius* would haue depriued their captaine of that honor) to let him alſo of his triumph. And thus you ſee how he paſſed his fifth Conſulſhip. After that, he made more earneſt ſute for the ſixth Conſulſhip, then euer any other did for his firſt: ſeeking the peoples good wils by all the faire meanes he could to pleaſe them, humbling himſelfe vnto them, not only more then became his eſtate & calling, but directly alſo againſt his owne nature, counterfeiting a curteous popular maner, being cleane contrary to his diſpoſition. His ambition made him timerous to deale in matters of the ſtate concerning the city. For that courage and boldnes which he had in battell againſt the enemy, he loſt it quite when he was in an aſſembly of people in the city: and was eaſily put out of his biaſe, with the firſt blame or praiſe he heard giuen him. And though they report, that on a time when he made a thouſand Camerines free of the city of Rome, becauſe they had done valiant ſeruice in the warres, that there were ſome that did accuſe him, ſaying, that it was a thing done againſt all law: he anſwered them, that for the noiſe of the armor, he could not heare the law. Notwithſtanding, it ſeemeth that indeed he was greatly afeard of the fury of the people in an aſſembly of the city. For in time of wars, he euer ſtood vpō his reputation and authority, knowing that they had neede of him: but in peace and ciuill gouernement, becauſe he would rather be the chiefeſt man then the honeſteſt man, he would creepe into the peoples boſomes to get their fauor and goodwill. And thus through his euill behauior, he brought all the nobility generally to be his enemies. But he feared nor miſtruſted none ſo much, as he did *Metellus*, for the great vnthankful part he remēbred he had plaid him: and the rather alſo, becauſe he knew him to be a iuſt & true dealing man, and one that was euer againſt theſe people-pleaſers and flatterers. *Marius* therfore practiſed all the waies he could, to get *Metellus* to be baniſhed Rome. Wherfore, to compaſſe

Horrible crueltie of women

Priſoners 60 thouſand.

Men ſlaine fixe ſcore thouſand.

Might ouercommeth right

Metellus againſt people-pleaſers.

passe his intent, he fell in friendship with *Glaucia* and one *Saturninus*, two of the most boldest, most desperate, and most harebraind young men that were in all ROME, who had all the rabblement of rogues and beggers, and such tumultuous people at their commandement: by whose meanes he made new popular lawes, and caused the souldiers to be called home out of the wars, and mingled them with the people of the city in common assemblies, to trouble and vexe *Metellus*. Moreouer *Rutilius*, an honest and true writer, (howbeit an enemy vnto *Marius*) writeth, that he obtained his sixth Consulship by corruption of mony, which he caused to be distributed amongst the tribes of the people: and that he bought it for ready mony to put by *Metellus*, and to haue *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellow and companion in the Consulship, but rather for a minister of his will. There was neuer ROMAINE to whom the people granted the Consulship sixe times, except it were vnto *Valerius Coruinus* only. But for him, they say that there was fiue and fortie yeares betweene his first Consulship and the last. Where *Marius* since the first yeare of his Consulship, continued fiue yeares together by good fortune one after another. But in his last Consulship, he wanne himselfe great hate and malice, because he did many foule faults to please *Saturninus* withall: as amongst others, when he bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his competitor in the Tribuneship. Afterwards when *Saturninus* was chosen Tribune of the people, he preferred a law for distribution of the lands among the common people, and vnto that law he had specially added one article: that all the Lords of the Senate should come openly to sweare, that they should keepe and obserue from point to point, that which the people by their voices should decree, and should not deny it in any iote. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though he wold withstand this article, saying, that neither he nor any other wise man of iudgment would take this oath: for said he, if the law be euill, then they should do the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to grant it, and not of their owne goodwils. But he spake not that, meaning to do as he said: for it was but a bait he had laid for *Metellus* only, which he could hardly escape. For, imagining that to tell a fine lye, was a peece of vertue, and of a good wit; he was throughly resolued with himself, not to passe for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary also, knowing wel inough that *Metellus* was a graue wise man, who esteemed that to be iust and true (as *Pindarus* said) is the beginning and foundation of great vertue: he thought he would ouerreach him, making him affirm before the Senate that he would not sweare, knowing also that the people would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwards to sweare. And so indeed it happened. For *Metellus* hauing assured them then that he would not sweare, the Senate brake vp vpon it. And shortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senators vnto the pulpit for orations, to compell them to sweare before the people: *Marius* went thither to offer himselfe to sweare. Whereupon the people making silence, listened attentiuely to heare what he would say. But *Marius* not regarding his large promise and brags made before the Senate, said then, his necke was not so long that he would preiudice the commonwealth in a matter of so great importance: but that he would sweare, and obey the law, if it were a law. This shifting subtiltie he added to it, to cloke and couer his shame: and when he had said so, he tooke his oth. The people seeing him sweare, were maruellous glad, and praised him with clapping of their hands: but the nobilitie hanging downe their heads, were ashamed of him, and were maruellous angrie in their hearts with him, that he had so cowardly and shamefully gone from his word. Therupon all the Senate tooke their othes, one after another against their wils, because they were afraid of the people: sauing *Metellus*, whome, neither parents, nor friends perswasion and intreaty could once moue to sweare, for any punishment that *Saturninus* had imposed vpō them which refused to take the othe, but continued one man still according to his nature, and would neuer yeeld vnto it, offering to abide any paine, rather then to be brought to cōsent to a dishoneſt matter vnbeseeming his estate. And therupon went out of the assembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to do euill it was too easie a thing: and to do good without danger, it was also a common matter: but to do well with danger, that was the part of an honest and vertuous man. *Saturninus* then commaunded the Consuls by edict of the people, that they should banish *Metellus* by sound of trumpet, with speciall commandement, that no man should let him haue fire nor water, nor lodge him priuately nor openly. The common people, they were ready to haue fallen vpon him, and to haue killed him: but the noble men being offended for the iniurie they had offered him, gathered together about him to saue him, if any would offer him violence. *Metellus* himself was so good a man, that he wold not any ciuill dissentiō should

Valerius Flaccus Consull with Marius the sixth time.

Valerius Coruinus sixe times Consull.

The law Agraria.

An article for the othes of the Senate to confirme what the people should passe by voice.

Marius double dealing.

To lye cunningly, Marius taketh for a vertue.

Timorous policie causeth periurie.

Metellus constant in vertue

Metellus wise saying touching vvell doing.

Metellus banishment.

rise for his sake: and therefore he absented himselfe from Rome, wherein he did like a wise man. For said he, either things will amend, and the people then repenting themselues of the wrong they haue done me, will call me home againe: or else things standing as they do now, it shall be best for me to be furtheſt off. But for his trauell in his exile, how much he was beloued and honoured, and how sweetly he passed his time studying Philosophie in the citie of Rhodes, shall be declared more at large in his life. Now on the other side, *Marius* to recompence the pleasure *Saturninus* had done him, being driuen to let him haue his will in all things, did not foresee what an intollerable plague he brought vnto the commonwealth, giuing the bridle to a desperat man, who euery way, by force, by sword and murder, plainely sought to vsurpe tyrannicall power, with the vtter destruction and subuersion of the whole commonwealth. And so bearing reuerence on the one side vnto the nobility, and desiring on the other side to gratifie the common people: he plaid a shamefull part, and shewed himselfe a double dealing man. For one night the nobilitie and chiefest citizens comming to his house, to perswade him to bridle *Saturninus* insolencie and boldnesse: at the selfe same time also *Saturninus* going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a backe doore, the noble men not being priuy to his comming. And so *Marius* telling the nobility, and then *Saturninus*, that he was troubled with a looseneſſe of his body, vnder this pretence whipped vp and downe, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing else but set them further out one against another, then they were before. Neuertheles, the Senat being maruellous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of knights taking part with the Senate, *Marius* in the end was compelled to arme the people in the market place, to suppresse them that were vp, and draue them into the Capitoll: where for lacke of water, they were compelled to yeeld themselus at the length, because he had cut off the pipes and conduits, by the which the water ran vnto the Capitoll. By reason wherof, they being vnable to continue any longer, called *Marius* vnto them, and yeelded themselues to him, vnder the assurance of the faith of the common people. But although *Marius* did what he could possible to his vttermost power to saue them, he could not preuaile, nor do them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the market place, but they were all put to death. Wherupon he hauing now purchased himself the ill will of the people and nobility both, when time came about that new Censors should be chosen, euery man looked that he would haue bene one of the suters: howbeit he sued not for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of far lesse dignity and calling then himselfe. Wherin notwithstanding he gloried, saying, that he would not sue to be Censor, because he would not haue the ill will of many, for examining too straightly their liues and manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* did what he could possible by word and deed to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not haue his will, he let it alone. The people hauing thus willingly reuoked *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* hart would not serue him to see *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherefore he tooke the seas to go into Cappadocia and Galatia, vnder colour to pay certaine sacrifices to the mother of the gods, which he had vowed vnto her. But this was not the very cause that made him to vndertake this iourny, for he had another secret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to liue in peace, and to gouerne ciuil matters, and hauing attained to his greatnes by armes, and supposing that his glory and authority consumed and decreased altogether liuing idlely in peace, he sought to deuise new occasion of wars, hoping if he could stir vp the kings of Asia, and specially *Mithridates* (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make wars against the Romaines) that he should then vndoubtedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make wars with him, and withall also, that by that meanes he should haue occasion to fill the city of Rome with new triumphs, and his house with the spoiles of the great kingdome of Pont, and with the riches of the king. Now *Mithritades* disposing himselfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the honor and curtesies he could possibly shew him: *Marius* in the end notwithstanding would not once giue him a good looke, nor a curteous word againe, but churlishly said vnto *Mithridates* at his departure from him: Thou must determine one of these two, king *Mithridates*: either to make thy selfe stronger then the Romaines, or else to looke to do what they commaund thee, without resistance. These words amazed *Mithridates*, who had heard say before, that the Romains would speake their minds freely: howbeit he neuer saw nor proued it before, vntill that time. After *Marius* was returned vnto Rome, he built a house neare vnto the market place, because he would not (as he said himselfe) that such as came vnto him should

Marius double dealing betweene the nobilitie and people.

Marius procureth sedition at Rome.

No trust to the faith of the common people

Metellus returne from banishment.

Marius iourney into Cappadocia and Galatia.

Marius proud words to Mithridates.

ſhould trouble thēſelues in going far to bring him home to his houſe: or elſe for that he thought this would be an occaſion that diuerſe would come to ſalute him, as they did other Senatours. Howbeit, that was not the cauſe indeed: but the only cauſe was, for that he had no naturall grace nor ciuility to entertain men curteouſly that came vnto him, and that he lacked behauior beſides to rule in a commonwealth: and therefore in time of peace they made no more reckening of him then they did of an old ruſty harneſſe or implement, that was good for nothing, but for the wars only. And for all other that profeſſed armes as himſelfe did, no man grieued him ſo much to be called forward to office and ſtate before himſelfe, as *Sylla* did. For he was ready to burſt for ſpite, to ſee that the noble men did all what they could to prefer *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Syllaes* firſt riſing and preferment grew, by the quarrels and contentions he had with him. And ſpecially when *Bocchus* king of NVMIDIA was proclaimed by the Senat, a friend and confederate of the ROMAINE people: he offered vp ſtatues of victories, carying tokens of triumph into the temple of the Capitoll: and placed neare vnto them alſo, an image of gold of king *Iugurth*, which he deliuered by his owne hands vnto *Sylla*. And this made *Marius* ſtark mad for ſpite and iealouſie, and could not abide that another ſhould take vpon him the glorie of his doings: inſomuch as he determined to plucke thoſe images downe, and to cary them away by force. *Sylla* on the other ſide ſtomached *Marius*, and would not ſuffer him to take them out of the place where they were: ſo that this ciuill ſedition had taken preſent effect, had not the warres of their confederates fallen out betweene, and reſtrained them for a time. For the beſt ſouldiers and moſt warlike people of all ITALIE, and of greateſt power, they all together roſe againſt the ROMAINES, and had welneare ouerthrowne their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force, and power, and well armed: but their Captaines alſo, for valiantnes and skill, did in manner equall the worthines of the ROMAINES. For this war fell out wonderfully, by reaſon of the calamitie and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputation, as it did *Marius* ſhame and diſhonour. For he ſhewed himſelfe very cold and ſlow in all his enterpriſes, ſtill delaying time, either becauſe age had mortified his actiue heate, and killed that quicke ready diſpoſition of body that was wont to be in him, being then aboue threeſcore and fiue yeare old: or elſe as he ſaid himſelfe, becauſe he was waxen gowtie, and had ach in his veines and ſinewes, that he could not well ſtirre his body, and that for ſhame: becauſe he would not tarie behind in this war, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithſtanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great battell, wherein were ſlaine ſixe thouſand of their enemies: and ſo long as the warres endured, he neuer gaue them aduantage of him, but patiently ſuffered them ſometime to intrench him, and to mocke him, and giue him vile words, chalenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not prouoke him. It is ſaid alſo, that *Pompedius Silo*, who was the chiefeſt Captaine of reputation and authority the enemies had, ſaid vnto *Marius* on a time: if thou be *Marius*, ſo great a Captaine as they ſay thou art, leaue thy campe and come out to battell. Nay, ſaid *Marius* to him againe: if thou be a great Captaine, plucke me out by the eares, and compell me to come to battell. Another time when the enemies gaue them occaſion to giue a great charge vpon them with aduantage: the ROMAINES were faint hearted, and durſt not ſet vpon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retired, *Marius* cauſed his men to aſſemble, and ſpake vnto them in this ſort: I cannot tell which of the two I ſhould recken moſt cowards: you your ſelues, or your enemies: for they durſt not once ſee your backes, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithſtanding, he was compelled to reſigne his charge, being able to ſerue no longer for the weakeneſſe and debilitie of his body. Now all the rebels of ITALY being put downe, many at ROME (by the orators meanes) did ſue to haue the charge of the warres againſt *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the people called *Sulpitius*, (a very bold and raſh man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perſwaded them to giue him the charge of theſe wars, with title and authoritie of Vice-conſul. The people therupon were deuided in two parts: for the one ſide ſtood for *Marius*, and the other would haue *Sylla* take the charge, ſaying, that *Marius* was to thinke now vpon the hot bathes at Baies, to look to cure his old body, brought low with rewme and age, as himſelfe ſaid. For *Marius* had a goodly ſtately houſe in thoſe parts neare vnto the mount of Miſene, which was far more fine and curiouſly furniſhed then became a Captaine that had bene in ſo many foughten battels and daungers. They ſay that *Cornelia* afterwards bought that fine houſe for the ſumme of ſeuen thouſand fiue hundred crownes, and ſhortly after alſo, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fiftie thouſand

The cauſe of the diſſention betwixt Marius and S...

The warre of the confederates.

Silos ſtout challenge, and Marius anſwer.

Mons Miſenum.

crownes: to ſo great exceſſe was vanitie and curioſitie growne in very ſhort time at Rome. Notwithſtanding all this, *Marius* too ambitiouſly ſtriuing like a paſſioned young man againſt the weakeneſſe and debilitie of his age, neuer miſſed day but he would be in the field of *Mars* to exerciſe himſelfe among the young men, ſhewing his body diſpoſed and ready to handle all kind of weapons, and to ride horſes: albeit that in his later time, he had no great health of bodie, becauſe he was very heauie & ſad. There were that liked that paſſing well in him, and went of purpoſe into the field to ſee what paines he tooke, ſtriuing to excell the reſt. Howbeit thoſe of the better ſort were very ſorie to ſee his auarice and ambition, conſidering ſpecially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane perſon a great eſtate, that he could not now containe his proſperitie within reaſonable bounds, nor content himſelfe to be eſteemed and honoured, quietly enioying all he had wonne, and which at that preſent he did poſſeſſe: but as if he had bene very poore and needie, after he had receiued ſuch great honor and triumphs, would yet carie out his age ſo ſtoutly, euen into Cappadocia, and vnto the realme of Pont, to go fight there againſt *Archelaus*, and *Neoptolemus*, Lieutenants of king *Mithridates*. Indeed he alleadged ſome reaſons to excuſe himſelfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he ſaid that he deſired in perſon to bring vp his ſonne in exerciſe of armes, and to teach him the diſcipline of warres. That diſcouered the ſecret hidden plague, which of long time had lurked in Rome, *Marius* ſpecially hauing now met with a fit inſtrument, and miniſter to deſtroy the commonwealth, which was the inſolent and raſh *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doings, ſauing that he was found too cowardly and faint hearted in all his enterpriſes, and for that did *Marius* iuſtly reproue him. But *Sulpitius*, becauſe he would not dally nor delay time, had euer ſixe hundred young gentlemen of the order of knights, whom he vſed as his gard about him, and called them the gard againſt the Senate. And one day as the Conſuls kept their common aſſembly in the market place, *Sulpitius* comming in armed vpon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Conſuls ſons being taken tardy, was ſlaine. *Sylla* being the other Conſull, and perceiuing that he was followed hard at hand vnto *Marius* houſe, ranne into the ſame againſt the opinion of all the world: whereof they that ran after him not being aware, paſſed by the houſe. And it is reported that *Marius* himſelf conueyed *Sylla* ſafely out at a backe doore, and that he being ſcaped thus, went vnto his campe. Notwithſtanding, *Sylla* himſelfe in his commentaries doth not ſay, that he was ſaued in *Marius* houſe when he fled: but that he was brought thither to giue his conſent vnto a matter which *Sulpitius* would haue forced him vnto againſt his will, preſenting him naked ſwords on euery ſide. And he writeth alſo, that being thus forcibly brought vnto *Marius* houſe, he was kept there in this feare, vntill ſuch time as returning into the market place, he was compelled to reuoke againe the adiornement of iuſtice, which he and his companion by edict had commaunded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the ſtronger, cauſed the commiſſion and charge of this warre againſt *Mithridates* to be aſſigned vnto *Marius* by the voice of the people. Therefore *Marius* giuing order for his departure, ſent two of his Colonels before to take the army of *Sylla*: who hauing won his ſouldiers hearts before, and ſtirred them vp againſt *Marius*, brought them on with him directly towards Rome, being no leſſe then fiue and thirty thouſand fighting men: who ſetting vpon the Captaines *Marius* had ſent vnto them, ſlue them in the field. In reuenge whereof, *Marius* againe in Rome put many of *Syllaes* friends and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by ſound of trumpet, to all ſlaues and bondmen that would take armes for him: but there were neuer but three only that offered themſelues. Wherupon, hauing made a litle reſiſtance vnto *Sylla* when he came into Rome, he was ſoone after compelled to run his way. *Marius* was no ſooner out of the city, but they that were in his companie forſaking him, diſperſed themſelues here and there being darke night: and *Marius* himſelfe got to a houſe of his in the country, called Salonium, and ſent his ſonne to one of his father in law *Mutius* farmes, not far from thence, to make ſome prouiſion for victuals. But *Marius* in the meane time, went before to Ostia, where one of his friends *Numerius* had prepared him a ſhip, in the which he imbarked immediatly, not tarying for his ſon, and hoiſſed ſaile, hauing onely *Granius* his wiues ſonne with him. In the meane time the yonger *Marius* being at his father in law *Mutius* farme, ſtaied ſo long in getting of prouiſion, in truſſing of it vp, & carying it away, that broad day light had like to haue diſcouered him: for the enemies had aduertiſement whither he was gone, wherupon certaine horſemen were ſent thither ſuppoſing to haue found him. But the keeper of the houſe hauing an inckling of their comming, and

Marius ambition.

Sulpitius gard of ſixe hundred knights.

Sulpitius boldneſſe.

Marius ſedition.

Marius flyeth from Rome.

preuen-

preuenting them alſo before they came, ſodainly yoked his oxen to the cart, which he loded with beanes, & hid this yonger *Marius* vnder the ſame. And pricking the oxen forward with his gode, ſet out, and met them as he went towards the citie, and deliuered *Marius* in this ſort into his wiues houſe: and there taking ſuch things as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the ſea, and tooke ſhip, finding one croſſe ſailed, bound towards AFRIKE. *Marius* the father ſailing on ſtill, had a very good wind to point alongſt the coaſt of ITALY: notwithſtanding, being afraid of one *Geminius*, a chiefe man of TERRACINE, who hated him to the death, he gaue the mariners warning thereof betimes, and willed them to take heed of landing at TERRACINE. The mariners were very willing to obey him, but the wind ſtood full againſt them comming from the maine, which raiſed a great ſtorme, and they feared much that their veſſel which was but a boate, would not brooke the ſeas, beſides that, he himſelfe was very ſicke in his ſtomacke, and ſore ſea-beaten: notwithſtanding at the length with the greateſt difficultie that might be, they recouered the coaſt ouer againſt the citie of CIRCES. In the meane time, the ſtorme increaſed ſtill, and their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandring vp and down not knowing what to do, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in ſuch like caſes of extremitie, they thought it alwayes the beſt ſafetie for them, to flie from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they ſaw not: for if the ſea were their enemie, the land was ſo likewiſe. To meete with men, they were afraid: and not to meete with them on the other ſide lacking victuals, was indeede the greater daunger. Neuertheleſſe, in the end they met with heard men that could giue them nothing to eate, but knowing *Marius*, warned him to get him out of the way as ſooneas he could poſſible, becauſe it was not long ſince that there paſſed by a great troupe of horſemen that ſought him all about. And thus being brought vnto ſuch perplexitie, that he knew not where to beſtow himſelfe, and ſpecially for that the poore men he had in his companie were almoſt ſtarued for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithſtanding, and ſought out a very thicke wood, where he paſſed all that night in great ſorrow, and the next morning being compelled by neceſſitie, determined yet to employ his body before all his ſtrength failed. Thus he wandered on alongſt the ſea coaſt, ſtill comforting them that followed him the beſt he could, and praying them not to diſpaire, but to referre themſelues to him, euen vntill the laſt hope, truſting in certaine propheſies which the Soothſayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the countrey, he gathered vp in the lap of his gowne, the ayrie of an Eagle, in the which were ſeuen yong Eagles: whereat his father and mother much wondring, asked the Soothſayers what that meant. They anſwered, that their ſonne one day ſhould be one of the greateſt men in the world, and that out of doubt he ſhould obtaine ſeuen times in his life the chiefeſt office of dignitie in his countrey. And for that matter, it is ſaid, that ſo indeed it came to paſſe. Other hold opinion, that ſuch as were about *Marius* at that time, in that preſent place, and elſewhere, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell his tale, beleeued it, and afterwards put it downe in writing, as a true thing, although of troth it is both falſe and fained. For, they ſay that the Eagle neuer hath but two young ones: by reaſon whereof it is maintained alſo, that the Poet *Muſæus* hath lyed, in that which he hath written in theſe verſes:

Marius the ſonne flieth into Africke.

Marius found an ayrie of Eagles.

The Eagle layes three egges, and two ſhe hatcheth forth:
But yet ſhe bringeth vp but one, that any thing is worth.

How many egs the Eagle layeth.

Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying ſaid, that he was aſſured he ſhould come vnto the ſeuenth Conſulſhip. When they were come neare now to the citie of MINTVRNES, about a two mile and a halfe from it, they might perceiue a troupe of horſemen comming by the ſea ſide, and two ſhips on the ſea that fell vpon the coaſt by good hap. Wherefore they all began to run (ſo long as they had breath and ſtrength) towards the ſea, into the which they threw themſelues, and got by ſwimming vnto one of the ſhips where *Granius* was: and they croſſed ouer vnto the Ile that is right againſt it called ENARIA. Now for *Marius*, who was heauie and ſicke of bodie, two of his ſeruants holpe to hold him vp alwayes aboue water, with the greateſt paine and difficultie in the world: and at the laſt they laboured ſo throughly, that they put him into the other ſhip at the ſelfeſame preſent, when the horſemen came vnto the ſea ſide, who cried out aloud to the mariners to land againe, or elſe throw *Marius* ouer boord, and then to go where they would. *Marius* on the other ſide humbly beſought them with teares, not to do ſo: whereby the maiſters of the ſhip in a ſhort ſpace were in

many minds whether to do it, or not to do it. In the end notwithſtanding, they anſwered the horſemen they would not throw him ouer boord: ſo the horſemen went their way in a great rage. But aſſoone as they were gone, the maiſters of the ſhippe chaunging mind, drew towards land, and caſt anker about the mouth of the riuer of Liris, where it leaueth her bankes, and maketh great mariſhes: and there they told *Marius* he ſhould do wel to go on land to eate ſomwhat, and refreſh his ſea-ſick bodie, till the wind ſerued them to make ſaile, which doubtleſſe ſaid they, will be at a certaine hower when the ſea wind fals and becomes calme, and that there riſeth a litle wind from the land, ingendred by the vapors of the mariſhes, which will ſerue the turne very well to take ſeas againe. *Marius* following their counſel, and thinking they had meant good faith, was ſet on land vpon the riuers banke: and there laid him down vpon the graſſe, nothing ſuſpecting that which happened after to him. For the mariners preſently taking their ſhip againe, and hoiſſing vp their ankers ſailed ſtraight away, and fled: iudging it no honeſtie for them to haue deliuered *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor ſafety for themſelues to haue ſaued him. *Marius* finding himſelfe all alone, and forſaken of euery man, lay on the ground a great while, and ſaid neuer a word: yet at the length taking heart a litle to him, got vp once againe on his feete, and painefully wandered vp and downe, where was neither way nor path at all, ouerthwart deepe mariſhes and great ditches full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poore old mans cotage, dwelling there in theſe mariſhes, and falling at his feete, beſought him to helpe to ſaue and ſuccour a poore afflicted man, with promiſe that one day he would giue him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might eſcape this preſent daunger wherein he was. The old man whether for that he had knowne *Marius* aforetime, or that ſeeing him (by coniecture only) iudged him to be ſome great perſonage, told him that if he meant but to lie downe and reſt himſelfe a litle, his poore cabine would ſerue that turne reaſonably well: but if he meant to wander thus, to flie his enemies that folowed him, he would then bring him into a more ſecret place, and farther off from noiſe. *Marius* praied him that he would do ſo much for him: and the good man brought him into the mariſh, vnto a low place by the riuers ſide, where he made him lie downe, and then couered him with a great deale of reed and bent, and other ſuch light things as could not hurt him. He had not long bin there, but he heard a great noiſe comming towards the cabin of the poore old man: for *Geminius* of TERRACINE had ſent men all about to ſeek for him, whereof ſome by chance came that way, and put the poore man in a feare, and threatned him that he had receiued and hidden an enemy of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing that, roſe out of the place where the old man had laid him, and ſtripping himſelfe ſtark naked, went into a part of the mariſh where the water was ful of myre and mud, and there was found of thoſe that ſearched for him: who taking him out of the ſlime all naked as he was, caried him into the citie of MINTVRNES, and deliuered him there into the gouernours hands. Open proclamation was made by the Senate through all ITALY, that they ſhould apprehend *Marius*, and kill him whereſoeuer they found him. Notwithſtanding, the gouernours and magiſtrates of MINTVRNES thought good firſt to conſult thereupon amongſt themſelues, and in the meane time they deliuered him into the ſafe cuſtodie of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to haue bene a bitter enemie of his, for an old grudge ſhe had to him, which was this. *Fannia* ſometime had a husband called *Tinnius*, whom ſhe was willing to leaue, for that they could not agree, and required her dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husband againe ſaid, ſhe had plaid the whoore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his ſixth Conſulſhip, who had giuen iudgement vpon it. Both parties being heard, and the law proſecuted on either ſide, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughtie woman of her body, and that her husband knowing it well enough before, yet he tooke her with her faults, & long time liued with her. Wherefore *Marius* being angry with them both, gaue ſentence that the husband ſhould repay backe her dower, and that for her naughtie life, ſhe ſhould pay foure farthings. This notwithſtanding, when *Fannia* ſaw *Marius*, ſhe grudged him not for that, and leaſt of all had any reuenging mind in her towards him, but contrarily did cõfort & help him what ſhe could with that ſhe had. *Marius* thãked her maruellouſly for it, & bad her hope well: becauſe he met with ſo good lucke as he was comming to her houſe, and in this maner. As they were leading of him, when he came neare vnto *Fanniaes* houſe, her doore being open, there came an aſſe running out to go drinke at a conduit not farre from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked vpon him with a liuefull countenance, firſt of all ſtopping ſodainly before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leape and skip by him.

Liris ſt.

Marius ſet a land, and forſaken of the mariners.

Marius bidden in the mariſhes.

Marius taken.

Fanniaescurteſy vnto Marius

Whereupon

Whereupon *Marius* ſtraight coniecturing with himſelf, ſaid, that the gods did ſignifie vnto him, that he ſhould ſaue himſelfe ſooner by water then by land: becauſe that the aſſe leauing him, ran to drinke and cared not to eate. So when he had told *Fannia* this tale, he deſired to reſt, & prayed them to let him alone, & to ſhut the chāber doore to him. But the Magiſtrates of the citie hauing conſulted together about him, in the end reſolued they muſt deferre no longer time, but diſpatch him out of the way preſently. Now when they were agreed vpon it, they could not find a man in the citie that durſt take vpon him to kill him: but a man of armes of the GAVLES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we find both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his ſword drawne in his hand. Now, that place of the chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of armes thought he ſaw two burning flames come out of *Marius* eyes, and heard a voice out of that darke corner, ſaying vnto him: O fellow, thou, dareſt thou come to kill *Caius Marius?* The barbarous GAVLE hearing theſe words, ranne out of the chamber preſently, caſting his ſword in the middeſt of the floore, and cryed out theſe words onely: I cannot kill *Caius Marius*. This made the MINTVRNIANS affraid in the citie at the firſt, but afterwards it moued them to compaſſion. So they were angrie with themſelues, & did repent them that they conuerted their counſell to ſo cruell and vnkind a deed, againſt one that had preſerued all ITALY: and to denie him aide in ſo extreme neceſſitie, it was too great a ſinne. Therefore let vs let him go, ſaid they to themſelues, where he will, and ſuffer him take his fortune appointed him elſewhere: and let vs pray to the gods to pardon this offence of ours, to haue thruſt *Marius* naked and beggerly out of our citie. For theſe cõſiderations, the MINTVRNIANS went all together to *Marius* where he was, and ſtood about him, determining to ſee him ſafely conducted vnto the ſea ſide. Now though euery man was readie and willing to pleaſure him, ſome with one thing, ſome with another, and that they did haſten him all they could poſſible, yet they were a good while a going thither: becauſe there was a wood called Marica, that lay right in their way betweene their citie and the ſea coaſt which they greatly reuerence, and think it a ſacriledge to carie any thing out of that wood, that was once brought into it. On the other ſide, to leaue to go through this wood, and to compaſſe it round about, it would aske a maruellous long time. So they ſtanding all in doubt what they ſhould do, one of the ancienteſt men of the citie ſpake aloud vnto them, and ſaid: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to ſaue *Marius* life. Then *Marius* himſelfe being the foremoſt man, taking vp ſome of the fardels which they caried with him, to pleaſure him in the ſhip, went through the wood. All other things neceſſarie being thus readily prepared for him with like good will, and ſpecially the ſhip which one *Bellæus* had ordained for him: he cauſed all this ſtorie to be painted in a table at large, which he gaue vnto the temple, out of the which he departed when he tooke ſhip. After he was departed thence, the wind by good fortune caried him into the Ile of ENARIA, where he found *Granius* and ſome other of his friends, with whom he tooke ſea againe, and pointed towards AFRICKE. But lacking water, they were compelled to land in SICILIA, in the territorie of the citie of ERIX: where by chance there lay a ROMAINE Quæſtor, who kept that coaſt. *Marius* being landed there, ſcaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he ſlue ſixteene of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all ſpeed, croſſed the ſeas, vntill he arriued in the Ile of MENYNGE, where he firſt vnderſtood that his ſonne was ſaued with *Cethegus*, and that they were both together gone to *Hiempſall* King of the NVMIDIANS to beſeech him of aide. This gaue him a litle courage, and made him bold to paſſe out of that Ile, into the coaſt of CARTHAGE. Now at that time, *Sextilius* a ROMAINE Prætor was gouernour of AFRICKE, vnto whom *Marius* had neuer done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pitie onely he might perhaps haue helpe at his hand. Howbeit he was no ſooner landed with a few of his men, but a ſergeant came and ſaid vnto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and gouernour of LYBIA, doth forbid thee to land in all this prouince: otherwiſe he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commaundement, and purſue thee as an enemie of the ROMAINES. *Marius* hearing this commandement, was ſo angrie and ſorie both, that he could not readily tell what anſwer to make him, and pawſed a good while, and ſaid neuer a word, ſtill eying the ſergeant with a grim looke: vntill he asked him what anſwere he would make to the Prætors commaundement. *Marius* then fetching a deepe ſigh from his heart, gaue him this anſwere: Thou ſhalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou haſt ſeene *Caius Marius* baniſhed out of his countrey, ſitting amongſt the ruines of the citie of CARTHAGE. By this anſwere, he wiſely laid the example of the ruine and deſtruction of that great

One hired to kill Marius.

The Minturnians ſuffered Marius to go his way with ſafetie.

Marica Sylua.

Marius the elder flieth into Africke.

Marius wiſe anſwere of fortunes inconſtancie.

citie of CARTHAGE, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the change of his fortune, to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall vpon him. In the meane time, *Hiempſall* king of the NVMIDIANS, not knowing how to reſolue, did honourably intreat yong *Marius* and his companie: but when they were willing to go their way, he alwayes found new occaſion to ſtay them, and was very glad to ſee that he ſtarted not for any oportunitie or good occaſion that was offered: notwithſtanding, there fortuned a happie meane vnto them, whereby they ſaued themſelues. And this it was. This *Marius* the yonger being a faire complexioned young man, it pitied one of the Kings concubines to ſee him ſo hardly dealt withall. This pitie of hers was a ſhadow to cloke the loue ſhe bare him, but *Marius* would not hearken at the firſt to her intiſements, & refuſed her. Yet in the end, perceiuing that there was no other way for him to eſcape thence, and conſidering that ſhe did all things for their auaile, more diligently and louingly then ſhe would haue done, if ſhe had not meant further matter vnto him, then only to enioy the pleaſure of him: he then accepted her loue and kindnes, ſo as at the length ſhe taught him a way how to flie, and ſaue himſelfe and his friends. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had embraced and ſaluted ech other, going alongſt the ſea ſide, they found two ſcorpions fighting together. *Marius* tooke this for an ill ſigne: whereupon they quickly took a fiſher boat, and went into the Ile of CERCINA, which is no great diſtance off from firme land. They had no ſooner hoiſed vp anker, but they ſaw the horſemen which king *Hiempſal* had ſent vnto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greateſt dangers that *Marius* ouer eſcaped. In the meane time there was newes at ROME, that *Sylla* made warre againſt king *Mithridates* Lieutenants: and furthermore, that the Conſuls being vp in armes the one againſt the other, *Octauius* wanne the battell, and being the ſtronger, had driuen out *Cinna* who ſought to haue vſurped tyrannicall power, and had made *Cornelius Merula* Conſull in his place: and that *Cinna* on the other ſide leauied men out of other parts of ITALY, and made wars vpon them that were in ROME. *Marius* hearing of this diſſention, thought good to returne as ſoone as he could poſſible into ITALY. And aſſembling certaine horſemen of the nation of the MAVRVSIANS in AFRIKE, and certaine ITALIANS that had ſaued themſelues there, vnto the number of a thouſand men in all: he took ſea, and landed in a hauen of THVSCANE called TELAMON, and being landed, proclaimed by ſound of trumpet, libertie to all ſlaues and bondmen that would come to him. So the laborers, heardmen and neat-heards of al that marſh, for the only name and reputation of *Marius*, ran to the ſea ſide from all parts: of the which he hauing choſen out the ſtouteſt and luſtieſt of them, wanne them ſo by faire words, that hauing gathered a great companie together in few dayes, he made fortie ſaile of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Octauius* was a maruellous honeſt man, that would haue no authoritie otherwiſe then law and reaſon would: and that *Cinna* to the contrary was ſuſpected of *Sylla*, & that he ſought to bring in change and innouation to the common wealth, he determined to ioyne his force with *Cinna*. So *Marius* ſent firſt vnto *Cinna*, to let him vnderſtand that he would obey him as Conſull, and be readie to do all that he ſhould command him. *Cinna* receiued him, and gaue him the title and authoritie of Viceconſull, and ſent him ſergeants to carie axes and rods before him, with all other ſignes of publike authoritie. But *Marius* refuſed them, and ſaid, that pompe became not his miſerable fortune: for he euer went in a poore threed-bare gowne, and had let his haire grow ſtill after he was baniſhed, being aboue threeſcore and ten yeares old, and had a ſober gate with him, to make men pitie him the more that ſaw him. But vnder all this counterfaite pitie of his, he neuer chaunged his naturall looke, which was euer more fearefull and terrible then otherwiſe. And where he ſpake but litle, and went very demurely and ſoberly, that ſhewed rather a cankered courage within him, then a mind humbled by his baniſhment. Thus when he had ſaluted *Cinna*, and ſpoken to the ſouldiers, he then began to ſet things abroach, and made a wonderfull change in few daies. For firſt of all, with his ſhips he cut off all the victuals by ſea, and robbed the merchants that caried corne and other victuals to ROME: ſo that in ſhort ſpace he was maiſter purueyer for all neceſſarie prouiſion and victuals. After this he went alongſt the coaſt, and tooke all the cities vpon the ſea ſide, and at the length wan OSTIA alſo by treaſon, put the moſt part of them in the towne to the ſword, and ſpoiled all their goods: and afterwards making a bridge vpon the riuer of TIBER, tooke from his enemies all hope to haue any maner of prouiſion by ſea. That done, he went directly towards ROME with his armie, where firſt he wanne the hill called Ianiculum through *Octauius* fault: who ouerthrew himſelfe in his doings, not ſo much for lacke of reaſonable skill of warres, as through his vnprofitable curioſitie and ſtrictneſſe

Marius the yonger eſcapeth Hiempſals hands.

Cinna driuen out of Rome by Octauius.

Marius ioineth his force with Cinna.

Octauius negligence in defence of the citie of Rome, againſt Cinna and Marius.

in

in obſeruing the law. For when diuers did perſwade him to ſet the bondmen at libertie to take armes for defence of the common wealth: he anſwered, that he would neuer giue bondmen the law & priuiledge of a ROMAINE citizen, hauing driuen *Caius Marius* out of ROME, to maintaine the authoritie of the law. But when *Cecilius Metellus* was come to ROME, the ſonne of that *Metellus Numidicus*, that hauing begun the warres in LYBIA againſt King *Iugurth*, was put out by *Marius*: the ſouldiers forſooke *Octauius* immediatly, and came vnto him, becauſe they tooke him to be a better captaine, and deſired alſo to haue a leader that could tell how to commaund them to ſaue the citie, and the common wealth. For they promiſed to fight valiantly, and perſwaded themſelues that they ſhould ouercome their enemies, ſo that they had a skilfull and valiant captaine that could order them. *Metellus* miſliking their offer, commanded them in anger to returne againe vnto the Conſull: but they for ſpite went vnto their enemies. *Metellus* on the other ſide, ſeeing no good order taken in the citie to reſiſt the enemies, got him out of ROME. But *Octauius* being perſwaded by certaine Soothſayers and CHALDEAN ſacrificers, who promiſed him all ſhould go well with him, taried ſtill in ROME: for that man being otherwiſe, as wiſe as any ROMAINE of his time, and one that dealt as vprightly in his Conſulſhip, not caried away with flattering tales, and one alſo that followed the auncient orders and cuſtomes as infallible rules and examples, neither breaking nor omitting any part thereof: me thinkes yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Soothſayers, wiſe men, and Aſtronomers, more then men skilfull in armes and gouernement. Wherefore, before that *Marius* himſelfe came into the citie, *Octauius* was by force pluckt out of the pulpit for orations, & ſlaine preſently by *Marius* ſouldiers whom he had ſent before into the citie. And it is ſaid alſo, that when he was ſlaine, they found a figure of a CHALDEAN prophecie in his boſome: & here is to be noted a great cõtrarietie in theſe two notable men, *Octauius* and *Marius*. The firſt loſt his life by truſting to Soothſaying, and the ſecond proſpered, and roſe againe, becauſe he did not deſpiſe the art of Diuination. The ſtate of ROME ſtanding then in this maner, the Senate conſulting together, ſent ambaſſadors vnto *Cinna* and *Marius*, to pray them to come peaceably into ROME, and not to embrue their hands with the bloud of their citizens. *Cinna* ſitting in his chaire as Conſull, gaue them audience, and made thẽ a very reaſonable and curteous anſwer. *Marius* ſtanding by him ſpake neuer a word: but ſhewed by his ſower looke that he would ſtraight fill ROME with murder and bloud. So when the Ambaſſadors were gone, *Cinna* came into ROME enuironed with a great number of ſouldiers: but *Marius* ſtaid ſodainly at the gate, ſpeaking partly in anger, and partly in mockerie, that he was a baniſhed man, and driuen out of his country by law: and therefore if they would haue him come into ROME againe, they ſhould firſt by a contrary decree aboliſh and reuoke that of his baniſhment, as if he had bene a religious obſeruer of the lawes, and as though ROME had at that preſent enioyed their freedome and libertie. Thus he made the people aſſemble in the market place to proceed to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or foure tribes had time to giue their voices, diſguiſing the matter no longer, and ſhewing plainly that he meant not to be lawfully called home againe frõ exile: he came into ROME with a guard about him, of the verieſt raſcals and moſt ſhameleſſe ſlaues, called the BARDIÆIANS, who came to him from all parts: and they for the leaſt word he ſpake, or at the twinckling of his eye, or at a nod of his head made to them, ſlue many men through his commandement, and at the length ſlue *Ancharius* a Senator (that had bene Prætor) at *Marius* feet with their ſwords, becauſe onely that *Marius* did not ſalute him whẽ he came one day to ſpeak with him. After this murther, they cõtinued killing al thẽ that *Marius* did not ſalute, and ſpeake vnto: for that was the very ſigne he had giuen them to kil them openly in the ſtreetes before euery man, ſo that his very friends were afeard of being murthered, when they came to ſalute him. Thus a great number of men being ſlaine, *Cinna* in the end began to be ſatisfied and to appeaſe his anger. But *Marius* anger and vnſatiable deſire of reuenge increaſed more and more, ſo that he ſpared not one if he ſuſpected him neuer ſo litle: and there was neither towne nor high way, that was not full of skouts and ſpies to hunt them out that hid themſelues and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friend is faithfull, and to be truſted, if fortune frowne neuer ſo litle: for there were very few that did not betray their friends that fled to them for ſuccour. And therefore do *Cornutus* ſeruants ſo much the more deſerue praiſe, who hauing ſecretly hidden their maiſter in his houſe, did hang the dead body of ſome common perſon by the neck, and hauing put a gold ring on his finger, they ſhewed him to the BARDIÆIANS, *Marius* guard, and buried him in ſtead of their owne maiſter, without ſuſpition of any

Octauius too much giuen to Soothſayers.
Octauius vertue and imperfection.
Octauius ſlaine by Marius ſouldiers.
A great contrarietie in Aſtronomie.
Cinna and Marius entrie into Rome.
Bardiæi.
Marius cauſed great murther in Rome.
Marius cruelty
Small truſt of friends in aduerſitie.
The faithfulnes of Cornutus ſeruants to their maiſter.

man that it was a fained thing: and ſo *Cornutus* being hidden by his ſeruants, was ſafely conueyed into the country of GAVLE. *Marke Anthonie* the Orator had alſo found out a faithfull friend, yet was he vnfortunate. This faithful friend of his, was a poore ſimple man, who hauing receiued one of the chiefeſt men of ROME into his houſe to keepe him cloſe there: he being deſirous to make him the beſt cheare he could with that litle he had, ſent one of his men to the next tauerne to fetch wine, who taſting the wine more curiouſly then he was wont to do, called for better. The drawer asked him why the new ordinarie wine would not ſerue him, but he muſt needes haue of the beſt and deareſt: the fooliſh fellow ſimply anſwered him (telling him as his familiar friend) that his maiſter did feaſt *Marke Anthonie*, who was hidden very ſecretly in his houſe. He was no ſooner gone with his wine, and his backe turned, but the vile traiterous drawer ranne vnto *Marius*, who was ſet at ſupper when he came. The drawer being brought vnto him, promiſed him to deliuer *Marke Anthonie* into his hands. *Marius* hearing of that, was ſo iocond, that he cried out and clapt his hands together for ioy: and would haue riſen from the boord, and gone thither himſelfe in perſon, had not his friends kept him backe. But he ſent *Annius* one of his captaines thither with a certaine number of ſouldiers, and commanded them to bring him his head quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the houſe which the drawer had brought them to, *Annius* taried beneath at the doore, and the ſouldiers went vp the ſtaiers into the chamber, and finding *Anthonie* there, they began to encourage one another to kill him, not one of them hauing the heart to lay hands vpon him. For *Anthonies* tongue was as ſweet as a Syrene, and had ſuch an excellent grace in ſpeaking, that when he began to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers, and to pray them to ſaue his life: there was not one of them ſo hard hearted, as once to touch him, no not onely to looke him in the face, but looking downewards, fell a weeping. *Annius* perceiuing they taried long, and came not downe, went himſelfe vp into the chamber, and found *Anthonie* talking to his ſouldiers, and them weeping, his ſweete eloquent tongue had ſo melted their hearts: but he rating them, ran furiouſly vpon him, and ſtrake off his head with his owne hands. And *Catulus Luctatius* alſo, that had bene Conſull with *Marius*, and had triumphed ouer the CIMBRES with him, ſeeing himſelfe in this perill, ſet men to intreate *Marius* for him: but his anſwer was euer, he muſt needs die. So *Catulus* locked himſelfe into a litle chamber, and made a great fire of charcole to be kindled, and with the ſmoake thereof choked himſelfe. Now after their heads were cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the ſtreetes, and trod them vnder their feete: the which was not onely a pitifull, but a fearefull ſight to all that ſaw them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieued the people ſo much, as the horrible leacherie and abhominable crueltie of his guard of the BARDIÆIANS, who comming into mens houſes by force, after they had ſlaine the maiſters, defiled their young children, and rauiſhed their wiues and maides, and no man would once reproue their crueltie, leacherie, and vnſatiable auarice: vntill *Cinna* and *Sertorius* in the end ſet vpon them as they ſlept in their campe, and ſlue them euery one. But in this extremitie, as if all things had bene reſtored vnto their firſt eſtate, newes came againe from all parts to ROME, that *Sylla* hauing ended his warre againſt king *Mithridates*, and recouered the prouinces which he had vſurped: returned into ITALY with a great power. This cauſed theſe euils and vnſpeakeable miſeries to ceaſe a litle, becauſe the wicked doers of the ſame, looked they ſhould haue warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereupon *Marius* was choſen Conſull the ſeuenth time. He going out of his houſe openly the firſt day of Ianuarie, being the beginning of the yeare, to take poſſeſſion of his Conſulſhip, cauſed one *Sextus Lucinus* to be throwne downe headlong from the rocke TARPEIAN, which ſeemed to be a great ſigne and certaine token of the euils and miſeries, that fell out afterwards the ſelfe ſame yeare vpon them of their faction, and vnto all the citie beſide. But *Marius* being ſore broken with his former troubles, and his mind oppreſſed with extreme ſorrow and griefe, could not now at this laſt time of neede plucke vp his heart to him againe, when he came to thinke of this new toward warre that threatned him, and of the daungers, griefes, and troubles he ſhould enter into, more great and perillous then any he had paſſed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for feare when he began to thinke of it, conſidering that he had to fight, not with *Octauius*, nor with *Merula*, Captaines of a companie of rebels gathered together: but with a noble *Sylla*, that had driuen him out of ROME before, and that came now from driuing the puiſſant king *Mithridates*, vnto the furtheſt part of the Realme of PONT, and of the ſea Euxinum. Thus, deeply weighing and conſidering the ſame, and ſpecially when he looked back vpon

M. Antonius the Orator, betrayed by a tauerner.

The force of eloquence.

Catulus Luctatius killed himſelfe.

The Bardiæians ſlaine of their Captaines for their crueltie.

Marius ſeueth Conſulſhip.

his long time of banishment, how vagabondlike he wandred vp and downe in other countries, and remembred the great misfortunes he had passed, and the sundry daungers he fell so often into, being pursued still by sea and by land: it grieued him to the heart, and made him so vnquiet, that he could not sleepe in the night, or if he slept, had fearefull dreames that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voice buzzing in his eares:

Marius thoughts and feare.

A Lions very denne is dreadfull to behold,
Though he himselfe be gone abrode, and be not there in hold.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gaue himselfe to make vnreasonable banquets, and to drinke more then his yeares could beare, seeking to win sleepe by this meanes, to auoide care the better. But at the length there came one from the sea, that gaue him certaine intelligence of all: and that was an increase of a new feare vnto him. And thus he being now extreamely troubled, partly for feare of the thing to come, and partly also for the ouer heauie burden of his present ill, there needed but litle more aggrauation, to fall into the disease whereof he died, which was a pleurisie: as *Posidonius* the Philosopher writeth, who saith plainely that he went into his chamber when he was sicke, and spake vnto him about matters of his ambassade, for the which he came to Rome. Yet another historiographer *Caius Piso* writeth, that *Marius* walking one day after supper with his friends, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him: concluding, that it is no wise mans part to trust her any more. So when he had done, he tooke his leaue of them, and laid him downe vpon his bed, where he lay sicke seuen daies together, and on the seuenth day dyed. Some write that his ambition appeared plainely, by a strange rauing that tooke him in his head during his sickenesse: for he thought that he made warres with *Mithridates*, and shewed in his bed all his gestures and mouings of his bodie, as if he had bene in a battell, crying the selfe same cries out aloud, which he was wont to crie when he was in the extreamest fight. The desire he had to haue taken this charge in hand against *Mithridates*, was so deepely setled in his mind through extreame ambition and iealousie that possest him, that being then threescore and ten yere old, after he had bene the first man that euer was chosen seuen times Consull in Rome, and also after that he had gotten a world of goods and riches together that might haue suffised many kings: yet for all this he dyed for sorrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as if he had dyed before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had desired. But this was cleane contrarie vnto that the wise *Plato* did, when he drew neare to his death. For he gaue God thanks for his fatal end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greeke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported also, that one *Antipater* of Tharsis, calling to mind a litle before his death the good fortune he had in his life time, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happie nauigation he made, comming from his country vnto Athens: which did witnesse that he put vpon the file of his good accounts for a singular great grace, all fauour fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetuall memorie, being the onely and most assured treasure a man can haue, to keepe those gifts that nature or fortune do bestow vpon him. But contrariwise vnthankefull fooles vnto God and nature both, do forget with time the memorie of their former benefites, and laying vp nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall memorie, are alwaies voide of goods and full of hope, gaping still for things to come, and leauing in the meane time the thing present, though reason perswades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let them of the thing to come, but she cannot take that from them which is already past: and yet they vtterly forget the certaine benefite of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging vnto them, and dreame alwaies of that which is vncertaine. And sure it chaunceth to them by great reason: for, hauing gathered outward goods together, and locking them vp before they haue built and laid a sure grounded foundation of reason through good learning, they cannot afterwards fill nor quench their vnsatiable greedie couetous mind. Thus ended *Marius* his life, the seuenteenth day of his seuenth Consulship, whereof all the citie of Rome was not a litle glad, and tooke heart againe vnto them, supposing they had then bene deliuered from a bloudy cruel tyrannie. But within few daies after they knew it to their cost, that they had chaunged an old maister taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: such extreame vnnaturall cruelties, and murthers did *Marius* the yonger commit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murthering in maner all the chiefest noble men of Rome. At the first, they tooke him for a

Deuice to win sleepe.

Marius the fathers death.

Marius mad ambition.

A note against the ambitious.

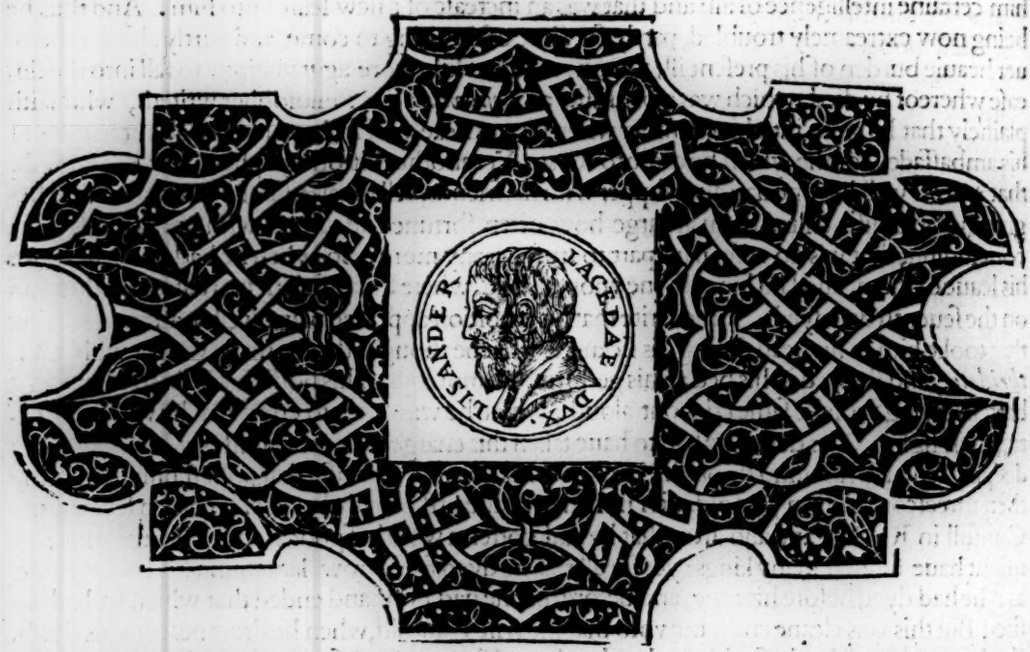
Platoes words at his death.

valiant and hardy young man, whereupon they named him the ſonne of *Mars*: but ſhortly after his deedes did ſhew the contrary, and then they called him the ſon of *Venus*. In the end he was ſhut in, and beſieged by *Sylla* in the citie of PERVSIA, where he did what he could poſſible to ſaue his life, but all was in vaine: and laſtly, ſeeing no way to eſcape, the citie being taken, he ſlue himſelfe with his owne hands.

Note that in Syllaes life following, it appeareth that Marius the younger was beſieged in the citie of Prænеſte, and not in Perusia, as ye reade here. So as the citie ſeemeth to be miſtaken in one of the liues.

The end of Caius Marius life.

THE LIFE OF *Lyſander.*



IN the treaſurie of the ACANTHIANS, which is in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES, there is this inſcription: *Braſidas*, and the ACANTHIANS, with the ſpoile of the ATHENIANS. That inſcription maketh many men thinke, that the image of ſtone that ſtandeth within the chamber by the doore thereof, is the image of *Braſidas*: howbeit in truth it is the liuely image of *Lyſander* himſelfe, made with a great buſh of haire, and a thicke long beard after the old ancient faſhion. And where ſome ſay that the ARGIVES, after they were ouercome and had loſt a great battell, did all of them ſhaue themſelues in token and ſigne of common ſorow: and that the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other ſide to ſhew the ioy of their victory, did let all their haires grow, that is not true, no more then this is true which other do report of the BACCHIADES: who being fled frõ CORINTH vnto LACEDÆMON, the LACEDÆMONIANS found thẽ ſo ill fauouredly diſguiſed & deformed, becauſe their heads were all ſhauen, that thereupon they had a deſire to let their haire and beards grow. For that was one of the ordinances of *Lycurgus*, who ſaid that the long buſh of haire maketh them that are naturally faire, the pleaſanter to looke vpon: and thoſe that are ill fauoured, more vgly and fearefull to ſee to. And furthermore, it is ſaid that *Ariſtoclitus*, the father of *Lyſander*, was not of the royall bloud of the kings of SPARTA, though he came of the race of the *Heraclides*: & that his ſon *Lyſander* was very meanely and poorely brought vp, being as obedient to the lawes & ſtatutes of his countrey, as any other man was, ſhewing himſelf alwaies very ſtrong & conſtant againſt all vanity & pleaſure, ſauing only in matters of honor and curteſie, which they offer vnto thoſe that deſerue well. For they think it no ſhame nor diſhoneſtie in SPARTA, that the young men do ſuffer themſelues to be ouercome with that delight and pleaſure: but do bring vp their children, that from their youth they would haue

Lyſanders image.

Lycurgus the author of wearing long haire.

The commoditie of wearing long haire.

Lyſanders kindred.

The education of the Laconiã children.

haue them to haue ſome taſt and feeling of honour, delighting to be praiſed, and ſory to be diſcommended. For they make no account of him that is not moued with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a baſe cowardly nature, that hath no maner of mind to do good. And therfore it is to be thought, that the ambition and ſtoutneſſe that was bred in *Lyſander*, proceeded of the LACONICAL diciplihe and education he had, and not ſo much of his owne nature. But indeed of his owne nature he was a right courtier, and could tell how to entertaine and flatter great ſtates and nobilitie, farre better then the common maner of the naturall SPARTANS: and moreouer for his priuate benefit, he could eaſily beare with the ſtoutneſſe of greater men of authority then himſelf, which ſome iudge to be a great point of wiſedome, to know how to deale in matters of ſtate. *Ariſtotle* in a place where he ſaith, that the greateſt wits commonly are ſubiect vnto melancholie, (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) writeth, that *Lyſander* in his later age fell into the melancholy diſeaſe, but not in his youth. He had alſo this ſingular gift aboue all other, that in his pouerty he alwaies kept that honeſt modeſty with him, as he would neuer be ouercome nor corrupted with gold nor ſiluer: and yet he filled his countrie with riches and couetouſneſſe, which loſt him the reputation he had won, becauſe himſelfe made none account of riches nor getting. For, bringing ſtore of gold and ſiluer into his country after he had ouercome the ATHENIANS, he reſerued not vnto himſelfe one Drachma onely. And furthermore, when *Dionyſius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA had on a time ſent goodly rich gownes out of SICILIA to his daughters: he refuſed them ſaying, that he was afraid ſuch gowns would make them fowler. Neuertheleſſe, ſhortly after being ſent Ambaſſadour out of his country vnto the ſame tyrant, *Dionyſius* hauing ſent him two gownes, praying him to chooſe which he would, to carie to his daughter: he anſwered, that ſhe her ſelfe could beſt chooſe which was the fitter, & ſo caried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike cauſes: the wars of PELOPONNESVS fell out maruellous long. For after the ouerthrow of the army which the ATHENIANS had ſent into SICILIA, when euery man thought they had vtterly loſt all their force by ſea, and that by all coniecture they ſhould ſoone after loſe all by land alſo: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale againe in matters of the ſtate, made an exceeding great change and alteration. For he ſet the ATHENIANS aflote againe, and made them as ſtrong by ſea as the LACEDÆMONIANS: who therupon began to quake for feare, and to looke eftſoones for a freſh war, perceiuing that they ſtood in need of a greater power, and of a better Captaine then euer they had before. Wherupon they made *Lyſander* their Admirall, who arriuing in the city of EPHESVS, found them very well affected towards him, and maruellous willing and ready to take the LACEDÆMONIANS part: howbeit otherwiſe in very poore ſtate, and ready almoſt to take vp al the barbarous maners and faſhions of the PERSIANS, becauſe they did continually frequent thē, being enuironed round about with the country of LYDIA, where the king of PERSIAES captains were euer reſident. Wherefore, hauing planted his campe there, he brought thither merchants ſhips out of all parts, and ſet vp an arſenall or ſtore houſe to build gallies in: ſo that in ſhort ſpace, by oft recourſe of merchants that began to trade thither, he quickened their hauens, and ſet vp their ſtaple againe for the trafficke of merchandiſe, and filled euery priuate artificers houſe with an honeſt trade to make them rich by, ſo that euer after it grew in continuall hope to come vnto that flouriſhing ſtate and greatneſſe, in the which we ſee it at this preſent. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed that *Cyrus*, one of the great king of PERSIAES ſonnes, was come vnto the citie of SARDIS, he went thither to ſpeake with him, and to complaine of *Tiſaphernes*: who hauing commaundement giuen him from the king to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and to helpe to expulſe the ATHENIANS, and to driue them from the ſea, ſeemed to deale but coldly and faintly againſt them, for the fauour he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, in furniſhing the LACEDÆMONIANS very ſcantly with money, he was the cauſe that all their army by ſea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne part was very glad that he heard complaints of *Tiſaphernes*, and that they ſpake againſt him: becauſe he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had himſelfe a litle odde grudge to him. Wherefore he loued *Lyſander* maruellous well, as well for the complaints he made of *Tiſaphernes*, as alſo for the pleaſure he tooke in his company, becauſe he was a man that could wonderfully pleaſe and delight noble men: by which meanes hauing wonne the fauour of this young Prince, he did perſwade, and alſo incourage him to follow this warre. And when *Lyſander* was vpon his departure to take his leaue of him, *Cyrus* feaſted him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuſe the offer of his liberalitie, and that was: that he would freely aske him what he wold, aſſuring him he ſhould not be denied any

Lyſanders maners.

Wiſe men be euer melancholy.

Lyſander a deſpiſer of riches.

Lyſanders words of Dionyſius liberalitie.

Lyſander Admirall for the Lacedæmonians by ſea.

Lyſander enlargeth the city of Epheſus.

Sardis a citie in Lydia.

thing. Whereunto *Lysander* answered him. Sithence I see (*Cyrus*) you are so willing to pleasure vs, I beseech you, and do also counsell you then to increase the ordinary pay of our mariners, one halfe peny a day: to the end that where now they haue but three halfe pence, they may thence-foorth receiue two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to heare *Lysanders* bounty, and the increase that he would make, and caused ten thousand Darickes to be deliuered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the mariners, the increase of a halfe peny a day. This liberalitie, within few daies after, emptied all their enemies gallies of their men. For the most part of their mariners and gallie men went where they might haue the best pay: and such as remained behind, became very dull, lazie, and seditious, daily troubling their Captaines and gouernours. Now though *Lysander* had drawn his enemies men from them by this pollicie, & had done the this great hurt, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthines of *Alcibiades*: who was a valiant man, and had greater store of ships then he had, and besides that, was neuer ouercome by land nor by sea, in any battell where he was generall. So it chanced that *Alcibiades* went out of the Ile of SAMOS vnto the citie of PHOCEA, which standeth vpon firme land directly ouer against SAMOS, and leauing the whole charge of his fleete in his absence, with *Antiochus* his pylot: he being more hardie then wise, in scorne and derision of *Lysander*, went with two gallies only into the hauen of EPHESVS, and went by the arsenall (where all their ships lay in docke) with great noise & laughing. This put *Lysander* in such a heate and chafe, that first of all he put a few gallies to the sea, and had him in chase with them. But afterwards, perceiuing that the other captaines of the ATHENIANS came out one after another to the rescue, he armed other gallies also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at length they came to a main battell, which *Lysander* wan, and hauing taken fifteene of their gallies, he set vp a token of triumph and victory. When the people at ATHENS heard the newes of this ouerthrow, they were so angry with *Alcibiades*, that they deposed him presently of his charge: and the souldiers also that lay in campe in the Ile of SAMOS, began to mislike him, and to speake ill of him. Whereupon he presently left his campe, and went into the countrey of CHERRONESVS in THRACIA. This battel was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of *Alcibiades* reputation. Furthermore, *Lysander* causing the stoutest and boldest men of euery citie, aboue the common sort, to come to EPHESVS vnto him: laid there secret foundations of great change and alteration, which he stablished afterwards in the gouernments of cities. For he perswaded his priuate friends to make tribes amongst themselues, to winne them friends, and to practise to get the rule of their cities into their hands: promising them, that so soone as the ATHENIANS were ouerthrowne, they themselues also should be deliuered from subiection of their people, and euery one of them should beare chiefe rule in their country. And this he performed to them all, and made euery one of them proue his words true: for he preferred all them that had bene his old friends, vnto the best offices and charges, not sparing to do against all right and reason, so that they were aduaunced by it. And for this cause euery man came to take his part, and they all sought and desired to gratifie and please him: hoping, that what great matter soeuer fell out, they might assure themselues that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to haue the gouernment in his own hands. And therfore they nothing reioyced at *Callicratidas* coming, who came to succeed him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and iust a man as could be. Neither did they like his manner of gouerning, which was plaine & without any art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his vertue, as they would haue done the image of some demi-god made after the old fashion, which had bene of singular beautie. But in the meane time, they wished for *Lysander*, as well for the tender loue and good-will he bare to his friends and them, as also for the profit and commoditie they got by him. So when *Lysander* tooke the seas to returne home againe, all they that were in the campe, were as sorie as could be possible, insomuch as the teares stood in their eyes: & he on the other side, studied to make them worse affected vnto *Callicratidas*. For amongst many other things, he sent the rest of the money backe againe to SARDIS, which *Cyrus* had giuen him to pay the mariners: saying, that *Callicratidas* should go himselfe to aske it, if he would haue it, and find the meanes to entertaine his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliuer, leaue, and assigne ouer the armie into his hands, commaunding all the sea. But *Callicratidas*, to ouercome his false ambition, and foule boasting lye, answered him againe & said: If that be true thou sayest, come then and deliuer me the gallies in the

Lysander tooke money for pay of his soldiers.

Lysanders victorie of the Athenians by sea.

Cherronesus a countrie in Thracia.

Callicratidas Lysanders successour in his office of admiraltie.

Plainenesse commended for a vertue, but liked as an old image of a god that had bene excellent faire.

The spite of Lysander to Callicratidas.

city

citie of MILETVM, as thou goest by, before the Ile of SAMOS: for sith thou commandest all the sea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in SAMOS. *Lysander* thereto replied, that the army was no more at his commandement, and that he had the charge ouer them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly vnto PELOPONNESVS, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexitie: for he had brought no money out of his country with him, neither would he compell the cities to furnish him with any, seeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the Lieutenants of the King of PERSIA, to aske them money as *Lysander* had done. But he was the vnmeetest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberall nature, and thought it lesse dishonour and reproch vnto the GRECIANS, to be ouercome by other GRECIANS, then to go flatter the barbarous people, & seek to the that had gold and siluer enough, but otherwise no goodnesse nor honestie. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessitie, he tooke his iourney towards LYDIA, and went directly to *Cyrus* court: where at his first comming he willed them to let him vnderstand, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS would speake with him. One of the souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: my friend, sir stranger, *Cyrus* is not at leisure now, for he is set at dinner. *Callicratidas* answered plainly againe: No force, I will tarie here till he haue dined. The barbarous PERSIANS hearing this, tooke him for some plaine lout, and so he went his way the first time with a mocke at their hands. But the second time when they would not let him come in at the gate, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the citie of EPHESVS, cursing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselues, as to go sue to the barbarons people, teaching them to be proude and stately for their goods and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soone as he came to SPARTA againe, he would do all that he could possible to pacifie the GRECIANS, and set them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearefull to the barbarous people, and also that they should meddle with them no more, nor need their aide to destroy one another. But *Callicratidas* hauing the noble hart of a SPARTAN, and being to be compared in iustice, valiancie, and greatnesse of courage, with the most excellentest GRECIANS in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost vpon the Iles ARGINVSES. Wherefore, the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS seeing that their state was in declining, they all together sent an ambassade vnto SPARTA, by whom they made request to the councell, that they would send *Lysander* againe for their Admirall: promising that they would do all things with better courage and goodwill vnder his conduction, then they would vnder any other Captaine they could send them. So much did *Cyrus* also write vnto them. But because there was an expresse law forbidding that one man should be twise Admirall, & besides, they being willing to grant the request of their confederates, made one *Aracus* their Admirall, but in effect gaue *Lysander* the whole authoritie of all things: who was maruellous welcome vnto them, & specially vnto the heads and rulers of cities, which long before had wished for his comming: because that by his meanes they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loued plaine dealing, and open magnanimitie in the maners of a gouernour and generall, when they came to compare *Lysander* with *Callicratidas*, they found that *Lysander* had a fine subtill head, and did more in wars with his pollicie & subtilty, then by any other meanes. And moreouer, that he esteemed iustice, when it fell out profitable: & tooke profit, for iustice & honesty, not thinking that plaine dealing was of better force then craft, but measuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of the, and mocking of them that said, that the race of *Herculs* should not make wars with craft and subtilty. For said he, when the lions skin will not serue, we must helpe it with the case of a foxe. And hereunto agreeth that, which they write he did in the citie of MILETVM. For his friends and familiars to whom he had promised aide for destruction of the peoples authoritie, & to driue their enemies out of the city: they hauing changed their minds, and being reconciled vnto their aduersaries, he openly made great shew of gladnesse, and seemed as though he would helpe to agree them together: but secretly being alone, he tooke them vp sharply, and told them that they were cowards to do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to set vpon the people. And then when he vnderstood that there was commotion among them in the citie, he ranne thither suddenly as it were to appease it. But when he was also come into the citie, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of gouernement, and take the authoritie from the people, he fell out withall, & gaue them rough words, commanding with extremitie that they should fol-

Nothing esteemed with the Barbarians but money.

Callicratidas patience.

The death of Callicratidas.

Lysander craftie and deceitfull.

A voide saying of Lysander

The wicked dissembling & double dealing of Lysander.

low him, as though he would haue done ſome great puniſhment. And againe, meeting with the on the contrary part, he willed them alſo that they ſhould not be afraid, nor doubt that any man ſhould do them hurt where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practiſe of him, to ſtay the chiefeſt of them that were moſt affected to the popular faction, to the end that afterwards he might put them all to death, as he did: for they that truſting to his words remained quiet in the citie, were all put to death. Moreouer, *Androclidas* touching this matter, hath left in writing that which *Lyſander* was wont to ſay: by the which it appeareth, that he made very litle reckening to be periured. For he ſaid, that children ſhould be deceiued with the play of kayles, and men with othes of men, following therein *Polycrates* the tyrant of SAMOS, but without reaſon: for he was a lawfull Captaine, and the other a violent vſurper of tyrannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true LACONIAN, to behaue himſelfe towards the gods none otherwiſe, then towards men, but rather worſe, & more iniuriouſly. For he that deceiueth his enemie, and breaketh his oath to him: ſheweth plainely that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God. *Cyrus* therefore hauing ſent for *Lyſander* to come to SARDIS to him, gaue him money largely, and promiſed him more: and becauſe he would more honourably ſhew the goodwill he had to gratifie him, told him, that if the king his father would giue him nothing, yet he would giue him of his owne. And furthermore, when all other meanes failed to helpe him with money, that rather thē he ſhold lacke, he would melt his owne chaire to make mony of (which he ſate in when he gaue audience in matters of iuſtice) being altogether of gold and ſiluer. And to be ſhort, when he was going into MEDIA to the king his father, he gaue *Lyſander* power to receiue the taxes and ordinarie tributes of the cities vnder his gouernement, and made him Lieutenant of all his countrey. And laſtly, bidding him farewell, prayed him that he would not giue battell by ſea vnto the ATHENIANS, vntill he returned from the Court: and that before his coming againe, he wold haue authoritie to leauie a great number of ſhippes, aſwell out of PHOENICIA, as out of CILICIA. Wherefore whileſt *Cyrus* was in his iourney, *Lyſander* not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of ſhippes, nor alſo to lye ſtill and do nothing with ſo good a number of gallies, went and ſcoured the ſeas, where he tooke certaine Ilands, and robbed alſo ÆGINA and SALAMINA. From thence he went and landed on the firme land in the country of ATTICA, and did his dutie there vnto *Agis* king of LACEDÆMONIA, who came purpoſely from the fort of Decelea to the ſea ſide to ſee him, becauſe their army by land alſo ſhould ſee what power they had by ſea, and how it ruled more by ſea then they would. Neuertheleſſe, being aduertiſed that the fleete of the ATHENIANS followed hard after him, he tooke another courſe to flye backe againe into ASIA by the Iles: and returning againe, found all the country of HELLESPONT without men of warre. So he laid ſiege before the city of LAMPSACVS, and did aſſault it with his gallies by ſea: and *Thorax* being come thither alſo at the ſelfe ſame time in great haſt with his army by land gaue the aſſault on his ſide. Thus was the citie taken by force, which *Lyſander* left to the ſpoile of the ſouldiers. Now in the meane time the fleete of the ATHENIANS (which was a hundred and foure ſcore ſaile) came to an ancker before the citie of ELEVNTE, in the country of CHERRONESVS: and newes being brought them that the citie of LAMPSACVS was taken, they came with all ſpeed poſſible vnto the city of SESTOS, where getting freſh cates and victuals, they coaſted all alongſt the coaſt vnto a certain place called the goates riuer, directly ouer againſt the fleet of their enemies, which lay yet at anker before the citie of LAMPSACVS. Now there was a captaine of the ATHENIANS amongſt other called *Philocles*, he that perſwaded the ATHENIANS to cut off the priſoners thombes of their right hands that were taken in the warres, to the end they ſhould no more handle the pike, but onely ſerue to pull the ower. Both the one and the other reſted that day, hoping to haue battell without faile the next morning. But *Lyſander* hauing another meaning with him, commaunded the maiſters and mariners notwithſtanding, that they ſhould haue their galleys readie to giue battell the next morning by breake of day, becauſe euery man ſhould get a boord betimes, and ſhould keepe themſelues in order of battell, making no noiſe at all, attending what he would commaund them: and further, made the armie by land alſo to be raunged in battell ray, by the ſea ſide. The next morning at Sunne riſing, the ATHENIANS began to row with all their gallies ſet in order of battell in a front. But *Lyſander*, though he had his ſhippes in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that againſt them, but ſending out pinnaſes vnto the firſt galleys, commanded them ſtraightly that they ſhould not ſtirre at all, but keepe themſelues in order, making no noiſe, nor rowing againſt

Lyſander regarded no periurie, following the example of Polycrates the tyrant of Samos.

Cyrus liberalitie to Lyſander

Lyſanders acts by ſea.

Philocles cruel aduice vnto the Athenians.

Lyſanders craft in marine fight.

againſt the enemie. Though the ATHENIANS alſo were retired in the night, he would not giue the ſouldiers leaue to come to land out of the gallies, before he had ſent firſt two or three gallies to deſcrie the fleete of his enemies: who brought him word that they had ſeene the ATHENIANS take land. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth alſo all in one ſort: ſo that the ATHENIANS began to be bold of themſelues, and to deſpiſe their enemies, imagining they lay thus cloſe for feare of them, and durſt not come forward. In the meane time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the countrey of CHERRONESVS, in certaine places which he had conquered) came riding to the campe of the ATHENIANS, to tell the Captaines and Generals of the armie, the great faults they committed. Firſt, for that they had caſt anker, and kept their ſhips in an open place, where there was no maner of ſuccor, nor harbor to retire vnto vpon any ſtorme: and worſt of all, becauſe that they were to fetch their victuals farre off, at the citie of SESTOS, vnto which hauen they ſhould rather draw themſelues, conſidering that they had but a litle way to go, and alſo they ſhould haue the citie to backe them, which would furniſh them with all things neceſſarie: and beſide that, they ſhould be further off from their enemies, which were gouerned by one Generall onely that did commaund them all, and were ſo well trained, that at a whiſtle they were readie ſtraight to execute his commandement. *Alcibiades* perſwaſions to theſe Captaines of the ATHENIANS were not onely miſliked, but furthermore there was one called *Tydeus*, that anſwered him very leudly: that he had nothing to do to commaund the armie, but other that had the charge of them. *Alcibiades* miſtruſting thereby ſome treaſon, quietly went his way. The fifth day, the ATHENIANS hauing made the ſame countenance to preſent battell vnto their enemies, and retiring the ſame night as of cuſtome very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckoning of their enemies: *Lyſander* ſent againe certaine galliots to diſcrie them, commaunding the Captaines of the ſame, that when they perceiued the ATHENIANS had left their galleys and taken land, they ſhould then returne backe with all poſſible ſpeed they could, and being mid way ouer the ſtraights, that they ſhould lift vp a copper target into the aire, vpon the top of a pike in the fore-decke, for a ſigne to make all the whole fleete to row in battell. Now *Lyſander* himſelfe in the meane time went in perſon from galley to galley, perſwading and exhorting euery captaine, that they ſhould put their galliots, mariners, and ſouldiers in good readineſſe, to the end that when the ſigne ſhould be lifted vp, they ſhould row with all their might in battell againſt the enemies. Wherefore, ſo ſoone as the copper target was ſet vp in the ayre, and that *Lyſander* had made his trumpet ſound out of the Admirall, for a token to hale out into the ſea; the galleys immediatly began to row for life in enuy one of another, and the footmen that were vpon the land, ranne with ſpeed alſo to the top of a high cliffe neare vnto the ſea, to ſee what would be the end of the fight, becauſe the diſtance from one ſide to the other in that place was not fully two miles, which they had ſoon cut ouer, and in a litle ſpace, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their owers. So *Conon* the chiefe Captaine of the ATHENIANS perceiuing from the ſhore this great fleet comming with a ful force to aſſault them: he then cried out to the ſouldiers that they ſhould runne to their ſhips, and being in a rage to ſee things in this danger, called ſome by their names, others he intreated, and the reſt he compelled to take their galleys. But all his diligence was to no purpoſe, becauſe the ſouldiers were wholly ſcattered here and there. For ſo ſoone as they were ſet a land out of their galleys at their returne, ſome went to buy prouiſion, other went a walking in the fields, ſome were ſet at ſupper in their cabins, and other were laid downe to ſleepe, nothing miſtruſting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignorance and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were readie to ioyne and fal vpon them with great cries and noiſe of owers, *Conon* hauing eight gallies, ſtale ſecretly out of the fleete, and flying vnto *Euagoras*, ſaued himſelfe in the Ile of CIPRVS. In the meane time, the PELOPONNESIANS falling vpon the other galleys, tooke ſome of them emptie, and brake the others as the ſouldiers began to come aboord vpon them. And as for the men, ſome were ſlaine by their ſhips as they ran vnto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to haue ſaued themſelues: other were killed in flying, becauſe the enemies landed and had them in chaſe. And there were taken aliue of them, three thouſand priſoners with the Captaines. *Lyſander* moreouer tooke all the whole fleete of their ſhips, the holy galley excepted, called Paralos, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had deſtroyed all the campe of the ATHENIANS, he faſtened the galleys that were taken, vnto the keele of his galleys, and returned with ſongs of triumph, with the ſound of flutes and hoboyes, towards the citie of

Alcibiades gaue good aduice to the Captaines of the Athenians.

A copper target lift vp, the ſigne of battell by ſea.

Conon, Admirall of the Athenians.

Lyſanders victorie of the Athenians.

Paralos, the holy galley of Athens.

LAMPSACVS, hauing wonne a great victorie with litle labour, and had cut off in a ſmall time, the long continuing and moſt diuerſe warre that euer was, and had brought forth ſo many ſundrie ſtrange euents of fortune, as are vncredible. For there had bene infinite battels fought both by ſea and land, and had altered many ſundrie times, and there was ſlaine at that time moe Captaines, than in all the other warres of GREECE together: all which were at length brought to end and determined, by the good wiſedome and conduction of one onely man. And therefore ſome thought, that this great ouerthrow was giuen by the gods, and ſaid: that at the departure of *Lyſanders* fleete out of the hauen of LAMPSACVS, to go ſet vpon the fleete of the enemies, they perceiued ouer *Lyſanders* galley the two fires, which they call the ſtarres of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: the one on the one ſide of the galley, and the other on the other ſide. They ſay alſo, that the fall of the ſtone was a token, that did ſignifie this great ouerthrow. For about that time, (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the aire a maruellous great ſtone, in the place they call the goates riuer, which ſtone is ſeene yet vnto this day, holden in great reuerence by the inhabitants of the citie of CHERRONESVS. It is ſaid alſo, that *Anaxogoras* did prognoſticate, that one of the bodies tied vnto the vault of the heauen, ſhould be plucked away, and ſhould fall to the ground by a ſliding and ſhaking that ſhould happen. For he ſaid, that the ſtarres were not in their proper place where they were firſt created, conſidering that they were heauy bodies, and of the nature of ſtone: howbeit that they did ſhine by reflection of the fire elementarie, and had bene drawne vp thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the element, euen as at the beginning of the world they had bin ſtaid and let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the ſeparation was made of the cold and heauie bodies, from the other ſubſtance of the vniuerſall world. There is another opinion of certaine Philoſophers, where there is more likelihood then in that. For they ſay, that thoſe which we call falling ſtars, be no fluxions nor deriuations of the fire elementarie, which are put out in the ayre, in a maner ſo ſoone as they be lighted: nor alſo an inflammation or combuſtion of any part of the aire, which by her too ouermuch quantitie doth ſpread vpwards: but they are celeſtiall bodies, which by ſome ſlackneſſe of ſtrength, or falling from the ordinarie courſe of heauen, are throwne and caſt downe here beneath, not alwaies in any part of the earth inhabited, but more ofter abroad in the great Ocean ſea, which is the cauſe that we do not ſee them. Notwithſtanding, *Anaxagoras* words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his booke of religion, that the ſpace of three ſcore and fifteene yeares together, before that this ſtone did fal, they ſaw a great lump of fire continually in the ayre like a cloud inflamed, the which taried not in any one place, but went & came with diuers broken remouings, by the driuing whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gaue light in falling, as the ſtarres do that fall. In the end, when this great bodie of fire fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the countrey, after that they were a litle boldned from their feare and wonder, came to the place to ſee what it was: and they found no maner of ſhew or apparance of fire: but onely a very great ſtone lying vpon the ground, but nothing in compariſon of the leaſt part of that which the compaſſe of this bodie of fire did ſhew, if we may ſo name it. Sure herein, *Damachus* words had need of fauourable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he vtterly confuteth their arguments, that maintaine that it was a peece of a rocke, which the force of a boiſterons wind did teare from the top of a mountaine, and caried in the aire, ſo long as this hurle wind continued: but ſo ſoone as that was downe, and calme againe, the ſtone fell immediatly. Neither do we ſay, that this lightning bodie, which appeared ſo many dayes in the element, was very fire indeed, which comming to diſſolue and to be put out, did beget this violent ſtorme and boiſterous wind in the element, that had the force to teare the ſtone in ſunder, and to caſt it downe. Neuertheleſſe, this matter requireth better diſcourſe in ſome other booke then this. But now to our ſtorie. When the three thouſand ATHENIANS that were taken priſoners at that ouerthrow, were condemned by the counſell to be put to death: *Lyſander* calling *Philocles*, one of the captaines of the ATHENIANS, asked him what paine he would iudge him worthy of, that gaue the citizens ſo cruell and wicked counſell. *Philocles* being nothing abaſhed to ſee himſelfe in that miſerie, anſwered him: Accuſe not them that haue no iudge to heare their cauſe: but ſince the gods haue giuen thee grace to be conquerour, do with vs, as we would haue done with thee, if we had ouercome thee. When he had ſaid ſo, he went to waſh himſelfe, and then put on a faire cloake vpon him, as if he ſhould haue gone to ſome feaſt: and went luſtily the foremoſt man to execution, leading his countrimen the way, as *Theophraſtus* writeth. After this

The ſtarres of Caſtor and Pollux.

A ſtone fell out of the element. AEgos fl.

Anaxagoras opinion of the ſtarres.

What falling ſtarres be.

Damachus teſtimonie of the fiery ſtone ſeene in the element.

Another opinion of the ſtone that fell.

Philocles conſtancie, Captaine of the Athenians.

thisdone, *Lyſander* with all his fleete went by all the cities of the ſea coaſt, where he commanded ſo many ATHENIANS as he found, that they ſhould get them to ATHENS, letting them vnderſtand that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their city. And this he did of pollicy to bring them all within the precinct of the wals of ATHENS, becauſe he might ſo much the ſooner famiſh them for lacke of victuals: for otherwiſe they would haue troubled him ſore, if they had had wherwithall to haue maintained a long ſiege. But in all the cities as he paſſed by, if they were gouerned by the authority of the people, or if that there were any other kind of gouernment, he left in euery one of them a LACEDÆMONIAN captaine or gouernor, with a counſell of ten officers, of them that had bene before in league and amity with him: the which he did alwel in the cities that had euer bene confederates and friends vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, as in the that not long before had bin their enemies. So he went ſailing all alongſt the coaſts, faire and ſoftly making no haſt, ſtabliſhing in maner a general principality ouer all GREECE. For he did not make the officers that were the richeſt, the nobleſt, or honeſteſt men, but ſuch as were his friends, out of thoſe tribes which he had placed in euery city: & to them he gaue authority to puniſh, and reward ſuch as they liked of, & would be preſent himſelfe in perſon to helpe them to put thoſe to death whom they would execute, or otherwiſe expulſe or baniſh their country. But this gaue the GRECIANS ſmall hope of good or gracious gouernement vnder the rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Wherefore, me thinkes that *Theopompus* the comicall poet doted, when he compared the LACEDÆMONIANS vnto tauerners, ſaying, that they had giuen the GRECIANS a taſte of the ſweet drinke of liberty, and that afterwards they had mingled it with vineger. For, the taſte they gaue the GRECIANS of their gouernment from the beginning, was very ſharpe vnto them: becauſe *Lyſander* tooke the rule and authority of gouernement out of the peoples hands, and gaue it vnto a few of the boldeſt, and moſt ſeditious men in euery city. Thus hauing ſpent a great time in this voyage, to make theſe alterations, he ſent newes before to LACEDÆMON, that he was comming with 200 ſaile. He ſpake alſo with the kings *Agis* and *Pauſanias*, in the countrey of ATTICA, perſwading himſelfe that he ſhould win the city of ATHENS at the firſt aſſault. But when he ſaw his expectation failed, and that the ATHENIANS did valiantly reſiſt him, he returned once againe with his fleete into ASIA, where he made an end of changing and altering the maner of gouernment through euery city in equall maner, ſtabliſhing a counſell of ten officers only in euery one of them, and putting euery where many citizens to death, and baniſhing many alſo. Among others, he draue all the SAMIANS out of their countrey, and reſtored againe all them that had bene baniſhed before: and the city of SESTOS alſo, being yet in the ATHENIANS hands, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not ſuffer the naturall SESTIANS to dwell there, but draue them away, and gaue their city, their houſes, & lands, vnto ſhip-maiſters, officers of galleys, and galley-ſlaues, that had bene in the wars with him. But therein the LACEDÆMONIANS were againſt him, and this was the firſt thing that they did forbid him: for they reſtored the SESTIANS, againſt his will, vnto their lands and goods againe. But as the GRECIANS were very much offended, to ſee the parts *Lyſander* played: ſo were they all very glad againe, to ſee theſe others which he afterwards did. For he reſtored the ÆGINETES againe to their lands and houſes, who had bene put from them a long time. He reſtored alſo the MELIANS, and the SCIONÆIANS to their lands againe, which the ATHENIANS had gotten from them, and draue out the ATHENIANS. Furthermore, *Lyſander* being aduertiſed, that the citizens and inhabitants of ATHENS were pinched ſore for lacke of victuals, he returned againe, and came into the hauen of PYRÆA: by meanes whereof he kept the city ſo ſtraight, that he made them yeeld vpon ſuch conditions as he himſelfe would. Howbeit there are certaine LACEDÆMONIANS that ſay, *Lyſander* wrote vnto the *Ephores*: The city of ATHENS is taken: and that the *Ephori* wrote againe vnto him: it is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale deuiſed to make the matter ſeeme better: for indeed the capitulations which the *Ephori* ſent vnto him, were theſe: The Lords of the councell of LACEDÆMON haue thus decreed: That ye do raſe the fortification of the hauen of PIRÆA: That ye do ouerthrow alſo the long wall that ioyneth the hauen to the city: That ye yeeld vp and redeliuer all the cities which ye do hold, and content your ſelues with your liues and country only. This doing, ye ſhall haue peace, ſo that ye performe our demaunds: That ye ſhall receiue thoſe which are baniſhed: and for the number of ſhips, ye ſhall diſpoſe of them as we ſhall will you. The ATHENIANS agreed vnto the articles contained in that bill, following the counſell of *Theramenes* the ſonne of *Agnon*.

Lyſanders cruelties.

Theopompus the comicall poets ſaying of the Lacedæmonians.

The Athenians yeeld vp Athens to Lyſander.

The maner of peace offered by the Lacedæmonians to the Athenians.

Who when a young Orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aske him in anger, if he were ſo bold to dare to do, or ſay, any thing contrary vnto that, which *Themiſtocles* had done before time, to aſſent vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, that the wall which he built in deſpite of them, ſhould by their commandement now be raſed: he anſwered him openly againe: Yong man, my friend, I do nothing contrary to *Themiſtocles* doings: for like as he heretofore did build the wall, for the ſafety and benefit of all the citizens and people that were in ATHENS at that time: euen ſo do we that are here now, for the ſelfe ſame cauſe plucke it downe and raze it. And if it be true that wals do make cities happy, then it muſt needs follow that the city of SPARTA which neuer had any wals, ſhould be the vnfortunateſt of all other. So *Lyſander* hauing receiued all the ATHENIANS ſhips but twelue, and the wals of the city alſo to vſe them at his pleaſure: on the ſixteenth day of March (on which day in old time the ATHENIANS had won the battell by ſea within the ſtraight of SALAMINA, againſt the king of PERSIA) he counſelled them ſtraight to change the forme of their gouernment. The people could not brooke that motion, and were maruellouſly offended withall. Whereupon *Lyſander* ſent to declare vnto them, that they had broken the articles of the peace made betweene them, for that their wals were yet ſtanding, the ten dayes being expired in which they had promiſed to ouerthrow them: and therefore that he would once againe referre it to the determination of the councell, how they ſhould be vſed, that had broken the articles and couenants of the firſt peace. Other ſay, that immediatly he referred it vnto the deliberation of the councell of their confederates, that is to ſay: whether they ſhould altogether deſtroy the city, and make the inhabitants thereof ſlaues and bondmen, or no. In this councell, it is reported that there was a THEBAN called *Erianthus*, whoſe opinion was, that they ſhould vtterly raze the city, and make the countrey a deſert: ſo that it ſhould neuer after ſerue for other thing, but for paſturage of beaſts. But during this diet and councell, there was a banket made, whereunto all the captaines and chiefe officers of the army being bidden, there was a PHOCIAN, a ſinger of ſongs, that ſang the entry of the *Chorus* to the tragedy of *Electra*, made by the Poet *Euripides*, which began in this ſort:

A notable ſaying for the wals of cities.

Erianthus cruell aduiſe againſt the Athenians.

Electra noble Dame, and daughter to a king,
Euen Agamemnon, king of Grece, whoſe fame ſo wide did ring:
I come now to your courts, which lie both wide and waſt,
By ſpoile of warres depopulate, deſtroyed, and diſgraſt.

These words moued all the hearers with cõpaſſion, ſo that the moſt part of them thought it were too great a ſin to deſtroy ſo noble a city, which brought forth ſo many famous wiſe men, & great perſons. Wherefore *Lyſander*, when the ATHENIANS had ſubmitted themſelues altogether to his will, cauſed all the women-players of pipes or ſhalmes to come out of the city, and gathered all thoſe together which he had in his owne campe alſo, and with the ſound of their inſtruments he made the wals & fortifications of the city of ATHENS to be pulled downe to the very ground, & ſet all their galleys on fire, & burnt them in the preſence of the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who danced and played in the meane ſeaſon with garlands of flowers on their heads, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediatly after he changed alſo the ſtate of the gouernment, eſtabliſhing a counſell of thirty Magiſtrates in the city, & other ten alſo in the hauen of PIRÆA, hauing all equall and like authority: and therewithall made *Callibius* a gentleman of SPARTA captaine of the caſtell there, and left a good garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS with him. This *Callibius* one day lift vp his ſtaffe he had in his hand to ſtrike *Autolycus* withall, a ſtrong made man to wreſtle: wherupon *Xenophon* the Philoſopher made his booke in old time, called *Conuiuium*. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wreſtler, hauing all the ſleights of wreſtling, ſuddenly tripped *Callibius* with his leg, and lifting him vp at the armes end, caſt him to the ground. Howbeit *Lyſander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproued *Callibius*, telling him that he ſhould haue remembred (if he had bene wiſe) that he had the gouernment ouer free men, and not of bond men. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after the thirty gouernors of the city, to ſatisfie *Callibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lyſander* had done all theſe things, he tooke ſea againe, and went into the country of THRACIA, & ſent by *Gylippus* before vnto SPARTA (who had bin Captaine and Generall of the SYRACYSANS in SICILIA) all the gold and ſiluer that was left in his hands, with all the preſents beſides which had bene priuately giuen him, and with the crownes alſo that had bin preſented him: which were maruellous in nũber, as it is to be thought, for that many came to preſent him, conſidering the great power he had, and that in maner he was

The ſweete muſicke ſoftened their cruell harts, and moued them to pity.

Lyſander ouerthrew the wals of the city of Athens.

Callibius Captaine of the caſtell of Athens.

Autolycus a cunning wreſtler.

Autolycus put to death.

Lyſander ſent money to Sparta by Gylippus.

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chief and sole prince of all GRECE. This *Gylippus* did rip the seames of euery bag in the bottome where the mony was, & tooke a good sum out of euery of them: and afterwards sewed them vp again, not thinking that there had bin a border vpon euery bag, vpon the which was declared, the number and kinds of gold & siluer that were therein. Now when he was come to SPARTA, he hid the mony he had stolne vnder the house eauings, & went and deliuered the bags he had brought into the hands of the *Ephori*, shewing them *Lysanders* seale, which he had set to euery one of thē. The *Ephori* hauing opened the bags, and told the mony, found that the sum agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell where the fault was. But a seruant of *Gylippus* told them in darke words, saying: that vnder the tiles of his maisters house there lay a great number of owles. Now the greatest part of the coine of gold & siluer which was currant through GRECE, was stamped with the marke of an owle, by reason of the ATHENIANS. Thus *Gylippus* after so many noble exploites done in wars, committing so shamefull and vile a deed, was banished out of his countrey of LACEDÆMONIA. But the wisest men of SPARTA, and of deepest iudgement, fearing the power of gold & siluer, & seeing by proofe of *Gylippus* doings, that it had such power to make one of their chiefest men to fall through couetousnes: they greatly blamed *Lysander* for bringing of it into LACEDÆMON, beseeching the *Ephori* that they would send all this gold and siluer out of SPARTA, as a plague, prouocation, & wicked baite, to make them do euill: declaring vnto them, that they should vse no other mony, but their owne only. Wherupon they referred al to the wisdom & determinatiō of the councell. *Theopompus* writeth, that *Sciraphidas* was he that did moue the councell of the *Ephori* in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the first that spake against it in the councell, that they should not admit, nor receiue into the city of SPARTA, any mony of gold or siluer: but should only content themselues with their owne country iron coine, the which first of all, comming from the fire red-hot, was quenched with vineger, to the end they should be forged no more, nor employed vnto any other vse. For it was so eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they could no more conuert it to any other purpose: and beside, it was very heauy and vnhandsome to remoue, considering that a great heape and quantity of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did vse of old time, certaine litle iron mony, and in some places copper money, called Obelisci, from whence the small peeces of mony now extant are called Oboli, whereof sixe made a Drachma, so termed, for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Neuertheless, at the earnest sute of *Lysanders* friends that stood against it, and held hard with him: it was decreed in the councell, that the money should remaine in the city, and ordained that it should be currant only but for the affaires of the commonwealth. And if it were found, that any priuate man did either locke vp, or keepe any mony, that he should suffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his lawes, feared gold or siluer, & not the couetousnesse and auarice which the gold and siluer bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, prohibiting priuate men to haue it: as it was engendred onely by a tolleration of getting it. For, the profit which they saw it brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was vnpossible they should despise a thing priuatly for vnprofitable, which they saw reckoned of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should thinke it would not serue their turne priuatly, seeing it so commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to thinke, that priuate mens maners are confirmed according to the common vses & customes of cities: then that the faults and vices of priuate men do fill cities and commonweales with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: then that the parts corrupted should draw the whole vnto corruption. For to the contrary, the faults of a part destroyed, which might be preiudiciall vnto the whole, are oftentimes redressed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that tooke this resolution in their councell at that time, to haue mony in the commonwealth, made feare of punishment, and of the law, to be the outward watchmen of citizens houses, to keepe that no money should come into them. But all this while they made no inward prouision, to keepe the entry of their soules from all passion and greedy desires of mony: but to the contrary, they made them all to haue a couetous desire to be rich, as if it were a great & honorable thing. But for that we haue heretofore in other places reproued the LACEDÆMONIANS. And moreouer *Lysander* caused a statue of brasse to be made like himselfe of the spoile he had gotten of the enemies, to set it vp in the city of DELPHES, & for euery priuate captaine of the galleys in like case: and the two stars of *Castor* and *Pollux* in gold besides, which vanished away a litle before the battell of LEVCTRES,

Gylippus robbed part of the money he caried to Sparta.

The Greekish coine was marked vvith an owle.

Gylippus banishment.

Couetousnesse of money corrupted Gylippue, one of the chiefest men of Lacedemon.

The iron mony of Lacedemonia.

At what time the Lacedemonians receiued gold and siluer againe.

The ill life of the Magistrates, the cause of disorder in a commonweale.

and no man knew what became of them. Againe, in the chamber of the treasurie of *Brasidas*, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was also a galley made of gold and iuorie, of two cubits long, which *Cyrus* sent vnto him after the victorie he had won by sea of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the historiographer borne at DELPHES, writeth, that the self same *Lysander* had left there to be kept safe, a talent of siluer, two and fiftie Minas, and eleuen peeces of gold called Stateres. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other historiographers write, agreeing of his pouerty. But *Lysander* being aloft then, and of greater power then euer any GRECIAN was before him: caried a greater port and countenance then became his abilitie. For as *Duris* writeth, he was the first of the GRECIANS vnto whom they did euer erect any altars, and offer sacrifice vnto as a god, and in honor of whom they did first sing any hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memorie of one which began in this manner:

A galley of gold and iuorie.

Lysanders honors and pride

The noble Captaines praise, we meane to celebrate
Of Greece: that land which is deuine in euery kind of state.
Euen he which was both borne, and brought to high renowne,
Within the noble wealthie walles of Sparta stately towne.

The SAMIANS by publicke decree ordained, that the feastes of *Iuno*, which were called in their citie Heroea, should be called *Lysandria*. *Lysander* had euer one *Choerilus* a SPARTAN Poet about him, to write and set forth all his doings in verse. Another Poet called *Antilochus*, one day made certaine verses in his praise: which pleased him so well, that he gaue him his hat full of siluer. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* COLOPHONIAN, and *Niceratus* borne at HERACLEA, which did both write verses to honour him, striuing whether of them should do best. *Lysander* iudged the crowne and victorie vnto *Niceratus*: wherewith *Antimachus* was so angry, that he razed out all that he had written of him. But *Plato* who at that time was yong, and loued *Antimachus* becaufe he was an excellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blind the vnderstanding of the ignorant, as blindnesse doth the sight of the blind. *Aristonus* an excellent player of the citherne, and one that had sixe times won the prises of the Pythian games: to win *Lysanders* fauor, promised him, that if euer he wan the prise of his art againe, he would cause himselfe to be proclaimed *Lysanders* slaue. This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grieuous, onely vnto great persons, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruell, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompencing his friends, as also in punishing of his enemies. For, to gratifie his friends and familiars, he gaue them absolute power and authoritie of life and death in their townes and cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibility of pardon. And that he plainely shewed afterwards in the city of MILETVM, where, fearing lest they would flie that tooke part with the people, and because he would haue them appeare that hid themselues: he gaue his word, and sware that he would do them no hurt at all. The poore men gaue credit to his word: but so soone as they came out, and did appeare, he deliuered them all into the hands of their aduersaries, (which were the chiefest of the nobilitie) to put them all to death: and they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with another. He caused great murders of people also to be done in other cities: for he did not onely put them to death that had priuately offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfie and reuenge the priuate quarrels, enmities and couetousnes of his friends, whom he had in euery place. And therfore was *Eteocles* LACEDÆMONIAN greatly commended for his saying: That GRECE could not abide two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* writeth also, that the very like was spoken of *Alcibiades* by *Archestratus*. Howbeit in *Alcibiades* there was nothing, but his insolencie, and vaineglory that men misliked: but in *Lysander*, a seuere nature, and sharpe conditions, that made his power fearefull & intollerable. Neuertheless, the LACEDÆMONIANS passed ouer all other complaints exhibited against him, sauing when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*, who purposely sent Ambassadors vnto them, to complaine of the wrongs and iniuries *Lysander* had done him, spoiling and destroying the country vnder his gouernment: then the *Ephori* being offended with him, clapped vp *Thorax* in prison, one of his friends and Captaines that had serued vnder him: and finding that he had both gold and siluer in his house contrary to the lawe, put him to death. And to himselfe they sent immediately that which they call Scytala, (as who would say, the scrolle written vpon a round staffe) commaunding him that he should returne immediatly vpon receipt thereof. The Scytala is in this sort. When the *Ephori* do

Platoes saying of the ignorant Ignorance compared with blindnesse.

Lysanders ambition, pride and crueltie.

Lysander brake his word and oath, and procured the death of eight hundred people

Eteocles words of Lysander.

Thorax put to death for offending the lawe.

send

ſend a Generall, or an Admirall to the warres, they cauſe two litle round ſtaues to be made of the like bigneſſe and length, of which the *Ephori* do keepe the one, and the other they giue to him whome they ſend to the warres. Theſe two litle ſtaues they call Scytales. Now when they will aduertiſe their Generall ſecretly of matters of importance, they take a ſcrolle of parchment, long and narrow like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round ſtaffe, leauing no voide ſpace betweene the borders of the ſcrolle. Afterwards when they haue bound them faſt together, then they write vpon the parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they haue done writing, vnfold it and ſend it to their Generall, who cannot elſe poſſibly reade it to know what is written, (becauſe the letters are not ioyned together, nor follow in order, but are ſcattered here and there) vntill he take his litle rolle of wood which was giuen him at his departure: and then wreathing the ſcrolle of parchment about it which he receiueth, the folding and wreaths of the parchment falling iuſt into the ſelfe ſame place as they were firſt folded, the letters alſo come to ioyne one with another, as they ought to do. This litle ſcrolle of parchment alſo is called as the rolle of wood, Scytala, euen as we commonly ſee in many places that the thing meaſured, is alſo called by the name of the meaſure. When this parchment ſcrolle was brought vnto *Lyſander*, who was then in the countrey of HELLESPONT, he was maruellouſly troubled withall, fearing aboue all other things the accuſations of *Pharnabazus*: ſo he ſought meanes to ſpeake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lyſander* prayed him he would write another letter vnto the Lords of SPARTA, contrarie to his firſt, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cauſe to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a CRETAN, (as the common Prouerbe ſaith) that could deceiue another CRETAN. For *Pharnabazus* hauing promiſed him that he would performe his deſire, wrote a letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lyſanders* requeſt: but behind he had another of contrarie effect, ſo like on the outſide vnto the other, that by ſight no man could diſcern the one from the other. And when he came to put too his ſeale, he changed the firſt with the laſt that was hidden, and gaue it him. When *Lyſander* came vnto SPARTA, he went as the manner is, ſtraight to the pallace where the Senate kept, and gaue his letters vnto the *Ephores*, thinking that by them he ſhould haue bene cleared from all daunger of the greateſt accuſations they could haue burdened him withall: becauſe that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought on of the Lords of LACEDÆMONIA, for that he did euer ſhew himſelfe willing and readie to helpe them in all their warres, more then any other of the kings Lieutenants of PERSIA. The *Ephori* hauing read this letter, they ſhewed it vnto him. Then did *Lyſander* plainely ſee, that the common prouerbe was true:

The Laconian Scytala what maner thing it is, & how vſed.

Lyſander carieth letters againſt himſelfe.

That Vlyſſes was not ſubtill alone.

Thereupon he went home to his houſe maruellouſly troubled: but within few dayes after returning to the pallace againe to ſpeake with the Lords of the councell, he told them that he muſt needs make a voyage vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*, to diſcharge certain ſacrifices which he had vowed and promiſed to him before he had wonne the battels. Some ſay, that indeed *Iupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dream as he did beſiege the citie of the APHYTÆIANS, in the countrey of THRASIA, and that by his commaundement he raiſed the ſiege, and charged them of the city, that they ſhould thanke *Iupiter Ammon*, and do ſacrifice vnto him: by reaſon whereof, they thinke that he meant good faith, when he ſued for licence to make this voyage into LYBIA, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the moſt part did certainely beleeue, that he made ſute to go this iourny, for a cloke and colour only to abſent himſelf, becauſe he feared the *Ephores*, & that he could not endure the yoke & ſubiection which he muſt abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commaunded. And this was the true cauſe of his ſute to go this voyage, much like vnto a horſe taken out of a freſh paſture and goodly medowes, to bring him into a ſtable, and make him to be iorneyed as he was before. Neuertheles, *Ephorus* writeth another cauſe, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, *Lyſander* hauing hardly obtained licence, took ſhip and hoiſſed ſaile: but during his abſence, the kings of LACEDÆMON remembring that he kept all the cities at his commaundement, by meanes of the friends he had in euery city, whom he had made chiefe gouernours of the ſame, and that by their meanes he came in maner to be abſolute prince ouer all GREECE, they tooke vpon them to redeliuer the gouernment of the towns and cities againe into the hands of the people, and alſo to put downe his friends whom he had ſtabliſhed there. And herupon fell out great inſurrection again: for firſt of all, they that were baniſhed

Lyſander goeth to Iupiter Ammon.

from ATHENS, hauing ſurpriſed and taken the caſtell of Phyla, vpon the ſodaine did ſet vpon the thirty gouernors tyrants (whom *Lyſander* had placed there) and ouercame them in battel. Wherupon *Lyſander* ſtraight returned to SPARTA, and perſwaded the LACEDÆMONIANS to refer the gouernment to the number of a few, and to puniſh the inſolencie of the people. So by his procurement, they ſent firſt an hundred talents vnto the thirty tyrants for an aide to maintaine this war, and appointed *Lyſander* himſelfe generall. But the two kings of SPARTA enuying him, and fearing leſt he ſhould take the city of ATHENS againe, they determined that one of them would go. Wherupon *Pauſanias* went thither immediatly, who in apparance ſeemed to maintaine the tyrants againſt the people: but in effect, he did his indeuour to appeaſe this warre, for feare leſt *Lyſander* by meanes of his friends and followers ſhould once againe come to haue the citie of ATHENS in his power, the which he might eaſily do. And thus hauing agreed the ATHENIANS againe one with another, and pacified all faction and commotion among them, he plucked vp the root of *Lyſanders* ambition. But ſhortly after, the ATHENIANS rebelling againe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Pauſanias* himſelfe was reproued, becauſe he yeelded ſo much to the boldneſſe and inſolencie of the people, which were bridled and reſtrained before, by the authority of the ſmall number of gouernors: and to the contrary, they gaue *Lyſander* the honor to be generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to pleaſe mens minds and to content them, neither with fond oſtentation of glory, but ſeuerely, for the profit and commodity of SPARTA. It is true, he would giue great words, & was terrible to them that reſiſted him. As he anſwered the ARGIVES one day, who contended for their confines with the LACEDÆMONIANS, & ſeemed to alledge the beſt reaſons. Euen they (ſaid he) that ſhal proue the ſtronger hereby (ſhewing thē his ſword) ſhall be they that ſhall pleade their cauſe beſt for their confines. Another time, when a MEGARIAN had told his mind boldly enough in open councell, he anſwered him: Thy words (good friend) had need of a city, meaning thereby that he was of too meane a towne to vſe ſo great words. And to the BOEOTIANS alſo, who were in doubt to profeſſe themſelues friends or enemies: he ſent vnto thē, to know if he ſhould paſſe through their country with his pikes vpwards or downwards. And when the CORINTHIANS alſo were reuolted frō their alliance, he brought his army hard vnto their wals: but when he ſaw his men were afraid, and made curſey whether they ſhould go to the aſſault or not: by chance ſpying a hare coming out of the towne ditches, he ſaid vnto them: Are ye not aſhamed to be afraid to go & aſſault your enemies, that are ſo cowardly and ſlothfull, as hares do keepe their formes at eaſe within the circuit of their wals? Now king *Agis* being deceaſed, he left behind him his brother *Ageſilaus*, and his ſuppoſed ſon *Leotychides*. Wherfore *Lyſander* that had loued *Ageſilaus* afore time, gaue him counſell to ſtand for the right of the crowne, as lawful heire and next of the bloud, deſcending of the race of *Hercules*: becauſe it was ſuſpected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* ſon, who ſecretly had kept *Timæa Agis* wife at what time he was baniſhed out of his country, and came then to remaine in SPARTA. And *Agis* ſelfe alſo, concluding by reckening of the time of his abſence, that his wife could not be with child by him: made reckening of *Leotychides*, (and had openly ſhewed it all the reſt of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his ſon, vntill ſuch time as falling ſicke of that diſeaſe whereof he died, he was caried to the citie of HERÆA: and there lying in his death bed, at the humble ſute of *Leotychides* himſelfe, and partly at the inſtant requeſt of his friends, who were importunate with him, he did acknowledge *Leotychides* for his ſon in the preſence of diuerſe, whō he prayed to be witneſſes vnto the Lords of LACEDÆMON, of his acceptatiō and acknowledging of him to be his ſon: which they all did in fauour of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Ageſilaus* tooke it vpon him, by the ſupport and maintenance of *Lyſanders* fauour. Howbeit, *Diopithes* a wiſe man, and knowne to be skilfull in ancient prophecies, did great hurt to *Ageſilaus* ſide, by an auncient oracle which he alleadged againſt a defect *Ageſilaus* had, which was his lameneſſe:

King Pauſanias reconciled the Athenians with the Spartans.

Lyſanders terrible words.

The death of king Agis. Lyſander depriueth Leotychides of his kingdome.

O Spartan people you, which beare high haughty hearts,
And looke aloft: take heed I ſay, looke well vnto your marts:
Leſt whiles you ſtand vpright, and guide your ſtate by grace,
Some halting kingdome priuily come creeping in apace.
By that meanes might you moue, great troubles, carke and care,
And miſchieſes heape vpon your head, before you be aware:
And plunged ſhould you be, euen ouer head and eares,
With waſt of wars, which here on earth doth periſh many peares.

Many

Many by occasion of this oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* part: but *Lysander* declared vnto them, that *Diopithes* did not construe the meaning of the oracle well. For God said he, cared not whether he halted of one legge or no, that should come to be king of LACEDÆMON: but indeed, the crown and kingdome should halt and be lame, if bastards not lawfully begotten, should come to raigne ouer the true naturall issue and right line of *Hercules*. By these perswasions, *Lysander* with his great countenance and authoritie besides, wanne all men to his opinion: so that *Agesilaus* by this meanes, was proclaimed king of LACEDÆMON. This done, *Lysander* beganne straight to counsell him to make warres in ASIA, putting him in hope that he should destroy the kingdome of PERSIA, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreouer he wrote vnto his friends in the cities of ASIA, that they should send vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS to require king *Agesilaus* for their Generall, to make warres against this barbarous people. Which they did, & sent Ambassadours purposely vnto SPARTA to sue that they might haue him: the which was no lesse honour procured vnto *Agesilaus* by *Lysanders* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be chosen king. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not vnapt nor vnfit to command, haue this imperfection: that through the iealousie of glorie, they do commonly enuie their equals, the which doth greatly hinder them for doing any notable things. For they take them for their enemies, enuying their vertue, whose seruice and meanes might helpe them to do great matters. Thus *Agesilaus* being chosen Generall of this enterprise, tooke *Lysander* with him in this iourney, amongst the thirty counsellers which were giuen vnto him to assist him: and made speciall choise of him, as by whose counsell he hoped most to be gouerned, and to haue him neerest about him, as his chiefest friend. But when they were arriued in ASIA, they of the countrey hauing no acquaintance with *Agesilaus*, seldome spake with him, or but litle: and to the contrary, hauing knowne *Lysander* of long time, they followed him, and waited vpon him to his tent or lodging, some to honour him, because they were his friends, others for feare, because they did mistrust him. Euen much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play tragedies there: that he that shall play the person of some messenger or seruant, shall be the best player, and shall haue the best voice to be heard aboue all others: and to the contrarie, that he which hath the royall band about his head, and the scepter in his hand, a man doth scant heare him speake. Euen so it fell out then: for all the dignitie due vnto him that commandeth all, was shewed only vnto the counseller: and there remained to the king no more, but the royall name onely of a king, without any power. Therefore me thinkes that this vndiscreete and importunate ambition of *Lysander*, did well deserue reproofe, euen to make him to be contented onely with the second place of honor next vnto the king. But for *Agesilaus* againe, through extreame couetousnes and iealousie of glorie, to cast *Lysander* altogether off, and to set so light by his friend and benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, *Agesilaus* neuer gaue *Lysander* occasion to do any thing, neither did commit any matter of waight vnto him, that might be honourable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceiued that he had taken any mens causes in hand, and that he did fauour them, he did alwaies send them backe againe into their countrey, denying their sute, without that they could obtaine any thing they sued for, lesse then the meanest persons that could haue come, extinguishing *Lysanders* credit by litle and litle, and taking from him all authoritie by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lysander* perceiuing how he was thus refused and reiected in all things, seeing that the countenance and fauor which he thought to shew vnto his friends, fell out hurtfull vnto them: left off to solicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbeare to come vnto him, or to follow him, but to go to the king, and vnto those that could do them better pleasure then himselfe, and specially those that honoured him. When they heard that, many desisted to trouble him any more in matters of importance, but not to do him all the honour they could, and continued still to accompany him, when he went out to walke, or otherwise to exercise himselfe: the which did aggrauate and increase *Agesilaus* anger more against him, for the enuie he bare vnto his glory. And where he gaue very honorable charge and commission in the wars, oftentimes vnto very meane souldiers to execute, or cities to gouerne: he appointed *Lysander* surueyor generall of all the ordinarie prouision of victuals, and distributer of flesh. And then mocking the IONIANS that did honor him so much: Let them go now, said he, and honor my flesh distributer. Wherfore, *Lysander* seeing it high time to speake, went vnto *Agesilaus*, and told him in few words after the LACONIAN maner: Truly *Agesilaus*, thou hast learned well to abase thy friends. Indeed, said he againe, so haue I, when they will be greater then my

Through Lysanders working, Agesilaus was made king

Ambition abideth no equals.

Agesilaus priuy grudge to Lysander.

Lysanders wisedome.

Lysander surueyor of the victuals.

Lysanders talk with king Agesilaus after the Laconian maner of speaking

selfe: & to the contrarie, they that maintain and increase my honor & authoritie, it is reason that I esteeme of them. Yea mary, said *Lysander*, but perhaps I haue not done as thou sayest: yet I pray thee giue me such an office, as I may be least hated, and most profitable for thee: though it be but in respect of straungers eyes that looke vpon vs both. After this talke betweene them, *Agesilaus* sent him his Lieutenant into the countrey of HELLESPONT, where *Lysander* still kept this anger secret in his heart against him, but for all that, did not leaue to do all that he could for the benefite of his maisters affaires. As amongst many other things, he caused a PERSIAN Captaine called *Spithridates*, to rebell against his maister, who was a valiant man of his hands, and a great enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an army also which he brought with him vnto *Agesilaus*. Now concerning this warre, this was all that he did in that iourney. Wherefore he returned againe to SPARTA not long after, with little honor, being maruellously grieued & offended with *Agesilaus*, and hating more then before, all the state and gouernment of the city of SPARTA: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought vpon, concerning the alteration of gouernment, and his enterprise was this: Amongst the offspring and issue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the DORIANS, and returned again into the country of PELOPONNESVS, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the city of SPARTA: howbeit, all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the crowne, sauing two families only, the *Eurytiontides*, and the *Agiades*. The other families, albeit they were all for nobilitie of blould descended but of one selfe house, yet had they no more right nor interest vnto the realme, then the residue of the people: for the dignities that were attained vnto by vertue, were giuen vnto the inhabitants that could deserue the. *Lysander* then being one of those which was descended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithstanding had no interest in the crowne: when he saw himselfe aloft, and called to great honor through his famous acts and merits, & that he had won many friends, and great credit & authority by dealing in matters of the state: it grieued him much, to see that they which were no nobler then himselfe, should be kings in that city which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not haue so much power as to take from these two houses, the *Eurytiontides* & the *Agiades*, the prerogatiue that the kings should be chosen only ont of one of these two houses, and to cast it vpon the offspring of *Hercules*. Some say againe, that he would not only haue enlarged that prerogatiue vnto the issue of *Hercules*, but vnto all the naturall SPARTANS also: because that *Hercules* race should not only desire this reward of honor, but euen they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equall with the gods in honor. For he doubted not, but if they would dispose the crowne in this sort, that there was no man in the city of SPARTA that should sooner be chosen king then himselfe: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his citizens by very good reasons, & to bring this about the better he conned an oration without book, penned by *Cleon Halicarnasseus*, made him for this purpose. But afterwards weighing with himselfe, that so great and strange a change as he would bring in, had need of some better and stronger helpe: he began to frame a deuice, as they say, to moue the people by, much after the maner they vse in tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come downe from heauen vnto them, and this was his fained inuention. He deuised certaine oracles & prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rhetoricke would stand him in no stead, if first of all he did not fill the citizens harts with some superstition and feare of the gods, that he might bring them afterwards more easily vnto reason. And *Ephorus* saith, that he proued first to corrupt the Nun with money, that giueth all the oracles and answers in the temple of *Apollo* at DELPHES: and that afterwards, he would haue won the Nun also of the temple of DODONE with mony, by *Pherecles* practise. And that he being reiected by them both, went lastly vnto the temple of *Iupiter Ammon*: and that there he spake vnto the priests, and offered them great store of money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with *Lysander*, that they sent men of purpose to SPARTA, to accuse him, that he would haue corrupted them with mony. The councell clearing *Lysander* of this accusation, the LYBIANS his accusers at their departing said: We will one day iudge more iustly, then you my Lords of LACEDÆMON haue done now, when you shall come to dwell in our country of LYBIA: supposing there was an ancient prophesie that said, the LACEDÆMONIANS one day should come to dwell in the countrey of LYBIA. But we shall do better to write the whole storie at large of this practise, subtilty, & malitious deuice, which was no matter of small importance, nor lightly grounded: but as in a mathematicall proposition, there were many great coniectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstances to bring it to conclusion,

Lysander seeketh innouatiõ in the state of Sparta.

The families of the kings of Lacedæmon.

Lysander deuiseth false oracles, & corrupteth soothsayers with mony.

cluſion, the which I will dilate from point to point, deliuering that which an hiſtoriographer & philoſopher both hath written. There was in the marches of the Realme of PONT, a woman that ſaid ſhe was gotten with child by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not beleeue at all, and many alſo did beleeue it: ſo that ſhe being deliuered of a goodly ſonne, diuers noble men and of great eſtate were carefull to bring him vp, and to haue him taught. This child I know not whereupon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lyſander* fetching the plat of his deuice from thence, added to all the reſt of himſelfe, to go on with his practiſe. Now he had many (and they no ſmall men) that made his way to frame this ieſt, giuing out a rumour of the birth of this child, without any ſuſpition gathered out of the intent of this rumor. And furthermore, they brought other newes from DELPHES, which they diſperſed abroad through the city of SPARTA, to wit: that the priſtes of the temple kept ſecret bookes of very auncient oracles, which they themſelues durſt not touch nor handle, neither might any man reade them, vnleſſe he were begotten of the ſeede of *Apollo*, who ſhould come after a long time, and make his birth appeare vnto the prieſts that kept theſe papers, and that by ſome ſecret marke and token, which they had amongſt them: and thereby being knowne for *Apolloes* ſon, he might then take the books and reade the auncient reuelations and propheſies of the ſame. Theſe things prepared in this ſort, there was order taken that *Silenus* ſhould come and aske for theſe bookes as though he were the ſon of *Apollo*: and that the prieſts which were priuy to this practiſe, ſhould make as though they did diligently examine him of euery thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had ſeemed to know all, they ſhould deliuer theſe propheſies vnto him, as if he had bene indeed *Apolloes* ſonne: and that he ſhould openly reade them in the preſence of many witneſſes. And among the reſt of the propheſies, that he ſhould reade that ſpecially, for the which this long paltry fained drift was framed, touching the kingdome of LACEDÆMONIA: that it was better, & meetlier for the SPARTANS they ſhould chooſe them for their kings, whom they found the meeteſt men of all their magiſtrates. But when *Silenus* was come to full age, and brought into GRECE of purpoſe to performe this practiſe, all the myſterie was marred by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of *Lyſander*, who holp him to countenance this deuice: who when the matter ſhould haue taken effect, ſhrunke for feare, and let the myſterie alone. This notwithſtanding, nothing was bewrayed in *Lyſanders* life time, till after his death. For he died before king *Ageſilaus* returned out of ASIA, being fallen into warres with BOEOTIA before his death, or rather hauing himſelfe made GRECE to fall into warres. They do report it either way, and ſome lay the fault vpon him, other vpon the THEBANS, and other vpon them both: and they burthen the THEBANS withall, becauſe they did vtterly ouerthrow the common ſacrifices which *Ageſilaus* made in the citie of AVLIDE. And they ſay alſo, that *Androclides* and *Amphitheus* did raiſe this warre among the GRECIANS, being before corrupted with mony by the king of PERSIA to bring warres vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS in GRECE: and began to inuade and deſtroy the country of the PHOCIANS. Other ſay that *Lyſander* was very angry with the THEBANS, becauſe they onely of all other their confederates did aske the tenth part of all the ſpoile which was won in the war againſt the ATHENIANS: and that they were not pleaſed that *Lyſander* had ſent the money away vnto SPARTA. But aboue all, *Lyſander* did malice them moſt, becauſe they were the firſt that made way for the ATHENIANS to be deliuered from the oppreſſion of thirty tyrants, whom he had ſtabliſhed gouernors in ATHENS, & in whoſe fauor (to make them to be dreaded the more) the LACEDÆMONIANS had ordained by a common edict, that they that were baniſhed and did flee from ATHENS, might lawfully be taken & apprehended in what place ſoeuer they fled vnto, & that whoſoeuer ſhold reſiſt or let them to do it, they ſhould be proclaimed rebels, & open enemies vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. Againe, to contrarie this edict, the THEBANS made another very like, & meet for the glorious deeds of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their anceſtors, for whom it was made: that euery houſe & city through the country of BOEOTIA, ſhould be open for the ATHENIANS that would come thither, & that he that wold not helpe a baniſhed man frō ATHENS, againſt him that would take him away by force, ſhould be fined & amerced at a talent. And alſo if there were any ſouldiers that went vnto ATHENS, through the country of BOEOTIA, that the THEBANS ſhould not ſee nor heare it. This was no diſſimulation to ſpeake of, that they ſhould ordaine things with ſo gentle words, and ſo meete for the people of GRECE, and then that the deedes ſhould not anſwer vnto their edicts and proclamations. For *Thraſybulus*, and his fellowes of the conſpiracie, who kept the caſtle of Phyla, they departed frō

Lyſanders fained deuice to poſſeſſe the kingdome.

The warres of Bœotia.

Diuerſe cauſes ſurmiſed of the beginning of theſe warres.

An edict againſt the baniſhed men from Athens.

An edict made by the Thebans in fauor of the baniſhed men.

THEBES, with armour and mony, and the THEBANS did helpe them to begin and practise their enterprise so secretly, that it was not discouered. These were the causes why *Lysander* was so earnestly bent against the THEBANS, and his choler being so extreme, by reason of his melancholinesse that grew daily vpon him more and more through his age, he solicited the EPHORES so, that he perswaded them to send a garrison thither: and himselfe taking the charge of them, vndertooke the iourny straight with his men. But afterwards they sent king *Pausanias* also with an armie thither, who was to fetch a great compasse about to enter into the country of BOEOTIA, by mount *Cithæron*: and *Lysander* should go to meete him through the countrey of PHOCIDES, with a great companie of souldiers besides. Now as *Lysander* went, he tooke the city of the ORCHOMENIANS, who willingly yeelded themselues to him as soone as he came thither. From thence he went to the city of LEBADIA, which he spoiled: and from thence he wrote vnto king *Pausanias*, that departing from PLATÆES, he should march directly to the city of ALIARTE, where he would not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the towne wals. These letters were intercepted by certaine scouts of the THEBANS, who met with the messenger that caried them. Thus the THEBANS hauing intelligence of their purpose, left their city in custodie vnto the ATHENIANS who were come to aide them, and departed out of THEBES about midnight, and marched all night with great speed, that they came to ALIARTE in the morning a litle before *Lysander*, and put halfe their men into the city. Now for *Lysander*, he was determined at the first to keepe his men vpon a hill which is neare to the city, and there to tary the coming of king *Pausanias*. But afterwards when he saw that the day was farre spent, and that he came not, he could tarie no longer, but arming himselfe, after he had made an oration vnto the confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in battell ray, longer then large, by by the high way that went vnto the city. In the mean season, the THEBANS that were left without the city, leauing ALIARTE on the left hand, did set vpon *Lysanders* rereward of his army against the fountaine called *Cissusa*: where the poets faine that the nurses of *Bacchus* did wash him, when he came out of his mothers wombe, because the water that commeth out of it (though it be very cleare & sweet to drinke) hath notwithstanding (I cānot tell by what meanes) a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grow great plenty of Styrap trees. The which the ALIARTIANS do alledge, to proue that *Radamanthus* heretofore dwelt in that part, and do shew his sepulcher there yet to this day, which they call Alea. And hard by that also, there is the monument of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they say) in that place, and was maried to *Radamanthus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the THEBANS who were within the city with the ALIARTIANS, stirred not vntill they saw that *Lysander* with the first of his troupe was neare vnto the towne wals: and then opening the gates on the sudden, they made a sally out vpon *Lysander*, & slue him with his soothsayer and a few other, because the most part of the voward fled into the strength of the battell. Howbeit the THEBANS gaue them not ouer so, but followed them so valiantly, that they brake their order, and made them all flie through the mountaines, after they had slaine 3000 of them in the field: so were there three hundred THEBANS also slaine there, who followed their enemies so fiercely, till they recouered straight narow waies, of great strength for them. These three hundred were in maner all those that were suspected in THEBES to fauor the LACEDÆMONIANS secretly: wherefore, for the desire they had to take away this opinion from their citizens, they hazarded themselues to no purpose, and were cast away in this chase. King *Pausanias* heard newes of this ouerthrow, going from PLATÆES vnto THESPIES, and went on further, marching still in battell ray towards ALIARTE, where *Thrasybulus* also arriued at the selfe same time, bringing the aide of the ATHENIANS from THEBES. And when *Pausanias* was purposed to send to aske licence of the enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slain, to the intent to bury thē: the old SPARTANS that were in his armie, misliking it much, at the first were angry in themselues. But afterwards they went vnto the king himself, to tell him that he dishonored SPARTA, to offer to take vp *Lysanders* body by his enemies leaue and fauour, and that he should valiantly recouer him by force of armes, and honourably burie him, after that he had ouercome their enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be ouerthrowne, that yet it should be more honorable for them to lie dead in the field by their Captaine, then to aske leaue to take vp his body. But notwithstanding all these words of the old men, king *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter to ouercome the THEBANS in battell, now that they had gotten the victorie, and furthermore, that the body of *Lysander* lay hard by the wals of ALIARTE, and that he could not come to take it away

Lysanders iourney vnto Boeotia.

Cithæron mons.

Cissusa fons.

Lysander slaine by the Thebans.

To aske leaue of the enemie to burie the dead is dishonorable.

away without great danger, although they ſhould win the battell: he ſent a herauld to the enemies; and hauing made truce for certaine daies, he led his army away, and tooke vp *Lyſanders* bodie with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of BOEOTIA, within the territorie of the PANOPEIANS: where vntill this day his tombe remaineth vpon the high way, going from DELPHES vnto the city of CHÆRONEA. Thus *Pauſanias* campe being lodged there, it is ſayd there was a PHOCIAN, who reporting the battell vnto one that was not there, ſayd that the enemies came to giue a charge vpon them, as *Lyſander* had paſſed the Oplites. The other wondring at that, there was a SPARTAN a very friend of *Lyſanders* by, hauing heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? anſwered the PHOCIAN to him againe. Euen there it was where the enemies did ouerthrow the firſt of our men which were ſlaine in the fields: for the riuer that runneth by the wals of the city, is called Oplites. The SPARTAN hearing that, burſt out of weeping for ſorow, ſaying: then I ſee it is vnpoſſible for a man to auoide his deſtinie. For *Lyſander* aforetime had an Oracle that told him thus:

Lyſanders tombe.

Oplites fl.
Deſtinie inuitable.

Lyſander, take good heed, come not I thee aduiſe:
Neare Oplites that riuers bankes, in any kind of wiſe.
Nor neare the Dragon he, which is the earth her ſonne,
Who at the length will thee aſſault, and on thy backe will runne.

Howbeit ſome take it, that this riuer of Oplites is not that which paſſeth by the wals of ALIARTE, but it is the riuer that runneth neare vnto the city of CORONEA, and falleth into the riuer of Phliarus, hard by the city, and they ſay that in old time it was called Hoplia, but now they call it Iſomantus. He that ſlue *Lyſander*, was an ALIARTIAN called *Neochorus*, who caried a Dragon painted vpon his target: and this was that which the Oracle of likelihood did ſignifie. They ſay alſo, that in the time of the warres of PELOPONNESVS, the THEBANS had an Oracle from the temple of *Apollo Iſmenias*: which Oracle did prophecy the battell which they wan by the caſtell of DELIVM, and the battell of ALIARTE alſo, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that Oracle was this:

Phliarus fl.
Hoplia, Iſomantus.
Neochorus ſlue Lyſander.

When thou thy nets ſhalt ſpread, the wolues for to intrap,
Beware thou come not neare vnto, a litle hill by hap,
Of Orchalide. Nor neare, to any his confines:
For there, the crafty foxes keepe their dens and priuy mines.

He calleth the territorie that is about DELIVM, the vttermoſt confines, becauſe BOEOTIA doth confine there with the countrey of ATTICA, and the hill Orchalide which is now called Alopecon (to ſay the foxe denne) which lieth on that ſide of the city of ALIARTE, that looketh towards mount Helicon. *Lyſander* being ſlaine, the SPARTANS tooke his death ſo ill, that they would haue condemned king *Pauſanias* of treaſon by law: who durſt not abide the triall, but fled vnto the city of TEGEA, where he ended the reſt of his life within the ſanctuary of the temple of *Minerua*. When *Lyſander* was dead, his pouerty appeared to the world, which made his vertue farre more famous, then when he liued. For when they ſaw, that for all the gold and ſiluer which had paſſed through his hands, for all his great authority and countenance that he had caried, and for all that ſo many cities and townes did come to honor him: and briefly, for all that he had ſo great and puiſſant a kingdome in maner in his hands: yet he did neuer enrich nor increaſe his houſe with ſo much as one farthing. So writeth *Theopompus*, whom we ſhould rather beleeue when he praiſeth, then when he diſcommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delight to diſpraiſe, then to praiſe any. It fortuned not long after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the LACEDÆMONIANS and their confederates fell at variance together, whereupon *Lyſanders* letters were to be ſeene that were in his houſe. King *Ageſilaus* going thither to peruſe them, amongſt other writings, found the oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* which *Lyſander* had prepared to perſwade the SPARTANS to change their gouernement, and to declare vnto them that they ſhould reuoke the prerogatiue which the *Eurytiontides* and the *Agiades* had: that the kings of SPARTA could not be choſen but out of thoſe two families, and to leaue the prerogatiue at liberty, that the chiefeſt magiſtrates might be lawfully choſen kings of SPARTA. *Ageſilaus* ſtood indifferent to haue ſhewed this oration openly to the people, that the SPARTANS might ſee what manner a citizen *Lyſander* had bene in his heart. But *Lacratidas*, a graue wiſe man, and preſident at that time of the councell of the *Ephori*, would not ſuffer him: ſaying, that he ſhould not dig *Lyſander*

Orchalide mons.

Helicon mons.
Pauſanias exile.

Lyſanders cleane hands and pouerty commended after his death.

Lyſanders counſell for altering of the kingdome.

Lacratidas wiſedome, forbearing to ſhew extremity to the dead.

Lyſander honored by the Spartans after his death.

out of his graue againe, but rather bury his oration with him, that was ſo paſſingly well and eloquently penned to perſwade. Yet notwithſtanding, they did him great honor after his death: & amongſt others, condemned two citizens in a great ſumme of mony, that were made ſure to two of his daughters while he liued, and refuſed to marry them when he was dead, ſeeing their father died ſo poore: becauſe they ſought to match in his houſe, ſuppoſing he had bene rich, and forſooke them afterwards for their fathers pouerty, when they ſaw he died a good and iuſt man. Thus we ſee, that at SPARTA there was a puniſhment for them that did not marry, or that maried too late, or that maried ill: and vnto this puniſhment were they moſt ſubiect, that ſought great matches for couetouſneſſe of goods: This is all we haue to write of *Lyſanders* life and acts.

Singleneſſe of life, late mariage, and ill mariage puniſhed by the Lacedæmonians.

The end of Lyſanders life.

THE LIFE OF *Sylla.*

Sillaes kinred.

Vcius Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the *Patricians*, who be the noblemen and gentlemen of ROME: and there was one of his anceſtours called *Rufinus*, that obtained the dignity of Conſull. He notwithſtanding his Conſulſhip, wan more diſhonor by defame, then he obtained honor by dignitie of Conſull. For they finding in his houſe aboue ten pounds worth of plate, contrary to the law at that time expreſly forbidding it, he was expulſed the Senate, and loſt his place there, after which diſhonor once receiued, his iſſue neuer roſe, nor yet recouered it. And *Sylla* himſelfe had very litle left him by his father: ſo that in his youth he was faine to hire another mans houſe, and ſate at a ſmall rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they ſaw him richer then they thought he had deſerued. For when he gloried and boaſted of the victory at his returne from the wars of AFRICKE, there was a noble man that ſayd vnto him: Why, how is it poſſible thou ſhouldeſt be an honeſt man, that hauing nothing left thee by thy father, thou art now come to haue ſo much? Now, though ROME had left her ancient iuſtice and pureneſſe of life, wherewith ſhe brought vp her people in former times, and that their hearts were poyſoned with couetous deſire of vaine ſuperfluous delights: yet notwithſtanding it was as foule a reproch to them that did not maintaine themſelues in the pouertie of their fathers, as vnto them that did conſume their patrimony, and bring all to naught

Syllaes honeſty reproued, by meanes of his great wealth.

which

which their parents had left them. But afterwards also when he caried the whole sway in ROME, and that he had put so many men to death: a free man being borne of the slaues infranchised, and being readie to be throwne downe the rocke Tarpeian, because he had saued and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death wheresoeuer they were found, cast it in *Syllaes* teeth, how that they had liued & dwelt together a long time in one selfe house, he hauing payed a thousand Nummos for the rent of the vppermost roomes of the same house, and *Sylla* three thousand for all the neathermost roomes. So that betweene both their wealths, there was but only two thousand and fiftie Drachmas of ATHENS difference. And this is that we find in writing of his first wealth. As for his stature and person, that appeareth sufficiently by the statues and images that were made for him, which yet remaine. But for his eies, they were like fire, and wonderfull red: and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearefull to behold. For he was copper-nosed, and that was full of white streakes here and there: whereupon they say that the surname of *Sylla* was giuen him, by reason of his colour. And there was a iester at ATHENS that findly mocked him in his verse:

Syllaes stature.

That is, because that syl in Latin signifieth oker, which becommeth red when it is put to the fire, and therfore Sylla-ceus color in virruuia, *signifieth purple colour.*

Sylla is like a blacke Bery sprinckled with meale.

Syllaes skoffing.

It is not amisse to search out the naturall disposition of this man by such outwards markes and tokens. It is sayd also that he was so naturally giuen to mocke and iest, that being a yong man vnknowne, he would neuer be out of the company of players, fooles, and tumblers, but still eating and tippling with them in dissolute maner. And afterwards also when he was in his chiefest authority, he would commonly eate and drinke with the most impudent iesters and scoffers, and all such rakehels, as made profession of counterfeit mirth, & would striue with the baddest of them to giue the finest mockes: wherein he did not only a thing vncomely for his yeares, and dishonored the maiesty of his office and dignity, but thereby also grew careless and negligent in matters of great importance, whereunto he should haue taken good regard. For after he was once set at his table, he was not to be moued any more in matters of waight. Now, though from the table he was commonly found both very actiue, painefull, and seuere: yet falling into such company, by drinking, bowsing, and making good cheere, he suddenly became another maner of man. So that without all compasse of modesty and iudgement, he was too familiar and conuersant with players, iesters, tumblers, and dancers: who when they had him in that vaine, might do what they would with him. Of this ryoting came (in mine opinion) his vice of lecherie, whereunto he was greatly giuen, and easily drawen after loue and pleasure: in such sort, as his gray haires could not restraine his voluptous life. His vnlawfull lusting loue beganne in his young yeares, with one *Metrobius* a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire vntill his latter age. For at the first he loued *Nicopolis* a rich curtisan: and frequentiug her company by oft accesse, and besides that he spent the prime of his beauty and youth in feasting her with great delight and passing pleasure, she afterwards became in loue with him, so that when she died, she made *Sylla* her heire of all she had. He was heire also vnto his mother in law, who loued him as her owne begotten sonne: and by these two good haps he was stept vp to prety wealth. Afterwards being chosen Quæstor (to say treasurer) the first time that *Marius* was Consull, he imbarked with him in his iourney into AFRICKE, to warre with king *Iugurth*. When he was arriued at the campe, he shewed himselfe a man of great seruice in all other things, but in this especially, that he could wisely vse the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wan *Bocchus* king of the NVMIDIANS to be his fast and faithfull friend: whose Ambassadours, that scaped from a companie of NVMIDIAN theeues, he courteously entertained, and hauing giuen them goodly presents, sent them backe againe with a safe conuoy. Now concerning king *Bocchus*, he had of long time both hated and feared king *Iugurth* his sonne in law: insomuch, that after he was ouercome in battell, and came to him for succour, *Bocchus* practised treason against him, and for this cause sent secretly for *Sylla*, desiring rather that *Iugurth* should be taken by *Sylla*, then by himselfe. *Sylla* brake this matter vnto *Marius*, of whom hauing receiued a small number of souldiers to accompany him (without respect of perill or daunger) went and committed himselfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous king, to take another: considering also that the king whom he trusted was so vniust of his word, euen vnto his neerest friends and confederates. Now *Bocchus* hauing *Iugurth* and *Sylla* both in his power, and brought himselfe to that pinch, that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to resolue which of the two he should deale withall, in the end went on with his first plot and

Syllaes voluptuousnesse.

Sylla Quæstor.

The cause of Bocchus friendship vnto Sylla.

Iugurth deliuered vnto Sylla by king Bocchus.

deuice of treaſon, and ſo deliuered *Iugurth* into *Syllaes* hands. Indeed *Marius* triumphed for taking of king *Iugurth*: but his euill willers, for the ſpite and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honor of *Iugurths* taking wholly vnto *Sylla*. That ſecretly went to *Marius* hart, and ſpecially for that *Sylla* being high minded by nature (comming then but newly from a baſe obſcure, and vnknowne life, to be knowne and well accepted of the people in Rome, and to taſte alſo what honor meant) became ſo ambitious and couetous of glory, that he cauſed the ſtory to be grauen in a ring, which he did euer after vſe to weare and ſeale withall: wherein king *Bocchus* was deliuering of *Iugurth* vnto *Sylla*, and *Sylla* alſo receiuing *Iugurth* priſoner. Theſe things miſliked *Marius* much: but notwithſtanding, iudging that *Sylla* was not ſo much enuied as himſelfe, he tooke him with him vnto the wars. *Marius* in his ſecond Conſulſhip, made *Sylla* one of his Lieutenants: and in his third Conſulſhip, he had charge vnder him of a thouſand footmen; and did many notable and profitable exploits for him. When *Sylla* was his Lieutenant, he tooke one *Capillus*, a Generall of the Gavles Tectoſages. And when he was Colonell of a thouſand footemen, he ſo wrought the Marsians (a populous nation of Italie) that he perſwaded them to remaine good friends and confederates of the Romaines. For this his good ſeruice, he found that *Marius* grew in great miſliking with him, becauſe from thenceforth he neuer gaue him any honorable charge, or occaſion to ſhew good ſeruice: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his riſing. Wherefore, *Sylla* afterwards tooke *Catulus Luctatius* part, who was companion with *Marius* in his Conſulſhip. This *Catulus* was a very honeſt man, but ſomewhat ſlacke and cold in marſhall matters, which was the cauſe that indeed he did commit vnto *Sylla* all the ſpeciall ſeruice, and matters of weight in his charge: whereupon he gaue him occaſion not only to increaſe his eſtimation, but alſo his credit and power. For, by force of armes, he conquered the moſt part of the barbarous people which inhabited the mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* campe lacking victuals, hauing commiſſion, he made a maruellous great quantity of prouiſion to be brought thither, inſomuch as *Catulus* campe being plentifully victualled, they ſent their ſtore and ſurpluſſage vnto *Marius* ſouldiers, the which *Sylla* himſelfe writeth, did much miſlike *Marius*. And this is the firſt cauſe of their enmity. The which being grounded vpon ſo light occaſion, was followed with ciuill warres, great effuſion of bloud, and with incurable factions and diſſentions, that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confuſion of all the Romaine ſtate and Empire. This doth proue that *Euripides* the Poet was a wiſe man, and one that foreſaw the ruines of commonweales, when he counſelled, and alſo commanded gouernors to flie ambition, as a moſt peſtilent and mortall fury vnto them that are once infected withall. Now *Sylla* thinking that the reputation he had gotten already in the wars, would haue made his way open to preferre him to ſome honorable office in the city of Rome: he was no ſooner returned from the warres, but he would needs proue the peoples good wils vnto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that ſued for the Prætorſhip of the city (that is to ſay, the office of the ordinary Iudge that miniſtreth iuſtice vnto the citizens) but he was reiected by the voice of the people. For the which he layd the fault vpon the meaner ſort, ſaying, that the communalty knew well inough the friendſhip he had with king *Bocchus*, and that therefore they hoping that if he were made Ædilis before he came to be Prætor, he would make them ſee noble huntings and great fightings of wild beaſts of Lybia: and that therefore they did chuſe other Prætors, and put him by his ſuite, in hope to compell him by this meanes to be firſt of all Ædilis. Howbeit it ſeemeth that he doth not confeſſe the truth of his refuſall: for his owne act doth condemne himſelfe: becauſe the next yeare following he was choſen Prætor, partly for that he wan the people with curteſie, and partly with mony. So he falling out with *Cæſar* vpon that occaſion, in his anger threatned him that he would vſe the power and authority of his office vpon him. But *Cæſar* ſmiling, anſwered him: thou haſt reaſon to call it thine office, for indeed it is thine, becauſe thou haſt bought it. But after the time of his Prætorſhip was expired, he was ſent with an army into Cappadocia, colouring his voyage thither with commiſſion to reſtore *Ariobarzanes* into his kingdome againe: howbeit the only cauſe of his iourny was indeed to ſurpreſſe king *Mithridates* a little, who tooke too many things in hand, and increaſed his power and dominion with a new ſigniory of no leſſe greatneſſe then that which he had before. In truth he brought no great army out of Italy with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the confederates of the Romaines in euery place, through whoſe aide he ouerthrew a great number of the Cappadocians, and afterwards alſo a great number of the Armenians, which came in like caſe to aide them: ſo that he

The honour of Iugurths taking aſcribed vnto Sylla.

Syllaes noble deeds vnder Marius.

Syllaes doings vnder Catulus.

The firſt cauſe of enmity betwixt Sylla and Marius.

Ambition is to be fled, as a mortall fury.

Sylla choſen Prætor.

expulſed

expulsed *Gordius* King of PHRYGIA out of CAPPADOCIA, and restored *Ariobarzanes* to his Realme againe. After which victorie, *Sylla* remained by the riuer of Euphrates, and thither came vnto him one *Orobazus* a PARTHIAN, Ambassadour of *Arsaces* king of the PARTHIANS. Now these two nations, the ROMAINES and the PARTHIANS, were neuer friends before: and that with other things shewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the PARTHIANS came first to him by his meanes to seeke friendship with the ROMAINES. They say, that receiuing this Ambassadour *Orobazus*, he made three chaires to be brought out, the one for King *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambassadour, and the third for himselfe, which he placed in the middest betweene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gaue audience vnto the Ambassadour: for which cause the king of PARTHIA afterwards put *Orobazus* to death. Some do commend *Sylla* for this acte, for that he kept his state in such maiestie among the barbarous people. Other do reproue his ambition in it, shewing himselfe stately out of time, and to no purpose. We do reade that a Soothsayer of CHALDEA being in *Orobazus* traine, hauing diligently viewed and considered the physiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other mouings and gestures of mind and body, to iudge not by the clymate of the countrey, but according to the rules of his art what his nature should be: all well considered of, he sayd that *Sylla* one day must needes come to be a great man, and that he maruelled how he could suffer in that he was not euen then the chiefest man of the world. When *Sylla* was returned againe to ROME, one *Censorinus* accused him of extortion, that he had caried away a great summe of money with him, contrary to the law, out of one of their confederates countrey: howbeit he prosecuted not his accusation, but gaue it ouer. In the meane time the enmitie begun betwixt him and *Marius*, kindled againe vpon a new occasion of king *Bocchus* ambition: who partly to creepe further into the peoples fauour of ROME, and partly also for to gratifie *Sylla*, gaue and dedicated certaine images of victorie carying tokens of triumph, vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitolin*, and next vnto them also the image of *Iugurth*, which he deliuered into the hands of *Sylla*, being all of pure gold. This did so offend *Marius*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of these two, the citie of ROME taking armes, had like to haue brought all to ruine: had not the warres of the confederates of ITALIE bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this maruellous great warre which fell out verie dangerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the ROMAINES, *Marius* did no notable exploite: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike discipline hath need of a strong, lustie, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrarie, hauing done notable seruice, and obtained many profitable victories, wan the fame and estimation among the ROMAINES, of a noble souldier, and worthie Captaine: and among the enemies themselues, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* ATHENIAN, the sonne of *Conon* had done: who, when his aduersaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deeds vnto the fauour of fortune, and did paint fortune in tables, that brought him all the cities taken and snared in nets whilest he slept, he tooke it in very ill part, and was maruellous angrie with them that did it, saying, that they robbed him of the glorie that iustly belonged vnto him. Wherefore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the warres with great victories, after he had openly acquainted the ATHENIANS with the whole discourse of his doings in his voyage, he sayd vnto them: My Lords of ATHENS, fortune hath had no part in all this which I haue told vnto you. Hereupon the gods it should seeme were so angrie with this fooliſh ambition of *Timotheus*, that he neuer afterwards did any worthie thing, but all went vtterly against the haire with him: vntill at the length he came to be so hated of the people, that in the end they banished him from ATHENS. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not onely patiently abide their words, that sayd, he was a happy man, and singularly beloued of fortune: but also increasing this opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the gods, did attribute the honour of his doings vnto fortune, either for a vaine glorie, or for that he had in fancie, that the gods did prosper him in all his doings. For he wrote himselfe in his commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hotly according to the sudden occasion offered, did better prosper with him, then those which by good aduice he had determined of. Furthermore, when he sayd that he was better borne vnto fortune, then to the warres: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperitie came rather by fortune, then by his worthinesse. And to conclude, it appeareth

Orobazus Ambassador from the king of the Parthians vnto Sylla.

Sylla accused of extortion.

Ciuill warres.

Timotheus Athenian would not attribute the glory of his doings to fortune.

Sylla gaue fortune the honor of all his doings.

that he did wholly ſubmit himſelfe vnto fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend vpon her: conſidering that he did attribute it to the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the gods, that he neuer diſagreed with *Metellus* his father in law, who was a man of like dignity and authority as himſelfe was. For where it was thought he would haue bene a great hinderer of his doings, he found him very courteous & gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together, by reaſon of the ſociety of their office. And furthermore, in his commentaries which he dedicated vnto *Lucullus*, he counſelled him to thinke nothing more certaine and aſſured, then that which the gods ſhould reueale vnto him, and commaund him in his nights dreame. He writeth alſo that when he was ſent with an army vnto the warres of the confederates, the earth ſuddenly opened about LAVERNA, out of the which immediatly came a maruellous bright flame of fire that aſcended vp to the element. The wiſe men being asked their opinions about the ſame, made anſwer, that a very honeſt man, and alſo a maruellous faire man of complexion taking ſoueraigne authority in his hands, ſhould pacifie all tumults and ſeditions which were at that time in ROME. Whereupon *Sylla* ſayd it was himſelfe whom the gods meant, becauſe that amongſt other things he had that ſingular gift of beauty, that his haire was yellow as gold: and he was not aſhamed to name himſelfe an honeſt man, after he had wonne ſo many notable great victories. Thus haue we ſufficiently ſpoken of the truſt he had in the fauour of the gods. And furthermore, he ſeemed to be very contrary in his maners, and vnlike to himſelfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gaue as much more alſo in another. Some he preferred without cauſe: and others he put downe without reaſon. He would be very gentle vnto them of whom he would haue ought: and vnto thoſe that ſought of him, he would ſtand much vpon his honour, and looke for great reuerence. Whereby men could hardly diſcerne his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he vſed in puniſhing of them that had offended him: ſomtimes he hanged vp men for very ſmall and light cauſes: ſome other times againe to the contrary, he patiently abode the moſt grieuous offences in the world, and lightly pardoned and forgaue ſuch faults as were in no wiſe to be forgiuen: and afterwards againe would puniſh right ſmal crimes, with murthers, effuſion of bloud, & confiſcation of goods. This iudgement may be giuen of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a reuenging mind: yet notwithſtanding he qualified that naturall bitterneſſe with reaſon, giuing place to neceſſity, and his benefit. For in this warre of the confederates, his ſouldiers ſlue *Albinius* one of his Lieutenants, beating him to death with ſtaues and ſtones, being a man of good quality, and one that had bene Prætor. This great offence he paſſed ouer with ſilence, vſing no maner of puniſhment, and turned it to a boaſt in the end, ſaying that his men were the more obedient and diligent in any peece of ſeruice that was to be done, and that he made them amend their faults by worthy ſeruice. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reproue him: but hauing determined with himſelfe to deſtroy *Marius*, and to procure that he might be choſen Generall in the warres againſt king *Mithridates*, becauſe that this warre of the confederates was now ended: for this cauſe he flattered and curried fauor with his ſouldiers that ſerued vnder him. At his returne to ROME from theſe warres of the confederates, he was choſen Conſull with *Q. Pompeius*, being then fifty yeares old, and maried with *Cæcilia* a noble Ladie, and *Metellus* daughter, who was then chiefe biſhop of ROME, for which mariage the comon people ſang ſongs and ballads vp and downe ROME againſt him: and many of the noble men enuied him for it, thinking him vnworthy of ſo noble a Ladie, whom they thought worthy to be Conſull, as *Titus Liuius* ſaith. Now ſhe was not his only wife, for he had a yong wife before called *Ilia*, by whom he had a daughter. After he had maried *Ælia*, then a third called *Cælia*, whom he put away becauſe ſhe brought him no children. But notwithſtanding ſhe went honourably away from him, with very good words of her, beſides many other goodly rich gifts he gaue her: howbeit ſhortly after he maried *Metella*, which made the world ſuſpect that *Cælia* was put away for her naughtineſſe. Howſoeuer it was, *Sylla* did euer honour and loue *Metella*: in ſo much as the people of ROME afterwards making ſute, that they that were baniſhed for *Marius* faction might be called home againe: and being denied, and refuſed by *Sylla*, they cried out with open voice for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to obtaine their requeſt. And it ſeemeth alſo that when he had taken the city of ATHENS, he dealt more cruelly with them, becauſe that ſome of them had ſcoffed at *Metella* from the wals: howbeit that was afterwards. So *Sylla* making his reckoning at that time that the Conſulſhip was a ſmall matter, in compariſon of that which he looked for in the time to come: was

Syllaes beleefe in dreames.

A ſtraunge ſight appeared to Sylla.

Sylla ſtrange of conditions.

Sylla choſen Conſull.

Metellus chiefe biſhop of Rome a maried man.

Syllaes wiues.

maruellous

maruellous desirous to go against *Mithridates*. But therein *Marius* also, of a mad furious ambition and couetousnesse of glory stood against him, and sued to go that iourny in like maner, being subiect to those passions, which neuer wax old, as we may daily see by experiẽce. For being now a heauy man, sickly of body, and broken in seruice abroad in the wars, from the which he came but newly home, and brused moreouer with age: did notwithstanding yet aspire to haue the charge of the wars so farre off beyond the seas. Wherefore to obtaine his purpose, whilest *Sylla* was gone a litle vnto the campe to giue order for certaine things that were to be done, he remaining in the citie, did practise this pestilent mortall sedition, which alone did more hurt vnto the citie of ROME, then all the enemies that ROME euer had: the which the gods themselues had foreshewed by many signes and tokens. For fire tooke of it selfe in the staues of the ensignes, which they had much ado to quench. Three rauens brought their young ones into the high way, and did eate them vp in the sight of many people, and afterwards caried the garbage they left of them into their neasts. Rats also hauing gnawne some iewels of gold in a church, the sextens setting a trap for them, a rat was taken full of young, and kendled fiue yong rats in the trap, of the which she eat vp three. But more yet, on a faire bright day when there was no cloud seene in the element at all, men heard such a sharpe sound of a trumpet, that they were almost all out of their wits, for feare of so great a noise. Whereupon the wise men and soothsayers of THVSCAN being asked their opinions, answered: that this so straunge and wonderfull signe did foreshew the chaunge of the world, and the departure out of this into another life: for they hold opinion, that there should be eight worlds, all contrary one vnto another, in manners and fashions of life: vnto euery one of the which, sayd they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance: but that they should all end their course within the space of the reuolution of the great yeare: and that when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there shall appeare such straunge signes on the earth, or in the element. So that such as haue studied that science, do certainly know, as soone as men be borne, which are meere contrary vnto the first in their liues and maners, and which are either more or lesse acceptable vnto the gods, then those which liued in former age. For they say, that amongst great changes and alterations which are done in those places from one age vnto another, the science of diuination, and foretelling of things to come doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth God to send most certaine and manifest signes, to know and foretell things to come. And in contrariwise also in another age it groweth to contempt, and looseth her reputation, for that it is very rash, and faileth to meete with the most part of her predictions, because she hath but obscure meanes, and all her instruments defaced, to know what should come. And these be the fables which the wisest soothsayers of THVSCAN reported abroad, and they specially who seemed to haue some singular speculation aboue others. But as the Senate were talking with the soothsayers of these wonders, being assembled together within the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, a sparrow came flying into the church in sight of them all, and caried a grashopper in her bill, and parted it in the middest, and left one part within the temple, and caried the other away with her. Whereupon the wisemen and interpreters of such wonders, sayd, that they doubted a commotion and rising of the country men against the commons of the city, because the cõmon people of the city do cry out continually like grashoppers, and the husbandmen do keepe themselues vpon their lands in the country. Thus *Marius* grew great and very familiar with *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, who in all kinds of wickednesse and mischiefe that a man can reckon, would giue place to no liuing creature: so that a man need not to seeke or demaund any where for a worse then he, but the question is rather wherein he himselfe was not the worst of all others. For he was full repleat with all kinds of cruelty, auarice, and rashnesse, and that so extremely, as he cared not what villany and wickednesse he openly committed, so that the same might turne to his profit. For he had set vp a table in the open market place, where he sold freedome, making slaues and strangers denizons of ROME for their money: and for that purpose he entertained a gard of three thousand about him, besides a band of yong gentlemen of the order of knights that attended alwaies vpon his person ready at his commandement, whom he called the gard against the Senate. And furthermore, himself hauing passed a law by the voyce of the people, that no Senatour should borrow nor owe aboue two thousand Drachmas: it was found that at the houre of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging beast, being left by *Marius* amongst the people, turned all things topsie turuey, by force of

Marius fond ambition.

Wonderfull signes seene before the ciuill warres.

The Thuscans opinion of eight worlds.

The wickednesse of Sulpitius the tribune.

Marius and Sulpitius sedition.

armes and maine ſtrength. He made alſo many wicked lawes to paſſe by voice of the people, and amongſt others, that one ſpecially, whereby he gaue *Marius* commiſſion to make warres againſt king *Mithridates*. For which extreme oppreſſions and dealings of *Sulpitius*, the two Conſuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left off to heare publike cauſes, and ceaſſed the common courſe of law and iuſtice. And as they were one day occupied about the adiornement of the law, in an open aſſembly in the market place, before the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*: *Sulpitius* the Tribune came vpon them with his ſouldiers, and ſlue many people, and among others, the Conſull *Pompeius* owne ſonne, and the father himſelfe being Conſull, had much ado to ſaue his life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Conſull, was alſo purſued euen into *Marius* houſe, where he was compelled to promiſe before his departure, preſently to go and reuoke the adiornement of the law which he had before commaunded. Thus *Sulpitius* hauing depriued *Pompeius* of his Conſulſhip, did not depoſe *Sylla*, but onely tooke from him the charge he had giuen him to make warres againſt *Mithridates*, and transferred that vnto *Marius*. And ſending Colonels to the citie of Nola to receiue the armie that lay there, and to bring them vnto *Marius*, *Sylla* preuented them, and fled to the campe before them, and told the ſouldiers all what had paſt, as it was indeed: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and ſlue *Marius* Colonels with ſtones. *Marius* on the other ſide put all *Syllaes* friends to death at Rome, and tooke the ſpoile of their goods and houſes: ſo was there nothing elſe but flying from the campe to Rome, and from Rome to the campe againe. The Senate were in manner beſide themſelues, not being able to gouerne as they would, but driuen to obey *Marius* and *Sulpitius* commaundements. Who being aduertiſed that *Sylla* was comming towards Rome, ſent ſtraight two Prætors vnto him, *Brutus* and *Seruilius*, to commaund him as from the Senate, to approch no nearer. Theſe two Pretors ſpake a litle too boldly vnto *Sylla*: whereupon the ſouldiers fell to a mutinie, in ſuch ſort, that they ſtood indifferent whether to kill them preſently in the field, or no: howbeit they brake their axes and bundels of rod, which were caried before them, and tooke their purple robes wherwith they were apparelled as magiſtrates, from thē, and ſent them home thus ſhamefully handled and intreated. Vpon their returne now to Rome, their ſad ſilence onely, and themſelues ſo ſtripped beſides of all their markes and tokens of Prætoriall dignitie, made all men then to iudge that they brought no other newes, but ſuch as were the worſt that poſſibly could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie this ſedition, which was now altogether vncurable. Wherefore *Marius* and his followers began to make himſelfe ſtrong by force: and *Sylla* with his companion *Quintus Pompeius*, departed in the meane time from the city Nola, and brought ſix entier legions on with him, who deſired no other thing but to make haſt to march to Rome ward. Howbeit *Sylla* ſtood in doubt with himſelfe what to do, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Vntill ſuch time as his ſoothſayer *Poſthumius* hauing conſidered the ſignes and tokens of the ſacrifices, which *Sylla* had made vpon this determination, gaue him both his hands, and bad him bind them hard, and ſhut him vp faſt, vntill the day of battell ſhould be paſt: ſaying, that he was contented to ſuffer death, if he had not good ſucceſſe, and that out of hand, to his great honour. And it is ſayd alſo, that the ſame night there appeared vnto *Sylla* in a dreame the goddeſſe *Bellona*, whom the Romaines do greatly honour, following therein the Cappadocians: and I know not whether it be the Moone, *Minerua*, or *Enyo* the goddeſſe of battels. So he thought, that ſhe comming to him did put lightning into his hand, commaunding him that he ſhould lighten vpon his enemies, naming them one after another by their proper names: and that they being ſtriken with his lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This viſion incouraged *Sylla* very much, and hauing reported the ſame to *Pompeius*, his fellow Conſull and companion, the next morning he marched with his army to Rome. When he was at Picines, there came other Ambaſſadours vnto him, to pray him in the name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and furie, declaring therewithall that the Senate would graunt him all things that ſhould be meete and reaſonable. When *Sylla* had heard the meſſage, he anſwered them, that he would campe there: and ſo commaunded the marſhals to deuide the ſquadrons according to their maner. The Ambaſſadours beleeuing that he would ſo haue done indeed, returned againe to Rome: howbeit their backes were no ſooner turned, but *Sylla* ſtraight ſent *Lucius Baſillus*, and *Caius Mummius* before to ſeaze one of the gates of Rome, and the wals which were on the ſide of mount Eſquilin, and he himſelfe alſo in perſon with all poſſible ſpeed marched after them. *Baſillus* entred Rome, and wanne the gate by

All lawes ceaſed for a time by reaſon of Sulpitius oppreſſions and wicked lawes.

Sylla marcheth towards Rome with 6 legions.

Poſthumius the diuine, did prognoſticate victorie vnto Sylla.

Syllaes viſion in his dreame.

by force. But the common people vnarmed, got them vp ſtraight to the top of their houſes, and with tiles and ſtones ſtayed and kept him, not onely for entring any further: but alſo draue him backe againe, euen to the verie wals of the city. In this hurly burly came *Sylla* himſelfe to ROME, who ſeeing apparantly in what ſtate things ſtood, cryed out to his men, and bad them ſet fire on the houſes: and himſelfe taking a torch light in his hand, ſhewed them the way what they ſhould do, appointing his archers and darters to hurle and beſtow their darts and other fierie inſtruments, to the tops of the houſes. Herein he was too much ouercome with vnreaſonable choler, paſſion, and deſire of reuenge: for ſeeking onely to plague his enemies, he tooke no regard to friends, to parents or confederates, neither had he yet any manner of remorſe or pity: ſuch and ſo fierie was his anger then, that he put no kind of difference betweene thoſe that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was *Marius* driuen into the city, vnto the temple of the Earth, where he made open proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that he would make free all the ſlaues that would come to his part. But forthwith came his enemies, ſet vpon him, and preſt him ſo neare, that he was conſtrained vtterly to flie and forſake the citie. Then *Sylla* aſſembling the Senate, cauſed *Marius*, and certaine others, together with *Sulpitius* Tribune of the people, to be condemned to death. *Sulpitius* was betrayed by a ſlaue of his owne, whom *Sylla* made made free according to his promiſe paſt by publike edict: but when he had made him free, he cauſed him to be throwne downe headlong from the rocke Tarpeian. And not contented with this, he promiſed by proclamation a great ſum of money to him that would kill *Marius*: a very ingrate and vnthankfull part, conſidering that *Marius* not many dayes before hauing *Sylla* in his owne houſe, in his hands and cuſtodie, deliuered him from peril, and ſet him in ſafety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had ſuffered *Sulpitius* to haue ſlaine him, himſelfe had bene ſoueraine Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might haue ruled all things at his owne will and pleaſure. But *Sylla* ſhortly after vpon the like aduantage, vſed no ſuch manner of requitall or gratuitie towards him, which bred a ſecret miſliking amongſt the Senate: howbeit the common people made open ſhew of the euill will they bare vnto *Sylla*, by reiecting one *Nonius* his nephew, and one *Seruius*, who vpon confidence of his fauour, preſented themſelues to ſue for certaine offices. And beſides the ſhame of this refuſall, to ſpite him the more, they choſe others in their ſteades, whoſe honour and preferment they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely miſlike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wiſely diſſembling the matter, ſeemed to be verie glad, ſaying that by his meanes the people of ROME enioyed a full and perfect libertie, that in ſuch caſes of election they might freely do what themſelues liſted. And to mitigate ſomewhat the peoples ill will towards him, he determined to chuſe *Lucius Cinna* Conſull, who was of a contrarie faction to him: hauing firſt bound him by ſolemne oath and curſe to fauour his doings and whole proceedings. Whereupon *Cinna* went vp to the Capitoll, and there holding a ſtone in his hand, did ſolemnely ſweare and promiſe, that he would be *Syllaes* faithfull friend: beſeeching the gods if he did the contrarie, that he might be throwne out of ROME, euen as he threw that ſtone out of his hand: and with thoſe words, threw it to the ground before many people. But notwithſtanding all theſe curſes, *Cinna* was no ſooner entred into his Conſulſhip, but preſently he began to change and alter all. For amongſt other things, he would needs haue *Sylla* accuſed: and procured *Verginius*, one of the Tribunes of the people, to be his accuſer. But *Sylla* left him with his Iudges, and went to make warres againſt *Mithridates*. And it is ſayd, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke ſhip, and departed out of ITALIE: there fortuned many tokens and warnings of the gods vnto king *Mithridates*, who was at that preſent in the citie of PERGAMVS, as amongſt others, that the PERGAMENIANS to honour *Mithridates* withall, hauing made an image of victorie, carying a garland of triumph in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with engines: ſo ſoone as ſhe was readie to put the garland vpon his head, the image brake, and the crowne fell to the ground in the middeſt of the Theater, and burſt all to peeces. Whereby all the people that were preſent, were ſtricken with a maruellous feare, and *Mithridates* himſelfe began to miſlike this euill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately then he looked for. For he had taken ASIA from the ROMAINES, and BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, from the kings which he had driuen out: and at that time remained in the citie of PERGAMVS, to deuide the riches and great territories among his friends. As touching his ſonnes, the eldeſt gouerned the realme PONTVS, and of BOSPHORVS, which he inherited from his predeceſſours,

Sylla ſet the houſes on fire in Rome.

Marius and Sulpitius condemned to death.

Treaſon iuſtly rewarded.

The ingratitude of Sylla reproued.

Lucius Cinna Conſull.

Cinna ſwarr to be Syllaes friend.

Sylla went againſt Mithridates.

Mithridates power.

euen vnto the deserts beyond the marishes of Mœotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, *Ariarathes*, was with a great armie in conquering of THRACIA, and MACEDON. His Captaines and Lieutenants moreouer, did many notable conquests in diuerse places, with a great power: amongst the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and maister of all the sea, for the great number of ships he had, conquered the Iles CYCLADES, and all those beyond the head of MALEA, and specially amongst others the Ile of EVBOEA. And beginning at the city of ATHENS, had made all the nations of GRECE to rebell, euen vnto THESSALIE, sauing that he receiued some losse by the city of CHÆRONEA. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenants of *Sentius* gouernour of MACEDON (a man of great wisedome and valiantnesse) came against him, and stayed him for going any further, ouerrunning the whole countrey of BOEOTIA like a furious raging riuer. And setting vpon *Archelaus* by the citie of CHÆRONEA, ouerthrew him in three seuerall battels: repulsed, and enforced him to take the seas againe. But as *Brutius* was following him in chase, *Lucius Lucullus* sent him commaundement to giue place vnto *Sylla*, to follow those warres against *Mithridates*, according to the charge and commission in that behalfe giuen him. Whereupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the countrey of BOEOTIA, and returned towards his Generall *Sentius*, notwithstanding his affaires prospered better then he could haue wished, and that all GRECE were very willing to reuolt, for the reputation of his wisedome and goodnesse. Howbeit the things that we before haue spoken of, were the most notable matters that *Brutius* did in those parts. *Sylla* now vpon his arriuall, recouered immediatly all the other cities of GRECE: who being aduertised of his comming, sent presently to pray him to come to their aide, the citie of ATHENS onely excepted, which was compelled by the tyrant *Aristion*, to take part with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereupon with all his power went thither, besieged the hauen of PIRÆA round, causing it to be battered and assaulted on euerie side, with all sorts of engines and instruments of batterie: whereas if he could haue had patience but a litle longer, he might haue had the high towne by famine, without putting himselfe in any manner of daunger, the same being brought to such extreame dearth and scarsity of all kind of victuals. But the haste that he made to returne againe to ROME, for feare of the new chaunge which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this warre in that sort with great daunger, many battels, and infinite charge: considering also, that besides all other prouision and furniture, he had twenty thousand mules and mulets labouring daily to furnish his engines of battery. And when all other wood failed him, because his engines were oftentimes marred after they were made, some breaking of themselues by reason of their waight, others consumed with fire throwne from the enemies: at the length he fell to the holy wood, and cut downe the trees of the *Academia*, being better stored and furnished, then any other parke of pleasure in all the suburbes of the city, and felled downe all the wood of the parke Lycæum. And standing in need of a great summe of money to entertaine this warre withall, he dealt also with the holiest temples of all GRECE, causing them to bring him from the temples of EPIDAVRVM and OLYMPVS, all the richest and most precious iewels they had. He wrote moreouer vnto the councell of the AMPHICTYONS holden in the citie of DELPHES, to bring him the readie money they had in the temple of *Apollo*, for that it should be kept in better safetie with him, then if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to vse it, he would restore as much againe vnto them: and for this purpose he sent *Caphis* PHOCIAN, one of his very friends and familiars, and commaunded him to wey all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went vnto DELPHES: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy things, in presence of the councell of the AMPHICTYONS he wept, that the teares ranne downe by his cheekes, as a man compelled to do such an acte against his will. And when some that were present, told *Caphis* that they heard the sound of *Apolloes* Citherne in the temple: whether he beleeued it was so indeed, or because he would put this superstitious feare into *Syllaes* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, sent him word, that he maruelled he could not consider, that singing and playing on the Citherne, were tokens rather of ioy then of anger, and therefore that he should not faile to proceed farther, and bring him those things which he commaunded, for that (sayd he) *Apollo* did giue them him. Now for the other iewels of the temple of *Apollo*, the common people knew not that they were sent vnto *Sylla*: but the siluer tunne, which onely was that that remained of the offerings of the kings, the AMPHICTYONS were faine to breake that in peeces, because it was so great and massie, that the beasts of draught could

Sylla besieged the citie of Athens.

Sylla tooke the iewels & readie money out of all the temples of Greece, and brought it to him to Athens.

Caphis superstition for touching the holy things.

could not draw it whole as it was. This act made them to remember the other ancient Romaine captains, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus Æmilius*: of the which, the one hauing driuen king *Antiochus* out of Greece, and the reſt alſo hauing ouerthrowne the kings of Macedon, they neuer once touched the gold and ſiluer of the temples of Greece: but contrarily ſent their offerings thither, and had them all in great honour and reuerence. But as to them, they were all captaines lawfully choſen and ſent to their charges: their ſouldiers well trained, and obedient at commandement, voide of rebellion, or any manner of mutinie. And for themſelues, were kings in greatneſſe of courage and magnanimitie of mind: but in expence of their perſons, very ſpare and ſcant, without any lauiſh, but needfull and neceſſarie, proportioned by reaſon, and thinking more ſhame to flatter their ſouldiers, then feare their enemies. Now the captaines contrarily in *Syllaes* time, ſought not their preferment in the common wealth by vertue, but by force, and hauing greater warres one with another, then with ſtrangers their enemies, were compelled to flatter their ſouldiers whom they ſhould commaund, and to buy their paines and ſeruice, feeding them ſtill with large and great expences, to pleaſe and content them. Wherein they did not conſider, that they brought their country into bondage, and made themſelues ſlaues of the vileſt people of the world, whileſt that in the meane time they ſough to commaund by all meanes poſſible thoſe, which in many reſpects were farre better then themſelues. And this was the cauſe that both draue *Marius* out of Rome, and made him alſo to returne againe againſt *Sylla*. This ſelfe ſame cauſe made *Cinna* to kill *Octauius*, and *Fimbria* to ſlay *Flaccus*: of which euils *Sylla* was the very firſt and onely author, ſpending out of all reaſon, and giuing the ſouldiers largely that ſerued vnder him, to win their goodwils the more, and thereby alſo to allure them. By reaſon whereof, *Sylla* had need of mountaines of money, and ſpecially at the ſiege where he was: both to make ſtrangers traytors, and beſides, to furniſh and ſatisfie his owne diſſolute ſouldiers: for he had ſuch an earneſt deſire to take the city of Athens, that he could not poſſibly be diſſwaded from it. And either it was of a certaine vaine ambition he had to fight againſt the ancient reputation of that citie, being then but a ſhadow to that it had bene: or elſe of a very anger, for the mockes and gibes which the tyrant *Ariſtion* gaue in his ſpeeches from the wals, againſt him and *Metella*, to ſpite him the more withall. This tyrant *Ariſtion* was full of all crueltie and wickedneſſe, hauing taken vp all the worſt qualities and greateſt imperfections of king *Mithridates*, and heaped them wholly together in himſelfe: by reaſon whereof the poore city of Athens which had eſcaped from ſo many warres, tyrannies, and ciuill diſſentions vntill that preſent time, was by him, as by an vncurable diſeaſe, brought vnto all extremity: for a buſhell of wheat was worth a thouſand Drachmas, and men were driuen for famine to eate feuerfew that grew about the caſtle: and they cauſed old ſhooes and old oyle pots to be ſodden, to deliuer ſome ſauor vnto that they did eate, whileſt the tyrant himſelfe did nothing all day long but cram in meate, and drinke dronke, daunce, maske, ſcoffe, and flout at the enemies, ſuffering the holy lampe of *Minerua* in the meane ſeaſon to go out for lacke of oile. And when the Nun of the ſame temple ſent vnto him for a quarter of a buſhell of wheate, he ſent her a quarter of a buſhell of pepper. And when the counſellors of the city, the prieſts and religious came to the caſtell, holding vp their hands, and beſeeching him to take ſome pity of the citie, and fall to compoſition with *Sylla*: he made them to be driuen away & ſcattered with ſlings. In the end, very late, and yet with great ado, he ſent two or three of his quaffing companions vnto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demand of compoſition for the towne, but began to praiſe and magnifie the deeds of *Theſeus*, of *Eumolpus*, and of the Athenians againſt the Medes. Whereupon *Sylla* made them this anſwer: My goodly orators, returne you againe with all your rhetoricke: for the Romaines ſent me not hither to learne nor to ſtudy, but to ouercome & conquer thoſe that are rebelled againſt them. In the meane time there were certaine ſpies in the city that heard old men talking together in a place call *Ceramicus*, blaming the tyrant becauſe he kept no better watch on that ſide of the wall that was directly ouer againſt the Heptachalcon, which was the onely place where the enemies might eaſilieſt get vp vpon the wals. Thoſe ſpies went ſtraight vnto *Sylla*, and told him what they had heard the old men ſay. *Sylla* tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to ſee it: and perceiuing that it was to be taken, ſet the matter ſtraight abroach. And himſelfe writes in his commentaries, that the firſt man that ſcaled the wals, was *Marcus Teius*: who finding a ſouldier readie to reſiſt him, gaue him ſuch a ſore blow with his ſword vpon his headpeece, that his ſword brake in two, and yet notwithſtanding that he ſaw himſelfe naked and

The commendation of the auncient Romaine captaines for ordering of their ſouldiers, and alſo for their modeſt expences.

Sylla the firſt man that ſpoiled all good ſeruice of ſouldiers, by ouermuch libertie and ſufferance.

The wickednes of the tyrant Ariſtion.

The great valiantneſſe of Marcus Teius.

disarmed of a sword, did not for all that giue backe, but stood still to it, and kept the place so long till through him the city was taken, and all vpon the talke of these old men. So *Sylla* caused the wall to be pulled downe betweene the hauen of Piræa, and the holy hauen: and hauing before made the breach very plaine, entred into the city about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a maruellous noise with a number of hornes, and sounding of trumpets, and all his armie with him in order of battell, crying, to the sacke, to the sacke: kill, kill. For he had giuen them the towne in spoile, and to put all to the sword. The souldiers therefore ran through the streetes with their swords drawne, making an vncredible slaughter: so that to this day they be not acknowne, nor do not declare what number of persons were slaine, but to shew the greatnesse of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seene where the bloud ranne. For besides them that were slaine through all the city, the bloud of them onely that were slaine in the market steed, did wet all the ground of *Ceramicus*, euen vnto the very place called Dipylon: and some say also, that it ranne by the gates into the suburbes of the citie. But if the multitude of the people that were slaine in this sort were great, much more (or so manie at the least) it is sayd were those that slue themselues, for the sorow and compassion they had to see their countrey in such pitifull state, supposing certainely that their citie was now come to vtter ruine and destruction. This opinion made the noblest men of the citie to despaire of their owne safety, and feared to liue any longer, because they thought they should find no mercie, nor moderation of crueltie in *Sylla*. Notwithstanding, partly at the requests of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, who were banished men from Athens, and fell at *Syllaes* feete vpon their knees: and partly also at the requests of the Romaine Senatours that were in his campe, who prayed him to pardon the bodie of the citie, and the rather for that he had alreadie quenched the thirst of his rauening mind sufficiently well: after that he had somewhat sayd in praise of the ancient Athenians, he concluded in the end, to giue the greater number vnto the smaller, and the liuing to the dead. *Sylla* writeth himselfe in his commentaries, that he tooke the city of Athens on the verie selfe day of the calends of March, which commeth to agree with the first day of the moneth that we call Anthesterion, on the which day by chaunce many things are done at Athens in memorie of *Noes* floud, and of the vniuersall destruction of the whole world, that was in old time by rage of waters, falling out euen in that verie moneth. When the citie was thus taken, the tyrant *Aristion* fled into the castle, where he was besieged by *Curio*, whom *Sylla* left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last, constrained thereunto for lacke of water, he yeelded. The castell was no sooner giuen vp, but immediatly by gods prouidence, the weather miraculously altered. For the selfe same day, and the very selfe instant that *Curio* caried the tyraunt *Aristion* out of the castell, the element being verie faire and cleare, the cloudes suddenly gathered together, and there fell such a maruellous glut of raine, that all the castell was full of water. Shortly after also, *Sylla* hauing gotten the hauen of Piræa, burnt the greatest part of the buildings: amongst others was the arsenall and armorie, which *Philo* in old time had caused to be built, being of a strange and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenants of King *Mithridates*, comming from Thracia and Macedon, with a hundreth thousand footemen, ten thousand horsemen, and fourescore and ten thousand carts of warre all armed with sythes: sent vnto *Archelaus* to ioyne with him, lying yet at anker in the hauen of Mvnychia, and not willing to leaue the sea, nor come to fight with the Romaines, but seeking rather to draw these warres out in length, and to cut off all victuals from his enemies. *Sylla* vnderstanding this drift better then himselfe, departed out of the countrey of Attica (a verie barren soile, and indeed not able to keepe him in time of peace) and went into Boeotia: wherein most men thought he committed great errour to leaue Attica, which is a very hard countrey for horsemen, and to go into Boeotia, a plaine champion: and so much the rather, because he knew well inough that the chiefest strength of the barbarous people consisted in their horsemen, and their armed cartes with sythes. But to auoide famine, and lacke of victuals as we haue sayd, he was compelled to seeke battell. Furthermore, he had another cause also that made him affrayd, and compelled him to go: and that was *Hortensius* a famous Captaine, and verie valiant also, who brought him aide out of Thessalie, and the barbarous people lay in waite for him in his way, in the straight of Thermopyles. And these were the causes that made *Sylla* take his way into Boeotia. But in the meane time, *Caphis* that was our country man, deceiuing the barbarous

Athens taken by Sylla.

The slaughter of the Athenians after the taking of the citie.

Anthesterion March.
The time of Noes floud.

Aristion the tyrant yeelded.

The hauen of Piræa vvon.
Philos armorie burnt by Sylla.
Taxilles armie a hundred thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, fourescore and ten thousand cartes vvith sythes.

The force of the Barbarians consisted in horsemen and in their cartes vvith sythes.

The straight of Thermopyles.

barbarous people, guided *Hortenſius* another way by mount *Parnaſſus*, and brought him vnder the citie of THITHORA, which was not then ſo great a citie as now at this preſent it is, but was a caſtle only, ſituated vpon the point of a rocke, hewne all about: whither the PHOCIANS in old time flying king *Xerxes* comming vpon them, retired themſelues for their ſafetie. *Hortenſius* lodged there, and there did alſo both defend and repulſe his enemies, ſo long as day-light laſted: and when the night came on, got downe through very hard ſtonie waies, vnto the citie of PATRONIDE, where he ioyned with *Sylla*, who came to meete him with all his power. Thus being ioyned together, they camped vpon a hill that ſtandeth about the middeſt of the plaine of Elatea: the ſoile was very good, and well repleniſhed with great ſtore of trees and water at the foote of the ſame. The hill is called Philobæotus, the nature and ſituation whereof, *Sylla* doth maruellouſly commend. When they were camped, they ſeemed but a handfull in the eye of their enemies: and no more were they indeede, for they had not aboue fifteene hundred horſe, and leſſe then fifteene thouſand footmen. Whereupon the other Captaines their enemies, againſt *Archelaus* mind, brought out their bands into the field, and filled all the valley and plaine thereabouts with horſemen, with carts, with ſhields and targets, ſo that the aire was euen cut aſunder as it were with the violence of the noiſe and cries of ſo many ſundry nations, which all together did put themſelues in battell ray. The ſumptuouſneſſe of their furniture moreouer, was not altogether ſuperfluous and vnprofitable, but ſerued greatly to feare the beholders. For the gliſtering of their harneſſe, ſo richly trimmed and ſet foorth with gold and ſiluer, the colours of their arming coates vpon their curaces, after the faſhion of the MEDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright gliſtering ſteele and ſhining copper, gaue ſuch a ſhew as they went and remoued too and fro, that made a light as cleare as if all had bene on a very fire, a fearefull thing to looke vpon. Inſomuch as the ROMAINES durſt not ſo much as once go out of the trenches of their campe, nor *Sylla* with all his perſwaſion could take away this great conceiued feare from them: wherefore (and becauſe alſo he would not compell them to go foorth in this feare) he was driuen not to ſtir, but cloſe to abide, (though it grieued him greatly) to ſee the barbarous people ſo proudly and villainouſly laugh him and his men to ſcorne. Howbeit the diſdaine and ſcoffing of his enemies, ſtood him to great good purpoſe afterwards: for they making now no account of him, kept ſmall watch and ward, ſtrayed vp and downe diſorderly beſides, though otherwiſe they were not very obedient vnto their captaines, being many commanders, and few good followers: by reaſon wherof, a ſmall number kept in the campe, and all the reſt of the great multitude entiſed with the gaine they made by ſpoiling and ſacking of townes thereabouts, diſperſed themſelues many daies iourny from their campe. For it is ſaid, that at that very time they deſtroyed the city of PANOPÆIA, ſacked the citie of LEBADIA, and ſpoiled the temple without commandement or licence of any of all their captaines to do it. In the meane while, *Sylla* ſeeing ſo many cities and townes ſpoiled and deſtroyed, tooke it both grieuouſly, and alſo angrily: howbeit he ſuffered not his men to lye idle, but kept them in labour, to turne the courſe of the riuer of Cephiſus, & to caſt great trenches, not ſuffering any man to take eaſe or reſt, but contrarily with great ſeuerity puniſhed ſuch as went faintly and lazily to worke, to the end that being wearied with the paine they tooke after ſo many works, they would rather proue to hazard battell, as it fell out indeed. For the third day after they had begun thus to labour, as *Sylla* paſſed by them, they cryed out vnto him to leade them againſt their enemies. But his anſwer was vnto them againe: That thoſe were but cries of men wearied rather with labor then deſirous to fight. Notwithſtanding, if it be ſo indeed, and that you haue ſo good a will to fight as you make ſhew of: then I will, ſaid he, that you arme your ſelues preſently, and get you to yonder place, ſhewing them therewithall where the caſtle of the PARAPOTAMIANS ſtood in old time, which then (the citie being deſtroyed) was no more but the top of a ſtonie mountaine cut all about, and ſeuered from the mount of Edylium by the breadth of the riuer of Aſſus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the ſame mountaine falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, and both theſe riuers running in one, carying a ſwift ſtreame, do make the knap of the ſaid hill very ſtrong of ſituation to lodge a camp vpon. And therefore *Sylla* ſeeing the ſouldiers of his enemies campe, marching with their copper targets to take vp that place to lodge in: to preuent them, and to get it before them (as indeed he did) he marched thither in all haſt poſſible, and got it euen with the earneſt goodwill of all his ſouldiers. *Archelaus* being ſo repulſed from thence, turned his way towards the city of CHORONEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHORONEANS that were in *Syllaes* campe, beſought

Parnaſſus hill.
The citie of Tithora.
Sylla and Hortenſius met at Patronide.
The plaine of Elatea.
Philobæotus mons.
Their whole armie together 1500. horſe 15000 footmen.
The braue armour and furniture of the Thracians and Macedonians, ſeruing vnder Taxilles king Mithridates Lieutenant.
Many commanders make diſobedient ſouldiers.
Cephiſus fl.
Syllaes ſtraightneſſe to his ſoldiers.
A good policie to weary ſeditious ſouldiers with extreame labour, whereby to make them deſirous to fight
Edilium mons
Aſſus fl.

him that he would not forſake their citie, and leaue it to their enemy. *Sylla* deſiring to gratifie them therein, ſent *Gabinius* one of his Colonels with a legion, and therewithall gaue the CHOERONEANS leaue to go thither, who did what they could poſſible to get into the citie before *Gabinius*: but that they could not, ſuch was the diligence and honeſty of the man, as he ſeemed more deſirous of their ſafetie, then they were themſelues. Neuertheleſſe, *Iubas* doth not call the Colonell that was ſent thither *Gabinius*, but *Hircius*. And thus was our citie of CHOERONEA preſerued from the daunger it ſtood in at that time. In the meane time came very good newes to the ROMAINES, both of oracles and propheſies, which promiſed them victory from the temple of LEBADIA, and the caue of *Trophonius*: of which prophecies, thoſe countrey men make great mention. But *Sylla* in his tenth booke of his commentaries writeth, that *Quintus Titius*, a man of quality and name amongſt them that trafficked into the country of GREECE, came vnto him after he had won the battell of CHOERONEA, to tell him that *Trophonius* gaue him to vnderſtand, that ſhortly after he ſhould haue a ſecond battell, and that he ſhold yet againe haue another victory in the ſame place. After him another man of war called *Saluenius*, told him alſo what ſucceſſe he ſhould haue in the wars of ITALY, ſaying, that he knew it by reuelation: & both theſe men agreed in the manner of the reuelation. For they ſaid, that they had ſeene a god, in maieſty, beauty and greatnes, like vnto the image of *Iupiter Olympias*. *Sylla* hauing paſſed the riuer of Aſſus, went to lodge at the foot of mount Edylium, hard by *Archelaus*, who had placed & fortified his campe betweene the two mountains of Acontium & of Edylium, ioyning to the city of the ASSIANS. The place where *Archelaus* camped, beareth his owne name *Archelaus* vnto this day. One day after *Sylla* had changed his lodging, he left *Muræna* in his campe with a legion, and two cohorts, to keepe the enemies ſtill occupied that were in great trouble, & he himſelf in the mean time went & ſacrificed by the riuer of Cephiſus. His ſacrifice being ended, he marched towards the city of CHOERONEA, to take the force he had there vnder *Gabinius*, & to know the mountain alſo called Thurium, which the enemies had taken. It is a knap of a mountaine very ſteepe and ſharpe of all ſides, with a narrow point like a pine apple, by reaſon wherof we do call it Orthopagum. At the foot of the ſame runneth the riuer called Morion, and there is alſo the temple of *Apollo* ſurnamed *Thurias*: & they ſay that this ſurname of *Thurias* was giuen vnto him of the name of *Thuros*, who was mother of *Chæron*, the founder and builder of the city of CHOERONEA. Other thinke that the cow which was giuen to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath euer ſince kept the name, for that the PHOENICIANS call a cow, *Thor*. Now whē *Sylla* came nere vnto CHOERONEA, the Colonell *Gabinius* whom he had ſent thither with a garriſon to defend the ſame, went to meet him with his men very well armed, wearing a laurell garland: & *Sylla* after he had ſaluted him and his ſouldiers, made an oration vnto them, exhorting them to do their dutie in fighting. And as he was in his oration, there came two citizens of CHOERONEA to him, one his name was *Omoloichus*, and the other *Anaxidamus*, who promiſed him to driue the enemies from mount Thurium which they had taken, if he would but giue them ſome ſmall nūber of ſouldiers. For there was a litle path way, which the barbarous people miſtrufted not, beginning at a place called Petrochus, hard by the temple of the *Muſes*, by the which they might eaſily go to the top of this mountaine Thurium: ſo that following that path, it would bring them ouer the barbarous peoples heads, and they might eaſily kill them with ſtones, or at the leaſt they ſhould driue them maugre their heads downe into the valley. *Gabinius* aſſuring *Sylla* that they were both very valiant men, and ſuch as he might boldly truſt vnto: *Sylla* gaue them men, and commanded them to execute their enterpriſe: and he himſelfe in the meane ſeaſon went and ſet his men in order of battell in the plaine, deuiding his horſemen on the wings, placed himſelfe in the right wing, appointing the left vnto *Murana*, *Galba* and *Hortenſius* his Lieutenants, were placed in the taile with certaine bands of the reregard, which they kept vpon the hils, to watch and let that the enemies ſhould not encloſe them behind: becauſe they perceiued a farre off that the enemies put foorth a great number of horſemen and footmen light armed in the wings, to the end that the points of their battell might the more eaſily bow and enlarge themſelues, to compaſſe in the ROMAINES on the backe ſide. Now in the meane time, theſe two CHOERONEANS whom *Sylla* had ſent vnder *Hircius* their Captaine, hauing compaſſed about the mountaine Thurium, before the enemies were aware of them, ſodainly came to ſhew themſelues vpon the top of the mountaine, which did ſo feare the barbarous people, that they begainne immediatly to flie, one of them for the moſt part killing another. There was no reſiſtance, but flying downe the

Sylla ſendeth Gabinius with a legiō to aide Chæronea.

Oracles and prophecies of victorie vnto Sylla.

Saluenius a ſouldier.

Iupiter Olympias.

Acontium, Edylium mountaines.

Thurium mons aliter Orthopagum.
Morion fl.
Apollo Thurias.
Chæron the founder of the citie of Chæronea.

Sylla ordaeth his battell.

the mountaine, fell vpon the points of their owne partiſans and pikes, and one of them thruſting in anothers necke, tumbled headlong downe the mountaine together, hauing their enemies beſides on their backes, which draue them from the hill, and ſtrake them behind where they lay open vnto them: ſo as there were ſlaine a three thouſand of them about this mountaine Thurium. And as for them that ſought to ſaue themſelues by flight, *Muræna* that was already ſet in battell ray, met with ſome, cut them off by the way, and ſlue them downeright. The other fled directly to their campe, and came in great companies, thruſting into the battell of their footmen, put the moſt part of them quite out of order, and maruellouſly troubled their Captaines before they could ſet them againe in order: which was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of their ouerthrow. For *Sylla* went and gaue a charge vpon them in this trouble and diſorder, and had quickly won the ground that was betweene both armies, wherby he tooke away the force of all their armed carts with ſythes, which are then of greateſt force, when they haue the longeſt courſe, to giue them a ſwift and violent ſtroke in their chaſe: whereas when their courſe is but ſhort, the blow is ſo much the weaker and of leſſe ſtrength, euen as arrowes are, that a far off enter not deepe into the thing they be ſhot at: as at that time it fell out with the barbarous people. For their firſt carts ſet foorth ſo faintly, and came on with ſo feeble a force, that the ROMAINES ſent them backe, and eaſily repulſed them, with great ſlaughter and clapping of hands one to another, as they commonly vſe in the ordinarie games of horſe-running at ROME. When they had thus repulſed the carts, the battell of *Syllaes* footmen began to charge the barbarous people, who baſing their pikes ſtood cloſe one to another, becauſe they would not be broken: and the ROMAINS on the other ſide beſtowed firſt their darts among them, and then ſodainly drew out their ſwords in the heat they were in, and put aſide the enemies pikes, wherby they might come nearer to their bodies. There were fifteene thouſand ſlaues in the front of the battell of the barbarous people, whom *Mithridates* Lieutenant had made free by open proclamation, and had deuided them by bands amongſt the other footmen. By occaſion whereof there was a ROMAINE Centurion ſpake pleaſantly at that time, ſaying, that he neuer ſaw ſlaues before haue liberty to ſpeake and do like free men, but only at *Saturnes* feaſts. Neuertheleſſe, they againſt the nature of ſlaues, were very valiant to abide the ſhocke, and the ROMAINE footmen could not ſo readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them giue backe, becauſe they ſtood very cloſe one to another, and their rancks were of ſuch a length beſides: vntill ſuch time as the ROMAINES that were behind the firſt rankes, did ſo pelt them with their ſlings, hurling ſtones, beſtowing their darts and arrowes vpon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turne their backes and flie amaine. And when *Archelaus* did firſt thruſt out the right wing of his armie, ſuppoſing to encloſe the ROMAINES behind, *Hortenſius* ſtraight waies cauſed the bands he had with him to run and charge vpon the flankes: which *Archelaus* perceiuing, made the horſemen he had about him, turne their faces forthwith, which were in number aboue two thouſand: inſomuch as *Hortenſius* being ſet vpon with all his troupe, was compelled to retire by litle and litle towards the mountaine, perceiuing himſelfe farre from the battell of his footmen, and enuironed round about with his enemies. *Sylla* ſeeing that, being in the right wing of his battell, aud hauing not yet fought, went ſtraight to the reſcue of *Hortenſius*. But *Archelaus* coniecturing by the duſt which the horſes raiſed, what the matter was: left *Hortenſius* there, and with ſpeed returned againe towards the right wing of his enemies, from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it vnfurniſhed of a ſufficient Captaine to commaund them. *Taxilles* on the other ſide, cauſed his copper targets alſo to march againſt *Muræna*: ſo as the noiſe they made on both ſides, cauſed the mountaines to ring againe, wherwithall *Sylla* ſtayed, ſtanding in doubt which way to take. At the laſt he reſolued to returne to the place from whence he came, and ſent *Hortenſius* with foure enſignes to aide *Muræna*: and himſelfe with the fifth in great ſpeed went towards the right wing of his armie, the which was now already bickering, and ioyned with their enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reaſon whereof, when *Sylla* was come with his aide, they did eaſily diſtreſſe them: and after they had broken their array, they chaſed them flying for life to the riuer, and vnto the mountaine Acontium. But *Sylla* notwithſtanding forgat not *Muræna*, but went againe to his reliefe: and finding that he on his ſide had alſo put the enemies to flight, followed with him the chaſe of thē that fled. There was a maruellous ſlaughter made in that field of the barbarous people, and many of them ſuppoſing to haue recouered their campe, were ſlaine by the way: ſo as of all that infinit multitude of fighting men, there eſcaped only ten thouſand, who ſaued them-

Sylla draue Archelaus aide from the hill.

The force of the armed carts with ſithes cōſiſt in long courſe.

Syllaes conflict vvith Archelaus at Thurii.

Slaues made free by authoritie of the Lieutenants in the field.

Syllaes victorie of Mithridates Lieutenants.

ſelues by flying vnto the citie of CHALCIDE. *Sylla* for his part writeth, that he could make reckening of no more but fourteene of his ſouldiers only that were ſlaine, whereof there came two againe to him the ſame night. Wherefore in the markes of triumph which he ſet vp for tokens of that victorie, he cauſed to be written on the toppe thereof, *Mars*, *Victory*, and *Venus*: ſignifying thereby, that he had ouercome in theſe warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policie, or martiall diſcipline. Theſe marks of triumph were ſet vp for the battell which he wan in the plaine field, in that place where *Archelaus* beganne to flie, euen vnto the riuer of Molus. And he ſet vp another alſo in the top of mount Thurium, where the barbarous people were ſet vpon behind: and there is written in Greeke letters: That the valiant deedes of *Omoloichus* and *Anaxidamus*, gaue way to the winning of this victorie. *Sylla* for the ioy of this great wonne battell, cauſed muſitians to play in the citie of THEBES, where he builded a ſtage for al the muſitians neare vnto the fountaine OEdipus, and certaine noble GRECIANS were appointed iudges of that muſicke, whom he cauſed to be ſent for out of other cities, becauſe he mortally hated the THEBANS: in ſomuch as he tooke from them halfe their lands, which he conſecrated vnto *Apollo Pythias*, and *Iupiter Olympias*, appointing that of the reuenue thereof, they ſhould redeliuer and pay backe the mony which he had taken and caried away from out of their temples. *Sylla* after this hauing intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his enemies, was choſen Conſull at ROME, and had paſſed the ſea Ionium with an armie, vnder pretext to make war againſt king *Mithridates*, but indeede to make war with himſelfe: tooke his iourney towards THESSALY to meet him. But when he was in the citie of MELITEA, there came newes to him out of all parts, that there was a new and ſecond army of the kings arriued, no leſſe then the firſt, the which ſpoiled and deſtroyed all the country which he had left behind him. For *Dorylaus*, one of king *Mithridates* Lieutenants, was arriued in the citie of CHALCIDE with a great fleet of ſhips, hauing brought thither with him foureſcore thouſand fighting men, the beſt trained, the beſt armed and appointed ſouldiers that were in all his kingdome of PONTVS in ASIA: and from thence went into BOEOTIA, had all that country at commandement, and ſought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithſtanding that *Archelaus* alledged many reaſons to diſſwade him from it: and furthermore, gaue it out in euery place, that ſo many thouſands of ſouldiers could not haue bene caſt away in the firſt battell, without ſome notable treaſon. Wherupon *Sylla* returned with all poſſible ſpeed, and made *Dorylaus* know before many daies paſſed ouer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wiſe man, and knew well enough the worthines and valiant courage of the ROMAINES. And *Dorylaus* hauing had but a litle proofe only in certaine light skirmiſhes which he made againſt *Sylla*, about TILPHOSSION in THESSALY: himſelfe was the firſt that could ſay then, it was not for them to hazard battel, but rather to draw out the wars in length, and ſupplant the ROMAINES with charge and expence. And yet notwithſtanding, the commoditie of the great large plaine that lyeth all about ORCHOMENE, where they were encamped, gaue great encouragement to *Archelaus*, who iudged it a very fit place to giue battell in, ſpecially becauſe he was the ſtronger of horſmen in the field. For of all the plaines that are within the country of BOEOTIA, the greateſt & largeſt of thē, is the plaine neare to the city of ORCHOMENE, which is altogether without trees, & runneth out in length vnto the mariſhes where the riuer of Melas diſperſeth it ſelfe abroad. The head of the ſame riuer is not far from the city of ORCHOMENE, and that riuer only of all other riuers in GREECE from the very head whence it cometh, is nauigable: and hath beſides another ſingular property, that it riſeth & ſwelleth euen in the longeſt ſommer daies, as the riuer of Nilus doth, and bringeth forth the ſelf ſame plants and trees, ſauing that they beare no fruit, neither are they ſo great as thoſe of ÆGYPT. This riuer hath no long courſe, becauſe that the moſt part of the water runneth into lakes and mariſhes, couered with brambles and briers, and there is but a very litle part of it that falleth into the riuer of Cephiſus, in the place where the reeds grow that they make good flutes withall. When they were camped one neare to another, *Archelaus* lay quietly & ſtirred not: but *Sylla* preſently caſt great trenches frō one ſide to another, to ſtop the way againſt their enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine where they might haue taken what ground they would for their men of armes, & haue driuen the ROMAINS into the mariſhes. The barbarous people not being able to endure that, ſo ſoone as their captains had giuen them liberty, diſcharged with ſuch a fury that they did not onely ſcatter them that wrought in *Syllaes* trenches, but put the moſt part of their guard alſo that ſtood in battell ray to defend them, in a maruellous feare, who alſo began to flie. Which *Sylla* perceiuing, lighted ſtraight from his horſe, and taking an enſigne in his hand, ran

The field was vvon in the plaine of Elatea.
Molus fl.

Apollo Pythias Iupiter Olympias.

Flaccus Conſull vvent againſt Sylla.

Dorylaus Mithridates generall againſt Sylla.

The goodly plaine before the citie of Orchomene.
The riuer of Melas, and nature thereof.

ran through the middeſt of his men that fled, vntill he came to his enemies, and crying out, ſaid vnto them: O my ROMAINE ſouldiers, mine honor commandeth me to dye here, and therefore when any man asketh you where you forſooke your Captaine, remember that you anſwer, It was at ORCHOMENE. They were ſo aſhamed at theſe words, that he made them turne: beſides that, there came two cohorts vnto him from the right wing of his battell, who vnder his leading gaue ſuch a hote charge vpon their enemies, that they fled foorthwith vpon it. That done, *Sylla* retired with his men, and made them dine: and thereupon by and by ſet them againe to the trenches to encloſe his enemies campe, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* wiues ſonne ſlaine, fighting valiantly before them all in the right wing of their battell. And the bow-men being preſſed ſo neare by the ROMAINES, that their bowes would do no good: tooke their arrowes in their hands in ſtead of ſwords, and ſtrake their enemies with them to force them to giue backe, vntill ſuch time as at the laſt they were all driuen into their campe, where they paſſed that night in great ſorrow, as well for the loſſe of them that were ſlaine, as alſo for the number of thoſe that were hurt. The next morning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towards the campe of his enemies, went on ſtil continuing his trenches: and certaine of them being come out to skirmiſh with them, he ſet vpon them ſo luſtily, that at the firſt charge he put them to flight. That brought ſuch a feare to all the whole campe of the enemies, that not a man durſt abide any longer: ſo as *Sylla* valiantly following on his victorie, ſhuffled in among them as they fled, and in the end tooke all together. Straight way all the mariſhes were filled with bloud, and the lake full of dead bodies: ſo that vntill this preſent day they find there in that place many bowes of the barbarous people, morians, peeces of taſſes, and ſwords drowned in the mud of the mariſhes, notwithſtanding that it is wel-neare two hundred yeares ago ſince this battell was ſtricken. And thus much for the wars about the cities of CHOERONEA, and ORCHOMENE. Now the wars being paſt in this ſort in GREECE, *Cinna* and *Carbo* dealt very cruelly and vnnaturally at ROME with the noble men and greateſt perſons: by reaſon whereof, many flying their tyranny, went to *Syllaes* campe, as vnto the hauen of their health and fulneſſe of felicitie, ſo that in ſhort time *Sylla* had an aſſembly of a ROMAINE Senate about him. *Metella* her ſelfe, his wife, hauing ſtolen away very hardly with her children, came to bring him newes that his houſes in the citie and country both, were all burnt and deſtroyed by his enemies: praying him that he would go and helpe them that yet remained at ROME. *Sylla* vpon hearing of theſe newes fell in great perplexitie. For on the one ſide, it grieued him to ſee his country ſo miſerably afflicted: and on the other ſide, he knew not well how he might go, leauing ſo great an enterpriſe as that warre was, and ſpecially againſt a king of ſuch might and power as *Mithridates* ſhewed himſelfe to be. And being in theſe dumpes, there came one *Archelaus* a merchant to him, borne in the city of DELIVM, who brought him a ſecret meſſage from the other *Archelaus*, king *Mithridates* Lieutenant: the which pleaſed *Sylla* ſo well, that he deſired that *Archelaus* and himſelfe might meet and talke together. So at the length they met by the ſea ſide, neare vnto the city of DELIVM, where there is a temple of *Apollo*. *Archelaus* began to enter the talke with him, declaring vnto *Sylla*, that he would wiſh him to leaue the conqueſt of ASIA, and of the realm of PONT, and to returne into his country to the ciuill wars at ROME: and in ſo doing, the king would furniſh him, not only with as much money, but with as many ſhips and men, as he himſelfe would deſire. *Sylla* vpon this motion told him againe, that he would wiſh him to forſake *Mithridates* ſeruice, and to make himſelfe king, offering to proclaime him a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES, ſo that he would deliuer him all his nauie which then he had in his hands. *Archelaus* ſeemed much to abhorre to heare him ſpeake of treaſon. But *Sylla* going on with his tale, replyed againe vnto him: why *Archelaus*, ſaid he, thou that art a CAPPADOCIAN, and ſeruant to a barbarous king, or his friend at the leaſt: haſt thou ſo good a heart with thee, that for all the benefites I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill act? And art thou indeed ſo bold to ſpeake to me of treaſon, which am the ROMAINES Lieutenant generall, and *Sylla*? As if thou wert not he, that at the battell of CHOERONEA diddeſt ſaue thy ſelfe by flying, with a ſmall number left thee of ſixe ſcore thouſand fighting men, which thou before hadſt in thy campe: and that hid thy ſelfe two daies together in the mariſhes of ORCHOMENE, leauing the fields of BOEOTIA with ſuch heapes of dead bodies, that no man could paſſe for them? After this reply, *Archelaus* altered his ſpeech, and falling downe at *Syllaes* feet, humbly beſought him to end this war, and to make peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto *Sylla* anſwered, that he was very well contented

Syllaes words to animate his ſouldiers.

Diogenes ſlain.

Syllaes victory of Mithridates Lieutenants at Orchomene.

Sylla ouercame Archelaus in two famous battels, at Choronea and at Orchomene.

Talke betwixt Sylla and Archelaus at their meeting.

withall. And therupon peace was concluded betweene them vnder conditions: that *Mithridates* ſhould depart from Asia the leſſe, and from Paphlagonia, that he ſhould reſtore Bithynia vnto *Nicomedes*, and Cappadocia vnto *Ariobarzanes*, that he ſhold pay 2000 talents to the Romains, and giue them threeſcore and ten gallies, with all their furniture. And vpon this, *Sylla* would alſo aſſure him the reſt of his realme: and would cauſe him to be proclaimed a friend of the Romaines. Theſe articles being paſt by agreement betwixt them, *Sylla* taking his iourney through Theſſaly and Macedon into the country of Helleſpont, caried *Archelaus* with him, whom he honourably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling dangerouſly ſicke of a diſeaſe in the city of Lariſſa, he ſtayed there for him, and was very carefull to recouer him, as if he had bene one of his chiefeſt Captaines and companions. And this was the cauſe that made *Archelaus* to be blamed for the battell of Chaeronea, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treaſon. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more ſuſpected, becauſe *Sylla* redeliuered *Mithridates* all his ſeruants and friends which he had priſoners, ſauing the tyrant *Ariſtion* that kept Athens, whom he poyſoned, becauſe he was *Archelaus* enemie: but ſpecially for the lands *Sylla* gaue vnto this Cappadocian. For he gaue him ten thouſand Iugera, (or acres of land) within the Ile of Euboea, and gaue him moreouer the title of a friend of the Romaines for euer. But *Sylla* denyeth all theſe things in his commentaries. In the meane time, Ambaſſadors came from king *Mithridates* vnto *Sylla*, who told him that the king their maiſter did ratifie and accept all the articles of peace, ſauing that he only prayed him he would not take the country of Paphlagonia from him: and as for the gallies, he would not ſo much as once ſay he would promiſe them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angerly anſwered them again: Then *Mithridates*, as ye ſay, meaneth to keepe Paphlagonia ſtill, and refuſeth to giue the ſhips I demanded: where I looked that he would haue humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand onely, with the which he put ſo many Romaine citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me another tale, if I come once into Asia: but now at Pergamus, he ſpeaketh his pleaſure of this warre which he hath not ſeene. The Ambaſſadours being afraid of his words, replyed not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* ſpake, and beſought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hand. By intreatie, in the end he obtained of *Sylla* to ſend him vnto *Mithridates*: promiſing that he would either bring him to agree to all the articles and conditions of peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himſelfe with his owne hands. Vpon this promiſe *Sylla* ſent him away, and in the meane while entred with his army into the country of Medica: and after he had deſtroyed the moſt part thereof, returned backe againe into Macedon, where *Archelaus* being returned from *Mithridates*, found him neare vnto the city of Philippes, bringing him newes that all ſhould be well, howbeit that his maiſter *Mithridates* prayed him he might ſpeake with him in any caſe. Now the matter that made *Mithridates* ſo earneſt to ſpeake with *Sylla*, was chiefly for *Fimbria*: who hauing ſlaine *Flaccus* the Conſull, being of the contrarie faction vnto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenants alſo, went himſelfe againſt him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his comming, choſe rather to make himſelfe *Syllaes* friend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the countrey of Troade, in the city of Dardane, *Mithridates* being accompanied with a fleet of two hundred ſaile of ſhips with oares at ſea, with twenty thouſand footmen, ſixe thouſand horſe, and a number of armed carts with ſithes beſides by land, *Sylla* hauing onely but foure enſignes of footmen, and two hundred horſemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hand: *Sylla* asked him firſt, if he did accept the peace with the conditions which *Archelaus* had agreed vnto. *Mithridates* made him no anſwer. *Sylla* following on his tale, ſaid vnto him: It is for ſuters to ſpeake firſt, that haue requeſt to make: and for conquerours, it is enough to hold their peace, and heare what they will ſay. Then began *Mithridates* to excuſe himſelfe, and to lay the occaſion of the warre, partly vpon the ordinance of the gods that ſo had appointed it, and partly alſo vpon the Romains themſelues. Whereunto *Sylla* replyed, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an eloquent prince, and that he knew it now by experience, ſeeing that he lacked no comely words, to cloke his fowle and ſhamefull deedes: but withall he ſharpely reproued him, and draue him to confeſſe the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him againe, if he did confirme that which *Archelaus* had done. *Mithridates* made anſwer that he did. Then *Sylla* ſaluted, embraced, and kiſſed him: and calling for the kings *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their friend againe.

Peace concluded betwixt Sylla and Archelaus in Mithridates behalfe vpon conditions.

Archelaus ſuſpected of treaſon.

Ariſtiō tyrant of Athens, poyſoned by Sylla.

Mithridates exceptions to the conditions.

Archelaus ſent from Sylla to Mithridates.

Sylla and Mithridates meet at Dardane.

The ſtoutneſſe of Sylla.

Mithridates excuſeth himſelfe to Sylla.

Syllaes anſwer to Mithridates.

Nicomedes king of Bythinia.

Ariobarzanes king of Cappadocia.

In

In concluſion, after *Mithridates* had deliuered *Sylla* three ſcore and ten gallies, and fiue hundred bow-men, he returned by ſea into his realme of PONTVS. But *Sylla* hearing that his ſouldiers were angry with this peace made with *Mithridates*, becauſe they could not abide to behold that king, whom they accounted for their moſt cruell and mortall enemie, (hauing in one ſelfe day cauſed a hundred and fiftie thouſand ROMAINE citizens to be ſlaine, that were diſperſed abroad in diuers places of ASIA) ſo to depart, and go his way ſafe, with the riches and ſpoiles of the countrey, which he had bereft them of, and vſed at his pleaſure, the ſpace of fortie yeares together: anſwered them in excuſe of himſelfe, that he was not able to make wars with *Mithridates*, and *Fimbria* both, if once they were ioyned together againſt him. And ſo *Sylla* departing thence went againſt *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neare to the citie of THYATIRA, and lodged himſelfe as neare vnto him as he conueniently might. Now whileſt he was compaſſing in his lodging with a trench, *Fimbriaes* ſouldiers came out of their campe in their coates without any armour or weapon, to ſalute *Syllaes* ſouldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make vp their trench: which *Fimbria* ſeeing, and perceiuing his ſouldiers minds ſo chaunged, of an extreame feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whoſe hands he looked for no mercie, killed himſelfe in his owne campe. *Sylla* hereupon condemned the whole countrey of ASIA the leſſe, to pay the ſumme of twenty thouſand talents amongſt them, and preſently alſo he vndid many poore houſholders through his inſolent ſouldiers, lying long vpon their charge, which he left in garriſon there. For he ordained that euery houſholder ſhould giue the ſouldier that lodged in his houſe, foure Tetradrachmas a day, and ſhould be bound to giue him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their ſupper alſo: and that euery Captaine ſhould haue fiftie Drachmas a day, a night gowne for the houſe, and a garment to go abroad into the city when he thought good. When he had giuen this order, he departed from the citie of EPHESVS with all his fleete, and in three dayes ſailing arriued in the hauen of Piræa at ATHENS, where he was receiued into the fraternitie of the myſteries, and reſerued for himſelfe the Librarie of *Apellicon Teian*: in the which were the moſt part of *Ariſtotle* and *Theophraſtus* workes, not then thought meet to come in euery mans hands. And they ſay, that this Librarie being brought to ROME, *Tirannion* the Grammarian found the meanes to extract a great part of them: and that *Andronicus* the RHODIAN hauing recouered the originals into his hands, publiſhed them, and wrote the ſummaries which we haue at this preſent. For the auncient Peripateticke Philoſophers were of themſelues very wiſe and learned men, but they had not all *Ariſtotles* works, nor *Theophraſtus* amongſt them, and yet thoſe few they had, were not by them ſeene all whole and perfect together: becauſe that the goods of *Neleus* SCEPSIAN (to whom *Theophraſtus* left all his bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the vertue and eſtimation of them. And furthermore *Sylla* being at ATHENS had ſuch a paine and numneſſe in his legs, and was ſo heauie withall, that *Strabo* calleth it a ſpice of the goute, that is to ſay, a feeling or entring therinto, which then began to roote and take hold of him. Vpon which occaſion he tooke the ſeas, and went vnto a place called ADIPSVM, where there are naturall hot bathes: and there remained awhile ſolacing himſelfe all the day long with muſick, ſeeing of playes, & entertaining ſuch kind of people. Vpō a day as he was walking by the ſea ſide, certain fiſher men made him a preſent of fiſh which pleaſed him maruellous well, and demaunding of them whence they were: they anſwered him againe, that they were of the citie of ALES. What? of ALES ſaid he: is there any of them yet left aliue? ſpeaking it, becauſe that after the battell of ORCHOMENE when he followed the chaſe of his enemies, he had taken and deſtroyed three cities of BOEOTIA all at one ſelfe time, to wit, ANTHEDON, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poore fiſher-men were ſo amazed with theſe words, that they ſtood ſtill, and could not tell what to ſay. *Sylla* fell a laughing thereat, and bade them go their waies a Gods name, and be not afraid, for they brought no ſmall interceſſours with them, which were worth the reckening of. When *Sylla* had giuen them theſe words, the ALEIANS went home with a merry hart, to gather themſelues together againe in their city. *Sylla* ſo paſſing through THESSALIE and MACEDON, came to the ſea ſide, intending to go frō the city of DYRRACHIVM vnto BRVNDVSIVM, with 120 ſaile. The city of APOLLONIA is hard by DYRRACHIVM, and thereabouts is a parke conſecrated vnto the nymphs, where in a faire goodly greene medow in many places there commeth out great bubbles of fire that flame continually: and it is ſaid that there was a Satyre taken ſleeping, euen in the very ſelfe ſame forme the painters and image-grauers haue ſet him out. He was brought vnto *Sylla*, and being asked by all ſorts of inter-

A hundred & fiftie thouſand Romains ſlaine in one day in Aſia by Mithridates commandement.

Fimbria campeth at Thyatira.

Fimbria ſlain.

Sylla very hardly intreated them of Aſia.

Ariſtotle and Theophraſtus bookes.

Sylla went to the bathes at Adipſum for the goute in his legges.

Bubbles of fire riſing out of a meadow by Dyrrachium.

A Satyre taken ſleeping, and brought to Sylla.

preters what he was, he made no answer that a man could vnderstand: but onely put foorth a sharpe voice like the neying of a horse, or whinnying of a goate. *Sylla* wondring at it, abhorred him, and made him to be caried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when *Sylla* had imbarked his men to passe the sea, he was afraid that so soone as they were landed in ITALY, they would shrinke from him, and euery man go home to his own city. But they sware and promised first of themselues, that they would tarie and keepe together, and by their wils would do no hurt in ITALY. Moreouer, perceiuing that he stood in need of money, they offered him of theirs, and euery man to lend him as his ability serued. But *Sylla* would none, yet thanked them for their goodwill: and after he had exhorted them to fight like valiant souldiers, he went against fifteene generals of armies of his enemies, who had foure hundred and fiftie ensignes of footemen well armed, as he himselfe writeth in his commentaries. But the gods promised him good fortune in his warres, by many sundrie apparant signes. For in a sacrifice he made by TARENTVM, after he was come on land, the liuer of a certaine beast sacrificed, was altogther fashioned after the manner of a crowne or garland of laurell, out of the which did hang two bands or rolles. And a litle before he went into CAMPANIA, neare vnto the mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great goates in the day time fighting together, euen as two men do when they fight: which neuertheless was no matter of truth, but a vision only that appeared, and rising from the earth dispersed it selfe by litle and litle here and there in the aire, and in the end vanished quite away, as clouds which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, *Marius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Consull, who brought two great armies against him, were ouerthrowne by him, before he had set his men in battell, or had appointed any man in his place where he should fight: and this proceeded only vpon the courage and life of his souldiers, whose good will to serue against them was such, as following this victory, he compelled the Consull *Norbanus* after he had slaine sixe thousand of his men, to take the citie of CAPVA for his refuge. This noble exploit, (as himselfe reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they neither went home to their houses, nor made any reckening of their enemies, although they were many against one. And he saith furthermore, that in the city of SYLVIVM, there was a slaue of one *Pontius* a citizen who being inspired with a propheticall spirit, came to tell him from the goddesse *Bellona*, that he should grow in strength, and cary away the victorie of these wars: howbeit that if he did not hie him the sooner, the Capitoll at ROME should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his words, being the sixteenth day of the moneth called Quintilis, and now Iuly. And furthermore also, *Lucullus* (one of *Syllaes* captaines) being neare vnto the city of FIDENTIA with sixteene ensignes onely, against fiftie ensignes of his enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serue, because the most part of them were naked and vnarmed, was afraid to hazard the battell: and as he was euen bethinking himselfe what was best to determine thereof, there rose a litle wind out of a goodly meadow that blew a wonderfull sort of flowers vpon the souldiers on euery part of them. These flowers stayed of themselues as they fell, some vpon their targets, and others vpon their morians, without falling to the ground: so that it seemed to their enemies a farre off, as if they had bene garlands of flowers vpon their heads. This made *Lucullus* souldiers more lusty a great deale then they were before, and with this goodwill they determined to giue a charge vpon their enemies: whom they ouerthrew, slue eighteene thousand of them in the field, & tooke their camp. This *Lucullus* was brother vnto the other *Lucullus*, that afterwards ouerthrew the kings *Mithridates* & *Tigranes*. Neuertheless, *Sylla* perceiuing that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant armies, thought good to vse pollicie with force: and therfore practised with *Scipio* one of the Consuls, to make peace with him. *Scipio* was willing to it: and thereupon were oft meetings and assemblies of both sides. Now *Sylla* draue off the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to the end that his soldiers which were throughly acquainted with craft & subtilty as well as himselfe, might in the meane time corrupt *Scipioes* souldiers by repaire into his campe: for they coming into *Scipioes* campe, being very conuersant with them, straight corrupted some of thē with ready money, other with promises, and other with faire flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practise had continued awhile, *Sylla* coming neare vnto *Scipioes* campe with 20. ensignes only: all his men saluted *Scipioes* souldiers, & they resaluting thē againe, yeelded themselues vnto *Sylla*, so as *Scipio* was left post alone in his tent, where he was take, but they afterwards let him go. So *Sylla* with his 20 ensignes, like to the fowlers, that by their stales draw other birds into

Sylla went against fifteene generals, and foure hundred and fiftie ensignes.

Syllaes returne into Italy.

Epheum mons.

Sylla ouerthrew the Consull Norbanus & Marius the younger neare to the mountaine Epheum.

A slue foreshewed Syllaes victorie, and the burning of the Capitoll, which fell out truly.

A wind that blew flowers out of a meadow vpon Lucullus soldiers by the citie of Fidentia.

Lucullus victory at Fidentia.

Syllaes pollicy with Scipio.

Sylla vsed 40 ensignes from Scipio by pollicie.

into their nets, hauing gotten forty enſignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his campe. There it was that *Carbo* ſaid of *Sylla*, that he had to fight with a foxe, and a lion both: but that the foxe did him more hurt and miſchiefe then the lion. After this, *Marius* the younger hauing foureſcore and fiue enſignes in his campe neare vnto the citie of SIGNIVM, preſented battell vnto *Sylla*: who hauing very good deſire to fight, and ſpecially on that day, becauſe the night before he had ſeene this viſion in his dreame, that he thought he ſaw *Marius* the father (who was deceaſed long before) warning his ſonne that he ſhould come to him. *Sylla* for this reſpect deſired maruellouſly to fight that day: and thereupon cauſed *Dolabella* to come vnto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies ſtept betweene him and home, and ſtopped his paſſage to keepe him from ioyning with *Sylla*. *Syllaes* ſouldiers to the contrarie, fought to keepe the way open for him, with ſo great labour and paine, that they were all wearie and ouerharried. And furthermore, there fell a maruellous great ſhower of raine vpon them as they were buſie opening the way, that troubled them more then the labor they had in hand. Whereupon the priuat captaines of the bands went to make *Sylla* vnderſtand it, and to pray him to defer the battell vntill another day: ſhewing him how the ſouldiers wearied with labour, lay down vpon their targets on the ground to take their eaſe. *Sylla* perceiuing this, was contented withall, though greatly indeed againſt his will. But when he had giuen the ſignall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their campe, *Marius* the younger commeth on horſebacke marching brauely before all his company, hoping to haue ſurpriſed his enemies in diſorder, and by that meanes to haue ouerthrowne them eaſily. But far otherwiſe did fortune then performe the reuelation which *Sylla* had in his foreſaid dreame: for his men falling in a rage withall, left their worke in the trench where they wrought, ſtucke their darts vpon the banke, ran vpon their enemies with their ſwords drawne, and with a maruellous crie ſet vpon them ſo valiantly, that they were not able to reſiſt their furie, but ſodainly turned their backes and fled, where there was a great and notable ſlaughter made of them. *Marius* their Captaine fled to the citie of PRÆNESTE, where he found the gates ſhut: but they threw him downe a rope from the wall, which he tyed about his middle, and ſo was triced vp by it. Yet ſome writers ſay, and *Feneſtella* among other, that *Marius* neuer ſaw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and very ſleepie, he lay vnder ſome tree in the ſhadow to reſt a litle, after he had giuen the ſignall and word of the battell, and ſlept ſo ſoundly, that he could ſcant awake with the noiſe and flying of his men. *Sylla* himſelfe writeth, that he loſt at this battell but three and twentie men, ſlue twentie thouſand of his enemies, and tooke eight thouſand priſoners. His Lieutenants alſo had the like good ſucceſſe in other places, *Pompeius*, *Craſſus*, *Metellus*, and *Seruilius*: which without any loſſe of their men, or but with a very ſmall, ouerthrew many great mightie armies of their enemies. Inſomuch as *Carbo*, the head and chiefe of all the contrarie faction, and he that moſt maintained it, fled one night out of his campe, and went beyond the ſeas into AFRICKE. The laſt battell that *Sylla* had, was againſt *Theleſinus* SAMNYTE, who comming like a freſh champion to ſet vpon him, when he was alreadie wearied, and had fought many battels, had almoſt ſlaine him euen at ROME gates. For *Theleſinus* hauing gathered together a great number of ſouldiers with one *Lamponius* LVCANIAN, marched with all ſpeed towards the city of PRÆNESTE, to deliuer *Marius* the younger that was beſieged there. But vnderſtanding that *Sylla* on the one ſide, came in great haſt alſo to meete him, and that *Pomponius* came behind him on the other ſide, and perceiuing moreouer that the way was ſo ſhut vp, that he could neither go forward nor backeward, being a valiant ſouldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fields, moſt daungerouſly ventured to go ſtraight to ROME. And ſo ſtale away by night with all his whole power, and marching to ROME ward, had almoſt taken it at his firſt comming, for that there was neither watch nor ward kept: but he ſtayed happily tenne furlongs from the gate Collina, bragging with himſelfe, and beleeuing that he ſhould do wonders, for that he had mocked ſo many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came diuers young Noblemen and Gentlemen out of the citie to skirmiſh with *Theleſinus*: who ſlue a great number of them, and among others one *Appius Claudius* a young Gentleman of a noble houſe, and very honeſt. Whereupon (as you may eaſily imagine) the citie trembled for feare, and ſpecially the women, who fell a ſhreeking, and running vp and downe, as if they had bene all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Balbus* (whome *Sylla* had ſent) came firſt with ſeuen hundred horſe vpon the ſpurre, and ſtaying but a litle to coole and giue them breath, bridled ſtraight againe, and went to ſet vpon

Carboes ſaying of Sylla touching the foxe and lion.

Marius the yonger with 85 enſignes preſenteth Sylla battell by the citie of Signium.

Syllaes viſion in his dreame.

Marius fled to Praneſte.

Carbo fled into Africke.

Theleſinus the Samnite put Sylla in great danger.

the enemies thereby to ſtay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* alſo, who commaunded his men that came firſt, quickly to eate ſomewhat, and that done, put them ſtraight in battell ray: notwithſtanding that *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* perſwaded him to the contrarie, and beſought him not to put his ſouldiers wearied with their iourney, to ſo great and manifeſt a danger, and the rather, becauſe they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the SAMNITES and LVCANS, who were both warlike nations and good ſouldiers, and thoſe beſides that moſt deadly hated the ROMAINES. But for all that, *Sylla* ſent them backe, and commanded his trumpets to ſound the alarme, being almoſt within foure houres of night: and this battell was ſharper and more cruell, then any other that euer he fought before. The right wing where *Craſſus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very ſore diſtreſſed, and ſtood in great perill. *Sylla* hearing therof, and thinking to helpe it, got vp vpon a white courſer that was both ſwift and very ſtrong. The enemies knew him, and there were two that lifted vp their armes to throw their darts at him whom he ſaw not: but his page gaue his horſe ſuch a laſh with his whippe, that he made him ſo to gird forward, as the very points of the darts came hard by the horſe tayle, and ſtucke faſt in the ground. Some ſay that *Sylla* had a litle golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the citie of DELPHES, and in time of warres ware it alwaies in his boſome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kiſſing it, ſaid: O *Apollo Pythias*, haſt thou ſo highly exalted *Cornelius Sylla*, ſo fortunate hitherto through ſo many famous victories, and wilt thou now with ſhame ouerwhelme him wholly, euen at the very gates of his owne naturall citie among his country men? And ſo crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thruſt into the preſſe among his men, intreating ſome, threatning others, and laying vpon the reſt to ſtay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his army was broken and ouerthrown by his enemies: and himſelfe amongſt them that fled, was compelled to recouer his campe with ſpeed, hauing loſt many of his friends and familiars. There were moreouer many citizens ſlaine and troden vnder feet (both with horſe and men) that came onely to ſee the battell fought: ſo that they within the citie thought themſelues verily vndone. *Lucretius Offella* furthermore (he that beſieged *Marius* in the city of PRÆNESTE) had almoſt raiſed his ſiege, vpon the words of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wiſhed him to remoue with all ſpeed poſſible, for *Sylla* was ſlaine, and *Theleſinus* had taken ROME. Now about midnight came certaine ſouldiers from *Craſſus* to *Syllaes* campe, and asked for meate for *Craſſus* ſupper, and his mens, who hauing chaſed his flying enemies whom he had ouerthrowne, vnto the city of ANTEMNA (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his campe there. *Sylla* vnderſtanding that, and being aduertiſed that the moſt part of his enemies were ouerthrowne at this battell, went himſelfe the next morning betimes vnto ANTEMNA, where 3 thouſand of his enemies ſent to know if he would receiue them to mercy, if they yeelded themſelues vnto him. His anſwer was, that he would pardon their liues, ſo as they would do ſome miſchiefe to their fellowes before they came to him. Theſe three thouſand hereupon truſting to his promiſe, fell vpon their companions: and for the moſt part one of them killed another. Notwithſtanding *Sylla* hauing gathered all thoſe together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thouſand, as the reſt, amounting in all to the number of ſixe thouſand, within the ſhew-place where they vſed to run their horſes: whileſt he himſelfe held a councell in the temple of the goddeſſe *Bellona*, and was making his oration there, he had appointed certaine to ſet vpon thoſe 6000, and put them to the ſword euery man. Great and terrible were the cries of ſuch a number of men ſlaine in ſo ſmal a roome, as may eaſily be coniectured: inſomuch as the Senators ſitting in councell heard them very eaſily, and maruelled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his oratiõ which he had begun with a ſet ſteadie countenance, without changing of colour, willed them only to hearken what he ſaid, and not to trouble themſelues with any thing done abroad: for they were but certaine offenders and lewd perſons that were puniſhed by his commandement. This was enough to ſhew the ſimpleſt ROMAINE in ROME, that they had but only chaunged the tyrant, and not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had bene euer of a churliſh and ſeuere nature, euen from his childhood, he neuer changed for any authority, but did rather harden his naturall ſtubburnes. Where *Sylla* contrarily in the beginning, was very modeſt and ciuill in all his proſperity, & gaue great good hope that if he came to the authority of a prince, he would fauour nobility well, and yet loue notwithſtanding the benefit of the people. And being moreouer a man in his youth giuen all to pleaſure, delighting to laugh, ready to pity, and weep for tender hart: in that he became after ſo cruell and bloudie, the great alteration gaue manifeſt cauſe to condemne the increaſe of honour

Syllaes danger

Sylla fled.

Lucretius Offella beſieged Marius in Prænеſte.

In the end of Marius life it is reported cõtrarie, that Sylla beſieged Marius the younger in Perusia, and not in Prænеſte.

3000. ſaued themſelues in Antemna: and yeelded to Sylla vpon promiſe of life.

Sylla againſt the lawe of armes and his promiſe, cauſed ſixe thouſand mẽ to be ſlaine

honour and authority, as the only meanes whereby mens maners continue not such as they were at the first, but still do chaunge and vary, making some fooles, others vaine and phantasticall, and others extreame cruell and vnnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by chaunging his state and condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shew it selfe, when the way of liberty was laid open: this matter is to be decided in some other Treatise. So it came to passe, that *Sylla* fell to shedding of bloud, and filled all ROME with infinite and vnspeakeable murthers: for diuers were killed for priuate quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who suffered his friends and those about him to worke their wicked wils: vntill at the length there was a young man called *Caius Metellus*, that was so bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should know that all the mischiefes were finished, the which they daily saw. For, said he, we will not intreat you to pardon life, where you haue threatned death: but onely to put them out of doubt whom you haue determined to saue. Whereunto *Sylla* made answer, that he was not resolued whom he would saue. *Metellus* replyed, Then tell vs, quoth he, who they are that shall die. *Sylla* aunswered he would. Howbeit some say it was not *Metellus*, but *Aufidius* one of his flatterers, that spake this last word vnto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediatly without making any of the magistrates priuie, caused fourescore mens names to be set vp vpon posts, whom he would put to death. Euery man being offended withall, the next day following he set vp 220 mens names more: and likewise the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an oration to the people, he told them openly that he had appointed all them to die, that he could cal to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should dye by daies, as he did call them to mind. Whosoeuer saued an outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindnesse, he himselfe was condemned to dye: not excepting them that had receiued their brothers, their sonnes, their fathers, nor mothers. And the reward of euery homicide and murtherer that killed one of the outlawes, was two talents: though it were a slaue that had killed his maister, or the sonne that had slaine the father. But the most wicked and vniust act of all was, that he depriued the sonnes, and sonnes sonnes of them whom he had killed, of all credite and good name, and besides that, had taken all their goods as confiscate. And this was not onely done in ROME, but also in all the cities of ITALIE throughout: and there was no temple of any god whatsoeuer, no altar in any bodies house, no libertie of hospitall, nor fathers house, that was not embrued with bloud and horrible murther. For the husbands were slaine in their wiues armes, and the children on their mothers laps: and yet they which were slaine for priuate hatred and malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murthered onely for their goods. And they that killed them might well say, his goodly great house made that man dye, his goodly faire garden the other: and his hote bathes another. As amongst others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that neuer medled with any thing, and least looked that these euils should light vpon him, and that onely pitied those which he saw so miserably murthered: went one day into the market place, and reading the bill set vp of the outlawes names, found his owne name amongst the rest, and cryed out aloude: Alas the day that euer I was borne, my house of ALBA maketh me be to put to death. He went not farre from the market place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time, *Marius* the yonger seeing he could by no means escape if he were taken, slue himselfe. And *Sylla* comming to PRÆNESTE, did first execute them by one & by one, keeping a certaine form of iustice in putting them to death: but afterwards as if he had no longer leysure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelue thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword euery man, sauing his host only, vnto whom he said, that he shewed him specially fauor to saue his life. But his host answered him stoutly againe, that he would not be beholding vnto him for his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of his countrimen: and so thrusting in amongst the citizens, was willingly slaine with them. They thought the act of *Lucius Catiline* also very straunge, who had slaine his owne brother before the ciuill war was ended: and then prayed *Sylla* to put him in the number of the outlawes, as if his brother had bene aliue. *Sylla* performed his desire. *Catiline* thereupon to shew his thankfulnesse for the pleasure *Sylla* had done him, went presently and slue *Marcus Marius*, who was of the contrarie faction: and brought him his head for a present before all the people, in the midst of the market place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his hands all bloudied in the hallowed font of the temple of *Apollo*, that was hard by. But besides so many murthers committed, yet were there other things also that

Honor chaungeth condtions. Sylla the example.

Infinite murthers committed in Rome by Sylla and his fauourers.

The boldnesse of Caius Metellus, to tell Sylla his cruelty in ope Senate

Syllaes proscription.

The murther of outlawes generall through Italy.

Quintus Aurelius a quiet man that medled not, slaine for his house.

Marius the younger slue himselfe at Præneste.

Sylla slue 12 thousand men in Præneste, being put all into one place together.

Lucius Catiline slue his owne brother.

Sylla Dictator grieued the people maruellously. For he proclaimed himselfe Dictator, which office had not bin of sixescore yeares before in vse, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, giuing him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goods: to destroy cities, and to build vp new as he listed: to take away kingdomes, and to giue them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goods confiscate, by the crier, sitting so proudly and stately in his chaire of state, that it grieued the people more to see those goods packt vp by them to whom he gaue and disposed them, then to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For sometimes he would giue a whole country, or the whole reuenues of certaine cities, vnto women for their beauty, or vnto pleasant iesters, minstrels, or wicked slaues made free: and vnto some, he would giue other mens wiues by force, and make them to be maried against their wils. For he desiring (howsoeuer it hapned) to make alliance with *Pompey* the Great, commanded him to put away his wife he had maried: and taking *Æmylia* (the daughter of *Æmylius Scaurus*, and of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabrio*, caused him to mary her great with child as she was by *Glabrio*: but she died in childbed in *Pompeyes* house. *Lucretius Offella* also that had brought *Marius* the younger to that distresse at the city of PRÆNESTE, suing to be Consull, *Sylla* commaunded him to cease his sute: but he notwithstanding that expresse commandement, went one day into the market place, with a great traine of men following him that
Lucretius Offella slaine. fauoured his cause: whither *Sylla* sent one of his Centurions that slue *Offella* before all the people, himselfe sitting in a chaire of estate in the temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and seeing from aboue the murther done. The people that were about *Offella*, laid hold of the murtherer straight, and brought him before *Sylla*: but *Sylla* bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they should let him go, becausse he commanded them to do it. Furthermore as touching his triumph, it was a sumptuous sight to behold, for the rarenes of the riches, & princely spoiles which were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to
The order of Syllaes triumph. see the banished ROMAINS, who were the chiefest noble men of all the city of ROME, following his chariot triumphant wearing garlands of flowers on their heads, calling *Sylla* their father, and sauiour: becausse that by his meanes they returned to their countrey, and recouered their goods, wiues & children. In the end of his triumph, he made an oration in open assembly of the people of ROME, in the which he did not only declare vnto thē (according to the custome) what things he had done, but did as carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and succesſe, as of his valiant deeds besides: and to conclude his oration, told them that by reason of the great fauour fortune had shewed him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, *Felix*, to say, happy, or fortunate. And he himselfe when he wrote vnto the GRECIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them, surnamed himselfe *Epaphroditus*, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloued and fauoured of *Venus*. His tokens of triumph which are yet in our country, haue this superscription: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphroditus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a
Syllaes twins, named Faustus and Fausta. son and a daughter: he named his son *Faustus*, signifying fortunate, and his daughter *Fausta*: becausse the ROMAINS call *Faustum* that, which falleth out prosperously & happily. To be short, he trusted so much vnto his good fortune and doings, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so great a change and innouation in the cōmon wealth,
Sylla leaueth his Dictatorship. yet of himselfe he left off his office of Dictator, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consuls againe, without his presence at the election: and frequented the market place as a priuate man among the citizens, offering himselfe to euery man that would aske him account of his doings past. It happened that a stout and rash enemy of his was chosen Consull against his
Marcus Lepidus chosen Consull. will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for any deuotion the people had to *Lepidus*, but onely to gratifie *Pompey*, who gaue countenance & fauor vnto him. *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* come merry homewards from the election, & ioyfull that he had obtained his friends sute frō all other suters: tooke him aside, and told him: Indeed thou hast great cause to reioyce, young man my friend, for thou hast done a goodly act, to choose *Marcus Lepidus* Consull, the veriest asse in all ROME, before *Catulus* the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hadst not need to sleepe: for thou hast strengthened an enemie, that will be thine owne destruction. And *Sylla* proued a true prophet:
Sylla feasted the people. VVine of forty yeares old and vpward. for *Lepidus* being bent to all crueltie immediatly after, flatly fell at defiance with *Pompey*. Now *Sylla* consecrating the dismes of all his goods vnto *Hercules*, made exceeding sumptuous feastes vnto the ROMAINES, the prouision whereof was so vnreasonable great, that euery day they threw a great deale of meate into the riuer, and they drank wine of fortie yeares old and aboue.

During

During theſe feaſts which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* ſickned, and died, and in her ſickneſſe the Prieſts and Soothſayers willed *Sylla* he ſhould not come neare her, nor ſuffer his houſe to be polluted and defiled with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was diuorced from her in her ſickneſſe, and cauſed her to be caried into another houſe, whileſt ſhe liued. And thus did *Sylla* curiouſly obſerue the ſuperſtition and ordinance of the Soothſayers: but yet he brake the law which he made himſelfe, touching the order of funerals, ſparing no coſt at *Metellaes* buriall. So did he alſo breake another order himſelfe had made, touching the reformation of bankets: comforting his ſorow with ordinary feaſts, full of all vanitie and laſciuiouſneſſe. Within a few moneths after, he had fencers games at the ſharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and vnſeuered, men and women ſitting together, it fortuned that there was a faire Ladie, and of a noble houſe, that ſate hard by *Sylla*, called *Valeria*: ſhe was the daughter of *Meſſala*, and ſiſter of *Hortenſius* the Orator, that had bene diuorced not long before from her husband. This Ladie paſſing by *Sylla* behind him, did ſoftly put her hand on his ſhoulder, and tooke a haire from off his gowne, and ſo went on to her place, and ſate her downe. *Sylla* maruelling at this familiaritie, looked earneſtly vpon her: It is nothing my Lord (quoth ſhe) but that I deſire with others to be partaker a litle of your happineſſe. Her words miſliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he ſhewed that ſhe had tickled him with them: for he ſent ſtraight to aske her name, and enquired of what houſe ſhe was, and how ſhe had liued. But after many ſlie lookes betweene them, they turned their faces one to another vpon euerie occaſion, with prety ſmiling countenances: ſo that in the end, they came to promiſe and contract mariage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though ſhe was as wiſe, as honeſt, and as vertuous a Ladie as could be poſſible, yet the occaſion that made *Sylla* marie her, was neither good nor commendable, becauſe he was taken ſtraight with a looke and a fine tongue, as if he had bene but a young boy: which commonly ſhew forth the filthieſt paſſions of the mind, to be ſo caried, and with ſuch motions. Now, notwithſtanding he had this faire young Ladie in his houſe, he left not the companie of women minſtrels and tumblers, and to haue pleaſant ieſters and muſitions about him, with whom he would lye wallowling and drinking all the day long, vpon litle couches made for the nonce. For, his companions that were in greateſt eſtimation with him at that time, were theſe three: *Roſcius* a maker of common playes, *Sorax* a prince of ſcoffers, and one *Metrobius* a ſinging man, whom he was in loue withall while he liued, and yet did not diſſemble his loue, though he was paſt age to be beloued. This wicked life of his was cauſe of increaſing his diſeaſe, the originall cauſe whereof had light foundation at the firſt. For he liued a great time before he perceiued that he had an impoſtume in his bodie, the which by proceſſe of time came to corrupt his fleſh in ſuch ſort, that it turned all to lice: ſo that notwithſtanding he had many men about him, to ſhift him continually night and day, yet the lice they wiped away were nothing, in reſpect of them that multiplied ſtill vpon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, waſhing, nor meate it ſelfe, but was preſently filled with ſwarmes of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the bathe to waſh and cleanſe himſelfe of them, but all would not ſerue: for the changing of his fleſh into this putriture wan it ſtraight againe, that there was no cleanſing, nor ſhifting of him, that could keepe ſuch a number of lice from him. Some ſay, that in old time (amongſt the moſt auncienteſt men, whereof there is any memorie) *Acaſtus* the ſonne of *Pelias*, died of the lowſie euill: and long time after alſo, the Poet *Alcman*, and *Pherecides* the diuine: and ſo did *Calliſthenes* Olynthian in priſon, and *Mutius* a wiſe lawyer. And if we ſhall make mention of thoſe that are famous, although it be not in any good matter: we find that a bond man called *Eunus*, he that was the firſt procurer of the warres of the bondmen in Sicilia, being taken and caried to Rome, died alſo of the ſame diſeaſe. Furthermore, *Sylla* did not only foreſee his death, but he wrote ſomething of it alſo: for he made an end of writing the two and twentieth booke of his commentaries, two dayes before he died. In that booke he ſaith, that the wiſe men of Chaldea had told him long before, that after he had liued honourably, he ſhould end his dayes in the flower of all his proſperitie. And there he ſaith alſo, that his ſonne (who departed a litle before his mother *Metella*) appeared to him in his ſleepe, apparelled in an ill fauoured gowne, and that comming vnto him, he prayed him he would go with him vnto *Metella* his mother, thencefoorth to liue in peace and reſt with her. But for all his diſeaſe, he would not giue ouer to deale in matters of ſtate. For ten dayes before his

Sylla brake his owne lawes be made.

Valeria, deſirous to be partaker of Syllaes happineſſe.

Sylla maried Valeria, the ſiſter of Hortenſius the Orator.

Syllaes impoſtume turned to lice.

Diuerſe famous men that died of lice.

Syllaes commentaries containe 22 bookes.

Syllaes ſonne that was dead appeared to him in his dreame in ill fauored apparell.

death, he pacified a ſedition and tumult riſen among the inhabitants of the city of PVTEOLANVM (in Italian called POZZOLO) and there he gaue them lawes and ordinances, whereby they ſhould gouerne themſelues. And the day before he died, hearing that *Granius* who was in debt to the common wealth, deferred payment of his money looking for his death: he ſent for him, and made him come into his chamber, and there cauſed his men to compaſſe him about, and commaunded them to ſtrangle him in his ſight. The paſſion of his anger was ſo vehement againſt him, that by the extreame ſtraining of himſelfe, he brake the impoſtume in his bodie, ſo as there guſhed out a wonderfull deale of bloud: by reaſon whereof his ſtrength failing him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, and ſo died, leauing the two litle children he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a daughter after his death, which was called *Poſthumia*, becauſe the ROMAINES call thoſe children that are borne after the death of their fathers, *Poſthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Conſull *Lepidus* to let that his bodie ſhould not be honourably buried, as they were accuſtomed to bury noblemen and men of qualitie. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, becauſe he had giuen him nothing in his will, and had remembred all his other friends: yet he made ſome for loue, ſome by intreatie, and others with threatning to let it alone, and accompanying the corpes into ROME, gaue both ſafety and honour vnto the performance of his funerals. And it is ſayd alſo, that the ROMAINE Ladies, amongſt other things, beſtowed ſuch a quantitie of perfumes and odoriferous matter towards the ſame: that beſides thoſe which were brought in two hundred and ten great baskets, they made a great image to the likeneſſe of *Sylla* himſelfe, and another of a ſergeant carying the axes before him, all of excellent incenſe and ſynamon. When the day of the funerals came, fearing leaſt it would raine in the forenoone, all the element being ſo cloudie, they deferred to cary foorth the body to be burnt, vntill paſt three of the clocke in the after noone. And then roſe there ſuch a ſudden boiſterous wind, that it ſet all the ſtacke of wood ſtraight on fire, that the bodie was burnt at a trice, and the fire going out, fell a great ſhower of raine that held on till night: ſo that it ſeemed good fortune following him euen to his end, did alſo helpe his obſequies after his death. His tombe is to be ſeene in the field of *Mars*: and they ſay that he himſelfe made his owne Epitaph that is written vpon it, which was: that no man did euer paſſe him, neither in doing good to his friends, nor in doing miſchiefe to his enemies.

Granius ſtrangled in Syllaes ſight, by his own commandement.

Syllaes death.

Poſthumi.

Syllaes funerals.

Syllaes Epitaph.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Sylla with Lyſander.*

NOW that we haue at large alſo ſet forth the life of the Romaine, let vs come to compare them both together. In this they are both alike, and both of them grew to be great men, riſing of themſelues through their owne vertue: but this onely is proper to *Lyſander*, that all the offices and dignities which he attained vnto in the common wealth, were layd vpon him through the peoples goodwils and conſents: for he compelled them to nothing, neither vſurped he any extraordinarie authoritie vpon them, contrary to law: for, as the common ſaying is:

Where partialitie, and diſcord once do raigne:
There wicked men are moſt eſteem'd, and rule with greateſt gaine.

As at that time in Rome, the people being corrupted, and the ſtate of gouernement vtterly ſubuerted and brought to naught: to day there roſe vp one tyrant, to morow another. And therefore we may not wonder if *Sylla* vſurped and ruled all, when ſuch fellowes as *Glaucia* and *Saturninus*, did both baniſh and driue out of Rome ſuch men as *Metellus* was: and where alſo in open aſſembly they ſlue the Conſuls ſons in the market place, and where force of armes was bought and ſold for gold and ſiluer, with the which the ſouldiers were corrupted: and where they made new lawes with fire and ſword, and forced men to obey the ſame. Yet I ſpeake not this in reproach of him that in ſuch troubleſome times found meanes to make himſelfe the greateſt man: but to ſhew that I meaſure not his honeſtie by the dignitie he grew vnto in ſo vnfortunate a city, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from Sparta (at what time it flouriſhed moſt, and was the beſt gouerned common weale) he in all great cauſes, and in moſt honourable offices, was reputed for the beſt of all beſts, and the chiefe of all chiefes: whereof it came to paſſe, that the one did often reſigne vp his authoritie to his citizens, which they had giuen him, who alſo reſtored it to him againe many and ſundry times, for the honour of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him iuſtly accounted for the worthieſt man: where the other being once onely choſen Generall of an armie, remained ten yeares continually in warres and hoſtilitie, making himſelfe by force, ſometime Conſull, ſometime vice Conſull, and ſometime Dictator, but alwayes continued a tyrant. Indeed *Lyſander* attempted to change and alter the ſtate of gouernement in his countrey, howbeit it was with greater lenity, and more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he ſought it by reaſon, and good perſwaſion, not by the ſword: neither would he make a change of the whole at one ſelfe time as *Sylla* did, but ſought only to reforme the election of kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtleſſe ſeemed very iuſt: that he which was the beſt amongſt good men, ſhould be choſen king of that citie, which was the chiefe ouer all Greece, not for her nobilitie, but for her vertue onely.

The chiefe perſon is not alwaies the honeſtſt.

For like as a good hunter doth not ſeeke for the whelpe of a good dog, but for the good dog himſelfe: nor a wiſe man of armes alſo, the colt that commeth of a good horſe, but the good horſe himſelfe. Euen ſo, he that taketh vpon him to ſtabliſh a ciuill gouernement, committeth a foule fault, if he looke of whom his Prince ſhould be borne, and not what the Prince himſelfe ſhould be, conſidering that the LACEDÆMONIANS themſelues haue depriued diuerſe of their kings from their crowne and realme, becauſe they were not princely, but vnprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a noble man, yet is it alwayes ill of it ſelfe: but vertue is honored for her ſelfe alone, and not becauſe ſhe is placed with nobilitie. Now for the wrongs and iniuries they both committed, the one did worke onely to pleaſure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine that *Lyſander* did great wrongs to gratifie his familiars: and the moſt part of them whom he put to death, was to eſtabliſh the tyrannicall power of certaine his friends. Where *Sylla* ſought for ſpite to take away his army from *Pompey*, and the Admiralty from *Dolabella*, which himſelfe had giuen him, and cauſed *Lucretius Offella* to be ſlaine openly in his owne ſight, becauſe he ſought to be Conſull, for recompence of the good ſeruice he had done: for which cruelty of his, cauſing his owne friends to be ſlaine in ſuch ſort, he made euery man afeard of him. Furthermore, their behauiours touching couetouſneſſe and pleaſure doth ſhew, that the intent of the one was the deſire of a good Prince, and the other that of a tyrant. For we do not find that *Lyſander*, for all his great princely authority, did euer vſe any inſolency or laſciuiouſneſſe in his deeds, but alwayes auoided as much as a man might, the reproach of this common prouerbe: *Lyons at home, and Foxes abroad*: he led ſuch a true LACONIAN life, ſtraightly reformed in all points. Where *Sylla* could neuer moderate his vnlawfull luſts, neither for pouerty when he was yong, nor yet for age, when it came vpon him. But whileſt he gaue lawes to the ROMAINES touching matrimoniall honeſtie and chaſtity, himſelfe in the meane time did nothing but follow loue, and commit adulteries, as *Saluſt* writeth. By meanes whereof he ſo much impouriſhed ROME, and left it ſo voide of gold and ſiluer, that for readie mony he ſold abſolute freedome vnto the cities their confederates, yet was it his daily ſtudy to confiſcate & take for forfeit, the richeſt and moſt wealthieſt houſes in all the whole city of ROME. But all this ſpoile and hauocke was nothing in compariſon of that which he daily caſt away vpon his ieſters and flatterers. What ſparing, or meaſure may we thinke he kept in his gifts and priuate bankets, when openly in the day time (all the people of ROME being preſent, to ſee him ſell the goods which he had cauſed to be confiſcate) he made one of his friends and familiars, to truſſe vp a great deale of houſhold ſtuffe, for a very litle price? and when any other had out-bidden his price, and that the crier had cried it out aloud: then was he angry, and ſayd: My friends, I haue great wrong done me here, not to ſuffer me ſell the ſpoile I haue gotten at mine owne pleaſure, and diſpoſe it as I liſt my ſelfe. Where *Lyſander* contrarily ſent to the commonwealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very preſents that were giuen to himſelfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deed. For, peraduenture he did more hurt to SPARTA, bringing thither that gold and ſiluer, then *Sylla* did to ROME, in waſting and conſuming that he conſumed. Howbeit I alledge this onely, for proofe and declaration, that *Lyſander* was nothing couetous. They both haue done that vnto their city, which neuer any other but themſelues did. For *Sylla* being a riotous and licentious man, brought his citizens notwithſtanding to good order and gouernment: and *Lyſander* contrarily filled his city with vice, yet not infected withall himſelfe. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the law he commanded to be kept, and the other in making the citizens worſe then he was himſelfe: for he taught the SPARTANS to deſire thoſe things, which he aboue all things had learned to deſpiſe. And thus much concerning peace and ciuil gouernement. Now for matters of warre and battels fought, there is no compariſon to be made of *Lyſander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lyſander* wan onely but two battels by ſea, beſides the taking of the city of ATHENS: which (though I graunt him) being rightly conſidered, was no great exploit of war, howbeit it was a noble act, conſidering the fame he wan by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by the city of ALIARTE: a man might ſay peraduenture that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes alſo there was a fault in him, for that he ſtaied not for king *Pauſanias* aide (the which came from PLATÆES immediatly after his ouerthrow) and becauſe he went in a gaire, in fury, and in a vaine ambition to run his head againſt a wall: ſo that men of all ſorts making a deſperate ſally out of ALIARTE vpon him, ſlue him there to no purpoſe. Farre vnlike to *Cleombrotus* that died at the battell of

Lyſanders and Syllaes faults.

Lyſanders temperance and moderate life.

Syllaes licentious and prodigall life.

Syllaes tyrannicall ſaying.

Sylla ſeruant to be preferred before Lyſander.

of LEVCTRES, resisting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keepe his men from flying, and to giue them assured victorie, receiued his deedly wound: for all these men died like noble kings, and valiant captaines. Where *Lysander* rashly cast himselfe away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing: prouing thereby, that the ancient SPARTANS did like wise men, to auoide the fight with wals. For the noblest and valiantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slaine, not onely by the first souldier that commeth, but by euery seely woman or child. As they say that the worthie *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very gates of TROIA. Now to the contrary againe, the victories that *Sylla* wan in set battels, and the thousands of enemies which he slue, are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he tooke the city of ROME twise: and the hauen of ATHENS, not by famine as *Lysander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battels driuen *Archelaus* out of firme land into the maine sea. It is to be considered also, against what captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a pastime, as a man might say, for *Lysander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a pylot of *Alcibiades*, or to surprise and deceiue *Philocles*, a common Orator at ATHENS:

Whose busie tongue, much worse then two edg'd sword did seeme:
Which pratled still, and honestly did neuer once esteeme.

And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchsafe to compare with his horse-keeper, nor *Marius* with one of his sergeants or mace-bearers. But to leaue aside the particular names of all other Princes, Lords, Consuls, Prætors, Captaines, and Gouernours that made warres with *Sylla*: what ROMAINE Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what king liuing was there of such power as king *Mithridates*? And of Generals and Lieutenants of armies in all ITALY, were there any euer more valiant, then *Lamponius* & *Thelesinus*: of the which *Sylla* draue the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and slue the two last? But the greatest matter of all that we haue spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lysander* did all his noble acts, with the aide of his whole country: where *Sylla* to the contrary did his (being banished from his country) by his enemies. And at the selfe same time that they draue *Syllaes* wife out of ROME, that they ouerthrew his houses, and slue his friends also in ROME: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thousands of fighting men in BOEOTIA, and ventured his person in manifold dangers, so that in the end he conquered them all, to the honour and benefit of his country. Furthermore, *Sylla* would neuer stoupe to king *Mithridates*, for any particular alliance he offered him, neither yeeld vnto him for any aide of men, or mony, to war against his enemies: but (a thing most chiefly to be noted aboue the rest) he would not vouchsafe to speake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hand only, before he had spoken it with his owne mouth, & faithfully promised, that he would forgo ASIA, deliuer him his galleys, and giue vp the realmes of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA vnto their naturall kings. This me thinkes was the goodliest act that euer *Sylla* did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to haue preferred the benefit of the cõmonwealth in that sort, before his priuate commodity. For therein he was like vnto a good greyhound, that first pincheth the Deare, and holdeth him fast till he haue ouerthrowne him: and then afterwards followeth the pursute of his owne priuate quarrell. And lastly, me thinkes it is easily iudged, what difference there was betweene their two natures, in that they did both towards the city of ATHENS. For *Sylla* hauing taken it, after the citizens had made fierce wars with him for the increase of king *Mithridates* greatnesse: yet he left it free vnto them, enioying their owne lawes. Where *Lysander* to the contrarie, seeing such a mighty state and Empire as that ouerthrowne from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the liberty of popular gouernment, whereby it had bene gouerned of long time before: and established there very cruell and wicked tyrants. And therefore in mine opinion, we shall not much swarue from the troth, if we giue this iudgement: that *Sylla* did the greater acts, and *Lysander* committed the fewer faults. And that we giue to the one the honour of a continent and modest man: and the other, the commendation of a valiant and skilfull souldier.

Sylla fought with men of greatest power and ouercame them.

Syllaes magnanimity.

Plutarkes iudgement of Sylla and Lysander.

The end of Syllaes life.

THE LIFE OF *Cimon.*

Peripoltas and his poſteritie.

Eripoltas the Soothſayer, he that brought King *Opheltas* out of THESSALY into the country of BOEOTIA, with the people which were vnder his obedience: left a poſterity after him that long time floriſhed in that country, the more part of the which were euer reſident in the city of CHÆRONEA, becauſe it was the firſt city that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expulſed thence. All they that came of that race, were commonly men of great courage, and naturally giuen to the warres: who were ſo forward and aduenturous in all dangers thereof (in the inuaſions of the MEDES into GREECE, and in the battels of the GAVLES) that they were ſlaine all of them, but onely *Damon* (a litle child left fatherleſſe and motherleſſe) ſurnamed *Peripoltas* that eſcaped, who for goodly perſonage and noble courage excelled all the luſty youths of his time, though otherwiſe he was very rude, and of a ſeuere nature. Now it fortuned, that when *Damon* was growne of full age, a ROMAINE Captaine of an enſigne of footemen (lying in garriſon for the winter ſeaſon in the city of CHÆRONEA) fell in great loue with *Damon*: and becauſe he could not reape the fruits of his diſhoneſt loue by no intreaty nor gifts, there appeared vehement preſumptions that by force he went about to abuſe him, for that CHÆRONEA at that time (being my naturall citie where I was borne) was a ſmall thing, and (being of no ſtrength nor power) litle regarded. *Damon* miſtruſting the Captaines villany, and deteſting his abhominable deſire, watched him a ſhrewd turne, and got certaine of his companions (not many in number, becauſe he might the more ſecretly compaſſe his enterpriſe) to bea counſell with him, and take his part againſt the Captaine. Now there were ſixteene of them in conſort together, that one night blacked their faces all with ſoote, and the next morning after they had drunke together, by the breake of day ſet vpon this ROMAINE Captaine, that was making ſacrifice in the market place, and ſlue him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the city, which was ſtraight in a great vprore for the murther committed. Thereupon they called a councell, and in the market place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to ſuffer paines of death: hoping thereby to haue cleared their innocency for the fact done to the ROMAINES. But the ſelfe ſame night, as all the magiſtrates and officers of the city were at ſupper together in the towne-houſe, according to their cuſtome:

The maners and lewd parts of Damon Peripoltas.

custome: *Damon* and his followers stale vpon them suddenly, slue them all, and fled againe vpon it. It chanced about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being sent on some iourny, passed by the city of CHÆRONEA with his army: and because this murther was but newly done, he staied there a few dayes to examine the troth and originall thereof: and found that the commons of the city were in no fault, but that they themselues also had receiued hurt: whereupon he tooke the souldiers of the ROMAINES that remained of the garrison, and caried them away with him. In the meane time, *Damon* destroyed all the country thereabout, and still houered neare to the city, insomuch as the inhabitants of the same were driuen in the end to send vnto him, and by gentle words and fauorable decrees handled him so, that they inticed him to come againe into the city: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus, to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oile in his stoue or hot-house, starke naked as he was, they slue him by treason. And because that there appeared spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard gronings and sighings as our fathers told vs, they caused the doore of the hot-house to be walled vp: yet for all that, there are visions seene, & terrible voices and cries heard in that selfe place vnto this present time, as the neighbours dwelling by do testifie. Now they that were descended of this *Damon* (for there are yet of his race in the country of PHOCIDES, neare vnto the city of STIRIS, who do onely of all other both keepe the language & maners of the ÆTOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMENI, signifying blacke, and besineared wit soote: because that *Damon* and his fellowes did blacke their faces with soote, when they slue the ROMAINE captaine. But the ORCHOMENIANS being neare neighbours vnto the CHÆRONEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hired an informer of ROME, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole city (as if it had bin one priuate person alone) for the murther of the ROMAINES, whom *Damon* and his companions had slaine. The inditement was drawne, and the case pleaded before the gouernour of MACEDON, for that the ROMAINES did send no gouernors at that time into GREECE: and the counsellors that pleaded for the city of CHÆRONEA, relied vpon the testimony of *Lucius Lucullus*, referring themselues to his report, who knew the troth and how it was. Thereupon the gouernor wrote vnto him, and *Lucullus* in his letter of answer aduertised the very troth: so was our city cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stood in danger of vtter destruction. The inhabitants of the city of CHÆRONEA, for that they had escaped the danger by testimony of *Lucius Lucullus*, to honour him withall, they set vp his image in stone in the market place, next vnto the image of *Bacchus*. And we also that be liuing at this present, though many yeares be gone & passed since, do notwithstanding reckon our selues partakers of his forepassed benefit. And because we are perswaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh vs acquainted with mens manners and conditions, is farre more excellent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape only: we will comprehend his life and doings according to the troth, in this volume of noble mens liues, where we do compare and sort them one with another. It shall be sufficient for vs therefore, that we shew our selues thankfull for his benefit: and we thinke, that he himselfe would mislike, for reward of his true testimony, to be requited with a fauorable lie told in his behalfe. But like as when we will haue a passing faire face drawne, and liuely counterfeited, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, yet some maner of blemish or imperfection in it, we will not allow the drawer to leaue it out altogether, nor yet too curiously to shew it, because the one would deforme the counterfeit, and the other make it very vnlikely. Euen so, because it is a hard thing (or to say better, peraduenture impossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first studie to write his vertues at large, and thereby seeke perfectly to represent the troth, euen as the life it selfe. But where by chance we find certaine faults and errours in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the mind, by necessity of the time or state of the common wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednesse proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not need too curiously to expresse in our historie, but rather to passe them lightly ouer, of reuerent shame to the meere frailtie of mans nature, which cannot bring forth a man of such vertue and perfection, but there is euer some imperfection in him. And therefore, considering with my selfe vnto whom I might compare *Lucullus*, I thought it best to compare him with *Cimon*, because they haue bene both valiant souldiers against their enemies, hauing both done notable exploits in warres against the barbarous people: and moreouer, they haue both bene courteous and mercifull vnto their citizens, and were both

Lucius Lucullus examineth the truth of the murther.

Damon slaine by treason.

Asbolomeni, who they were, and why so called.

Chæronea indicted for the murther.

Lucullus called for a witnesse of the troth.

Historie, is a certaine image of mens manners and wisedome.

A pretie similitude.

Howe to describe the life of a man.

Cimon & Lucullus in what things they were alike.

the only men that pacified the ciuill wars and diſſention in their countrey, and both the one and the other of them wan notable victories of the barbarous people. For there was neuer GRECIAN captaine before *Cimon*, nor ROMAINE captaine before *Lucullus*, that had made wars ſo farre off from their country leauing apart the deeds of *Bacchus* & of *Hercules*, and the acts alſo of *Perſeus* againſt the ÆTHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS: and the deeds of *Iaſon* alſo, if there remaine any monument extant ſince that time, worthy of credit in theſe our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together: that they neuer ended their warres, they only ouerthrew their enemies, but neuer ouercame them altogether. Againe, we may note in them a great reſemblance of nature, for their honeſty, curteſie and humanity, which they ſhewed vnto ſtrangers in their countrey: and for the magnificence and ſumptuouſneſſe of their life and ordinarie expence. It may be we do leaue out ſome other ſimilitudes betweene them: howbeit in the diſcourſe of their liues they will eaſily appeare. *Cimon* was the ſonne of *Miltiades* and of *Hegeſipyle*, a THRACIAN woman borne, and the daughter of king *Olorus*, as we find written in certaine poeticall verſes which *Melanthius* and *Archelaus* haue written of *Cimon*. The father of *Thucydides* the hiſtoriograper himſelfe, who was of kin alſo vnto *Cimon*, was called in like maner *Olorus*, ſhewing by the agreeing of the name, that this king *Olorus* was one of his anceſtours, and did alſo poſſeſſe mines of gold in the country of THRACIA. It is ſayd moreouer, that he died in a certaine place called the ditchy forreſt, where he was ſlaine: howbeit that his aſhes and bones were caried into the countrey of ATTICA, where his tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongſt the tombes of them of the houſe and family of *Cimon*, neare vnto the tombe of *Cimons* owne ſiſter called *Elpinice*. Notwithſtanding, *Thucydides* was of the village of ALIMVS, and *Miltiades* of the village of LACIA. This *Miltiades Cimons* father, being condemned by the ſtate to pay the ſumme of fiftie talents, was for non payment caſt into priſon, and there died: and left *Cimon* and his ſiſter *Elpinice* aliue, both orphanes, and verie yong. Now, *Cimon* in his firſt yong yeares had a very ill name and report in the city, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drinker, following his grandfather *Cimons* faſhions vp and downe, as he had alſo his name: ſauing that his grandfather for his beaſtlineſſe was ſurnamed *Coalemos*, as much to ſay, as foole. *Steſimbrotus* THASIAN, who was about *Cimons* time, writeth, that *Cimon* neuer learned muſicke, nor any other of the liberall ſciences, accuſtomably taught to young noble mens ſons of GRECE, and that he had no ſharpe wit, nor good grace of ſpeaking, a vertue proper vnto children borne in the country of ATTICA: howbeit that he was of a noble mind, and plaine, without diſſimulation, ſo that he rather liued PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was euen ſuch as the Poet *Euripides* deſcribed *Hercules* to be:

Cimons linage.

Thucydides linage.

Miltiades died in priſon.

Cimon defamed in his youth.

Coalemos, foole.

Cimons conditions.

A ſimple man he was, and could not well diſguiſe:
As honeſt eke in things of weight, as wit could well deuiſe.

This ſerued fitly to be applied vnto *Steſimbrotus* words written of him: but notwithſtanding, in his firſt young yeares he was ſuſpected of incontinencie with his ſiſter, who indeed otherwiſe had no very good name. For ſhe was very familiar with the painter *Polygnotus*, who painting the TROIAN Ladies priſoners vpon the wals of the gallery, called the *Pleſianaction*, and now *Pœcile*: (to ſay, ſet out and beautified with diuerſe pictures) he drew (as they ſay) *Laodices* face vpon *Elpinices* picture. This painter *Polygnotus* was no common artificer nor hireling, that painted this gallery for moneys ſake, but gaue his labour franckly to the common wealth, as all the hiſtoriographers that wrote in that time do witneſſe: and as the Poet *Melanthius* alſo reciteth in theſe verſes:

Elpinice Cimons ſiſter, vnchaſt.

Polygnotus the painter.

At his owne proper charge, great coſt he hath beſtowed,
In decking vp our temples here with gilded rooſes embowed,
For honour of the gods. And in our tongue likewiſe,
He hath adorn'd the common place, with many a fine deuiſe:
Painting and ſetting forth, in ſtately ſhew to ſee,
The images of demy-gods that here amongſt vs be.

Yet ſome ſay that *Elpinice* did not ſecretly company with her brother *Cimon*, but lay with him openly as his lawfull maried wife, becauſe ſhe could not for her pouertie haue a husband of like nobility and parentage to her ſelfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called *Callias*, being one of the richeſt men of the city, did afterwards fall in fanſie with her, and deſired to marie her, offering to pay her father *Miltiades* fine of fiftie talents, wherein he ſtood condemned a debter to the

Elpinice being poore, had regard to match according to her ſtate and calling.

ſtate,

ſtate, ſo that he might haue her to his wife. *Cimon* was contented, and vpon that condition maried his ſiſter *Elpinice* vnto *Callias*. This notwithſtanding, it is certaine that *Cimon* was ſomewhat amorous, and giuen to loue women. For *Melantheus* the Poet in certaine of his elegies, maketh mention for his pleaſure of one *Aſteria* borne at SALAMINA, and of another called *Mneſtra*, as if *Cimon* had bene in loue with them. But vndoubtedly, he loued his lawfull wife *Iſodice* maruellous well, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, *Megacles* ſonne, and tooke her death very grieuouſly, as we may coniecture by the elegies that were written vnto him, to comfort him in his ſorow. *Panætius* the Philoſopher is of opinion, that *Archelaus* the Phiſition wrote thoſe elegies: and ſure it is not vnlikely, conſidering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, *Cimons* nature and conditions deſerued great commendation. For his valiantneſſe he gaue not place vnto *Miltiades*, and for his wiſedome and iudgement, he was not inferiour vnto *Themiſtocles*: and it is out of all doubt that he was a iuſter and honeſter man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the beſt of either of both in the diſcipline of warres, and for the valiantneſſe of a noble captaine: and he did much excell them both in properties of a good gouernour, and in the adminiſtration of the affaires of a city, when he was but a yong man, and had no experience of warres. For when *Themiſtocles* at the comming in of the MEDES counſelled the people of ATHENS to go out of the city, to leaue their lands and countrey, and to ſhip into galleys, and fight with the barbarous people by ſea in the ſtraight of SALAMINA: as euery man was wondering at his bold and vertuous counſell, *Cimon* was the firſt man that went with a life and iolity through the ſtreete *Ceramicus*, vnto the caſtell, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carying a bit of a bridle in his hand to conſecrate vnto the goddeſſe *Minerua*, ſignifying thereby, that the city had no need of horſemen at that time, but of mariners and ſeamen. And after he had giuen vp his offering, he tooke one of the targets that hung vpon the wall of the temple, and hauing made his prayer vnto *Minerua*, came downe to the hauen, and was the firſt that made the moſt part of the citizens to take a good hart to them, and couragiouſly to leaue the land, and take the ſea. Beſides all this, he was a man of a goodly ſtature, as *Ion* the Poet teſtifieth, and had a faire curled haire and thicke, and fought ſo valiantly at the day of the battell, that he wan immediatly great reputation, with the loue and good will of euerie man. So that many were ſtill about him to encourage him to be liuely and valiant, and to thinke thenceforth to do ſome acts worthie of the glorie that his father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwards, ſo ſoone as he began to deale in matters of ſtate, the people were maruellous glad of him, and were wearied with *Themiſtocles*: by meanes whereof *Cimon* was preſently aduanced and preferred to the chiefeſt offices of honour in the citie, being verie well thought on of the common people, becauſe of his ſoft and plaine nature. Moreouer, *Ariſtides* alſo did greatly further his aduancement, becauſe he ſaw him of a good gentle nature, and for that he would vſe him as a counterpoiſe to controle *Themiſtocles* craft and ſtoutneſſe. Wherefore after the MEDES were fled out of GREECE, *Cimon* being ſent for by the ATHENIANS for their generall by ſea, when the citie of ATHENS had then no maner of rule nor commandement, but followed king *Pauſanias* and the LACEDÆMONIANS: he euer kept his countreymen and citizens in maruellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to do good ſeruice, then any other nation in the whole armie whatſoeuer. And when king *Pauſanias* had practiſed with the barbarous people to betray GREECE, had written alſo to the king of of PERSIA about it, and in the meane time dealt very cruelly and ſtraightly with the confederates of his countrey, and committed many inſolent parts by reaſon of the great authoritie he had, and through his fooliſh pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwiſe, gently entertained them whom *Pauſanias* iniured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his courteous manner, the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing no eye to his doings, he ſtale away the rule and commandement of all GREECE from them, and brought the ATHENIANS to be ſole Lords of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his ſweete tongue, and gracious manner of vſing all men. For the moſt part of the confederates being no longer able to away with *Pauſanias* pride and crueltie, came willingly and ſubmitted themſelues vnder the protection of *Cimon* and *Ariſtides*: who did not only receiue them, but wrote alſo to the councell of the *Ephores* at LACEDÆMON, that they ſhould call *Pauſanias* home, for that he diſhonoured SPARTA, and put all GREECE to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they ſay that king *Pauſanias* being on a time in the citie of BYZANCE, ſent for *Cleonice*, a young maiden of a noble houſe, to take his pleaſure of her.

Cimon ſubiect to laſciuious life.

The praiſe of Cimons conditions.

Cimons perſonage commended.

Cimon generall for the Athenians by ſea.

King Pauſanias through his inſolency and pride, loſt the Lacedemonians all their rule of Greece.

Her parents durſt not keepe her from him, by reaſon of his cruelty, but ſuffered him to cary her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the groomes of *Pauſanias* chamber to take away the lights, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pauſanias* bed that was aſleepe, groping for the bed as ſoftly as ſhe could to make no noiſe, ſhe vnfortunately hit againſt the lampe, and ouerthrew it. The falling of the lampe made ſuch a noiſe, that it waked him on the ſudden, and thought ſtraight therewithall that ſome of his enemies had bene come traiterouſly to kill him, wherupon he tooke his dagger lying vnder his beds head, and ſo ſtabbed it in the young virgine, that ſhe died immediatly vpon it. Howbeit ſhe neuer let *Pauſanias* take reſt after that, becauſe her ſpirit came euery night and appeared vnto him, as he would faine haue ſlept, and ſpake this angrily to him in verſe, as followeth:

Pauſanias killed the yong Bizantine virgine.

Keepe thou thy ſelfe vpright, and iuſtice ſee thou feare,
For wo and ſhame be vnto him, that iuſtice downe doth beare.

This vile fact of his did ſo ſtirre vp all the confederates harts againſt him, that they came to beſiege him in BIZANTIVM vnder the conduction of *Cimon*: from whom notwithſtanding he eſcaped, and ſecretly ſaued himſelfe. And becauſe that this maidens ſpirit would neuer let him reſt, but vexed him continually, he fled vnto the city of HERACLEA, where there was a temple that coniured dead ſpirits, & there was the ſpirit of *Cleonice* coniured to pray her to be contented. So ſhe appeared vnto him, and told him that he ſhould be deliuered of all his troubles ſo ſoone as he came to SPARTA: ſignifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he ſhould ſuffer there. Diuerſe writers do thus report it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the GRECIANS, which were come to him to take his part: was aduertiſed that certaine great men of PERSIA, and allied to the king himſelfe, who kept the city of EIONE, vpon the riuer of Strymon in the countrey of THRACIA, did great hurt and damage vnto the GRECIANS inhabiting thereabouts. Vpon which intelligence he tooke the ſea with his armie, and went thither, where at his firſt comming he vanquiſhed and ouerthrew the barbarous people in battell: and hauing ouerthrowne them, draue all the reſt into the city of EIONE. That done, he went to inuade the THRACIANS that dwelt on the other ſide of the riuer of Strymon, who did commonly victuall them of EIONE: and hauing driuen them to forſake the country, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himſelfe. Whereupon he held them that were beſieged at EIONE ſo ſtraightly from victuals, that *Butes* the king of PERSIANS Lieutenant, diſpairing of the ſtate of the city, ſet fire on the ſame, and burnt himſelfe, his friends, and all the goods in it. By reaſon whereof, the ſpoile taken in that city was but ſmall, becauſe the barbarous people burnt all the beſt things in it with themſelues: howbeit he conquered the countrey thereabouts, and gaue it to the ATHENIANS to inhabit, being a very pleaſant and fertile ſoile. In memorie whereof, the people of ATHENS ſuffered him to conſecrate and ſet vp openly three Hermes of ſtone (which are foure ſquare pillars) vpon the tops of the which they ſet vp heads of *Mercury*: vpon the firſt of the three pillars, this inſcription is grauen.

Butes burneth himſelfe, citie, and friends, for feare of Cimon.

Statues of Mercurie.

The people truly were, of courage ſtout and fierce,
Who hauing ſhut the Medes faſt vp (as ſtories do rehearſe)
Within the walled towne, of Eione that tide,
Which on the ſtreame of Strymon ſtands, they made them there abide
The force of famines pinch, and therewith made them feele
The dint of warre ſo many a time, with truſtie tooles of ſteele:
Till in the end, deſpaire ſo pierced in their thought,
As there they did deſtroy themſelues, and ſo were brought to nought.

Vpon the ſecond there is ſuch another:

The citizens which dwell in Athens ſtately towne,
Haue here ſet vp theſe monuments, and pictures of renowne,
To honor ſo the facts, and celebrate the fame,
Their valiant chiftaines did atchieue, in many a martiall game:
That ſuch as after come, when they thereby perceiue,
How men of ſeruice for their deeds, did rich rewards receiue,
Encouraged may be, ſuch men for to reſemble,
In valiant acts and dreadfull deeds, which makes their foes to tremble.

And vpon the third another:

When

When Meneſtheus did leade forth of this citie here,
An armie to the Troyane warres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He was aboue the reſt, that out of Græcia went,
A valiant knight, a worthie wight, a Captaine excellent,
To take in hand the charge, an armie for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in battell to abide.
That praiſe of proweſſe then (o graue Atheniens)
Is now no newes to fill the eares of theſe your citizens,
Since through the world ſo wide, the fame and worthy priſe,
For martiall feates, to you of yore hath iudged bene alwaies.

Now though *Cimons* name be not compriſed in theſe inſcriptions, yet they thought that this was a ſingular honor to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themiſtocles* had euer the like. For when *Miltiades* requeſted the people one day that they would licence him to weare a garland of oliue boughes vpon his head: there was one *Sochares*, borne in the towne of DECELEA, that ſtanding vp in open aſſembly ſpake againſt him, & ſayd a thing that maruellouſly pleaſed the people, though indeed it was an vnthankful recompence for the good ſeruice he had done to the commonwealth. When you haue *Miltiades* (ſayd he) ouercome the barbarous people alone in battell, then aske to be honoured alone alſo. But how was it then, that *Cimons* ſeruice was ſo acceptable to the ATHENIANS? It was in mine opinion, becauſe they had with other captaines fought to defend themſelues and their country only: and that vnder the conduction of *Cimon*, they had aſſaulted and driuen their enemies home to their owne doores, where they conquered the cities of EIONE & of AMPHIPOLIS, which afterwards they did inhabit with their owne citizens, and wan there alſo the Ile of SCYROS, which *Cimon* tooke vpon this occaſion. The DOLOPIANS did inhabite it, who were idle people, and liued without labour or tillage, and had bene rouers on the ſea of a wonderful long time, vſing piracy altogether to maintaine themſelues withal: ſo that in the end they ſpared not ſo much as the marchants and paſſengers that harbored in their hauens, but robbed certaine THESSALIANS that went thither to trafficke. And when they had taken their goods from thē, yet would they caſt thē in priſon beſides. Howbeit the priſoners found meanes to eſcape, & after they had ſaued themſelues, repaired to the parliament of the AMPHICTYONS, which is a generall councell of all the ſtates and people of GREECE. The AMPHICTYONS vnderſtanding the matter, condemned the citie of the SCYRIANS to pay a great ſum of money. The citizens refuſed to be contributaries to the payment of the fine, and bad them that robbed the merchants and had the goods in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, becauſe there was no other likelihood, but that the theeues thēſelues ſhould be driuen to anſwer the fine, they fearing it, wrote letters vnto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his army and they would deliuer their citie into his hands: the which was performed. And thus *Cimon* hauing conquered this Iland, draue out the DOLOPIANS thence, and rid the ſea ÆGEVM of all pirates thereby. That done, remēbring that the ancient *Theſeus*, the ſon of *Ægeus*, flying from ATHENS came into that Iland of SCYROS, where king *Lycomedes* ſuſpecting his comming had traiterouſly ſlaine him: *Cimon* was maruellous carefull to ſeeke out his tombe, becauſe the ATHENIANS had an Oracle & prophecy, that commanded them to bring his aſhes and bones backe againe to ATHENS, and to honor him as a demy god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the inhabitants of the Iland would neuer before cōfeſſe where it was, nor ſuffer any man to ſeeke it out, till he at the laſt with much ado found the tombe, put his bones aboord the Admirall galley ſumptuouſly decked and ſet forth, and ſo brought him againe into his countrey, foure hundred yeares after *Theſeus* death. For this, the people thanked him maruellouſly, and thereby he wan exceedingly the ATHENIANS good wils: and in memorie of him they celebrated the iudgement of the tragicall playes of the Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a yong man had played his firſt tragedy, *Aphepſion* the preſident perceiuing there was great ſtrife and contention amongſt the lookers on, would not draw them by lots that ſhould be Iudges of this play, to giue the victorie vnto that Poet that had beſt deſerued: but when *Cimon* and the other captaines were come into the Theater to ſee the ſame (after they had made their accuſtomed oblations vnto the god, in honour of whom theſe playes were celebrated) he ſtayed and made them to miniſter an oath vnto ten (which were of euery tribe of the people one) and the oath being giuen, he cauſed them to ſit as Iudges to giue ſentence, which of the Poets ſhould cary away the priſe. This made all the Poets

Sochares Decelean ſpake againſt Miltiades requeſt for the garland of Oliue boughes.

Cimon wan the Ile of Scyros.

The councell of the Amphictyons.

Theſeus bones brought to Athens 470 yeares after his death by Cimon.

Sophocles and AEſchylus contention for victorie.

striue and contend who best should do, for the honour of the Iudges: but *Sophocles* by their sentence bare away the victorie. But *Æschilus* (as they say) was so angry and grieued withall, that he taried not long after in Athens, and went for spite into Sicilia, where he died, and was buried neere vnto the citie of Gela. *Ion* writeth that he being but a young boy, newly come from Chio vnto Athens, supped one night with *Cimon* at *Laomedons* house, and that after supper when they had giuen the gods thankes, *Cimon* was intreated by the company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that euery man praised him that heard him, and sayd he was more curteous then *Themistocles* farre: who being in like company, and requested also to play vpon the cithern, answered them, he was neuer taught to sing nor play vpon the citherne, howbeit he could make a poore village to become a rich & mightie citie. After that done, the company discoursing from one matter to another, as it falleth out commonly in speech, they entred in talke of *Cimons* doings: and hauing rehearsed the chiefest of them, he himselfe told one, which was the noblest and wisest part of all the rest that euer he played. For the Athenians and their confederates together, hauing taken a great number of barbarous people prisoners, in the cities of Sestos and of Bizantivm, the confederates to honour him withall, gaue him the pretheminence to diuide the spoile amongst them. Whereupon he made the diuision, and set out the bodies of the barbarous people all naked by themselues, and layd the spoiles and their apparell by themselues. The confederates found this distribution very vnequall: but neuertheless *Cimon* gaue them the choise to chuse which of the two they would, and that the Athenians should be contented with that which they left. So there was a Samian Captaine called *Herophytus*, that gaue the confederates counsell rather to take the spoiles of the Persians, then the Persians themselues, and so they did: for they tooke the spoile of the prisoners goods and apparell, and left the men vnto the Athenians. Whereupon *Cimon* was thought at that time of the common soldiers to be but an ill deuider of spoile, because that the confederates caried away great store of chaines, carkanets, and bracelets of gold, and goodly rich purple apparell after the Persian fashion: and the Athenians brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and vnacquainted with paine and labour. But shortly after, the parents and friends of these prisoners, came out of Phrygia and Lydia, and redeemed euery man of them at a great ransome: so that *Cimon* gathered such a masse of readie money together by their ransome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his galleys with the same for the space of foure moneths after, and left a great summe of money besides in the sparing treasure of Athens. *Cimon* by this meanes being now become rich, bestowed the goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous people, more honourably againe, in relieuing his poore decayed citizens: for he brake vp all his hedges and inclosures, and layd them plaine and open, that trauellers passing by, and his owne poore citizens, might take as much fruite thereof as they would, without any manner of danger. And furthermore, he kept a continuall table in his house, not furnished with many dishes, but with meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore countreymen were daily refreshed, that would come vnto that ordinary: so as they needed not otherwise care to labour for their liuing, but might be the readier, and haue the more leisure to serue the commonwealth. Yet *Aristotle* the Philosopher writeth, that it was not for all the Athenians indifferently, that he kept this ordinarie table: but for his poore townes men only in the village of Lacia, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwayes certaine young men waiting on him of his houshold seruants well apparelled, and if he met by chance as he went vp and downe the citie, any old citizen poorely arrayed, he made one of these yong men strip himselfe, & change apparell with the old man: and that was very well thought of, and they all honoured him for it. Moreouer, these young men caried euer good store of money about them: and when they met with any honest poore citizen in the market place, or elsewhere, knowing his pouerty, they secretly gaue him mony in his hand, and sayd neuer a word. Which the Poet selfe *Cratinus* seemeth to speake of, in a comedie of his intituled the Archiloches.

Æschylus ouercome by Sophocles dwelleth in Sicilia, and dieth there. Cimon sang passing sweetly.

Herophytus Samian, gaue counsell to chuse the spoile.

Cimons liberalitie and hospitalitie.

Cimons charitie.

I am Metrobius the secretarie, he
Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be:
At wealthy Cimons boord, where want was neuer found,
Whose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to passe mine aged yeares away,
With that right noble godly man, which was the Grecians stay.

Furthermore,

Furthermore, *Gorgias Leontine* ſaid, that *Cimon* got goods to vſe them, and that he vſed them to be honoured by them. And *Critias* that was one of the thirty tyrants of ATHENS, he wiſheth and deſireth of the gods in his Elegies: *How Cimon vſed his goods*

The goods of Scopas heyres, the great magnificence
And noble heart of Cimon, he who ſpared none expence:
The glorious victories and high triumphant ſhowes,
Of good Ageſilaus king: good gods, oh grant me thoſe.

The name of *Lichas* SPARTAN, hath bene famous amongſt the GRECIANS: and yet we know no other cauſe why, ſauing that he vſed to feaſt ſtrangers that came to LACEDÆMON on their feſtiuall day, to ſee the ſports and exerciſes of the young men dauncing naked in the citie. But the magnificence of *Cimon*, did farre exceede the auncient liberalitie, courteſie, and hoſpitalitie of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the firſt men that taught the GRECIANS throughout all GREECE, how they ſhould ſow corne, and gather it to maintaine themſelues withall, and alſo ſhewed them the vſe of wels, and how they ſhould light and keepe fire. But *Cimon* making an hoſpitall of his owne houſe, where all his poore citizens were fed and relieued, and permitting ſtrangers that trauelled by his grounds to gather ſuch fruites there, as the time and ſeaſon of the yeare yeelded: he brought againe (as it were) into the world, the goods to be common amongſt them, as the Poets ſay they were in the old time of *Saturnes* raigne. And now, where ſome accuſed this honeſt liberalitie of *Cimon*, obiecting that it was but to flatter the common people withall, and to winne their good wils by that meanes: the maner of life he led, accompanying his liberalitie, did vtterly confute and ouerthrow their opinions that way of him. For *Cimon* euer took part with the nobilitie, and liued after the LACEDÆMONIANS maner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies againſt *Themiſtocles*, who without all compaſſe of reaſon increaſed the authoritie and power of the people: and for this cauſe he ioyned with *Ariſtides*, and was againſt *Ephialtes*, who would for the peoples ſake haue put downe and aboliſhed *Areopagus* court. And where all other gouernours in his time were extortioners and bribe-takers, (*Ariſtides* and *Ephialtes* onely excepted) he to the contrary led an vncorrupt life in adminiſtratiõ of iuſtice, and euer had cleane hands, whatſoeuer he ſpake or did for the ſtate and commonwealth, and would therefore neuer take money of any man liuing. And for proofe hereof, we find it written, that a noble man of PERSIA called *Reſaces*, being a traitour to his maiſter the king of PERSIA, fled on a time vnto ATHENS: where being continually baited and wearied, with the common accuſations of theſe talebearers & pickthanks, that accuſed him to the people, he repaired at the length vnto *Cimon*, and brought him home to his owne doore two bowles, the one full of darickes of gold, and the other of darickes of ſiluer, which be peeces of mony ſo called, becauſe that the name of *Darius* was written vpon them. *Cimon* ſeeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather chuſe, to haue him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous nobleman aunſwered him, that he had rather haue him his friend. Then ſaid *Cimon* to him again, away with thy gold and ſiluer, and get thee hence: for if I be thy friend, that gold and ſiluer ſhall euer be at my commandement, to take and diſpoſe it as I haue need. About that time began the confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the wars againſt the barbarous people, deſiring thencefoorth to liue quietly, and to haue leyſure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke alſo, cõſidering that they had driuen their enemies out of their country, and that now they did them no more hurt: by reaſon wherof they payed the mony they were ſeſſed at, but they would furniſh no moe men nor ſhips as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to it by all the meanes they could, and proſecuted law againſt them that failed paiment, condemning them in great fines, and that ſo cruelly, that they made the ſeigniorie and dominion of the ATHENIANS hatefull vnto their confederates. Howbeit *Cimon* tooke a contrarie courſe to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take money and void ſhips of them that would not, or could not ſerue in their perſons, being very glad to ſuffer them to become ſlouthfull mongrels in their houſes, by too much reſt, and to tranſpoſe themſelues from good ſouldiers which they had bene, to labourers, merchants, and farmers, altogether altered from armes and warres, through the beaſtly ſlouthful deſire they had to liue pleaſantly at home. And contrarily, cauſing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after another to ſerue in gallies, he ſo acquainted thẽ with continual pains in his voiages, that he made thẽ in ſhort ſpace become lords & maiſters ouer them that gaue thẽ pay & entertainment. For they began by litle & litle to

The hoſpitality of Lichas Spartan.

Cimons godly acts.

Cimon brought the golden world againe.

Cimons integretitie and cleane hands.

Reſaces attempted to bribe Cimon.

Darickes, whereof ſo called.

A noble ſaying of Cimon.

The benefite of paines and ſeruice: and the diſcommodity of eaſe and idleneſſe.

flatter and feare the ATHENIANS, whom they saw trained continually in the warres, euer bearing armour, and carying their weapons in their hands, becomming expert souldiers at their charge, by reason of the pay they gaue them: so that in the end, they became subiects and contributaries as it were vnto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there neuer was GRECIAN Captaine that bridled more the crueltie and power of that mighty PERSIAN king, then *Cimon* did: for after he had driuen him out of all GREECE, he left him not so, but following him foot-hote, as we commonly say, before the barbarous people could take breath, or giue wise and direct order for their doings, he made so great speed, that he tooke some of their cities from them by force, and other some by practise, causing them to rebell against the king, and turne to the GRECIANS side: insomuch as there was not a man of warre left for the king of PERSIA in all ASIA, from the country of IONIA, directly downe to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being aduertised that the kings Captaines were vpon the coast of PAMPHYLIA with a great armie by sea, because he would feare them in such sort, that they should not dare any more to shew themselues vpon the sea, on this side of the Iles of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Ile of GNIDOS, and from the city of TRIOPIVM, with two hundred gallies, the which at the first had bene excellently well made and deuised by *Themistocles*, as well for swift sailing, as for easie turning. Howbeit *Cimon* made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carie the greater number of men of warre in battell, to assault the enemies. And so went first against the PHASELITES (who were GRECIANS borne, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the GRECIANS part, nor receiue their army into their hauens) landed there, destroyed all the country, and then came and camped with his army hard at their wals. But the men of CHIO being auncient friends of the PHASELITES, and in *Cimons* army at that iourney, did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gaue aduertisement to them of the citie of their doings, by letters, which they tyed to their arrowes, and shot ouer the wals. So as in the end they procured their peace with condition, that the PHASELITES should pay ten talents for a fine: and furthermore should also follow the army of the GRECIANS, and from thenceforth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous people. Now *Ephorus* saith, that the PERSIAN captaine that had charge of the army by sea, was called *Tithraustes*, and the Captaine of the army by land, *Pherendates*. But *Callisthenes* writeth, that *Ariomandes* the son of *Gobrias*, was the kings Lieutenant, hauing chiefe authoritie ouer the whole army that lay at anker before the riuer of Eurymedon, and had no desire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of fourescore saile of the PHOENICIANS, that should come to them from CYPRVS. But *Cimon* contrarily, sought to fight before these gallies of the PHOENICIANS came to ioyne with them, and put his gallies in order of battell, determining to giue a charge and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not: which the barbarous people perceiuing, drew nearer into the mouth of the riuer Eurymedon, because they shold not compasse them in behind, nor force them to come to battel against their wils. Which notwithstanding when they saw the ATHENIANS come to set vpon them where they lay, they made out against them a fleete of sixe hundred saile, as *Phanodemus* declareth: or as *Ephorus* writeth, three hundred and fiftie saile onely. But they did nothing worthie of so great a power, at the least touching the fight by sea, but turned their prores straight to the riuer: where such as could recouer the mouth thereof in time saued themselues, flying to their armie by land, which was not farre from that place set also in order of battell. But the rest that were taken tardie by the way, they were slaine, and their gallies sunke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them: for many were saued, as it is likely, and many also were splitted to peeces, and yet the ATHENIANS tooke two hundred of them prisoners. In the meane season, their armie by land came nearer to the sea side: which *Cimon* perceiuing, stood in some doubt whether he should land his men or not, because it seemed a hard and daungerous thing vnto him, to land in spite of his enemies: and to put forth the GRECIANS alreadie wearied with the first battell against the barbarous people, who were altogether whole, fresh, and lustie, and withall many in number against one. Neuertheles, perceiuing that his men trusted in their force, besides the courage which the first victory gaue them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the enemies: he put them on land while they were hote yet with the first battell. And so with great furie and loud cries they ran immediatly against the barbarous people, who stood still and stirred not, and receiued their first charge very valiantly: by reason whereof, the battell grew sharpe and bloudy, insomuch as there were slaine all the greatest personages and

Cimon plagued the Persians.

Chio an Ile.

Cimon wan the city of Phaselis.

Ariomandes the kings Lieutenant of his whole army by sea, riding at anker before the riuer of Eurymedon.

Cimõs victorie of the Persians both by sea and land.

Cimon tooke two hundred saile prisoners at the battell fought by the riuer of Eurymedon.

and men of best account of all the ATHENIANS armie. But the other fought it out so valiantly, that in the end they wanne the field, and with maruellous difficultie made the barbarous people flie, whereof they slue a great number in the place, and tooke the rest prisoners with all their tents and pauilions, which were full of all sorts of riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valiant champion of the holy games, hauing in one selfe day wonne two victories, and hauing excelled the battell by sea also which the GRECIANS had wonne within the channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wanne then vpon the land: and the battell which the GRECIANS wanne by land before the citie of PLATÆES, with that which he wanne the day before on the sea: yet he was not contented with all this. For after two so famous victories obtained, he would once againe fight for the honour of the tokens of triumph: and being aduertised that the fourescore saile of the PHOENICIANS (comming too late to be present at the first battell by sea) were arriued at the head of *Hydra*, he sailed thither with all possible speed. Now the Captaines of this fleete, knew no certaintie of the ouerthrow of their chiefest armie, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was ouerthrowne in that sort: and therefore were they so much the more affraid, when they descried a farre off the victorious armie of *Cimon*. To conclude, they lost all their shippes, and the greatest part of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This victorie against the PERSIANS did so daunt and plucke downe the pride and loftie mind of the barbarous PERSIAN king, as he made that condition of peace so much spoken of in auncient histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his armies thencefoorth should come no nearer to the GRECIAN sea, then the carriere of a horse, and that he would saile no farther forward then the Isles CHELIDONIANS, and CYANEANS, with any galleys or other ships of warre. Howbeit the historiographer *Callisthenes* writeth, that it was no part of any article comprised within the condition of peace, but that the king kept it for the feare he had of this so great an ouerthrow: and that afterwards he kept so farre from the GRECIAN sea, that *Pericles* with fiftie saile, and *Ephialtes* with thirtie onely, did saile beyond the Isles CHELIDONIÆ, and no barbarous fleete euer came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common actes of ATHENS, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the articles of this peace are found written at large, as a thing that was true indeede. And it is said, that for this occasion the ATHENIANS built an altar of peace, and that they did *Callias* great honour, for that he was sent Ambassador vnto the king of PERSIA to take his oath for confirmation of this peace. So when all these spoiles of the enemies were sold to them that would giue most, there was such store of gold and siluer in the sparing coffers of their treasurie, that there was enough to serue their turne for any seruice they would employ it to, and besides that, they had sufficient to build vp the side of the wall of the castle which looketh towards the South, this voyage and great spoile did so enrich them. And it is said moreouer, that the building of the long wals that ioyne to the citie with the hauen, which they call the legs, was built and finished afterwards: howbeit the first foundations therof were built with the mony *Cimon* gaue towards it, for that the worke met with moorish & waterie places, by meane whereof they were driuen to fill vp the marishes with force of flints and great logs, which they threw vnto the bottome. It was he also that first did beautifie and set forth the city of ATHENS, with places of liberall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plane trees to be set in the market place: and the Academie which before was very drie and naked, he made it now a pleasant groue, and full of goodly springs which he brought into it, and made fine couered arbors to walke in, and goodly long smooth alleys to runne a good course in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certain PERSIANS dwelling in CHERRONESVS (to say a demy Ile of the country of THRASIA) wold not be gotten out, but sent to the people of high THRASIA, to pray their aide to defend themselues against *Cimon*: of whom they made but litle account, because he was departed from ATHENS with a very few ships, who set vpon them onely with foure gallies, and tooke thirteene of theirs. And so hauing driuen the PERSIANS out of CHERRONESVS, and subdued the THRASIANS, he conquered all the countrey of CHERRONESVS, from THRASIA vnto his owne countrey. And departing from thence, went against thē of the Ile of THASOS, that had rebelled against the ATHENIANS: and hauing ouercome them in battell by sea, he wan three and thirty of their ships, and besides that tooke their city by siege, and wanne the mines of gold lying beyond the same to the ATHENIANS, with all the lands that belonged vnto them. This conquest made his way open into MACEDON, and gaue him great oportunitie to haue taken the best part thereof

Cimon ouercame the battell of the barbarous people also by land.

Cimō brought the king of Persia to condition of peace.

Callias sent Ambassador to take the oth of the king of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of certaine common buildings

Cimon draue the Persians out of Thracia.

at that preſent time. But becauſe he let it alone, and followed not that oportunitie, he was ſuſpected to haue taken money, and to haue bene bribed by preſents of king *Alexander*: whereupon his ſecret enemies laid their heads together, and accuſed him. But *Cimon* to cleare himſelfe before the Iudges of this accuſation, ſaid vnto them: I haue practiſed friendſhip neither with the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very rich and wealthie people: neither haue I taken their matters in hand, as ſome other haue done, to receiue both honor and profite by them. But indeed I am a friend to the LACEDÆMONIANS, for I confeſſe I loue them, and deſire to follow their ſobrietie and temperance of life, the which I preferre and eſteeme aboue any riches or treaſure: although I am very glad notwithſtanding to enrich our ſtate and common wealth with the ſpoiles of our enemies. *Steſimbrotus* reporteth this accuſation, and ſaith: that his ſiſter *Elpinicé* went to *Pericles* houſe, (who was the ſharpeſt and ſtraighteſt accuſer of his) to pray him not to deale ſo extreamely with her brother: and that *Pericles* laughing on her, ſaid, Alas, thou art too old, *Elpinicè*, thou, now to ouercome theſe matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimon's* cauſe came to hearing, he was a more gentle aduerſarie, then any other of his accuſers, and roſe vp but once to ſpeake againſt him, and that for maners ſake onely: ſo that *Cimon* thereby eſcaped, and was cleared of this accuſation. And furthermore, ſo long as he was preſent in ATHENS, he alwaies kept the ſeditious people iu obedience, who would euer croſſe and thwart the authoritie of the nobilitie, becauſe they would haue all the ſway and rule in their owne hands. But when *Cimon* was ſent abroad any whither to the warres, then the common people hauing no body to gainesay them, turned and altered the gouernement of the city topſie turuey, and confounded all the auncient lawes and cuſtomes which they had obſerued of long time, and that by the procurement and ſetting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of cauſes in manner from the court of **Areopagus*, and put all authoritie of matters iudiciall into the hands of the people, and brought the ſtate of the city into a pure Democratia, to ſay, a common weale ruled by the ſole and abſolute power of the people, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether fauoured the peoples faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding the authority of the Senate and councell ſo ſhamefully defaced and troden vnder foote, was maruellouſly offended withall, and ſought to reſtore the auncient ſtate of iudgement againe as it was before, and ſet vp the gouernement of the nobilitie (called Optimatia) that was eſtabliſhed in the time of *Cliſthenes*. But then began his enemies againe with open mouth to crie out vpon him, reuiuing the old former naughtie rumour that ran of him before, that he kept his owne ſiſter: and furthermore accuſing him, that he did fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS. And amongſt other things there ranne in the peoples mouths the verſes of the poet *Eupolis*, which were made againſt *Cimon*:

No wicked man he was, but very negligent,
And therewithall to wine much more, then vnto mony bent.
He ſtale ſometimes away, at Sparta for to ſleepe:
And left poore Elpinice his wife at home alone to weepe.

And if it be ſo, that being thus negligent and giuen to wine, he haue gotten ſo many cities, and won ſuch ſundry great battels: it is out of doubt then, that if he had bene ſober and carefull, there had neuer bene before him nor ſince any GRECIAN captaine, that had paſſed him in glorie of the warres. Indeed it is true, that from the beginning he euer loued the manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS: for of two twins which he had by his wife *Clitoria*, he named the one of them *Lacedæmonius*, and the other *Eleus*, as *Steſimbrotus* writeth, ſaying, that for that cauſe *Pericles* did euer twit them in the teeth with their mothers ſtocke. Howbeit *Diodorus* the Geographer writeth, that both thoſe two, and another third called *Theſſalus*, were borne of *Iſodice*, the daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the ſonne of *Megacles*. Howſoeuer it was, it is certaine that *Cimon's* credit grew the greater, by the fauour and countenance which the LACEDÆMONIANS gaue him, who had hated *Themiſtocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a young man, did beare more ſway in ATHENS then he: which the ATHENIANS perceiued well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning: becauſe the goodwill of the LACEDÆMONIANS towards him, did bring them great commodity. For when the ATHENIANS began to grow of great power, and to practiſe ſecretly, that the confederates of the GRECIANS ſhould forſake the LACEDÆMONIANS to ioyne with them: the LACEDÆMONIANS were not angry withall, for the honor and loue they bare vnto *Cimon*, who did alone in manner manage all the affaires of GREECE at that time, becauſe he was very curteous vnto the confederates, and alſo

Cimon accuſed & diſcharged.

Cimon praiſeth the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians.

Steſimbrotus the hiſtorian.

** Areopagus vvas a village of Mars by Athens, vvhere the Iudges called Areopagita did ſit to iudge cauſes of murther and other vvaighty matters concerning the common-vvealth.*

Democratia, rule of communaltie.

Pericles in Cimons abſence reduceth the cõmonwealth vnto the ſtate Democratia.

Optimatia the gouernment of the nobility.

Cimon followed the Lacedæmoniã maner.

alſo thankfull vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. But afterwards when the ATHENIANS were aloft and of great power, and that they ſaw *Cimon* ſtucke not for a litle matter with the LACEDÆMONIANS, but loued them more then they would haue had him: they began then to enuie him, becauſe in all his matters he had to do, he euer highly praiſed and extolled the LACEDÆMONIANS before them. But ſpecially, when he would reproue them of any fault they had committed, or that he would perſwade them to do any thing: the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſaid he, I warrant ye do not ſo. That, as *Steſimbrotus* ſaith, made him maruellouſly to be maliced of the people. But the chiefeſt thing they accuſed him of, and that moſt did hurt him, fell out vpon this occaſion. The fourth yeare of the raigne of *Archidamus*, the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus* king of SPARTA, there fortuned the wonderfulleſt and moſt fearefull earthquake in the city of LACEDÆMON, and therabouts, that euer was heard of. For the earth in many places of the country opened, and fell as into a bottomleſſe pit. The mountaine Taygetum ſhooke ſo terribly, that points of rockes fell downe from it. All the citie was laid on the ground and ouerthrowne, fiue houſes onely excepted, the reſt being wholly deſtroyed. And it is ſaid alſo, that a litle before this earthquake came, the young men of that citie were playing with the young boyes exerciſing themſelues ſtarke naked vnder a great gallerie couered ouer: and as they were ſporting together, there ſtarted vp a hare hard by them. The young men ſpying her, ranne after the hare ſtarke naked and oyled as they were with great laughter. They were no ſooner gone thence, but the top of the gallerie fell downe vpon the boyes that were left, and ſquaſhed them all to death. And in memorie of the ſame, the tombe where they were afterwards buried, is called vnto this day Siſmatias, as much to ſay, as the tombe of thoſe which the earthquake had ſlaine. But king *Archidamus* foreſeeing ſtraight vpon the ſodaine the daunger that was to come, by that he ſaw preſent, perceiuing his citizens buſie in ſauing their houſhold ſtuffe, and that they were running out of their houſes: made the trumpetters to ſound a hote alarme vpon it, as if their enemies had come ſtealingly vpon them to take the citie, to the end that all the inhabitants ſhould preſently repaire vnto him (ſetting all buſineſſe apart) with armour and weapon. That ſodaine alarme doubtleſſe ſaued the citie of SPARTA at that time: for the ILOTÆ, which are their ſlaues and bondmen in the country of LACONIA, and the country clownes of litle villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all parts, to ſpoile and rob them vpon the ſodaine that were eſcaped from this earthquake. But when they found them well armed in order of battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then beganne afterwards to make open warres vpon them, when they had drawne certaine of their neighbours vnto their confederacie, and ſpecially the MESSENIANS, who made hote warres vpon the SPARTANS. Whereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent *Periclidas* vnto ATHENS to demaund aide: of whom *Ariſtophanes* the Poet in mockage, ſaid:

A maruellous great earthquake in Lacedæmon.
Taygetum mons.

Archidamus ſodaine pollicy ſaued the city.
Ilotæ ſlaues and bondmen to the Lacedæmonians.

VVith viſage pale and wanne he on the altar ſate,
In skarlet gowne requiring aide, to ſuccour their eſtate.

Againſt whom *Ephialtes* alſo ſpake very much, proteſting that they ſhould not aide nor relieue a citie that was an enemie vnto ATHENS, but rather ſuffer it to fall to the ground, and to ſpurne the pride & arrogancie of SPARTA vnder their feet. But *Cimon* (as *Critias* ſaith) being more carefull for the benefite of SPARTA, then for the enlarging and increaſing of his country, brought it to paſſe by his perſwaſion, that the ATHENIANS ſent him thither with a great power to helpe them. And furthermore *Ion* rehearſeth the very ſelfe words that *Cimon* ſpake to moue the people to graunt his requeſt. For he beſought them that they would not ſuffer GRECE to halt, as if LACEDÆMON had bene one of her feete, and ATHENS the other: nor to ſuffer their citie to loſe another citie their friend, and ſubiect to the yoke and defence of GRECE. Hauing therefore obtained aide, to leade vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, he went with his armie through the CORINTHIANS countrey: wherewith *Lachartus* a Captaine of CORINTH was maruellouſly offended, ſaying: that he ſhould not haue entred into their countrey with an armie, before he had asked licence of them of the citie. For, ſaid he, when one knocketh at a mans doore or gate, yet he commeth not in, before the maiſter of the houſe commaundeth him. But ye CORINTHIANS (ſaid *Cimon* to him againe) haue not knocked at the gates of the CLEONÆIANS, nor of the MEGARIANS, to come in, but haue broken them open, and entred by force of armes, thinking that all ſhould be open vnto them that are the ſtronger. Thus did *Cimon* ſtoutly anſwer the CORINTHIAN captaine againe, becauſe it ſtood him vpon, and ſo went on with his army through

Cimon procured aide for the Lacedæmonians.

the country of CORINTH. Afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent againe vnto the ATHENIANS, to require aide againſt the MESSINIANS and the ILOTES, (which are their ſlaues) who had wonne the citie of ITHOME. But when the ATHENIANS were come, the LACEDÆMONIANS were afraid of the great power they had brought, and of their boldneſſe beſides: wherefore they ſent them backe againe, and would not employ them of all other their confederates that came to their ſuccour, becauſe they knew them to be men very tickle, deſiring chaunge and alterations. The ATHENIANS returned home, miſliking much that they were ſent backe againe, inſomuch as euer after they hated them that fauoured the LACEDÆMONIANS in any thing. And for the LACEDÆMONIANS ſake therefore, taking a ſmall occaſion of offence againſt *Cimon*, they baniſhed him out of their countrie for ten yeares: which was the full terme appointed and limited vnto them that were baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon baniſhment. Now within the terme of theſe ten yeares, the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuned to vndertake the deliuerie of the citie of DELPHES, from the ſeruitude and bondage of the PHOCIANS, and to put them from the cuſtodie and keeping of the temple of *Apollo*, which is in the ſaid city. Wherefore to obtaine their deſire and purpoſe, they came to plant their campe neare vnto the city of TANAGRE in PHOCIDE, where the ATHENIANS went to fight with them. *Cimon* vnderſtanding this, although he was in exile, came to the ATHENIANS campe armed, with intent to do his dutie to fight with his countrymen againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſo went into the bands of the tribe Oeneide, of the which he was himſelfe. But his owne country enemies cried out againſt him, and ſaid, that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their battell, of intent that he might afterwards bring them to the citie ſelfe of ATHENS. Whereupon the great councell of the fiue hundred men were afraide, and ſent to the Captaines to commaund them they ſhould not receiue him into the battell: ſo that *Cimon* was compelled to depart the campe. But before he went, he prayed *Euthippus* ANAPHLYSTIAN, and his other friends that were ſuſpected as himſelfe was to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS doings: that they ſhould do their beſt endeuour to fight valiantly againſt their enemies, to the intent their good ſeruice at that battell might purge their innocencie towards their countrymen: and ſo they did. For the ATHENIANS keeping the ſouldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were an hundred in all, they ſet them apart by themſelues in a ſquadron, who fought it ſo valiantly and deſperately, that they were ſlaine euery man of them in the field, leauing the ATHENIANS marueilous ſory for them, and repenting them that they had ſo vniuſtly miſtruſted them as traitors to their country. Wherfore they kept not their malice long againſt *Cimon*, partly as I am perſwaded, becauſe they called his former good ſeruice to mind which he had done to their country aforetime, and partly alſo, becauſe the neceſſitie of the time ſo required it. For the ATHENIANS hauing loſt a great battell before TANAGRE, looked for no other about the ſpring of the yeare, but that the PELOPONNESIANS would inuade them with a great power: wherefore they reuoked *Cimons* baniſhment by decree, whereof *Pericles* ſelfe was the onely author and procurer. So ciuill and temperate were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefite of their publike ſtate and weale: and ſo much did their ambition (being the moſt vehement paſſion of all other, and that moſt troubleth mens minds) giue place, and yeeld to the neceſſities and affaires of the common weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to ATHENS, he ſhraight pacified the warre, and reconciled both cities together. And when he ſaw that the ATHENIANS could not liue in peace, but would be doing ſtill, and enlarge their dominions by warre, for lucres ſake: to preuent them that they ſhould not fall out with any of the GRECIANS, nor by ſcouring and coaſting vp and downe the country of PELOPONNESVS, and the Iles of GRECE, with ſo great a nauie, ſhould moue occaſion of ciuill warres amongſt the GREGIANS, or of complaints vnto their confederates againſt them: he rigged and armed out two hundred gallies to go againe to make warre in CYPRVS, and in ÆGYPT, becauſe he would acquaint the ATHENIANS with the warres of the barbarous people, and therby make them lawfull gainers by the ſpoiles of thoſe their naturall borne enemies. But when all things were in readineſſe to depart, and the army preſt to ſhip and ſaile away: *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this viſion. It ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw a bitch angrie with him, and barking earneſtly at him, and that in the middeſt of her barking, ſhe ſpake with a mans voyce, and ſaid vnto him:

Cimon baniſhed for ten yeares.

Cimon called from exile.

Cimons dream.

Come hardily ſpare not, for if thou come by me,
My whelpes and I which here do ſtand, will quickly welcome thee.

This

This vision being very hard to interpret, *Astyphilus* borne in the citie of POSIDONIA, a man expert in such coniectures, and *Cimons* familiar friend, told him that this vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this sort. The dogge commonly is an enemie to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing gladdeth our enemie more, then to heare of our death. Furthermore, the mingling of a mans voyce with the barking of a bitch, signifieth nothing else, but an enemie of the MEDES: becausse the armie of the MEDES is mingled with the barbarous people and the GRECIANS together. Besides this vision, as he did sacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Priest opening the beast after it was sacrificed, about the bloud that fell to the ground, there assembled a swarme of Ants, which caried the congealed bloud off from the ground by litle and litle, and laid it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the last spyed it by chaunce, and as he was looking on them to marke what they did, the minister of the sacrifice brought the beasts liuer that was sactificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they iudged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, hauing all things readie for preparation of this iourney, so as he could not well go backe, he launched into the sea, and hoisted saile, and sending threescore of his gallies into ÆGYPT, sayled with the rest vpon the coast of PAMPHYLIA: where he wan a battell by sea of the king of PERSIA, ouercomming the gallies of the PHOENICIANS and the CILICIANS, and cõquered all the cities therabouts, making the way very opẽ to enter into ÆGYPT. For he had no small thoughts in his mind, but reached to high enterprises, & determined vtterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mightie king of PERSIA, and specially for that he vnderstood *Themistocles* was in maruellous credite and reputation amongst the barbarous people, becausse he had promised the king of PERSIA to leade his armie for him, and to do him notable seruice whensoeuer he should haue occasion to warre with the GRECIANS. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made *Themistocles* poison himselfe, becausse he despaired that he could not performe that seruice against GREECE which he had promised: assuring himselfe that it was no easie matter to vanquish *Cimons* courage and good fortune, who lay at that time with his armie all alongst the Ile of CYPRVS, promising himselfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane season, *Cimon* sent certaine of his men vnto the oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, to aske him some secret question: for no man euer knew neither thẽ nor since, for what cause he had sent them thither, neither did they also bring backe any answer. For they were no sooner come thither, but the oracle commaunded them straight to returne: saying vnto them, that *Cimon* was then comming to him. So *Cimons* men receiuing this answer, left the oracle, and tooke their iourney backe to the seawards. Now when they were come againe to the GRECIANS campe, which at that present lay in ÆGYPT, they heard that *Cimon* was departed this world: and reckening the daies since his death, with the instant of their answer receiued from the oracle, that *Cimon* was then comming vnto him: they knew straight that darkly he had signified his death vnto them: and that, at that very time he was with the gods. He dyed at the siege of the citie of CITIVM in CYPRVS, as some report, or else of a hurt he receiued at a skirmish, as other hold opinion. When he dyed, he commannded them that were vnder his charge, to returne into their countrey againe, and in no case to publish his death: which commaundement was so wisely and cunningly handled, that they all came home safe, and not an enemie, nor any of their confederates that once vnderstood any thing of it. So was the armie of the GRECIANS gouerned and led by *Cimon*, though himselfe was dead, the space of thirty daies, as *Phanodemus* writeth. But after his death, there was no GRECIAN Captaine that did any notable thing worthie of fame against the barbarous people, becausse the Oratours and gouernours of the chiefest cities of GREECE stirred them vp one against another, and there was no man that would once steppe in as a mediatour to make peace betweene them. And thus the GRECIANS now did one destroy and spoile another by ciuill warre amongst themselues: which happily gaue the king of PERSIA leysure and time to restore himselfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such vtter ruine and destruction of the whole power and force of GREECE, as no tonng can well expresse. Indeede a long time after, king *Agesilaus* came with an armie of the GRECIANS into ASIA, and beganne a small warre against the Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA'S gouernours of the lower countreys of ASIA: but before he could do any notable exploit, he was called home againe by occasion of new troubles and ciuill wars rising among the GRECIANS, and compelled to returne into his countrey, leauing the treasurers of the king of PERSIA, raising of subsidues and taxes vpon the cities of the GRECIANS in ASIA, although they were confede-

The interpretation of the dreame. Cimons death prognosticated.

The cause of Themistocles willing death.

The death of Cimon.

Cimons death kept very secret.

No famous act done by any Grecians to the barbarous people after Cimons death.

rates of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereas in the time that *Cimon* gouerned, they neuer ſaw any of the kings Sergeants at armes, or Commiſſioner, that brought any letters patents or commandement from the king, or any ſouldier that durſt come neare the ſea, by fortie furlongs. The tombes which they call vnto this preſent day Cimonia, do witneſſe that his aſhes and bones were brought vnto ATHENS. Neuertheleſſe, they of the citie of CITIVM do honour a certaine tombe, which they ſay is *Cimons* tombe: becauſe that in a great dearth and barrenneſſe of the earth, they had an oracle that commaunded them, not to neglect *Cimon*, as the Oratour *Nauſicrates* writeth it, but to honour and reuerence him as a god. Such was the life of this GRECIAN Captaine.

Cimons monuments at Athens.

The end of Cimons life.

THE LIFE OF *Lucius Lucullus.*

Lucullus parents.

AS for *Lucullus*, his grandfather was a Conſull, and ſo was *Metellus* (ſurnamed *Numidicus*, becauſe of his conqueſt of NVMIDIA) his vncle by the mothers ſide. His father notwithſtanding was conuict of fellonie, for robbing the treaſure of the ſtate whileſt he was officer: and *Cæcilia* his mother was reported to haue led an vnchaſt life. But for *Lucullus* ſelfe, before he bare office, or rule in matters of ſtate, the firſt thing he touched and tooke in hand for the cauſe of his countrey, was the accuſation of *Seruilius* the ſoothſayer (who before had accuſed his father) for that he alſo had dealt falſely in his office, and deceiued the commonwealth. And this the ROMAINES thought very well handled of him, inſomuch as a pretie while after there was no other talke in ROME but of that matter, as though it had bene a notable valiant act done by him. For otherwiſe, though priuatly they had no iuſt occaſion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuſe the wicked, and it pleaſed them as much to ſee the young men put law-breakers in ſute, as to ſee a notable good courſe of a dogge at a hare. Howbeit there followed ſuch ſtirre and banding vpon this ſute, that ſome were very ſore hurt, and other ſlaine in the market place: but in fine, *Seruilius* was cleared and quite diſmiſſed. *Lucullus* was very eloquent, well ſpoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latine tongue: inſomuch as *Sylla* dedicated vnto him the Commentaries of all his doings which himſelfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole hiſtorie thereof, and couch it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not onely a readie toung to vtter that he would ſpeake, and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be ſeene to do, hauing matters of ſute or open audience.

Lucullus accuſeth Seruilius the ſoothſayer.

The Romaines thought it a noble deed to accuſe the wicked.

Lucullus eloquence.

Like

Like tanny fish they be, which swiftly diue and doppe
Into the depth of Ocean sea, withouten stay or stoppe.

But afterwards also when ye take them out of their common practise and pleadings:

Then are they graueld straight, withouten grace or skill:
Their eloquence lyes then in dike, and they themselues be still.

For *Lucullus* had studied humanitie from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refresh his wit (after great troubles) he fell to the studie of Philosophie, which quickened the contemplatiue part of his soule, and mortified, or at the least betimes bridled the ambitious and actiue part, specially after the dissention betwixt him and *Pompey*. But to acquaint you better with his learning yet, it is said: that when he was a yong man, he layed a great wager with *Hortensius* the Oratour, and *Sisenna* the historiographer (in iest as it were at the first, but afterwards it fell to good earnest) that he would write the breuiary of the MARSIAN warres in verse or prose, in the Latine or Greeke toung, which soeuer fell to his lot: and I thinke his hap was to dō it in prose in the Greeke toung, because we find a litle Greeke storie extant of the warres of the ROMAINES against the MARSIANS. He dearely loued his brother *M. Lucullus*, as appeared by many manifest proofes: but the chiefest and most noted proofe among the ROMAINES was this. Himselfe was elder then his brother *Marcus*, and yet for all that would neuer sue to beare office in the commonwealth, nor accept any before his brother, but taried alwaies till he should be chosen, and let his owne time passe ouer. This great curtesie to his brother so wanne the peoples hearts, as *Lucius* being absent, they chose him Ædilis, and his brother *Marcus* with him for his sake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARSIANS wars, wherin he did many wise and valiant deedes. The cause notwithstanding that moued *Sylla* to make choice of him, was rather for his constancie, and good courteous nature, then for any other respect. For when *Sylla* had once won him, he euer after employed him continually in his most waightie causes: as in a commission specially, he gaue him to coine mony. For indeed part of the money that *Sylla* spent in the warres against king *Mithridates*, was coyned by *Lucullus* cōmandement within the countrey of PELOPONNESVS: whereupon they were called *Lucullian* peeces, and were currant a long time amongst the souldiers, to buy such things as they stood in neede of, and neuer refused by any. *Sylla* being afterwards at ATHENS the stronger by land, but the weaker by sea, so as his enemies cut off his victuals from him: sent *Lucullus* into ÆGYPT and LYBIA to bring him such ships as he found in those parts. It was in the deepe of winter, and yet he spared not to saile with three brigantines of GREECE, and as many galliots of the RHODIANS, putting himselfe not onely to the danger of the sea in so long a voyage, but of his enemies in like maner: who knowing themselues to be the stronger, went sailing euery where with a great nauie. But for all these dangers, he first arriued in the Ile of CRETA, and wan their good wils. From thence went to the citie of CYRENE, where he found the inhabitants turmoyled with ciuill wars, and continuall oppressions of tyrants: from which troubles he deliuered them, and gaue them lawes to establish gouernment amongst them, putting them in remēbrance of *Platoes* words spoken to their aunceſtors in old time, in the spirit of a prophecie. For when they prayed *Plato* to write them lawes, and to appoint them some forme of gouernment for their commonwealth, he made them answer: It was a hard thing to giue lawes to so rich and fortunate people as they were. For to say truly, as nothing is harder to be ruled, thē a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to receiue councell and gouernment, then a man in aduersitie. This lesson framed the CYRENIANS at that time to be more ciuill and obedient to the lawes *Lucullus* gaue them. When he departed thence, he coasted towards ÆGYPT, where he lost the more part of his shippes by pyrates: but for his owne person, scaping their hands, he was very honorably receiued in the citie of ALEXANDRIA. For all the kings armie came to meete him at sea, gallantly trimmed and appointed: as they were wont to welcome home the king when he returned from any voyage by sea: and king *Ptolomie* himselfe being very young at that time, gaue him as honourable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his Court, and defrayed his ordinarie diet, where neuer straunge Captaine was lodged before: and did not onely spend the ordinarie allowance in feasting of him which he vsed vnto others, but commaunded foure times as much prouision more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, *Lucullus* tooke no more then was reasonable for his person: nor yet would he receiue any maner of gift, although the king had sent him presents to the value of

Lucullus studied Philosophie in his latter time.

Lucullus booke of the warre of the Marsians, in Greeke.

Lucullus loue to his brother Marcus.

Lucius, and Marcus Lucullus both chosen AEdiles.

Sylla gaue Lucullus cōmission to coyne money in Peloponnesus.

Lucullus giueth lawes to the Cyrenians.

A notable saying of Plato.

Lucullus iorny into Egypt.

foureſcore talents. And which more is, would not ſo much as go ſee the citie of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous monuments and wonderfull ſights in ÆGYPT, ſaying: that it was for a man that trauelled vp and downe for his pleaſure, and had leyſure withall, to ſee ſuch things, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the field, at the ſiege of the walles of his enemies. To conclude, this young king *Ptolomie* would in no caſe fall in friendſhip with *Sylla*, fearing leaſt he ſhould thereby put himſelfe into warres: but gaue him men and ſhips to bring him into CYPRVS. And as he was readie to imbarke, the king bidding him farewell, and embracing him, gaue him a goodly rich Emerald ſet in gold, which *Lucullus* at the firſt refuſed, vntill the king ſhewed him his picture grauen in it: and then he accepted the gift, feating leſt the vtter refuſall might cauſe the king thinke he went away diſcontented, and ſhould perhaps therefore lay an ambuſh by ſea for him. Thus hauing gotten a certaine number of ſhips together of the port townes thereabouts, ouer and beſides ſuch as the pyrates and ſea-rouers had hidden, being part of their ſpoiles, and beſtowed with their receitors, went on with them into CYPRVS, where he vnderſtood that his enemies lay cloſe in certaine creekes vnder the foreland, watching to boord him as he ſailed by. Whereupon he vnrigged and beſtowed his ſhips in docks, and ſent word to all the port townes thereabouts, that he was determined to winter there: and therefore willed them to prouide him victuals and other neceſſarie munition to be in readineſſe againſt the Spring. But in the meane while, when he ſaw time conuenient, he put his whole fleete againe to the ſea with all poſſible ſpeede, went himſelfe away, and in the day time caried a lowe ſaile, but in the night packt on all the cloath he could for life: ſo that by this craftie fetch, he wanne RHODES, and loſt not one ſhip. The RHODIANS they alſo furniſhed him with ſhips: and beſides them, he ſo perſwaded the GNIDIANS and the inhabitants of the Ile of CO, that they forſooke king *Mithridates*, and went to make warres with him againſt them of the Ile of SAMOS. But *Lucullus* himſelf alone draue king *Mithridates* men out of CHIO, reſtored the COLOPHONIANS againe to liberty, and tooke *Epigonus* the tyrant priſoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forſake the citie of PERGAMVS, and to retire to the citie PITANE, within the which *Fimbria* kept him beſieged very ſtraightly by land. Wherefore *Mithridates* hauing the ſea open vpon him, ſent for his force and nauie out of all parts, not daring to hazard battell againſt *Fimbria*, who was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreouer was himſelfe a conquerour. *Fimbria* perceiuing what *Mithridates* meant, and hauing no power by ſea of his owne, ſent ſtraight to *Lucullus* to requeſt him to come with his nauie into thoſe parts to his aide, for the ouercomming of this king, the greateſt and moſt cruell enemie that euer the ROMAINE people had. Becauſe that ſo notable a prey, which they followed with ſuch danger and trouble, ſhould not eſcape the ROMAINES, while they had him in their hands, and was come himſelfe within their daunger: and that therefore he ſhould ſo much the more hearken vnto it, becauſe that if it fortuned *Mithridates* to be taken, no man ſhould win more honour and glory by his taking, then he that had ſtopped his paſſage, and laid hands on him, euen as he thought to haue fled. And thereby ſhould the praiſe of this noble victorie runne in equalitie betweene them both: the one that had driuen him from land, and the other that had ſtopped his paſſage by ſea. And furthermore, that the ROMAINES would nothing regard all the famous battels and victories of *Sylla* in GREECE, which he had wonne before the cities of CHOERONEA and ORCHOMENE: in compariſon of taking the king. This was the effect of *Fimbriaes* meſſage ſent vnto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would haue beleeued him at that time (and haue gone thither with his ſhips to ſtop the hauens mouth of the citie, in the which *Mithridates* was beſieged, conſidering alſo that he was ſo neare at hand) this warre had taken end there, and the world beſides had then bene deliuered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether *Lucullus* preferred the conſideration and reſpect he had vnto *Sylla*, whoſe Lieutenant he was, before all other due regard of priuate or common benefite: or that he deteſted and abhorred *Fimbria* as a curſed perſon, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the bloud of his Captaine: or elſe, that it was through the ſecret prouidence and permiſſion of the gods, that he ſpared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reſerued as a worthie enemie, againſt whom he might afterwards ſhew his valure. Howſoeuer it was, it ſo fell out that he hearkened not vnto *Fimbriaes* meſſage, but gaue *Mithridates* time and leyſure to flie, and finally to ſcorne all *Fimbriaes* force and power. But *Lucullus* ſelfe alone afterwards

A notable rich Emerald giuen Lucullus by king Ptolomy.

Lucullus doings vnder Sylla by ſea.

Lucullus ſtratageme.

Fimbria beſieged Mithridates in Pitane

Lucullus wold not aide Fimbria in beſieging Mithridates.

afterwards ouercame the kings army by ſea, once neare vnto the head of Lectum, which is on the coaſt of TROADE: and another time neare vnto the Ile of TENEDOS, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenant by ſea, lay in waite for him with a farre greater number of ſhippes then he had. And yet ſo ſoone as *Lucullus* had deſcried him, he ſailed before all his nauie being Admirall, in a galley of RHODES, at fiue owers to a banke, whereof one *Demagoras* was maiſter, a man well affected to the ſeruice of the ROMAINES, and very skilfull in battell by ſea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other ſide rowed againſt him with great force, commanding his pylot that he ſhould ſo order his galley, that he might ſtemme him right in the prow: *Demagorus* fearing the full meeting of the kings galley which was very ſtrong and heauie, and furthermore well armed with points and ſpurres of braſſe before, durſt not encounter her with his prowe, but nimbly made his galley to wind about, and turned his poupe towards him. Whereby the galley being low at the end, receiued the blowe without hurt, conſidering that they hit vpon the dead works, and thoſe parts which are alwaies aboue water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other ſhips were come, who commaunding his maiſter to turne the beakehead of his galley forward, did many famous actes: ſo that he made his enemies flie, and draue *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to ſeeke out *Sylla* euen as he was readie to paſſe ouer the ſeas, about CHERRONESVS: holpe him to waft his armie, and ſo paſſed him ouer with ſafetie. Afterwards when peace was concluded, and that king *Mithridates* was come into his realme and countries againe, which lye vpon the ſea Maior, *Sylla* condemned the prouince of ASIA to pay the ſumme of twentie thouſand talents for a fine, by reaſon of their rebellion. And for leauying of this fine, he left *Lucullus* there with commiſſion to coine money: which was a great comfort and hearts eaſe vnto the cities of ASIA, conſidering the extremitie that *Sylla* had vſed towards them. For in ſo grieuous and odious a commiſſion vnto them all, as that was: *Lucullus* did not onely behaue himſelfe vprightly and iuſtly, but alſo very fauourably and courteouſly. For, as touching the MITYLENIANS that were openly in armes againſt him, he was very willing they ſhould know their fault, and that for ſatisfaction of the offence they had committed taking *Marius* part, they ſhould ſuffer ſome light puniſhment. And ſeeing that they were furiouſly bent to continue in their naughtineſſe, he went againſt them, & hauing ouercome them in battell, compelled them to keepe within their wals, and layd ſiege vnto their city, where he vſed this pollicie with them. At noone daies he lanched into the ſea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, and ſailed towards the citie of ELEA: howbeit in the night time ſecretly returned backe, and making no noiſe, layd an ambuſh neare vnto the citie. The MITYLENIANS miſtruſting nothing, went out the next morning very raſhly without order, & without any maner watch or ward, to ſpoile the campe of the ROMAINES, ſuppoſing euery man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* comming ſodainly vpon them, tooke a great number priſoners, ſlue about fiue hundred ſuch as reſiſted, and wanne ſixe thouſand ſlaues, with an infinite quantitie of other ſpoile. Now did the gods happily preſerue *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miſeries and troubles which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore ITALIE ſuffer, euen then when he was occupied in the wars of ASIA: and yet notwithſtanding his abſence, he was in as good credit and fauour with *Sylla*, as any of his friends about him. For as we haue ſaid before, he dedicated his Commentaries vnto him, for the goodwill he bare him, and by his laſt will and teſtament appointed him tutor vnto his ſon, leauing *Pompey* out: which ſeemeth to be the firſt occaſion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwards betweene them, becauſe they were both young men, and vehemently deſirous of honour. Shortly after the death of *Sylla*, *Lucullus* was choſen Conſull with *Marcus Cotta*, about the three ſcore Olympiade: and then they began to reuiue the matter again, that it was very needfull to make wars againſt *Mithridates*, and ſpecially *Marcus Cotta*, who gaue out that it was not ended, but only ſlept for a while. Wherfore, when the Conſuls came to draw lots what prouinces they ſhould take charge of, *Lucullus* was maruellous ſory that the prouince of GAVLE, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALY, fell to his lot: becauſe he thought in no country wherein any great exploits were to be done: & againe, the glory of *Pompey* grieued him greatly, whoſe honor daily increaſed by the famous battels he wan in SPAINE. So that it was moſt certaine, that ſo ſoone as *Pompey* had ended the wars there, they would haue choſen him generall in the wars againſt *Mithridates*. Wherfore, when *Pompey* ſent to ROME in earneſt maner, to require money to make pay to his ſouldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not ſend him money the ſooner, he would leaue both *Sertorius* and SPAINE behind him, and bring his army backe in-

Neoptolemus, king Mithridates Lieutenant by ſea.

Lucullus put to flight Neoptolemus Mithridates Lieutenant by ſea.

Lucullus ſtratageme at the ſiege of the Mitylenians.

Lucullus honored of Sylla.

The firſt occaſion of quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus, M. Cotta Conſuls.

to ITALIE: *Lucullus* made all the meanes he could to haue it quickly ſent him, fearing leaſt he ſhould returne into ITALIE vpon any occaſion, while he was Conſull. For he thought that if he returned againe to ROME with ſo great an armie, he would eaſily do what him luſt: and the rather, becauſe that *Cethegus* and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the ſway and rule at ROME, becauſe he ſpake and did all that pleaſed the common people, being a vicious liuer, and diſſolutely giuen, for which cauſe *Lucullus* hated him. But there was another common Oratour among the people called *Lucius Quintius*, and he would haue had all *Syllaes* doings reuoked and broken: a matter to alter euen the whole ſtate of the commonwealth, and to turmoile the citie of ROME againe with ciuill diſſention, which then liued quietly and in good peace. This *Lucius Quintius Lucullus* talked withall apart to perſwade him, and openly reproued him with ſuch words, that he was diſſwaded from his euil purpoſe, and by reaſon ruled his raſh ambition, handling it both wiſely and as cunningly as he could poſſible (for the ſafetie of the commonwealth) becauſe it was the beginning of a diſeaſe, from whence infinite troubles were like to growe. While theſe things were thus in hand, newes came that *Octauius* the Gouernour of CILICIA was dead. Straight wherupon many put forward themſelues to ſue for this charge, and to court *Cethegus*, as the only man who aboue all other might make any man officer whom he thought good. Now for *Lucullus* he made no great reckening of the gouernment of CILICIA in reſpect of the country, but becauſe CAPPADOCIA was hard adioyning to it, and perſwading himſelfe that if he could obtaine the gouernment thereof, they would giue none other (but himſelfe) the authoritie to make wars with *Mithridates*: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none ſhould haue it but himſelfe. And hauing proued ſundry waies, was compelled in the end againſt his owne nature, to practiſe a meane neither comely nor honeſt, and yet the readieſt way he could poſſibly deuiſe to obtaine his deſire. There was a woman in ROME at that time called *Præcia*, very famous for her paſſing beautie, and alſo for her pleaſant grace in talke and diſcourſe, howbeit otherwiſe vnchaſt after curtiſan maner. But becauſe ſhe employed the credit and fauor of them that frequented her company, to the benefit and ſeruice of the commonwealth, and of them that loued her: ſhe wanne the report (beſides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very louing woman, and ready to fauour and further any good enterpriſe, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after ſhe had once wonne *Cethegus*, (who ruled all the commonwealth at his pleaſure) and brought him to be ſo farre in fancie with her, that he could not be out of her ſight: then had ſhe all the whole power and authoritie of ROME in her hands, for the people did nothing but *Cethegus* preferred it, and *Cethegus* did what euer *Præcia* would will him to. Thus *Lucullus* ſought to come in fauour with her, ſending her many preſents, and vſing all other curteſies he could offer vnto her: beſides that it ſeemed a great reward for ſo proud and ambitious a woman as ſhe, to be ſued vnto by ſuch a man as *Lucullus* was, who by this meanes came to haue *Cethegus* at his commandement. For *Cethegus* did nothing but commend *Lucullus* in all aſſemblies of the people, to procure him the gouernment of CILICIA: who after it was once granted him, had then no need of the help neither of *Præcia*, nor yet of *Cethegus*. For the people wholy of themſelues with one conſent did grant him the charge to make warre with *Mithridates*, becauſe he knew better how to ouercome him, then any other Captaine, and becauſe that *Pompey* was in the warres with *Sertorius* in SPAINE, and *Metellus* alſo growne too old, both which two were the only men that could deſeruedly haue contended for this office with him. Neuertheles, *Marcus Cotta* his fellow Conſull, made ſuch ſute to the Senate, that they ſent him alſo with an armie by ſea, to keepe the coaſts of PROPONTIDE, and to defend the country of BITHYNIA. Thus *Lucullus* hauing this commiſſion, went into ASIA with one legion onely, the which he leauied anew at ROME: and when he was come thither, he tooke the reſt of the ſtrength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through couetouſneſſe and delicacy of the country. For amongſt others, were the bands which they called the *Fimbrian* bands, men giuen ouer to ſelfe-will, and very ill to be ruled by martiall diſcipline, becauſe they had liued a long time at their owne libertie, without all obedience to any man. They were thoſe ſelfe ſouldiers that together with *Fimbria* ſlue their generall *Flaccus*, Conſul of the ROMAINE people, and that afterwards betrayed *Fimbria* him ſelfe, and forſooke him, leauing him vnto *Sylla*, being mutiners, traitours, and wicked people, howbeit otherwiſe very valiant, well trained, and painefull ſouldiers. Notwithſtanding, *Lucullus* in ſhort time bridled their boldneſſe meetly well, and reformed the others alſo, who before had neuer proued (in my opinion) what the value

Cethegus a vicious liuer.

Lucius Quintius, a ſeditious Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make warres againſt king Mithridates.

Præcia a famous curtiſan of Rome.

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The gouernment of Cilicia and the warres againſt king Mithridates, were giuen to Lucullus.

Fimbrian ſoldiers very diſſolute and corrupted.

of

of a good Captaine and Generall meant, that knew how to commaund: but were vſed to flattering leaders, that commaunded the ſouldiers no more then they themſelues liked of. Now concerning the ſtate of the enemies, thus it was with them. *Mithridates* that in the beginning was very braue and bold (as theſe flouriſhing Sophiſters commonly are) vndertaking warre againſt the ROMAINES, with a vaine vnprofitable armie, but paſſing freſh and ſumptuous to the eye: after he was once foiled and ouercome, with no leſſe ſhame then loſſe, when he came to make his ſecond warre, he cut off all ſuperfluous pompe, and brought his armie into a conuenient furniture to ſerue for warres at all aſſayes. For he put by the confuſed multitude of ſundrie nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous people in ſo many ſundrie tongues, and clearely baniſht alſo the rich grauen armours with goldſmiths worke, and ſet with precious ſtones, as things that more enriched the enemies that wan them, then gaue ſtrength or courage to thoſe that ware them. And contrariwiſe, cauſed long ſtiffe ſwords to be made after the ROMAINE faſhion, and great heauy ſhields, and brought to the field a maruellous number of horſe, more ready for ſeruice, then rich in furniture. Then he ioyned ſixeſcore thouſand footemen together, appointed and ſet in order like vnto the battell of the ROMAINES, with ſixteene thouſand horſe of ſeruice, beſides thoſe that drew his armed carts with ſithes about, which were in all to the number of a hundred. And beſides all this land preparation, he brought alſo a great number of ſhips and galleys together, which were not decked with goodly golden pauilions, as at the firſt, neither with ſtoues nor bathes, nor with chambers and cabbons, curiouſly hanged for Ladies and Gentlemomen: but furniſhed full of armour, artillerie, and ſlings, and with money alſo to pay the ſouldiers. With all this armie and preparation, he went firſt to inuade BITHYNIA, where the cities receiued him verie gladly, and not thoſe onely, but all the other cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miſeries and diſeaſes, by the crueltie of the ROMAINE farmers and vſurers, who raiſing taxes and impoſts vpon them, made them abide vntollerable things. It is true that *Lucullus* draue them away afterwards, like the *Harpyæ*, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mouthes: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reaſonable by the perſwaſions he vſed vnto them, and qualified a litle the inclination of the people vnto rebellion, being euery one of them in manner willing to reuolt. Now *Lucullus* being buſie about theſe matters, *Marcus Cotta* the other Conſull (and his companion) ſuppoſing that the abſence of *Lucullus* was a fit occaſion offered him to do notable ſeruice, prepared to fight with *Mithridates*. And although he had newes brought him from ſundrie places, that *Lucullus* was with his armie in PHRYGIA, and comming towards him: yet notwithſtanding, imagining that he had the honour of triumph aſſured alreadie in his hands, and becauſe *Lucullus* ſhould be no partaker of it, he aduanced forwards to giue battell. But *Mithridates* ouercame him both by ſea and land: ſo that *Cotta* by ſea loſt three ſcore of his ſhips with all the men in them, foure thouſand footemen by land, and was after with ſhame ſhut vp and beſieged in the citie of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopeleſſe to eſcape, but by *Lucullus* onely aide and meanes. Howbeit there were in *Lucullus* campe, that were verie earneſt with him to leaue *Cotta*, and to go further, aſſuring him that he ſhould find the Realme of *Mithridates* both without men of warre, or any defence at all: ſo that he might eaſily be Lord of the whole. And theſe were the words of the ſouldiers that ſpited *Cotta*, becauſe his fooliſh raſhneſſe and fond imagination had not onely brought thoſe men to the ſhambles to be ſlaine and caſt away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them alſo, that they could not ouercome him, and end this warre without blowes, for that they were driuen to go to his helpe. Howbeit *Lucullus* making an oration vnto them, anſwered, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMAINE citizen, then winne all that his enemies had in their power. And when *Archelaus* (who had bene *Mithridates* Lieutenant in BOEOTIA in the firſt warres againſt *Sylla*, and now in the ſecond warre tooke part with the ROMAINES) aſſured him that ſo ſoone as they ſaw him in the Realme of PONTVS, they would all riſe againſt *Mithridates*, and yeeld themſelues vnto him: *Lucullus* aunſwered him thus, that he would not ſhew himſelfe more fearfull, then the good hunters which neuer ſuffer the beaſt to recouer his denne. And when he had ſo ſayd, he marched with his armie towards *Mithridates*, hauing in all his campe thirthie thouſand footemen, and two thouſand fiue hundred horſe. When he came ſo neare vnto his enemies, that he might eaſily at eye diſcerne all their hoſt, he wondered at the great multitude of ſouldiers that were in their campe, and was in mind to giue battell, ſuppoſing

Mithridates armie againſt Lucullus.

Mithridates armie.

Aſia fell into former miſeries by the Romaine vſurers.

Cotta the Conſull ouercome by Mithridates in battell.

The godly ſaying of Lucullus for the ſauing of a citizen.

Lucullus army.

yet that the better way was to prolong time, and draw theſe warres out in length. But one *Marius* a ROMAINE captaine, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates* with a certaine number of ſouldiers, came forwards, and prouoked him to battell. *Lucullus* for his part did put his men alſo in a readineſſe to fight: but euen as both battels were prepared to ioyne, the element opened vpon the ſudden, without any ſhew of chaunge of weather diſcerned before, and they plainely ſaw a great flake of fire fall betweene both armies, in forme and ſhape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten ſiluer. This celeſtiall ſigne put both the armies in ſuch a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a ſtroke: and this wonderfull ſight foreſhewed (as they ſay) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Otryes. Now *Lucullus* afterwards conſidering with himſelfe, that there was no riches nor prouiſion ſo great in the world, that could ſuffice to victuall ſo many thouſands of people as *Mithridates* had in his campe any long time together, hauing his enemies campe ſo lying before them: willed that one of the priſoners ſhould be brought into his tent, and firſt of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a cabbin, then what corne he had left in their cabbin. And when the priſoner had anſwered to all his demands, he returned him to priſon, and ſent for another: then for a third, and queſtioned with them all as he had done with the firſt. Then comparing the ſtore of their corne, and other proportion of victuals they had, with the number of men the ſame ſhould maintaine: he found that all would be ſpent in three or foure dayes at the vttermoſt. Whereupon he relied on his firſt determination, to delay time without hazard of battell. So he cauſed a maruellous deale of wheat to be brought into his campe out of euerie quarter, that the ſame being throughly victualled, he might eaſily tary the occaſion which his enemies neceſſitie ſhould offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, ſought which way he might take the citie of the CYZICENIANS, who had bene ouerthrowne before with *Cotta* at the battell of CHALCEDON, where they had loſt three thouſand men, and ten of their ſhips. And becauſe that *Lucullus* ſhould not vnderſtand of his enterpriſe, *Mithridates* ſtale away by night after ſupper, taking the oportunitie of a darke rainie night, and marched thitherwards with ſuch ſpeed, that he was before the citie of GYZICVS by breake of day, and pitched his campe, where the temple of the goddeſſe *Adraſtia* ſtandeth, which is the goddeſſe of fatall deſtinie. *Lucullus* receiuing intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his campe, followed him ſtraight wayes ſtep by ſtep, and being glad that he was not met withall of his enemies in diſorder, lodged his armie in a village called THRACIA, in a place of great aduantage for him, and commodiouſly ſeated alſo vpon the high wayes, and throughfare of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they muſt come of neceſſitie to victuall *Mithridates* campe. Wherefore *Lucullus* wiſely foreſeeing what would follow, would not keepe his purpoſe ſecret from his ſouldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his campe, called them to counſell, and there making an oration vnto them, told them openly by manifeſt demonſtration of aſſured hope, that ere many dayes paſſed, he would giue victorie into their hands, and that without loſſe of one drop of bloud. In the meane ſeaſon, *Mithridales* enuironed the GRECIANS round about by land, hauing deuided his armie into ten campes, and ſtopped vp the mouth of the arme of the ſea, which deuideth the citie from firme land, with his ſhips from one ſide to another. Now the CYZICENIANS were valiant men, and determined to abide all extremitie for the ROMAINES ſakes: but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they heare any newes of him, though his campe ſtood in ſuch a place, where they might eaſily diſcerne it from the city. But *Mithridates* ſouldiers deceiued them, for ſhewing them the ROMAINES campe that lay aboue hard by them, ſayd vnto them: do ye ſee yonder campe there? They are the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS, whom *Tigranes* hath ſent to the aide of *Mithridates*. Theſe words put the CYZICENIANS in a maruellous feare, ſeeing ſuch a multitude of enemies diſperſed round about them: that when *Lucullus* ſhould come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to paſſe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Demonax*, whom *Archelaus* ſent vnto them, but they would not beleeue him at the firſt, taking it for a tale, onely to make them to be of good courage, and valiantly abide the furie of the ſiege: vntill ſuch time as a litle boy of theirs, eſcaped from the enemies that before had taken him priſoner, was come againe vnto them. Of whom they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the boy laughed at them, thinking they ieſted to aske that queſtion of him. But when he ſaw they were in good earneſt, he ſhewed them the ROMAINES campe with his finger: then they beleeued it indeed, and were couragious

A flame of fire fell betweene both armies, out of the element.

Lucullus politicke conſideration to deſcipher the enemie.

Mithridates beſiegeth Cyzicus.

The ſtratageme of Mithridates ſouldiers.

couragious againe. There is a lake neare vnto the city of CYZICVS called Daſcylitide, and it is nauigable with conuenient bigge boates. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greateſt of them, put it in a cart, and ſo caried it to the ſea, and there put as many ſouldiers in her as ſhe could well cary, who by night entred into the city, the skoute of the enemies neuer deſcrying them. This ſmall ſupplie did maruellouſly comfort the beſieged CYZICENIANS: and it ſeemeth that the gods, delighting to ſee their noble courage, would further increaſe and aſſure the ſame, by many manifeſt tokens which they ſent from heauen, and ſpecially by one, which was this. The day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina* was at hand, and the citizens had neuer a blacke cow to offer in ſolemne ſacrifice, as their ancient ceremonies required: ſo they made one of paſte, and brought it hard vnto the altar. Now, the cow that was vowed to this ſacrifice, and which they reared vp of purpoſe to ſerue for that day, was feeding amongſt the heard of the city in the fields, on the other ſide of the arme of the ſea. But that day ſhe kept alone from all the reſt of the heard, and ſwam ouer the arme of the ſea, and came into the citie: where ſhe went of her ſelfe vnto the place of the ſacrifice. Furthermore, the goddeſſe *Proſerpina* her ſelfe appeared vnto *Ariſtagorax* in his dreame, Secretary of the ſtate and common wealth of the CYZICENIANS, and ſayd vnto him: I am come hither to bring the flute of LYDIA againſt the trumpet of PONT, and therefore tell the citizens from me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the Secretarie had told them this viſion, the CYZICENIANS maruelled much at the goddeſſes words, and could not imagine what they meant. Howbeit at the breake of day there aroſe a great whiſtling wind, that made the ſea billowes riſe very high: and the kings engines of battery which were brought to the walles of the citie to plucke them downe (being wonderfull workes that one *Niconides* a THESSALIAN enginer had made and deuiſed) began to make ſuch a noiſe, and to breake in peeces by the roughneſſe of the wind, that a man might eaſily iudge what would follow vpon it. Then all at one inſtant, the South wind was become ſo vehement bigge, that in a moment it burſt all theſe engines aſunder, and ſpecially a tower of wood of the height of a hundred cubits, which the wind ſhooke ſo vehemently, that it ouerthrew it to the ground. And it is ſayd furthermore, that in the citie of ILIVM the goddeſſe *Minerua* appeared vnto diuerſe in their ſleepe, all in a ſweat, and ſhewing part of her vaile torne, as if ſhe had bene newly returned from giuing aide vnto the CYZICENIANS: in confirmation whereof, the inhabitants of ILIVM haue a pillar yet vnto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetuall memorie. Now was *Mithridates* maruellous ſorie for the breaking and loſſe of his engines, by meanes whereof, the CYZICENIANS had eſcaped the danger of aſſault, and of the ſiege in like manner, vntill he truly vnderſtood of the great famine that was in his campe, and the extreame dearth to be ſuch, as the ſouldiers were compelled to eate mans fleſh, which (his Captaines abuſing him) had for a time kept ſecret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth indeed, he left off his vaine ambition obſtinately to continue ſiege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not wars with threats and brauery, but (as the common prouerbe ſayth) leapt on his belly with both his feete, that is to ſay, he did what he could poſſible to cut off all the victuals from him. And therefore one day when *Lucullus* was gone to aſſault a caſtell that troubled him very neare vnto his campe, *Mithridates* becauſe he would not looſe that oportunitie, ſent the moſt part of his horſemen to get victuals in BITHYNIA, with all the carts, and beaſts of cariage, and his moſt vnprofitable footemen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the ſelfe ſame night vnto his campe, and the next morning betimes being in the winter ſeaſon, followed them by the tracke with ten enſignes of footemen onely, and all his horſemen. But the ſnow was ſo deepe, the cold ſo terrible ſharpe, and the weather ſo rough, that many of his ſouldiers not being able to abide it, died by the way. For all that, he marched on ſtill, till he ouertooke his enemies about the riuer of Rindacus, where he gaue them ſuch an ouerthrow, that the very women came out of the citie of APOLLONIA, and went to ſteale the victuals they had loden, and to ſtrip the dead, which were a maruellous great number, as a man may iudge in ſuch a caſe: and neuertheleſſe there were taken ſixe thouſand horſe of ſeruice, an infinite number of beaſts for cariage, and fifteene thouſand men beſides, all which ſpoile he brought to his campe, and paſſed hard by the campe of his enemies. But I wonder much at the hiſtoriographer *Saluſt*, who writing of this matter ſaith, that here was the firſt time that euer the ROMAINES ſaw any camels. Me thinkes it ſtraunge how he ſhould thinke ſo, that they who long before had ouercome *Antiochus* the great vnder *Scipio*, and the others that a litle before had fought againſt *Archelaus*, neare vnto

A vvonderfull token of a cowv that came to offer her ſelfe to the Cyzicenians to be ſacrificed.

Ariſtagorax viſion.

Extreme famine in Mithridates campe.

Prouerbe: He lept on his belly with both his feete.

Rindacus fl.

Lucullus ouerthrevv Mithridates horſmen

the cities of ORCHOMENE and CHÆRONEA, ſhould not haue ſeene camels. But to returne againe to our matter. *Mithridates* being feared with this ouerthrow, reſolued with himſelfe immediatly to flie, with all the ſpeed he could poſſibly make: and to entertaine and ſtay *Lucullus* for a time behind him, he determined to ſend *Ariſtonicus* his Admirall with his armie by ſea, into the ſea of GREECE. But as *Ariſtonicus* was ready to hoiſe ſaile, his owne men betrayed him, and deliuered him into the hands of *Lucullus*, with ten thouſand crownes which he caried with him, to corrupt (if he could) part of the ROMAINES army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by ſea, leauing the reſt of his army by land in the hands of his captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed vnto the riuer of Granicus, where he ſet vpon them, & after he had ſlaine twentie thouſand of them, tooke an infinite number priſoners. And they ſay there died in that wars, what ſouldiers, what ſlaues, what lackeis, and other ſtragglers that followed the campe, about the number of three hundred thouſand people. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the citie of CYZICVS, where after he had ſpent ſome dayes, enioying the glorie due vnto him, and receiued the honorable entertainment of the CYZICENIANS: he went to viſite the coaſt of HELLESPONT, to get ſhips together, and to prepare an army by ſea. And paſſing by TROADE, they prepared his lodging within the temple of *Venus*: where, as he ſlept in the night, it ſeemed to him he ſaw the goddeſſe appeare before him, which ſayd theſe verſes vnto him:

Mithridates fled by ſea.
Granicus ſt.
Lucullus ouerthroweth Mithridates footemen by the riuer of Granicus.

O Lyon fierce and ſtout, why ſleepeſt thou ſo ſound?
Since at thy hand ſo faire a prey, is ready to be found.

Lucullus dreame.

Herewith he roſe incontinently out of his bed, being yet darke night, and calling his friends to him, told them the viſion he had in his dreame: and about that verie time alſo there came ſome vnto him from the citie of ILIVM, that brought him newes of fifteene galleys of king *Mithridates*, hauing fiue oares to euery bancke, that were ſeene in the hauen of the ACHAIANS, and that ſailed towards the Ile of LEMNOS. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke ſhip ſtraight, went and tooke them euery one: for at his firſt comming he ſlue the captaine called *Iſidorus*, and went afterwards to the other mariners that lay at anker on the coaſt ſide, who ſeeing him come, drew towards land with their ſhips, in purpoſe to runne them all a ſhore, and fighting aboue hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* ſouldiers, becauſe they could not compaſſe them in behind, and for that alſo the place where they had laied their ſhips was ſuch, as there was no way to force them before, their galleys floting in the ſea as they did, and the others being faſtned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much ado all this notwithſtanding, found meanes in the end to put aſhore certaine of the beſt ſouldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might eaſily land. Theſe ſouldiers went ſtraight and ſet vpon the enemies behind, ſlue ſome of them euen at their firſt comming, and compelled the reſt to cut aſunder the cables that faſtned the galleys to the bankes. But when they thought to flie from land, the galleys bruſed and brake one another: and that worſt of all was, ranne vpon the points and ſpurs of *Lucullus* galleys: and ſo many of them as ſtood aboue hatches were ſlaine, the reſt taken priſoners: amongſt whom, *Marius* the ROMAINE captaine was brought vnto *Lucullus*, whom *Sertorius* had ſent out of SPAINE vnto *Mithridates*. He had but one eye, and *Lucullus* had commaunded his men before they fought, not to kill any of his enemies that had but one eye, becauſe *Marius* ſhould not die ſo happie a death, as to be ſlaine, but that he ſhould die ſome ſhamefull death, and be condemned by order of law. That done, *Lucullus* went in perſon with all the ſpeed he could poſſible to follow *Mithridates*, hoping to find him yet vpon the coaſt of BITHYNIA, where *Voconius* ſhould haue ſtayed him: for he had ſent this *Voconius* before with a certaine number of ſhips vnto the citie of NICOMEDIA, to ſtop him from flying. But he taried ſo long in the Ile of SAMOTHRACIA ſacrificing to the gods of the ſame, and to be receiued into the fraternity of their religion, that he could neuer after come neare *Mithridates* to ſtop him from flying: hauing alreadie made ſaile with all the whole fleete, and haſting with all poſſible ſpeed to recouer the Realme of PONTVS, before *Lucullus* could returne from whence he went. But in ſailing thitherwards, he met with ſuch a terrible ſtorme, that caried part of his ſhips ſo away, that they ranne ſtraggling to ſeeke their fortune, and part of them ſplitted and drowned outright: ſo that all the coaſts and riuers thereabouts, for many dayes after, were full of dead bodies and ſhipwrackes caſt aſhore by waues of the ſea. Now for *Mithridates* owne perſon, he was in a ſhip of great burthen, the which for her greatneſſe could not ſaile neare the ſhore, nor recouer land, ſhe was alſo verie euill to be guided by the pilots in ſo boiſterous a ſtorme: the mariners beſides were put out of all their skill and knowledge:

Lucullus ouercame Mithridates nauy by ſea.

Mithridates in great danger vpon the ſea by tempeſt.

knowledge: and the ſhip her ſelfe moreouer tooke in ſuch ſtore of water, and was ſo heauily charged withall, that they durſt no more put her out to the ſea. By reaſon whereof *Mithridates* was compelled to go aboord a litle pinnaſe of pyrates, and to put himſelfe and his life into their hands, by whoſe helpe in the end (beyond all expectation, but not without great daunger) he got to land, and recouered the citie of HERACLEA in the Realme of PONTVS. Now here is to be noted, that the great brauerie *Lucullus* ſhewed vnto the Senate of ROME, fell out according to his imagination by the fauour of the gods. For when the Senate had appointed for ending of theſe warres, to prepare a great nauie of ſhips, and therewithall had giuen order alſo for three thouſand talents: *Lucullus* ſtayed them by letters, that they ſhould not do it, writing brauely vnto them, that without all this charge and great preparation he would be ſtrong inough to driue *Mithridates* from the ſea, with the oncly ſhips he would borrow of their friends and confederates. And indeed, through the ſpeciall fauour of the gods, he brought it ſo to paſſe: for they ſay, that this terrible ſtorme that deſtroyed the armie of *Mithridates* was raiſed vp by *Diana*, being offended with the men of the Realme of PONTVS, becauſe they had deſtroyed her temple in the city of PRIAPOS, and had caried away her image. Now there were diuerſe that counſelled *Lucullus* to deferre the reſt of this warre vntill another ſeaſon: but notwithſtanding all their perſwaſions, he went through the countrey of GALATIA and BITHYNIA to inuade the Realme of *Mithridates*. In the which voyage, at the firſt beginning he lacked victuals, ſo that there were thirthy thouſand men of GALATIA following his campe, that caried euery one of them a buſhell of wheate on their ſhoulders: howbeit entring farther into the country, and conquering the whole, there was ſuch exceeding plentie of all things, that an oxe was ſold in his campe but for a Drachma, and a ſlaue at foure times as much. And of all other ſpoile there was ſuch great ſtore, that either they made no reckoning of it, or elſe they made hauocke of it, becauſe there was no man to ſell it vnto, euery man hauing ſo much of his owne. For they ran ouer all the countrey vnto the city of THEMISYRA, and to the valleys that lay vpon the riuer of Thermodon, and ſtayed no where longer then they were a ſpoiling. Thereupon the ſouldiers began to murmur at *Lucullus*, becauſe he aſſured all the cities vpon compoſition, & neuer tooke any of them by force, nor gaue them any meanes to enrich themſelues by ſpoile: and yet ſayd they, he would make vs now go farther, and leaue AMISVS a great rich citie which we might eaſily take by force, if it were but a litle ſtraightly beſieged, and leade vs into the deſerts of the TIBARENIANS and the CHALDÆIANS to fight againſt *Mithridates*. *Lucullus* paſſed ouer all theſe complaints, and made no reckoning of them, becauſe he would neuer haue thought that they would haue fallen into ſuch mutiny and furie, as afterwards they did: and contrarily excuſed himſelfe the more carefully to them that blamed and reproued him, for his long tarying vpon townes and villages that were not worth the reckoning, and ſuffering *Mithridates* in the meane time to gather a new force and army together at his pleaſure. For, ſayd he, that is the marke I ſhoot at, & that maketh me linger time vp and downe as I do, wiſhing nothing more, then that he might once againe make himſelfe ſtrong, and bring a ſecond armie to the field, that might embolden him to come eftſoones to fight with vs, and runne away no more. Do you not ſee, ſayd he, that at his backe he hath an infinit number of deſert countries, where it is vnpoſſible euer to follow him by the tracke: and hard by him alſo the mount Caucaſus, and many other vnpaſſable places, which are ſufficient not onely to hide him alone, but infinite number of other princes and kings beſides that would flie battell, and not come to fight? Furthermore, it is but a litle way from the country of the CABIRENIANS vnto the realme of ARMENIA, where *Tigranes* the king of kings inhabiteth, whoſe power is ſo great, that he driueth the PARTHIANS out of ASIA, and caricth whole townes and cities of GREECE vnto the Realme of MEDIA, and hath all SYRIA and PALÆSTINE in his hands, and hath ſlaine and rooted out the kings and ſucceſſours of the great *Seleucus*, and hath caried away their wiues and daughters priſoners by force. This great and mightie king is allied vnto *Mithridates*, for he maried *Mithridates* daughter: and it is not likely that when *Mithridates* ſhall come and intreate him to helpe him in his diſtreſſe, that *Tigranes* will refuſe him, but rather we muſt thinke certainely that he will make warres vpon vs in his defence. And thus, in making haſte to driue out *Mithridates*, we ſhall bring our ſelues into great danger, to prouoke a new enemy, euen *Tigranes* againſt vs, who of long time hath lurked for a iuſt occaſion to make warres with vs: and he can haue no honeſter cauſe to take armes, then to defend and keepe a king his neighbour, and ſo neare a kinſeman, from vtter deſtruction, and

Lucullus ambition commendable.

Lucullus iourney into Pontus.

An oxe bought for a drachma.

The mutiny of Lucullus ſouldiers.

Lucullus oration and excuſe to his ſouldiers.

" " " "

» one that is compelled to ſeeke vnto him for ſuccour. What need we then to prouoke him to pro-
» cure it, and teach *Mithridates* (which he purpoſeth not) to whom he ſhould repaire for aide, to
» make warres againſt our ſelues: & pricke him forward, or to ſay better, put him with our owne
» hands into the way to go ſeeke aide of *Trigranes*, which of himſelfe he will neuer do (thinking
» it a diſhonor vnto him) vnleſſe we driue him to it for very neceſſity. Is it not better for vs to giue
» him leiſure and time, to gather a ſecond force againe of himſelfe, and his owne people, that we
» might rather fight with the COLCHIANS, TIBARENIANS, CAPPADOCIANS, and with ſuch other
» people whom we haue ſo many times ouercome: then with the MEDES and ARMENIANS?

With this determination *Lucullus* taried a great while before the city of AMISVS, continuing this ſiege of purpoſe, without diſtreſſing them at all. Afterwards when winter was paſt, he left *Murena* there to continue the ſiege, and himſelfe with the reſt of his army went to meete *Mithridates*: who had planted his campe neare vnto the city of CABIRA, determining to tary the ROMAINES comming, hauing gathered together againe a new army of fortie thouſand footemen, and foure thouſand horſemen, in the which he put his moſt confidence and truſt, ſo that he paſſed ouer the riuer of Lycus, and went and preſented battell to the ROMAINES in the plaine field. There the horſemen skirmiſhed, and the ROMAINES had the worſe: for there was one *Pomponius* a ROMAINE taken, of great eſtimation, who was brought vnto king *Mithridates* hurt as he was. *Mithridates* asked him, if in ſauing his life, and healing his wounds, he would become his ſeruant and friend. Straight replied *Pomponius*, With all my hart, quoth he, ſo that thou make peace with the ROMAINES: if not, I will euer be thine enemy. The king eſteemed his courage much, and would do him no hurt. And as for *Lucullus*, he was afraid to come into the plaine, becauſe his enemy was the ſtronger of horſemen: and he doubted alſo on the other ſide to take his way by the mountaine, becauſe it was very high, vneaſie to clime, and full of woods and forreſts. But as he ſtood thus doubtfull, they tooke certaine GRECIANS by chance that were fled, and hidden in a caue hard by, among the which there was an old man called *Artemidorus*, who promiſed *Lucullus* if he would beleeue and follow him, he would bring him into a ſure ſtrong place to lodge his campe, where was a caſtell aboue the city of CABIRA. *Lucullus* beleeued the old mans words, wherefore ſo ſoone as night came, he raiſed great fires in the campe, and went his way: and after they had paſſed certaine ſtraight and dangerous wayes of the mountaines, he came in the morning vnto the place where *Artemidorus* had promiſed to bring him. Now the enemies were marueilouſly amazed when day light came, to ſee him there ouer them, in a place where if he liſt to fight, he might come vpon them with aduantage: and if he liked not to ſtirre, it was vnpoſſible to compell him. For he ſtood indifferent then to hazard battell, or not. But in the meane ſeaſon, they ſay certaine of the kings campe by chaunce were a hunting the Hart. The ROMAINES perceiuing that, fell vpon them to cut them off by the way: and they began by this meanes one to charge another in ſuch ſort (reliefe growing ſtil on either ſide) as *Mithridates* men grew the ſtronger. But the ROMAINES ſeeing their men flie from the trenches of their campe aboue, were in ſuch a rage, that they all ranne in a choler to *Lucullus* to pray him he would leade them to battell, and giue them a ſignall to fight. *Lucullus*, becauſe he would ſhew them by experience how much the preſence and eye of a good wiſe captaine in time of need was worth: commanded them they ſhould not once ſtirre, and he himſelfe in perſon went downe into the valley, where he commaunded the firſt of his men he met withall flying, to ſtay, and returne to the fight againe with him. Which they preſently did, and all the other in like caſe: and thus gathering them together againe, did eaſily make their enemies returne, that before had them in chaſe, and draue them backe, fighting with them euen hard to their owne fort. Afterwards vpon this returne againe to his campe, he ſet his ſouldiers that fled, vnto a certaine peece of worke to ſhame them withall, which the ROMAINS are wont to vſe in ſuch a caſe: and that is, that he made them digge a ditch of twelue foote long, being in their ſhirtes, all vntruſſed, and their other companions preſent ſeeing them do it. Now there was in king *Mithridates* campe, one *Olthacus*, prince of the DARDARIANS (which are certaine barbarous people dwelling vpon the mariſhes of Mæotin) a noble gentleman of his perſon, valiant, and skilfull in warres, and a man of very good iudgement to do any great enterpriſe, as any that was in all the army, and furthermore a prince of great good grace and entertainement in companie, knowing how to faſhion himſelfe with all men. This prince, being alwayes at ſtrife with other Lords of the countrey, and contending who ſhould haue the firſt place of honor and fauour about the king: went vnto *Mithridates*, and promiſed

Mithridates camped at Cabira.
Mithridates armie.
Lycus fl.
The conſtancy of a Romaine ſouldier.
Lucullus flieth Mithridates horſemen.
The fight of a Generall in a battell is of marueilous force.
A politicke deuiſe of the Romaines to puniſh couuardly ſouldiers.
The Dardarians what people they be.

promiſed him that he would do him notable ſeruice, and that was, that he would kill *Lucullus*. The king was very glad of this promiſe, and praiſed him maruellouſly in ſecret: howbeit openly of purpoſe he did him many iniuries, becauſe he might haue ſome colour to counterfeit anger and diſpleaſure, and to giue way for him to go yeeld himſelfe vnto *Lucullus*, as he did. *Lucullus* was maruellous glad of him, becauſe he was one of the chiefeſt men of name in all his campe, and to proue him withall, gaue him charge immediatly: in the which he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that *Lucullus* greatly eſteemed his wiſedome, and commended his diligence, in ſuch ſort that he did him this honour, to call him ſometimes vnto the councell, and make him ſit at his boord. One day when this DARDARIAN prince *Olthacus* thought to haue found fit occaſion to execute his enterpriſe, he commaunded his footemen to be readie with his horſe out of the trenches of the campe: and at noone dayes when the ſouldiers tooke reſt, and ſlept here and there in the campe, he went vnto *Lucullus* tent, thinking to haue found no bodie there to keepe him from comming in, conſidering the familiarity *Lucullus* ſhewed him, ſaying alſo he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and ſure he had gone in immediatly vnto him, if ſleepe that caſteth away ſo many other Captaines, had not then preſerued and ſaued *Lucullus* that ſlept. For one of the groomes of his chamber called *Menedemus*, who by good fortune kept the doore of the tent, told him that he came in verie ill time, becauſe *Lucullus* being wearied with trauell and lacke of ſleepe, was but then newly layed downe to reſt. *Olthacus* whatſoeuer the other ſayd to him, would not be ſo aunſwered, but told him he would come in whether he would or not, for he muſt needs ſpeake with him in a matter of great importance. *Menedemus* anſwered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more neceſſarie, then the preſeruation of his maiſters life and health, who had need to take reſt: and with theſe words, he thruſt him backe with both his hands. *Olthacus* was afraid then, and withdrew himſelfe ſecretly out of the trenches of the campe, tooke his horſe backe, and rode ſtraight to *Mithridates* campe without his purpoſe he came for, which was to kill *Lucullus*. And thus it plainely appeareth, that occaſion, and oportunitie of time, euen in great matters deliuereth meanes, to ſaue or deſtroy the life of man, like as drugges and medicines giuen vnto the ſicke and diſeaſed perſons. Shortly after, *Lucullus* ſent one of his Captaines called *Sornatius* to get victuals, with ten enſignes of footemen. Whereof *Mithridates* being aduertiſed, ſent preſently at his taile one of his Captaines alſo, called *Menander*, vnto whom *Sornatius* gaue battell, and ſlue him with great ſlaughter of his men beſide. And afterwards *Lucullus* ſent another of his Lieutenants called *Adrianus* with a great company of ſouldiers, to get victuals into his campe more then he ſhould need. *Mithridates* did not let ſlip this occaſion, but ſent after him two of his Captaines alſo called *Menemachus* and *Myron*, with a great number of men, as well footemen as horſemen: all which were ſlaine, two onely excepted, that brought newes backe to *Mithridates* campe: the which he ſought to ſalue as well as he could, ſaying that the loſſe was much leſſe then it was thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and raſhneſſe of his Lieutenants. But *Adrianus* at his returne, paſſed by *Mithridates* campe with great pompe and maieſtie, carying a huge number of cartes loden with corne and ſpoiles he had wonne: which draue *Mithridates* ſelfe into ſo great a deſpaire, and all his people into ſuch a feare and trouble, that he preſently determined to remoue thence. Whereupon, the nobilitie and ſuch as had place of credit about him, began to ſend before, and ſecretly to conuey their ſtuffe out of the campe, but vtterly prohibiting others to do the ſame. The reſt of the ſoulders ſeeing the ſtoutneſſe of the kings minions, began to ſet vpon them with open force, not ſuffering them on the other ſide once to iſſue out of the campe. This mutiny grew to ſuch a furie, that they ouerthrew their cariages and ſumpter moiles, and ſlue them preſently. Amongſt others there was ſlaine *Dorylaus*, one of the chiefeſt Captaines of all their campe, who had nothing about him but a purple gowne, for the which they killed him: and *Hermæus* the Prieſt of the ſacrifices was troden vnder foote, and ſmothered at the campe gate, by reaſon of the multitude of thoſe that fled in ſo great diſorder. The king himſelfe amongſt others fled, but hauing neuer a one of his gard about him, nor any of the ſquires of his ſtable to bring him a horſe: *Ptolomie*, one of the groomes of his chamber, perceiuing him in the companie of them that fled, lighted off his owne horſe, and gaue him the king, but euen in manner too late. For the ROMAINES that followed him were then euen hard at his taile: and it was not for lacke of ſpeed they miſſed the taking of him, for they were verie neare him: but the couetouſneſſe of the ſouldiers was the loſſe of the prey

Lucullus danger by Olthacus conſpiracy.

Olthacus prince of the Dardarians.

Lucullus life ſaued by ſleepe.

Lucullus victory of certaine of Mithridates captaines.

Mithridates noblemen and familiars, cauſe of mutiny and ouerthrow of his whole army.

Mithridates flieth.

Couetouſneſſe the ouerthrow of ſouldiers.

they had ſo long ſought for, with ſo great paine and hazard of battels, and depriued *Lucullus* of the honour and reward of all his victories. For they were ſo neare vnto him, that if they had but followed *Mithridates* neuer ſo litle further, they had out of doubt ouertaken him, and his horſe that caried him away. But one of the moiles that caried his gold and ſiluer (whether by chance, or of pretended pollicy of *Mithridates*, as a matter purpoſely abandoned to them that purſued him) was found in the middeſt of the high way betwixt him that fled, and the ROMAINES that followed, who ſtayed there to rob the gold and ſiluer, fighting about it, that *Mithridates* by that meanes wan ground ſo farre before them, as they could neuer after come neare him againe. And this loſſe was not all which the couetouſneſſe of the ſouldiers made *Lucullus* to loſe. For, one of the chiefeſt Secretaries of the king being taken, called *Calliſtratus*, whom *Lucullus* commanded to be brought vnto him to his campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had fiue hundred crownes in a girdle about him, for greedineſſe of them, ſlue him by the way, and yet notwithſtanding *Lucullus* ſuffered them to ſpoile and deſtroy the whole campe of their enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* tooke the city of CABIRA, and many other caſtels and ſtrong places, where he found great treaſure, and the priſons full of poore priſoners of the GRECIANS, & many princes a kin vnto the king himſelfe, which were thought to be dead long before: & then ſeeing themſelues deliuered from this miſerable bondage, by the grace and benefit of *Lucullus*, thought with themſelues they were not only taken out of priſon, but reuiued and turned againe vnto a ſecond life. There was alſo taken one of king *Mithridates* ſiſters called *Niſſa*; whoſe taking fell out profitable for her: becauſe all *Mithridates* other wiues and ſiſters whom they placed fartheſt off, as out of all danger (& ſent into a country of greateſt ſafety, neare vnto the city of PHARNACIA) died pitifully, and were miſerably ſlaine. For *Mithridates* ſent one of the groomes of his priuy chamber vnto them called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they muſt all die. Amongſt many other noble Ladies, there were two of the kings ſiſters, called *Roxane* and *Statira*, which were forty yeares old a peece, and yet had neuer bene maried: and two of his wiues alſo whom he had maried, both of the country of IONIA, the one called *Berenice*, borne in the Ile of CHIO, and the other *Monime*, in the city of MILETVM. *Monime*, ſhe was very famous amongſt the GRECIANS: for notwithſtanding king *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being farre in loue with her, in ſo much as he ſent her fifteene thouſand crownes at one time, yet ſhe would neuer giue eare vnto his ſute, vntill ſuch time as the mariage was agreed vpon betweene them, & that he had ſent her his Diademe or royall band, and called her by the name and title of Queene. This poore Lady after the mariage of this barbarous king, had long liued a wofull life, bewailing continually her accurſed beauty, that in ſtead of a husband, had procured her a maſter: & in ſtead of the matrimoniall company which a noble woman ſhould enioy, had gotten her a gard & garriſon of barbarous men, that kept her as a priſoner, farre from the ſweete countrey of GRECE: in change whereof, ſhe had but a dreame and ſhadow of the hoped goods ſhe looked for, hauing vnfortunately left them within her owne countrey ſhe happily enioyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come vnto them, and had commanded them from the king to chuſe what manner of death they would, and which euery one of them thought moſt eaſieſt, and leaſt painfull: *Monime* pluckt off the royall band from her head, and tying it on a knot about her necke, hung her ſelfe, but the band not being ſtrong inough, brake incontinently. Whereupon ſhe cried out: O curſed and wicked tiſſue, wilt thou not yet ſerue me to end my ſorowfull daies? And ſpeaking theſe words, caſt it on the ground, and ſpit vpon it, and held out her throte to *Bacchides* to be cut aſunder. The other, *Berenice*, ſhe tooke a cup full of poyſon her mother being preſent, who prayed her to let her haue halfe, the which ſhe did, and they dranke it off betweene them. The force of the poyſon was ſtrong inough to kill the old mother weake with age, but not ſo quickly to deſtroy the daughter: becauſe ſhe had not taken that proportion which would haue ſerued her turne, but drew out the paines of her death in length, vntill ſuch time as *Bacchides* haſting to diſpatch her, ſhe in the end did ſtrangle her ſelfe. As for the kings two ſiſters, *Roxane* and *Statira*, which were virgines yet vnmaried, they ſay, that one of them alſo dranke poyſon, curſing & deteſting the cruelty of her brother: howbeit *Statira* gaue neuer an ill word, nor was faint harted or ſorowfull to die, but contrarily did commend and thanke her brother highly, that ſeeing himſelfe in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was carefull to cauſe them die, before they ſhould fall as ſlaues into the hands of their enemies, and before they could come to diſhonour them, or do them villany. Theſe pitifull misfortunes went to *Lucullus* heart, who was courteous and gentle of

A ſtratageme of Mithridates.

Mithridates ſlue his ſiſters and wiues.

The courage of Monime Mithridates wife.

Minome her throte was cut.

Berenice ſtrangled her ſelfe.

The courage of Statira Mithredates ſiſter.

of nature: neuertheleſſe he went on farther, ſtill following *Mithridates* at the heeles, vnto the citie of TALAVRA. And there vnderſtanding that he was fled foure dayes before vnto *Tigranes* in ARMENIA, returned backe againe, hauing firſt ſubdued the CHALDEANS, and the TIBARENIANS, taken ARMENIA the leſſe, and brought the cities, caſtles, and ſtrong places vnto his obedience. That done, he ſent *Appius Clodius* vnto king *Tigranes*, to ſummon him to deliuer *Mithridates* vnto him: and himſelfe tooke his iourney towards the citie of AMISVS, which was yet beſieged. The cauſe why this ſiege continued ſo long, was the ſufficiency and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the king, called *Callimachus*, who vnderſtood ſo well how all ſorts of engines of batterie were to be vſed, and was ſo ſubtill beſides in all inuentions that might ſerue to defend a place beſieged, as he troubled the ROMAINES much in this attempt: but afterwards he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labour, but alſo outreached by *Lucullus* for all his fineneſſe. For where before he had alwayes vſed to ſound the retreat at a certaine houre, and to call his men backe from the aſſault to reſt them: one day he brake that order on the ſudden, and comming to aſſault the wall, at the firſt charge wanne a peece of it, before thoſe within could come in time to reſiſt them. *Callimachus* ſeeing that, and knowing it was now vnpoſſible to keepe the citie any longer, forſooke it. But before his departing he ſet the citie on fire, either for malice to the ROMAINES, becauſe he would not they ſhould enrich themſelues with the ſacke of ſo great a citie: or elſe for a pollicie of warre to haue the more leiſure to ſaue himſelfe, and flie. For no man gaue eye to them that fled by ſea, becauſe the flame was ſo great, that it diſperſed it ſelfe euen to the verie wals, and the ROMAINE ſouldiers, they onely prepared to ſpoile. *Lucullus* ſeeing the fire without, had compaſſion of the citie within, and would gladly haue holpen it, and for the purpoſe prayed the ſouldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, euerie one gaping after the ſpoile, making great noiſe with claſhing of harneſſe, and being very loud beſides otherwiſe, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gaue the city wholly to ſpoile, hoping thereby to ſaue the houſes from fire, but it fell out cleane contrarie. For the ſouldiers themſelues in ſeeking all about with torches and linkes lighted, to ſee if any thing were hidden, they ſet a number of houſes on fire. So as *Lucullus* comming into the citie the next morning, and ſeeing the great deſolation the fire had made, fell a weeping, ſaying vnto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happie, howbeit he neuer wondred more at his good fortune, then that day he did. For, *Sylla* ſayd he, deſired to ſaue the citie of ATHENS, the gods granted him that fauour that he might do it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and ſaue this citie, fortune thwarting my deſire, hath brought me to the reputation of *Mummius*, that cauſed CORINTH to be burnt. Neuertheleſſe he did his beſt indeuor at that time to helpe the poore city againe. For touching the fire, euen immediatly after it was taken, by Gods prouidence there fell a ſhower of raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* ſelfe before he left the city, made a great number of the houſes which were ſpoiled by fire, to be built vp againe, and courteouſly receiued all the inhabitants that were fled, beſides them he placed other GRECIANS there alſo, that were willing to dwell amongſt them, and increaſed the bounds and confines of the city which he gaue them, one hundred and twentie furlongs into the countrey. This citie was a colonie of the ATHENIANS, who had built and founded it, in the time that their Empire flouriſhed, and that they ruled the ſeas: by reaſon whereof, many flying the tyrannie of *Ariſtion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the citie, as the naturall inhabitants of the ſame. This good hap fell vpon them, that forſaking their owne goods, they went to poſſeſſe and enioy the goods of other men: but the verie citizens of ATHENS it ſelfe that had eſcaped from this great deſolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gaue them two hundred Drachmas a peece, and ſent them againe into their countrey. *Tyrannion* the grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Murena* begged of *Lucullus*: and *Lucullus* hauing granted him vnto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt verie diſcourteouſly, and did much abuſe *Lucullus* liberality and gift vnto him. For in beſtowing this priſoner vpon him, who was a famous learned man, he did not meane *Murena* ſhould take him for a bondman, whereby he ſhould need afterwards to make him free. For ſeeming to make him free, and reſtore him to libertie, was no more then to take that freedome and libertie from him, which he had from his birth. But in many other things, and not in that onely, *Murena* layd himſelfe open to the world, that he had not all the parts a worthy Captaine ſhould haue in him. When *Lucullus* departed from AMISVS, he went to viſite

Appius Clodius ſent vnto Tigranes from Lucullus.

Callimachus gouernour of Amiſus.

Lucullus wan Amiſus.

Callimachus ſetteth fire on Amiſus, and flieth.

Lucullus curteſie towards the citie of Amiſus.

Lucullus gentle ſaying.

Tyrannion the grammarian taken.

the cities of Asia, to the end that whileſt he was not now occupied with warres, they might haue ſome refreſhing of lawes and iuſtice. For, by reaſon that law was not executed of long time in Asia, the poore country was ſo afflicted, and oppreſſed with ſo many euils and miſeries, as no man liuing would ſcant beleeue, nor any tongue can well declare. For, the extreme and horrible couetouſneſſe of the farmers, cuſtomers, and Romaine vſurers, did not onely deuour it, but alſo kept it in ſuch bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore fathers were driuen to ſell their goodly young ſonnes and daughters in mariage, to pay the intereſt and vſurie of the money which they had borrowed to diſcharge their fines withall, and publickly the tables dedicated vnto the temples, the ſtatues of their gods, and other church iewels: and yet in the end, they themſelues were alſo iudged to be bondmen and ſlaues to their cruell creditors, to weare out their dayes in miſerable ſeruitude. And yet the worſt of all was, the paine they put them to before they were ſo condemned: for they impriſoned them, ſet them on the racke, tormented them vpon a litle braſen horſe, ſet them in the ſtockes, made them ſtand naked in the greateſt heate of ſommer, and on the iſe in the deepeſt of winter, ſo as that bondage ſeemed vnto them a reliefe of their miſeres, and a reſt of their torments. *Lucullus* found the cities of Asia full of ſuch oppreſſions, but in a ſhort time after he deliuered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For firſt he tooke order, they ſhould account for the vſurie that was payed monethly, the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no more. Secondly, he cut off all vſuries that paſſed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greateſt matter of all, he ordained that the creditor and vſurer ſhould enioy the fourth part of the profits and reuenues of his debter. And he that ioyned vſurie with the principall, that is to ſay, tooke vſurie vpon vſurie, ſhould looſe the whole. So that by this order, all debts were payd in leſſe then foure yeares, and the owners lands and reuenues ſet cleare of all manner payments. This ſurcharge of vſuries, came of the twenty thouſand talens, wherein *Sylla* had condemned the country of Asia: the which ſumme they had payed twiſe before vnto the farmers and collectors of the Romaines, who had raiſed it, ſtill heaping vſury vpon vſurie, to the ſumme of ſixſcore thouſand talents. Wherefore theſe collectors and farmers ranne to Rome, and cried out vpon *Lucullus*, ſaying, that he did them the greateſt wrong that could be: & by meanes of mony, they procured certaine of the comon counſellors to ſpeake againſt him: which they might eaſily do, becauſe they had diuerſe of their names in their books that dealt in the affaires of the comonwealth at Rome. But *Lucullus* was not only beloued of thoſe countries whom he did good vnto, but was wiſhed for and deſired alſo of others, who thought the countries happy that might haue ſuch a gouernour. Now for *Appius Clodius*, whom *Lucullus* had ſent before from Talavra vnto king *Tigranes* in Armenia, & whoſe ſiſter at that time was *Lucullus* wife: he firſt tooke certaine of the kings men for guides, who of verie malice guided him through the high country, making him fetch a great compaſſe about, by many dayes iourneys ſpent in vaine: vntill ſuch time as one of his infranchiſed bondmen that was borne in Syria, taught him the right way. Whereupon he diſcharged theſe barbarous guides, and leauing the wrong wayes they had led him, within few dayes paſt ouer the riuer of Euphrates, and arriued in the citie of Antioch, ſurnamed Epidaphne. Where he had commandement to abide *Tigranes* returne, who was then in the countrey of Phoenicia, where he ſubdued certaine cities, and had ſome other yet to conquer. *Appius* in the meane time wan ſecretly diuerſe of the princes and noblemen, that obeyed this Armenian king but for feare, by force, and againſt their wils, amongſt whom was *Zarbienus*, king of the prouince of Gordiæna: and promiſed the aide of *Lucullus* alſo to many the cities that ſent vnto him (which had not long before bene ſubdued and brought into bondage) to whom neuertheleſſe he gaue in expreſſe charge, that for the time they ſhould not once ſtirre, nor alter any thing. For, the rule of theſe Armenians was intollerable to the Grecians, and ſpecially the pride and arrogancie of the king. Who, by reaſon of his great proſperity, was growne to ſuch pride and preſumption, that whatſoeuer men did commonly eſteeme beſt, and make moſt reckoning of, he would not onely haue it, and vſe it as his owne, but alſo tooke it that all was made for himſelfe whatſoeuer: and this great ouerweening grew, by reaſon of fortunes ſpeciall grace and fauour towards him. For at the beginning he had but very litle, and yet with this litle (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great nations, and plucked downe the power of the Parthians as much as any man that euer was before him. He repleniſhed the countrey of Mesopotamia with Grecian inhabitants, which he brought by force out of Cilicia and Cappadocia, compelling them

Lucullus releeueth Asia from extreme vſurie.

That is after the rate of 12 in the hundred for the yeare. Lawes ſet couvne for vſurers.

Appius Clodius Lucullus wiues brother.

Euphrates fl.

Zarbienus king of Gordiæna.

Tigranes pride and power.

them to inhabite there. He made the ARABIANS change their manner of liuing, who are otherwise called the SCENITES, as much to say, as tent dwellers, becauſe they are vagarant people that dwell in no other houſes but tents, which they euer vſe to carie with them, and brought them out of their naturall countrey, and made them follow him, vſing them for his commoditie in trade of merchandize. There were euer many kings in his court that waited on him: but amongſt others, he had foure kings that waited continually on his perſon as his foootemen: for when he rode abroad any whither, they ranne by his ſtirrop in their ſhirts. And when he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate to giue audience, they ſtood on their feete about his chaire holding their hands together, which countenance ſhewed the moſt manifeſt confeſſion and tokens of bondage that they could do vnto him: as if they had ſhewed thereby that they reſigned all their libertie, and offered their bodies vnto their Lord and maiſter, more readie to ſuffer, then any thing to do. Notwithſtanding, *Appius Clodius* being nothing abaſhed nor feared with all this tragicall pompe, when audience was giuen him, told king *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carie king *Mithridates* away with him, who was due to the triumph of *Lucullus*: and therefore did ſummon him to deliuer that king into his hands, or elſe that he proclaimed warres vpon himſelfe. They that were preſent at this ſummons, knew well inough that *Tigranes* (although he ſet a good countenance on the matter openly with a faint counterfeit laughing) yet hearing theſe words ſo boldly and gallantly ſpoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quicke, and hit at the heart. For *Tigranes* hauing raigned (or to ſay better tyrannically gouerned) fiue and twentie yeares ſpace, had neuer heard any bold or franke ſpeech but that. Notwithſtanding, he aunſwered *Appius*, that he would not deliuer *Mithridates*: and if the ROMAINES made warres with him, that he would defend himſelfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his letters gaue him not the title, King of Kings, but only king ſimply: in the letters he wrote backe to *Lucullus* againe, he did not ſo much as vouchſafe to call him Captaine onely. But when *Appius* tooke his leaue, he ſent him goodly rich preſents, which he refuſed. Whereupon the king ſent others againe vnto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a cup onely, becauſe the king ſhould not thinke he refuſed ought of anger, or ill will: and ſo ſending all the reſt againe vnto him, made great haſte to returne to his Captaine *Lucullus*. Now *Tigranes* before that time would not once ſee king *Mithridates* his ſo neare kinſeman, who by fortune of warres had loſt ſo puiſſant and great a kingdome, but proudly kept him vnder in fennie, marriſh, and vnwholeſome grounds, without any honour giuen vnto him, as if he had bene a verie priſoner indeed: howbeit then he ſent for him honourably, and receiued him with great curteſie. When they were neare together in the kings pallace, they talked ſecretly one with another, and excuſing themſelues, clearing all ſuſpitions conceiued betweene them, to the great hurt of their ſeruans and friends, whom they burthened with all the occaſion of vnkindneſſe betweene them: amongſt which number *Metrodorus* the SCEPSIAN was one, a man excellently well learned, eloquent in ſpeech, and one whom *Mithridates* ſo much loued and eſteemed, that they called him the kings father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his wars had ſent him Ambaſſadour vnto *Tigranes*, to pray aide of him againſt the ROMAINES. At which time *Tigranes* ſayd vnto him: but what ſaieſt thou to it *Metrodorus*: what aduice wilt thou giue me? *Metrodorus* either becauſe he had regard vnto *Tigranes* profite, or elſe becauſe he was loth *Mithridates* ſhould eſcape, aunſwered him againe: As Ambaſſadour, ô King, I would wiſh you ſhould do it: but as a counſellour, that you ſhould not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this ſpeech vnto *Mithridates*, not thinking he would haue hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though indeed he preſently put him to death vpon it. Whereat *Tigranes* was heartily ſorie, and repented him greatly to haue told him ſo much, although he was not altogether the occaſion of his caſting away, hauing but onely reuiued *Mithridates* euill will before conceiued againſt him: for he had borne him diſpleaſure of a long time, as appeared amongſt his ſecret papers and writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* ſhould be put to death: but in recompence thereof *Tigranes* buried his body honourably, ſparing no coſt at all vnto the dead bodie of him, whom liuing he had betrayed. There died in King *Tigranes* Court alſo an Orator called *Amphicrates*, if he deſerue that mention ſhould be made of him, for the citie of ATHENS ſake wherein he was borne: for it is ſaid, that when he was baniſhed out of his country, he fled into the citie of SELEVCIA, which ſtandeth vpon the riuer of Tigris. When the inhabitants of the ſame prayed him to teach them the Art of Eloquence in their country, he would not vouchſafe it,

The boldneſſe of Appius Clodius, Lucullus Ambaſſadour vnto Tigranes.

Appius abſtinence from taking of gifts.

Tigranes and Mithridates meeting.

Metrodorus praiſe, and death.

Amphicrates an Orator of Athens, died in king Tigranes court.

Seleucia a citie ſtanding vpon Tigris ſt.

A platter too litle to hold a Dolphin in: prouerbe.

but answered them proudly: that a platter was too litle to hold a Dolphine in, meaning that their citie was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went vnto *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates* daughter, and king *Tigranes* wife, where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS companie any more, which grieued him so much, that he famished himselfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also verie honourably buried by the Queene *Cleopatra*, neare vnto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that countrey. Now when *Lucullus* had quieted all things in ASIA, and had established good lawes among them, he was not careless also of games and pleasant pastimes, but while he was at leisure in the citie of EPHESVS, he made manie games, feasts, wrestlings, and fence playes at the sharpe for ioy of his victorie, delighting all the cities of ASIA with them, the which in recompence thereof did institute a solemne feast also in the honour of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great ioy, shewing a true and no fained friendship and good will towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the honour they could deuise to giue him. But after that *Appius Clodius* was returned from his Ambassade, and had told *Lucullus* that he must make warres with *Tigranes*: *Lucullus* went backe againe vnto the realme of PONTVS, where he tooke his armie which he had left in garrison, and brought it before the citie of SINOPE to lay siege vnto it, or rather to besiege certaine CILICIANS that were gotten into the citie in the behalfe of *Mithridates*. But when they saw *Lucullus* come against them, they slue a great number of the citizens, and setting fire on the citie, fled their way by night. *Lucullus* being aduertised of it, entred the citie, put eight thousand of the CILICIANS to the sword which he found there, and restored the naturall citizens and inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserue the city, was this vision he had. He thought in his nights dreame that one came to him, and sayd: go a litle farther *Lucullus*, for *Autolycus* commeth, who is desirous to speake with thee. This dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the vision meant. It was the selfe same day on the which he tooke the city of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANS that escaped by flying, he found an image lying on the ground vpon the sea side, which the CILICIANS would haue caried away: but they were taken and followed so neare, that they had no leisure to ship it. This statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodliest and notablest workes of *Sthenis* the image grauer. And some say that it was the image of *Autolycus*, who founded the city of SINOPE. For *Autolycus* was one of the princes that went out of THESSALIE with *Hercules* to go against the AMAZONES, and he was the sonne of *Deimachus*. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the ship in the which *Autolycus* was imbarked, with *Demoleon* and *Phlogius*, made shipwracke vpon a rocke on the coast of CHERRONESVS, where she was cast away: howbeit that he and his men scaping with all their furniture, came to the citie of SINOPE, which he tooke from certaine SYRIANS, who came (as they say) of one *Syrus* the sonne of *Apollo*, and of the nymph *Sinope Asopus* daughter. *Lucullus* vnderstanding this matter, called a saying of *Sylla* to mind, which he wrote in his commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may giue more credit vnto, then that which is signified to vs by dreames. In the meane season he was aduertised that *Trigranes* and *Mithridates* were ready to come downe into LYCAONIA and CILICIA, because they might first enter ASIA. *Lucullus* maruelled much at *Tigranes* counsell, that sithence he was minded to war with the ROMAINES, he did not vse *Mithridates* aide in his wars at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force: & that he did not then ioyne his power with *Mithridates*, rather then suffer him to be destroyed and ouerthrowne, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new warre, hazarding himselfe with those that could not helpe themselues. While these things passed in this sort, *Machares* king *Mithridates* sonne, that kept the realme of BOSPHORVS, sent a crowne of gold vnto *Lucullus*, of the weight of a thousand crownes, praying him that he would name him a friend and confederate of the ROMAINES. Whereupon *Lucullus* thought he was then at the very last end of his first warre, and leauing *Sornatius* with sixe thousand men to keepe the realme of PONTVS, he departed with twelue thousand footemen, and lesse then three thousand horsemen, to go to the second warre. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a part of him, to go with so small a companie to fight with so many warlike nations, and to put himselfe vnto the hazard of so manie thousands of horsemen, in a maruellous large countrey, and of a wonderfull length, enuironed round about with deepe riuers and mountaines, couered with snow all the

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus dreame.

A statue made by Sthenis. Autolycus founder of the city of Sinope

The Syrians why so called. Syllaes note for dreames.

Machares Mithridates sonne prayeth friendship of Lucullus.

Lucullus goeth against Tigranes with a small company.

the yeare through: ſo that his ſouldiers, which otherwiſe were no ſpeciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an euill will, and did ſtubburnely diſobey him. And on the other ſide, the common counſellers at ROME cried out on him continually, and openly proteſted before all the people, that out of one warre he ſowed another, which the common-wealth had nothing to do withall, and that he looked after none other thing but ſtill to raiſe new occaſions of warres, to the end he might alwaies haue armies at his commaundement, and neuer leaue the warres, becauſe he would make himſelfe great with the coſt and perill of the common-wealth. Theſe crying counſellers in the end obtained their purpoſe, which was: to call home *Lucullus* againe, and to ſubſtitute *Pompey* in his place. But *Lucullus* for all that, marched on with his armie with all the poſſible ſpeed he could, ſo that he came in few daies vnto the riuer of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough, by reaſon of the winter ſeaſon: which troubled him maruellouſly at that preſent, doubting leſt it would hold him there a long time in finding out of boats, and making of poſts and plancks to build a bridge to paſſe ouer his armie. But towards night the water began to fall a litle, and in the night fell ſo much, that the next morning the riuer was come to her ordinarie ſtreame: and moreouer the country men themſelues diſcerning certaine litle Ilands that appeared vnto them in the middeſt of the water courſe, and the riuer very calme as a mariſh round about them, did honor *Lucullus* as a god, becauſe it was a thing they had neuer ſeene chaunce before: as though at his comming the riuer had ſuddenly yeelded vnto him, and was become gentle to giue him ſafe and eaſie paſſage. And becauſe he would not looſe that oportunitie, he paſſed ouer his armie immediatly: and was no ſooner on the other ſide, but he met with a happie token of good lucke, which was this. On the other ſide of the riuer, there was a certaine number of kine conſecrated to *Diana Perſica*, whom the barbarous people inhabiting beyond the riuer of Euphrates, do reuerence and honour aboue all the other gods: and theſe kine they employ to none other vſe, but onely to ſacrifice them vnto this goddeſſe. They wander all about the countrey where they will, without any maner of tying, or ſhackling otherwiſe, hauing onely the marke of the goddeſſe, which is a lampe printed vpon their bodies, and they are not eaſie to be taken when one would haue them, but with great ado. One of theſe conſecrated kine, after that *Lucullus* armie was paſſed ouer Euphrates, came to offer her ſelfe vpon a rocke which they ſuppoſe is hallowed or dedicate vnto this goddeſſe, bowing downe her head, and ſtretching out her necke, like thoſe that are tyed ſhort, as if ſhe had come euen of purpoſe to preſent her ſelfe to *Lucullus*, to be ſacrificed as ſhe was. And beſides her, he ſacrificed a bull alſo vnto the riuer Euphrates, in token of thanks for his ſafe paſſage ouer. *Lucullus* the firſt day did nothing but encampe himſelf only, on the other ſide of the riuer: but the next morning and the other daies following, he went farther into the country by the riuer of SOPHENE, hurting none that came and yeelded vnto him, or that willingly receiued his army. For when his men would haue had him to haue taken a caſtle by force, where they ſaid was great ſtore of gold and ſiluer: he ſhewed them mount Taurus a farre off, and told them, it is that which we muſt rather go to take: as for the things which be in this caſtle, they be kept for them that vanquiſh. And going on ſtill with great iourneys, paſſed ouer the riuer of Tigris, and ſo entred the realme of ARMENIA with a maine armie. Now for *Tigranes*, the firſt man that ventured to bring him newes of *Lucullus* coming, had no ioy of it: for he cut off his head for his labor. And therfore from thenceforth there durſt no man ſay any thing vnto him, vntill ſuch time as he was at the laſt enuironed round with fire, which *Lucullus* army had raiſed about him, before he could heare any thing thereof. For he was ſporting and gauding with his familiars, hearing their flattering tales, that *Lucullus* indeed were a noble captaine, if he durſt but tary *Tigranes* coming downe in the city of EPHESVS onely, and how he would ſtraight flie out of ASIA, ſo ſoone as he might but heare tell of his comming againſt him, with ſo triumphing an army, of ſo many thouſand men. And thus may we ſee, that like as all bodies and braines, are not alike ſtrong nor able to cary much wine: ſo in like caſe, all wits be not reſolute & conſtant, neuer to do amiſſe, nor to ſwarue from reaſons bounds in great proſperitie. Howbeit in the end, *Mithrobarzanes*, one of *Tigranes* familiars, was the next man that enterpriſed to tell him the truth: whoſe boldneſſe had litle better reward for his newes then the firſt that was beheaded. For *Tigranes* ſent him immediatly with three thouſand horſe, and a good number of footmen, commaunding him that he ſhould bring *Lucullus* aliue vnto him, & that furthermore, he ſhould march vpon the bellies of his men. Now was *Lucullus* alreadie camped with part of his armie, and the other part comming after, when his ſkoutes brought

The quarrelling counſellers at Rome, enuie Lucullus proſpiritie.

Lucullus came to the riuer of Euphrates, and found it very high & rough.

The ſtrange & ſudden fall of the riuer of Euphrates, frō her great ſwelling.

Diana Perſica.

Kine conſecrated to Diana Perſica.

A ſtraunge thing of a cow that came to offer her ſelfe to Lucullus to be ſacrificed.

The country of Sophene.

Tigris fl.

Tigranes ſlue the firſt meſſenger that brought the newes of Lucullus approch.

Tigranes ſendeth Mithrobarzanes againſt Lucullus.

him newes of the barbarous Captaines approach: which at the firſt put him in feare, that if the enemie ſhould come and aſſaile them thus ſcattered in companies, and not ranged in battell and readie to fight, he might ouerthrow them whiles they were in diſorder. And therfore he remained within his campe to fortifie the ſame, and ſent *Sextilius* one of his Lieutenants, with a thouſand ſixe hundred horſe, and as many footmen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commaunding him to approach as neare to his enemie as he could without fighting, onely to ſtay him there, vntill ſuch time as he heard newes that all his army was come together into his camp. *Sextilius* went to do his commaundement, but he was compelled to fight, (though againſt his will) *Mithrobarzanes* came ſo brauely and luſtily to aſſaile him. So was the battell ſtriken betweene them, in the which *Mithrobarzanes* was ſlaine valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying ſaued themſelues. After this ouerthrow, *Tigranes* forſooke his great royall citie of TIGRANOCERTA that he built himſelfe, and went to mount Taurus, where he aſſembled a great number of men out of all parts. But *Lucullus* would giue him no leyſure to prepare himſelfe, but ſent *Muræna* on the one ſide to cut them off by the way, and to ouerthrow thoſe that were aſſembled about him: and on the other ſide *Sextilius* to ſtop a great companie of the ARABIANS that were comming to *Tigranes*, whom *Sextilius* ſet vpon as they were ready to lodge, and ouerthrew them in maner euery man. And *Murana* following king *Tigranes* at the heeles, ſpied an occaſion to giue the charge as he paſſed a long and narrow valley, in the bottome whereof the way was very ill, and ſpecially for an armie of ſuch a length: and taking the oportunitie, ſet vpon the rereward, which *Tigranes* perceiuing, fled ſtraight vpon it, making all his cariage to be throwne downe in the way before the enemies to ſtay them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANS ſlaine in this ouerthrow, and mo taken. Thoſe things hauing this ſucceſſe, *Lucullus* went to the citie of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he beſieged round. In that citie were a maruellous number of GRECIANS that had bene brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous people alſo whom they had vſed in the like forcible maner, as they had done the ADIABENIANS, the ASSYRIANS, the GORDIÆNIANS, and the CAPPADOCIANS, whoſe townes and cities *Tigranes* had deſtroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabite there. By reaſon wherof, this city of TIGRANOCERTA was full of gold and ſiluer, of mettals, ſtatues, tables and pictures, becauſe euery man (as well priuate, as Princes and Lords) ſtudied to pleaſe the king, to enrich and beautifie this citie, with all kinds of furniture and ornaments fit for the ſame. And hereupon *Lucullus* ſtraighted the ſiege as much as he could, perſwading himſelfe that *Tigranes* would neuer ſuffer, that it ſhould be taken, but (though he had otherwiſe determined) yet for very anger would preſent him battell, therby to enforce him to raiſe his ſiege. And ſurely he geſſed right, had it not bene that *Mithridates* had diſſwaded him by expreſſe letters and meſſengers that he ſhould in no caſe hazard battell, and perſwaded him rather to cut off the victuals on all ſides from the ROMAINES with his horſemen. The ſelfe ſame counſell and aduice did *Taxiles* (the Captaine whome *Mithridates* ſent) giue him in his campe, and prayed him very earneſtly, that he would not proue the inuincible force of the ROMAINES. *Tigranes* patiently hearkened to their reaſons at the firſt; but when the ARMENIANS were come, and all the force of the countrie beſides, and the GORDIÆNIANS, and that the kings of the MEDES, and of the ADIABENIANS were come alſo with all their power, and that on the other ſide there came a maruellous great hoſt of the ARABIANS that dwell vpon the ſea of BABYLON, and a multitude of the ALBANIANS from the CASPIAN ſea, and of the IBERIANS their neighbours, beſides a great company of free people liuing without a king, that dwell by the riuer of Araxes, ſome comming freely to do him pleaſure, other for their penſions and pay which he gaue them: then was there none other talke neither at his table, nor in councell, but of aſſured hope of victory, and of great brags and barbarous threatnings, ſo that *Taxiles* was in great daunger of himſelfe, becauſe he was againſt the determination taken in councell for giuing of the battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did enuie the glorie of king *Tigranes*, and therefore did thus diſſwade him from battell. For which reſpect *Tigranes* would not ſo much as tarie for him, and becauſe alſo *Mithridates* ſhould haue no part of the honour of his victorie: but went into the field with all his great armie, vanting amongſt his familiars as they report, that nothing grieued him but one, that he ſhould fight with *Lucullus* alone, & not with all the other ROMAINE Captaines. Now this brauerie was not ſo fond, nor ſo farre out of ſquare, but that there was great likelihood of it when he ſaw ſo many ſundry nations about him, ſo many

Lucullus ſendeth Sextilius againſt Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius ſlue Mithrobarzanes, and ouerthrew his force

The city of Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes.

Lucullus beſieged Tigranocerta.

Taxiles perſwadeth Tigranes not to fight with the Romaines.

The proud ſaying of Tigranes

many kings that followed him, ſo many battels of armed footemen, and ſo many thouſands of horſemen. For he had in his armie of bow-men and ſlings onely, twenty thouſand: fiue and fiftie thouſand horſemen, whereof ſeuenteene thouſand men of armes, armed from top to toe, as *Lucullus* himſelfe wrote vnto the Senate: & an hundred & fiftie thouſand armed footmen, deuided by enſignes and ſquadrons: of pyoners, carpenters, maſons, and ſuch other kind of handicrafts men, to plaine waies, to make bridges to paſſe ouer riuers, to ſtop ſtreames, to cut wood, and to make ſuch kind of workes, of this ſort of people, the number of fiue and thirtie thouſand, who followed in battel ray in the rereward of the armie, making their campe ſeeme farre greater, and by ſomuch the more ſtronger. When *Tigranes* ſhewed on the top of mount Taurus, and that they might plainely ſee his whole armie from the citie, and that himſelfe alſo might eaſily diſcerne *Lucullus* armie that beſieged TIGRANOCERTA: the barbarous people that were within the citie were ſo glad of this ſight, that they made wonderfull ſhoutes of ioy, and great clapping of hands, threatning the ROMAINES from their wals, and ſhewing them the armie of the ARMENIANS. *Lucullus* in the meane time ſate in councell to conſider what was to be done: wherein ſome were of opinion that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege, and go with his whole armie vndeuided againſt *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he ſhould leaue ſo great a number of enemies at his backe, neither that he ſhould raiſe his ſiege. *Lucullus* made them anſwer, that neither of them both did counſell him well, but both together did counſell him right. Whereupon he deuided his armie, and left *Muræna* at the ſiege of TIGRANOCERTA with ſixe thouſand men: and he with foure and twenty cohorts (in the which were not aboue ten thouſand armed footmen) and all his horſemen, with a thouſand bowmen, and ſlings or thereabouts, went towards *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broad field by the riuers ſide. The ROMAINES ſeemed but a handfull to *Tigranes* campe, ſo that for awhile *Tigranes* paraſites made but a May-game of them to ſport withall. For ſome laughed them to ſcorne, other drew lots, and played away their part of the ſpoiles, as if they had alreadie wonne the field: and euery one of the kings and Captaines came and offered themſelues to *Tigranes*, and beſought him euery man for himſelfe, that he would giue him the honor alone to leade this battell, and that it would pleaſe him to ſit by in ſome place to ſee the ſport. *Tigranes* then, becauſe he would ſhew that he could be as pleaſant as the reſt, ſpake a thing knowne to euery man: If they come as Ambaſſadors (quoth he) they are very many: but if they come as enemies, they be but few. And thus they played vpon the ROMAINES, and tooke their pleaſure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, *Lucullus* brought all his men armed into the field, and put them in order of battell. Now the campe of the barbarous people lay on the other ſide of the riuer toward the Eaſt, and by chaunce the ſtreame of the riuer turned ſuddenly towards the Weſt, where there was a better foord to paſſe ouer. Wherefore *Lucullus* marching with his armie by the riuers ſide, following the ſtreame to meete with ſome foord, caſting to get ouer, *Tigranes* thought he had marched away, & called for *Taxiles*, and ſaid vnto him, laughing: Doeſt thou ſee *Taxiles* thoſe goodly ROMAINE legions, whom thou praiſeſt to be men ſo inuincible, how they flie away now? *Taxiles* anſwered the king again: I would your good fortune (O king) might worke ſome miracle this day: for doubtleſſe it were a ſtraunge thing that the ROMAINES ſhould flie. They are not wont to weare their braue coates and furniture vpon their armour, when they meane onely but to march in the fields: neither do they carie their ſhields and targets vncaſed, nor their burganets bare on their heads, as they do at this preſent, hauing throwne away their leather caſes and couerings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we ſee ſo bright and gliſtring in our faces, is a manifeſt ſigne that they intend to fight, and that they march towards vs: *Taxiles* had no ſooner ſpoken theſe words, but *Lucullus* in the view of his enemies, made his enſigne-bearer turne ſodainely that caried the firſt Eagle, and the bands tooke their places to paſſe the riuer in order of battell. Then *Tigranes* ſecretly come to himſelfe, as out of drunkenneſſe, cried out aloud twiſe or thrice, come they then to vs? But then was there no ſmall ſtir and tumult, to put ſuch a world of people into battell. The king *Tigranes* himſelfe vndertooke to leade the middle battell, gaue the left wing vnto the king of the ADIABENIANS, and the right vnto the king of the MEDES: in the which were the moſt part of the compleat armed men, who made the firſt front of all the battell. But as *Lucullus* was ready to paſſe the riuer, there were certaine of his Captaines that came vnto him, to wiſh him to take heed that he fought not that day, becauſe it was one of thoſe which the ROMAINES thought vnfortunate, and call them Atri, as to ſay, blacke: for vpon one of thoſe daies, one *Cæpio* was ouerthrown in a

Tigranes whole army, two hundred and threeſcore thouſand men.

Lucullus army againſt Tigranes.

The ordering of Tigranes battell.

Atri, blacke or vnfortunate dayes.

set battell with all his armie by the CIMBRES. But *Lucullus* gaue them a pretie answer againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happie day (said he) for the ROMAINES. It was the sixteenth day of the moneth of October. And so with those words encouraging his men, passed ouer the riuer, and went himselfe the formost man, and marched directly towards his enemie, armed with an anima of steele, made with scallop shell, shining like the sunne, and vpon that an arming coate fringed round about, holding his sword drawne in his hand: to let his men vnderstand, that they must sodainly ioyne with their enemies, and fight at the swords point that were not acquainted to fight but a farre off with shot and slings, and that he would so quickly winne the distance of ground they had to march ere they could ioyne, that they should haue no leysure to shoot. And furthermore, perceiuing that the strength of their men of armes (wherof they made so great account) was raunged in battell vnder a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and euen, and the way vp the hill not passing foure furlongs trauell, and not very hard nor steepe to clime: he sent thither certaine horsemen of the THRACIANS and GAVLES which he had in pay, and commaunded them to giue a charge on the flancke to disorder them, and assay to cut their launces with their swords. For all the strength of these men of armes consisteth in their launces, and they can do nothing for themselues, nor against their enemies, they are so heauily armed and loden: so as it seemeth they are locked vp in their armour, as in an iron prison. And he himselfe therewithall taking two ensignes of footmen, stroue also to gaine the top of the hill, his souldiers following him hard at the heeles with a notable courage, because they saw him the foremost man trauelling on foot, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten vp to the top, he stayed a litle in the highest place he could find, and then cryed out with a loude voice: Oh companions, the victorie is ours. And as he spake those words, he led them against these men of armes, commaunding them they should not meddle with throwing of their darts, but taking their swords in their hands they should strike at their thighes and legs, because they haue no other parts of their bodies naked. Howbeit, there was no neede of such fight, for they taried not the ROMAINES, but with great crying out turned their horse heads immediatly, and ran cowardly (themselues and their horses, heauie armed as they were) through the midst of the bands of their footemen, before they had striken a stroke. And thus were so many thousands of men broken without any stroke striken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of bloud seene to be spilt. But the great slaughter was, when they began to flie, or (to say better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ranne so one vpon anothers necke, by reason of the maruellous length and breadth of their battels. *Tigranes* amongst the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, and seeing his sonne running the same fortune, flying as himselfe did, tooke off his diademe or royall band from his head, and gaue it him weeping, commanding him to saue himself as well as he could by some other way. But the young prince durst not put it on his head, but gaue it to one of his trustie seruants to keepe, who by chaunce was taken and brought vnto *Lucullus*: so that amongst the other spoile and prisoners, there was taken *Tigranes* diademe. It is thought that there were slaine at this ouerthrow, aboue an hundred thousand footmen; and very few of all the horsemen saued. On the ROMAINES side, there were about an hundred hurt, and fiue slaine. *Antiochus* the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a treatise he made of the gods, writeth that the Sunne neuer saw the like ouerthrow. And *Strabo* another Philosopher in a certaine abridgement he made of stories, said, that the ROMAINES were ashamed and laughed at themselues, that they had drawne their swords against such dastardly slaues. And *Titus Liuius* declareth also, that the ROMAINES were neuer in any battell with so small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerors were not in all the world the twentieth part (nothing like) of those that were ouercome. Wherfore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the ROMAINES did highly commend *Lucullus*, because he had ouercome two of the greatest and most mightie princes of the world, by two sundry contrary meanes: the one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftnesse. For he vndermined and consumed *Mithridates* by holding backe and delaying, at that time when all his strength was whole: and to the contrarie he destroyed *Tigranes* with great speed and hast. And thus did he that which few Captaines could euer do: that is, vsed delay of time to execute, and valiant expedition to winne the victorie. This was the cause why *Mithridates* made no hast to come to the battell, thinking still that *Lucullus* had vsed his wonted pollicie, to delay and giue backe alwaies: and therefore he came by small iourneys vnto *Tigranes* campe. But meeting at the

Lucullus battell with Tigranes.
Lucullus armour.
Lucullus famous victorie of Tigranes.
Tigranes slight Tigranes diademe taken by Lucullus.
Lucullus praise.
Two puissant kings ouercome by contrarie meanes.

the first with a few of the ARMENIANS that fled as he came on his way, like men that had bene frayed, he straight mistrusted the ouerthrow: but afterwards meeting greater troupes of them naked, and sore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seeke out *Tigranes*, whome he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poore estate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in aduersitie with that pride and disdaine he had vsed him before in his miserie: but lighted off his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gaue him all his officers, and traine of a kings court that followed him to serue him, comforting him, and exhorting him to plucke vp his heart againe, and to be couragious thenceforth. Hereupon they both leauied afresh the whole force and power they could from all the parts of their dominions. In the meane season, there fell out great sedition in the city of TIGRANOCERTA, betweene the GRECIANS and the barbarous people: for the GRECIANS, they would haue yeelded vp the towne into *Lucullus* hands. Whereupon *Lucullus* giuing an assault to the citie at that very instant, wonne it, and seized vpon the kings treasure there, leauing all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in readie money. And yet besides all that, he gaue of the spoile that was wonne vpon the enemies, eight hundred Drachmas vnto euerie souldier. And vnderstanding that there were diuerse musitians, common players, minstrels, and such kind of people meete for feasts and sport, whom *Tigranes* had sent for thither from all parts, to dedicate the Theater he had made in this citie: he caused all them to serue at the sports and feasts of this victorie. After the solemnization whereof, he sent the GRECIANS home againe vnto their countrie, and gaue them mony to defray their charges by the way, and the barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their natiue countries. And so it fortuned, that by the desolation and destruction of a city forsaken, many others were built againe, and stored with people: because those cities had thereby recouered their naturall inhabitants againe, who euer after did loue and honour *Lucullus*, as their benefactour and founder. All other things prospered also according to his vertue and merites. For *Lucullus* liked better the praise that came of bountie, of iustice, & of clemencie: then that that came by force of martial prowesse and chiualrie. For in deeds of armes, he said his army partly deserued praise, and fortune also caried the best part away: but the praise of the other, were only due vnto himself. Wherby he shewed the valure of an excellent good man, well taught & trained vp in vertue: & so reaped the fruit of his worthy deserts. For by those good parts, he wan the harts of the barbarous people in such sort, that the kings of the ARABIANS came of good will to put themselues and their goods into his hands. So did the nation of the SOPHENIANS also yeeld themselues vnto him. The GORDIÆNIANS, in like maner, they liked *Lucullus* so well, that they would willingly haue forsaken their cities, houses and country, to follow him with their wiues and children vpon this occasion: *Zarbienus* king of these GORDIÆNIANS, as we haue recited before, had priuily entred amitie with *Lucullus*, by meanes of *Appius Clodius*, who could no longer away with the tyranny of *Tigranes*. This practise was bewraied vnto *Tigranes*, who put *Zarbienus*, his wife and children to death, before the ROMAINES maine army came into the country of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it, but passing through his realme, gaue him very royall funerals: for hauing heaped vp a huge pile of wood, sumptuously set out with cloth of gold and siluer, and other rich spoiles of *Tigranes*: he himselfe in person, would needes set it on fire, and made the funerall effusions and accustomed spainklings at burials, with his friends and kinsmen, doing him this honour, as to call him friend and confederate of the ROMAINE people, & appointed also a great summe of mony besides to erect a sumptuous tombe for him. For they found great store of gold and siluer in the kings castell, and there was plentie of prouision also of 300000. bushels of wheate: the which did enrich his souldiers maruellously, and made *Lucullus* to be wondred at, that hauing receiued not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at ROME, he had notwithstanding made the war entertaine it selfe. About the selfe same time also, the king of the PARTHIANS sent Ambassadors vnto him, to offer him his friendship and alliance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and sent ambassadours from him also of acceptation, who made report to *Lucullus* at their returne, that the king of the PARTHIANS stood doubtfull how to resolue which part he should take, and that secretly he sent vnto *Tigranes*, to aske the realme of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aide him against the ROMAINES. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the king of PARTHIAES double dealing, determined to leaue *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied and ouercome, and a litle to proue the force and power of the PARTHIANS by making wars vpon them, thinking

Lucullus tooke Tigranocerta.

Lucullus iustice and clemencie.

Zarbienus king of the Gordiænians slaine by Tigranes.

it great honour vnto him, if he might diſcomfite and ouerthrow three ſo mightie kings one after another, like a valiant conquerour that had ouercome three famous Captaines together, and had paſſed through the countries of three of the greateſt princes vnder the Sunne, alwaies a conquerour, and neuer conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediatly vnto *Sornatius* and other of his captaines which he had left to keepe the realme of PONTVS, that they ſhould repaire to him with all ſpeed with the bands they had vnder their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the country of GORDIÆNA, to go againſt the PARTHIANS: howbeit his purpoſe altered by occaſion. For his Lieutenants that had many times before found their ſouldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commaundements, knew plainely then their cankred ſtomackes, and incorrigible diſobedience. For they could not poſſibly get them from thence, by any compulſion or perſwaſions they could vſe: but contrarily they cryed out, and told them plainely, that they would no longer tary where they were, but would go home to their country, and leaue the Realme of PONTVS without guard or garriſon at all. And farther, that worſt of all was, when theſe newes were brought to *Lucullus* campe, they gaue a full example of boldneſſe to his ſouldiers there, to mutine in like ſort, hauing goodwill and diſpoſition thereunto of themſelues before. For their purſes being full, and they acquainted with fineneſſe, were become ſo dull and lazie, that they could endure no paines nor hardneſſe of warres, but deſired to liue in all idleneſſe and eaſe. And hearing the report of their fellowes ſtoutneſſe, called them luſtie laddes, ſaying, they muſt needs take the like courſe, and do as they taught them, vanting of their good ſeruice of long time done, which well deſerued leaue now to depart home with ſafetie, and thencefoorth take their reſt. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, and many other their words, worſe and fuller of ſedition then theſe: brake off his enterpriſe againſt the PARTHIANS, and went againe in the middeſt of ſommer to meet with *Tigranes*. But when he was come to the top of mount Taurus, it grieued him to ſee the fields ſo full of wheate yet ſtanding, which came by the ſeaſon of the yeare, and coldneſſe of the aire, being ſo ſlacke and ſlow in all thoſe parts. Neuertheleſſe, he came downe into the vally, and at two or three skirmiſhes ouerthrew the ARMENIANS, that ventured to abide his comming downe. And ranne ouer all the valley, and deſtroyed the whole country without let or ſtoppe of any man, taking away the prouiſion of corne that was made for *Tigranes* campe: whereby he ſtraighted his enemies vnto that neede and neceſſitie of victuals which himſelfe feared, and yet ceaſſed not to prouoke them (by all other meanes) to come to battell: ſometime incloſing their campe with trenches about, as if he meant to famiſh them: ſomtime againe deſtroying and ſpoiling the whole countrie before their face. But becauſe they had ſo oft bene diſcomfited, they would no more ſtirre, nor once moue againſt him. *Lucullus* perceiuing that, in the end raiſed his campe, and went and laid ſiege vnto ARTAXATA, the chiefe citie of the kingdome of ARMENIA, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull wiues and young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard another battell, then ſuffer that citie to be loſt. It is ſaid that *Hanniball* of CARTHAGE (after king *Antiochus* was ouerthrowne in battell by the ROMAINES) went vnto king *Artaxes*, whome he taught many neceſſarie and profitable things for his realme: and amongſt others, cõſidering that one of the goodlieſt and pleaſanteſt places of all his kingdome lay waſt, and no reckening made of it, drew a plot of a citie, brought the king thither, and cauſed it to be built and inhabited. The king liked his deuice maruellous well, and prayed him to take the charge vpon him to ſee the worke finiſhed. And thus was this noble and famous city built, & called after the kings name, ARTAXATA: and held euer after the reputation of the chiefeſt place of the whole realme of ARMENIA. *Tigranes* being aduertiſed that *Lucullus* went to lay ſiege thereunto, could not indure it, but went with all his armie to follow the ROMAINES, and the fourth day came and camped hard by them: inſomuch as there was but the riuer of Arſanias betweene them, which the ROMAINES of neceſſitie muſt paſſe ouer to go to ARTAXATA. *Lucullus* hauing firſt ſacrificed vnto the gods, aſſuring himſelfe of the victorie, as if he had it already in his hands: made his armie paſſe ouer in order of battell, putting twelue cohorts in the front, and the other behind, fearing leſt the enemies hauing a great number of men of armes ſhould enuiron them at their backes. They had againſt them alſo the MARDIAN bowmen on horſebacke, and the IBERIANS with their launces, in whom *Tigranes* truſted more then in any other, as in the beſt ſouldiers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable ſeruice. For when they had skirmiſhed but a litle with the horſemen of the ROMAINES, they durſt not tarie the legionaries or footbands that came behind them, but diſperſed themſelues, ſome flying one way, ſome another, which intiſed the ROMAINE

Lucullus prepareth to go againſt the Parthians.

Lucullus ſouldiers fall to mutinie.

Full purſes & eaſe maketh mutinous ſouldiers.

Lucullus beſiegeth Artaxata, the chiefe citie of Armenia.

Artaxes king of Armenia.

Hanniball builded Artaxata.

Arſanias fl.

Lucullus order of his armie.

MAINES horsemen to follow the chase. But when the men of armes that were about *Tigranes* person, saw the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight to breake vpon the footmen. *Lucullus* seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat afraid thereof: sent in hast to call in his horsemen that followed the chase, and in the meane time himselfe marched foremost, against these Lords and Satrapes, which were in the front before him with all the nobilitie of their hoast, whom he put in such a feare, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three kings ranged in battell one hard by another, howbeit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly, was *Mithridates* king of PONTVS, who had not the heart so much as to abide the cries of the ROMAINES. The chase was very long: for it continued all night, vntill such time as the ROMAINS were wearied with killing, taking of prisoners, and packing vp of all kinds of spoiles. *Titus Liuius* saith, that there were slaine moe men in the first battell, but greater personages in the second: and the chiefest of the enemies were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* heart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to go farther into the country, euen vtterly to destroy this barbarous king. But in the time of the equinoctiall autumne, (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that season haue thought) there fell out so great a cold, that for the most part, it did nothing but snow: and if the element did any thing cleare, then froze it so hard, that the horse could come by no water, the riuers were so extreamely congealed with ice. And there could no man passe ouer by foord: for they did not so soone enter, but the ice brake and cut the veines and sinewes of the horse legs asunder, they were so hard and thicke withall. And furthermore the country being full of trees, woods and forests, and the waies very narrow, not being able to passe by the fields, they were through wet with snow that fell vpon them: and when they came to their lodging, then it was worse, for there they were constrained to lye in soft and moist places. And therefore the souldiers had followed but few daies after this battell, but they refused to go any farther. And first they sent their Colonels and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leaue off this iourney. Afterwards they gathered togethet more boldly in troupes, and in the night time began to murmure and groine in their tents (which is a certaine signe and token of a mutinous armie, that hath a mind to rebell against their Generall) although that *Lucullus* vsed all gentle perswasions to win them with patience to abide this iourney, at the least, till time they might take the citie of CARTHAGE in ARMENIA: to the end they might there destroy the worke and memorie of the greatest enemy that euer the ROMAINES had in the world, meaning *Hannibal*. But when he saw all this wold not preuaile, he brought them backe againe, & passed ouer mount Taurus another way, and came downe into the country called MYGDONIA, a very hote and fertile soile, where there is a great citie, and maruellously replenished with inhabitants: who call it NISIBIS, and the GRECIANS call it ANTIOCH of MYGDONIA. In that city *Gouras* was Gouernor, who was *Tigranes* owne brother: but for experience in engines of battery, and for sufficiencie and skill in such matters, there was *Callimachus* also, he that so maruellously troubled *Lucullus* before at the siege of the city of AMISVS. *Lucullus* placing his campe before this citie besieged the same by all such meanes as might enforce it, & that so valiantly, that in very short time he tooke it by assault. And as for *Gouras*, who submitted himselfe to *Lucullus* mercie, he was very curteously intreated. But for *Callimachus*, he wold not once heare him speake, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would saue his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but himselfe only. But *Lucullus* commaunded them to bring him with gyues to receiue the punishment he had iustly deserued, for setting the city of AMISVS on fire, and taking from him the meane to shew the GRECIANS his goodnes, affection & liberality towards them. Vntill this present time, it might be truly said, that good fortune euer fauored & followed *Lucullus* in all his enterprises and affaires: but from that time forwards, it was quickly seene that the fauorable blast of fortune failed him, he did all his things with so great paine, and al that he did, fell out contrarie vnto him, and to very ill purpose. Indeed he did euer shew the valiancie, patience, and great courage that should be in a valiant General, or Lieutenant of an army. But his exploits and doings had neuer after that easie grace, nor shining glory they were wont to haue: but to the contrary, he was like to haue lost all that he had won before, through the misfortunes that fell vpon him, and for the brawles and vaine contention he had with his people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they make himselfe the onely author of all these euils: because he could not, or would not entertaine the goodwill of the multitude of his souldiers: thinking

Other do reade in this place, against the Atropatenians, which are people of Media.

Three kings ranged in battell.

Lucullus maketh Tigranes flie againe.

The country of Mygdonia.

Nisibis, alias Antiocha, a city of Mygdonia.

Lucullus taketh Nisibis by assault.

Callimachus did set the city of Amisus on fire.

The alteration of Lucullus good fortune.

Lucullus cause of all his misfortune.

that whatsoeuer a Generall, or any other officer of state or calling doth to please and content them he hath vnder his charge, is to dishonour himselfe, and to giue cause vnto his souldiers to despise his authoritie. But that which made most against him was this: that he gaue no estimation to gentlemen, and men of like qualitie to himself, but disdained them, and thought them vnworthy to be equall with him. For these they say were his faults and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted no vertues, nor naturall giftes and good conditions that could be possibly wished for or desired. For he was a tall gentleman, of goodly presence, well spoken, wise and discreete, as well in matters of gouernment, as in warres: and as well to perswade the people in peace, as to encourage his souldiers in warre. *Salust* writeth of him, that his souldiers began to mislike with him, euen from the first entrie into these warres, because he made them lye out two winters together in the field, one after another: the one before the city of CIZICVS, & the other before the citie of AMISVS. And euen as much did the other winters following vexe and trouble them: for either they lay in their enemies country, or else if they lay in their friends, yet he made them campe abroad in the field, and shrowd themselues in their tents: for *Lucullus* neuer entred with his armie into any citie or confederate towne of GREECE. Now if the souldiers of themselues misliked *Lucullus*, the Oratours at ROME that were his enemies, and enuied his prosperity and glory, gaue them yet greater occasions to mutine against him. For they continually accused him to the people in their orations, that he drew out this warre in length, purposely because he would alwaies haue occasion to rule, and meanes to get, hauing in his hands in maner all CILICIA, ASIA, BITHYNIA, PAPHLAGONIA, GALATIA, PONTVS, ARMENIA, and all the prouinces and regions as farre as to the riuer of Phasis: and yet he had not long before spoiled the princely houses of *Tigranes*, as if he had bene sent thither only to sacke and spoile, and not to destroy and ouercome those kings. And they say that it was *Lucius Quintius*, one of the Prætors that spake these words. It was he also that most moued the people to take order that *Lucullus* shold be called home, and other sent to succeed him in the charge and gouernment of the countries he had subdued. By the selfe same meane it was also ordained, that diuers which were vnder his charge, should be dispenced withall for their oaths, and licenced to leaue the warres when they thought good. But besides these and such like great causes, there was yet another more dangerous plague, and that most ouerthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, passing all the other euils being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious, and a harebraind man. He was *Lucullus* wiues brother, and she was so light of her body, that *Clodius* her brother was accused of incontinencie with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in *Lucullus* campe, caried not that estimation and credit he thought himselfe worthy of. For he tooke himselfe equall with the best, and would needes haue bene holden for chiefe: when indeed there were many of farre better desert, he being noted both for a vicious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he beganne for spite to suborne the bands called FIMBRIANS, and to stirre them vp against *Lucullus*, sowing sweet and pleasant words amongst the soldiers, which being wonted thereunto, looked still to be flattered. For they were those whom *Fimbria* had procured to kill the Consull *Flaccus*, and chuse him in his stead for their Captaine. By reason whereof they gaue good eare to *Clodius* words, and called him a noble Captaine, and a louer of souldiers. For when he spake vnto them, he made as though he had pitied them, for that they should neuer see an end of their great paines and warres, but should miserably consume their dayes in fighting continually, sometime with one nation, and sometime with another: and that they wandred through all the countries of the world, receiuing no worthy reward of so long and painefull seruice, seruing onely to guard *Lucullus* carts and cammels loden with plate and vessell of gold and siluer and other precious stones. Where the souldiers that had serued vnder *Pompey*, tooke now their ease at home in their country with their wiues and children, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly faire cities, as rich Burgesses and wealthie citizens: and yet they had not driuen *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their kingdoms, into desert places vnhabitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of ASIA, but onely made a litle warre in SPAINE against those that were banished, and in ITALIE against fugitiue slaues. Shall we then, said he, carie harnesse on our backes all the daies of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped vntill this present, reserue our selues, our bodies and liues for that noble Captaine, who esteemeth the greatest honour and glory he can atchieue vnto, is to make his soldiers rich that serue vnder him? *Lucullus* army was so seduced and corrupted with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the souldiers would no longer follow him, neither against

Tigranes,

Lucullus faults.

Lucullus vertues.

The cause why Lucullus souldiers misliked with him.

Lucullus army euer lay in the field winter and sommer.

Phasi fl.

Publius Clodius a wicked man.

Publius Clodius stirred vp the souldiers against Lucullus.

Tigranes, nor againſt *Mithridates*: who went preſently out of ARMENIA into his realme of PONTVS, and began to conquer it againe, whileſt the ROMAINE ſouldiers mutining againſt their Generall, remained idle in the prouince of GORDIÆNA, excuſing themſelues by the winter ſeaſon, and tarying vntill *Pompey* or ſome other captaine ſhould quickly come to raiſe the ſiege, and ſucceede *Lucullus*. Notwithſtanding, when they vnderſtood that *Mithridates* had ouerthrowne *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenants, and that he went againſt *Sornatius* and *Triarius*: they were then aſhamed of themſelues, and became contented to be led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a braue rie, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew neare, made haſt to win the victory, as if it had bene cock ſure before *Lucullus* came: and was himſelfe ouerthrowne in a great battell, where ſome ſay there died aboue ſeuen thouſand ROMAINES, amongſt the which were a hundred and fiftie Centurions, and 24 Captaines or Colonels of a thouſand men apeece, and yet beſides, *Mithridates* tooke their campe alſo. Shortly after this ouerthrow, *Lucullus* came thither, who hid *Triarius*, whom the ſouldiers ſought in their anger by all the meanes they could to kill. Now when *Lucullus* was come, he proued ſundry meanes to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates* would not once ſtirre abroad, becauſe he looked for *Tigranes* that came downe with a mightie power. Wherupon he determined againe to go againſt *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates* and he ioyned forces together. But as he was in his iourney towards him, the FIMBRIAN bands began to rebell anew, and would not follow his enſignes, ſaying, and alleaging for themſelues, that by decree of the people they had leaue to depart, and were diſcharged from their oath: and furthermore that *Lucullus* had no more to do to commaund them, conſidering that the gouernment of the prouinces which he had, was giuen vnto others. *Lucullus* perceiuing this, did ſo humble himſelfe vnto them, ſuppoſing that way to win them, as there was no kind of vncomely humilitie, but he ſubmitted himſelfe vnto it: inſomuch as he went into their tents to pray and intreate them one after another, with water in his eyes, and with ſo great lowlines, as euen to ſhake hands with them. But they fiercely reiected all his courteſies and faire intreaties, caſting their pennileſſe purſes before him, and angrily bade him fight with his enemies alone, ſince he had with the ſpoile of them all ſo well enriched himſelfe alone. Neuertheleſſe, at the interceſſion and earneſt requeſt of the other ſouldiers, theſe FIMBRIAN bands were compelled to promiſe, that they would yet tarry all that ſommer, ſo that if no man in the meane time offered them battell, at the end of the terme, they might go where they would. *Lucullus* was forced to accept this condition, or elſe to remaine alone, and conſequently to forſake the country of the barbarous people. With much ado thus he kept them together, but in ſuch ſort, as he durſt no more venture to compell them to come to battell, contenting himſelfe that they were willing onely to ſtay with him, being forced to ſuffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to deſtroy and ouerrun the countrey of CAPPADOCIA, and *Mithridates* alſo to brag againe, of whom he had before written to the Senate that he had vtterly ouercome him: inſomuch as there came commiſſioners and deputies from ROME by his owne procurement, to order the ſtate of the realme of PONTVS with him, as of a kingdome alreadie wonne to the ROMAINE Empire. But when they were come, they found him not maiſter of himſelfe, and that his owne ſouldiers flouted him, and did him all the ſpite and iniurie they could. For they were ſo vnruly towards their Captaine, and did ſomuch diſdaine him, that when the end of the ſommer was come, they armed themſelues with armour and weapon, and drawing out their ſwords in mockerie, challenged their enemies to battell which were gone out of the field: and after they had made the noiſe and cries accuſtomed when they ioyned battell, and made as though they fought, hurling and ſwinging their ſwords in the aire, they went from the campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promiſed *Lucullus* to tary. On the other ſide, *Pompey* had written vnto the other ſouldiers that were yet in campe, to come vnto him: for through the peoples fauor at ROME, the practiſes and flatteries of the common counſellers there, he was ſubſtituted Generall in *Lucullus* place: which much miſliked the Senate and nobility: for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to haue a ſucceſſor ſent, not to ſucceed him in troubles and dangers, but in glory and honor of triumph. And that they ſhould compell him not only to reſigne vp the office of a Generall to another, but (for the good ſeruice he long time had done) the reward of his honor due for the ſame: and this alſo more miſliked thē that were then about him. That ſo ſoone as *Pompey* was arriued in ASIA, he tooke all power and authority from *Lucullus*, to puniſh or reward any man for good or ill ſeruice done to the cōmonwealth in thoſe warres, and did moreouer prohibite by publike billes ſet vp in euery common

Mithridates victorie of Lucullus Lieutenants.

Mithridates ouercame Triarius Lucullus Captaine.

The Fimbrian ſouldiers forſooke Lucullus.

Lucullus forced to humble himſelfe to his mutinous ſouldiers.

The Fimbrian ſoulaiers tarie out the ſommer, vpon cōdition to depart when ſommer was done.

Pompey, Lucullus ſucceſſor in Aſia.

Iniuries offered Lucullus by Pompey.

place, that they ſhould no more repaire vnto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the tenne Commiſſioners ſent to diſpoſe of the ſtate of the prouinces wonne by him, ſhould commaund or ordaine: and becauſe *Pompey* came with a greater power and armie then his, he was in ſome feare of him. Their friends thought good neuertheleſſe they ſhould meete together: and ſo they did incontinently, in a village of GALATIA, where at the firſt meeting they ſaluted each other very courteouſly, reioycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. *Lucullus* was the elder man, but *Pompey* of greater dignitie, becauſe he had bene Generall of the ROMAINE people in many warres, and had alreadie triumphed twiſe. The bundels of roddes which the Sergeants caried before them, were wreathed about with laurell braunches for the victories they had both atchieued: but *Pompeys* bundels were withered away, becauſe they had come a long iourney through hote and drie countries. *Lucullus* officers ſeeing theirs withered, courteouſly gaue them of theirs freſh and new gathered: which *Pompeys* friends tooke for a ſigne of good lucke. For to ſay truly, the things that *Lucullus* did in the time of his charge, were cauſe of the honour that *Pompey* afterwards wanne. Howbeit in the end for all their talke, they were no whit the better friends: but departed the one from the other more ſtrange then they met. For *Pompey* by a plaine Edict, brake, reuoked and diſanulled all *Lucullus* ordinances, and taking from him all his other ſouldiers, left him but onely ſixteene hundred to accompany his triumph, and yet they followed him with vnwilling minds: ſuch was *Lucullus* imperfection and maime, either by nature or frowardneſſe of fortune, that he lacked the chiefeſt thing a Generall ſhould haue, which was, to be beloued of his ſouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongſt many other his excellent vertues, and magnanimitie, wiſedome, iudgement and iuſtice, the riuer of Euphrates had not bene the vttermoſt confines of the Empire of ROME on ASIA ſide, but it had extended as farre as the ſea Hyrcane, yea euen vnto the vtmoſt part of the world. For king *Tigranes* had alreadie conquered the other nations that lye beyond that, ſauing the countrie of PARTHIA, which then was not ſo great nor ſtrong, as it appeared afterwards in *Craſſus* time: nor ſo ioyned and knit together, but (what through ciuill diſſentions amongſt them at home, and forraine warres of their neighbours abroad) was ſo weake, that with great difficulty they could defend themſelues from the ARMENIANS, that continually harried them out of their skinnes. But to take things rightly as they be indeede, me thinkes that *Lucullus* did more hurt vnto his country by other, then he did benefit the ſame by himſelfe. For the tokens of triumph and victories which he wanne in ARMENIA ſo neare vnto the PARTHIANS, the cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIBIS which he had ſacked and ſpoiled, the great treaſure that he brought to ROME, and the Diademe alſo of *Tigranes*, which was ſhewed in triumph as a priſoner with the reſt: moued *Craſſus* with ſuch a maruellous deſire to paſſe into ASIA, as if all the barbarous people had bene nothing but an aſſured ſpoile, and a prey expoſed vnto all thoſe that would come to take them. But *Craſſus* farre otherwiſe finding him ſelfe gauled and troubled with the arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by proofe, that *Lucullus* had not ſo much ouercome his enemies for that they wanted skill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wiſedome and valiantneſſe. But that ſhall be ſeene hereafter. Furthermore, *Lucullus* being now returned to ROME, found firſt of all his brother *Marcus* accuſed by one *Gaius Memmius*, for that he had done in his office of Treaſurer in *Syllaes* time, and by his commaundement, whereof he was cleared by ſentence of the Iudges. But *Memmius* of ſpite turned his anger againſt *Lucullus* ſelfe, ſtirring vp the people againſt him, and letting them vnderſtand that *Lucullus* had kept backe and robbed much part of the treaſure, which ſhould haue come to the commonwealth, and that to worke his feate the better, he had prolonged theſe warres as he did: wherefore he perſwaded them flatly to denie him the honour of his triumph. And truly *Lucullus* was in great daunger to haue loſt it vtterly: but that the Noblemen of the citie, and they that were of greateſt authoritie, intermedled themſelues with the tribes when they came to paſſe it by voices of the people, whom they intreated ſo much through ſute and perſwaſion, that in the end, with much ado, the people ſuffered him to enter the citie in triumph. So *Lucullus* made a triumphant entrie, not terrible nor troubleſome for the long ſhew or ſight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he brought thither with him, as many other Captaines had done before him. For he cauſed the ſhew-place (which they call Circus Flaminius at ROME) to be ſet out and furniſhed chiefly with armour and weapons of the enemies to a maruellous number: and with the kings engines and inuentions of battering peeces, which was a pleaſant ſight to behold. And in this ſhew, there

Lucullus and Pompeys meeting.

Miſlikings betweene Pompey and Lucullus.

Lucullus not beloued of his ſouldiers.

Craſſus deſire to conquer Aſia, vpon ſight of Lucullus triumph.

See the life of Craſſus what ſucceſſe he had.

Lucullus returne to Rome.

Lucullus triumph.

was

was a certaine number of his men of armes brauely armed, ten carts of warre armed with ſythes that paſſed by, and threeſcore of the chiefeſt friends and Captaines of the two kings that were led priſoners through the citie. And there were alſo drawne after them, an hundred and ten gallies all armed in the prores with ſtrong ſpurres of copper, and a ſtatue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, ſixe foot high, with a rich target ſet with precious ſtones. Beſides all that, there were twentie cupbords as full of ſiluer plate as could be, and thirtie cupbords full alſo of golden veſſell, armour and coine of gold, caried vpon mens ſhoulders. After them followed eight mules laden with golden beddes, and ſixe and fiftie other mules that caried ſiluer bullion, and a hundred and ſeuen other mules that caried ſiluer coine, amounting to the ſumme of two hundred threeſcore and ten thouſand Seſtertios. Furthermore, there were bookes of account caried alſo, wherein were particularly written the ſummes of money which *Lucullus* had deliuered before vnto *Pompey* for the warre againſt pyrates on the ſea, and vnto the treaſurers and high treaſurers, to put into the ſparing coffers of the common wealth at Rome. And afterwards in an article by it ſelfe, that he had giuen nine hundred and fiftie Drachmas to euery ſouldier by the polle. After the ſhew of this triumph was ended, he made a generall feaſt, in the which he feaſted all the citie and villages thereabouts, which the Romaines call Vicos. And afterwards forſooke his wife *Clodia* for her vnchaſt and wanton life, and maried *Seruilia Catoes* ſiſter: howbeit he wanne nothing by the exchange, for he ſped as euill with the ſecond as he did with the firſt. For, ſauing that ſhe was not ſlaundered with the inceſt of her owne brethren, otherwiſe ſhe was as diſhoneſt and vnchaſt as *Clodia*: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers ſake, but at the length grew wearie of her, & put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Now when he had filled the Senate with a maruellous hope and expectation of him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withſtand *Pompeys* tyrannie, and to vphold and maintaine the authoritie of the nobility and Senate againſt the people, for that by his noble deedes he had atchieued ſo great fame and reputation) he ſuddenly gaue ouer al dealings in the affaires of the commonwealth: either becauſe he ſaw it ſo beſt, being a hard thing now to keepe it from ruine: or elſe (as other ſaid) for that he felt himſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed with honour and wealth, and therefore determined from thencefoorth to liue quietly all at his eaſe, after ſo great paines, trauels and troubles, the end whereof fell not out ouer fortunately. And ſurely ſome were of his mind, and liked this great chaunge of his maruellous wel: becauſe he did not as *Marius* did, neither hapned on the ill ſucceſſe and end that *Marius* had. For *Marius* after the notable victories which he brought from the Cimbres, and after his valiant acts in wars which had wonne him great honour, yet would he not ſo leaue off, when he might haue bene chronicled to his wonderfull glorie: but of an vnſatiable mind, and ambitious deſire to rule and beare ſway, (being withall a very old man) went and ſorted himſelfe amongſt young men deſirous of gouernment, who brought him not only to commit many outrages, but made himſelfe alſo to ſuffer greater cruelties. It is thought alſo that *Cicero* had ended his aged courſe more happily, if after he had quenched *Catilines* conſpiracie, he had then taken his eaſe. And ſo had *Scipio* in like caſe, if when he had ioyned Nvmantia vnto Carthage, he wold thē haue quieted himſelfe. And therefore, ſome ſay, that there is a certaine reuolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wiſe man ſhould meddle any more with the affaires of the commonwealth: no more then a man whoſe youth and ſtrength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to iuſt, wraſtle, or enter into ſuch exerciſes of the body. But contrarily, *Craſſus* and *Pompey* mocked *Lucullus*, becauſe he gaue himſelfe ſo much to pleaſure and paſtime: as if to liue pleaſantly & delicately did not worſe become his age, then to command an armie, or to gouerne the affaires of a common weale. And for my part, reading *Lucullus* life, me thinks that I reade an auncient Comedy, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end ioyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you find notable exploits done by him in warres, and great good gouernment alſo in peace: but in the end they all turned into feaſts and banquets, and lacking litle of maskes & mummeries, dancing with torches, and all other ſuch delights fit for young men. For I bring within the compaſſe and reckening of his fineneſſe and pleaſures, his ſumptuous buildings, his ſtately walks and galleries, his hot-houſes and ſtoues, his tables and pictures, his ſtatues alſo, and the great workemanſhip and curioſitie he had beſides of all other arts by him gotten together out of all parts, to his infinite charge: abuſing therein the world of goods and treaſure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and office of Generall, and otherwiſe. Inſomuch, that notwithſtanding exceſſe and ſuperfluitie hath euer ſince increaſed vntill this preſent time, yet they recken the

Lucullus forſaketh Clodia & marieth Seruilia Catoes ſiſter, as vnchaſt as Clodia.

Lucullus giueth ouer gouernment of the common wealth.

Lucullus buildings and pleaſures.

Lucullus gardens of great estimation.

gardens *Lucullus* made, to be the most sumptuous and delicatest places that the Emperors haue. And therefore *Tubero* the Stoicke Philosopher, hauing seene these stately works which *Lucullus* had caused to be made neare vnto NAPLES, by the sea side (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged vpon vaults) and great ditches cast by force to make the sea passe and run through his houses, to keepe fish therein, and lodgings also that he built in the sea it selfe: he called *Lucullus, Xerxes* the gowneman, as if he would haue said, *Xerxes* the ROMAINE. For euen so did *Xerxes* in old time cause the mountaine Atho to be cut in sunder, and a channell to be digged there to passe his ships through. He had also many other pleasant places within the territories of ROME neare vnto THVSCVLVM, where there were great large haules set vpon tarrasses to see round about far off in the day time. And *Pompey* going thither sometime to see him, reproued him greatly, telling him that he had built a maruellous faire sommer house, but not to be dwelt in in the winter season. *Lucullus* laughing, answered him: doye thinke me to haue lesse wit and reason then storkes or cranes, that I cannot shift houses according to the season? And another time there was a Prætor of ROME, that making playes to shew the people pastime, sent vnto *Lucullus* to borrow certaine purple clokes to set foorth his players. *Lucullus* made him answer, that he would cause his folkes to looke if he had any. And the next morning demaunding of him how many he should neede, the other answered, that a hundred would serue his turne. Whereupon *Lucullus* told him againe, he would furnish him with two hundred, if his case so required. And therfore the Poet *Horace* writing this storie, addeth to a notable exclamation against superfluity, saying: that men thinke that a poore house, where there is no more riches then necessarie, and where there is not more then appeareth in sight, and that the maister knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinarie seruice at his boord, not only in that his beds whereon he fed, were couered with rich carpets of purple, and himselfe serued in gold and siluer vessell set with precious stones, and that there was dauncing, musicke, playes, and other such like pastimes of ordinarie: but also for that he was continually serued with al sorts of fine dainty dishes, with works of pastry, banquetting dishes, and fruit curiously wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondred at of men of simple vnderstanding and meane condition. Therefore was *Pompey* maruellously esteemed, and specially for a word he spake one day when he was sicke, and that the Phisitian had willed him to eate of a Thrush. For when his seruants told him they were hard to come by in sommer, but at *Lucullus* house where they brought them vp all the yeare through: he would in no wise they should aske any of him, but said vnto his Phisitian: What if *Lucullus* were not giuen to pleasure, could not *Pompey* liue? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* friend and kinsman both, & yet he so much misliked his maner of liuing & ordinarie expence, that one day a yong man making a long and tedious oration in open Senate (out of time, & to no purpose) touching meane diet, sobrietie, and temperance of life: *Cato* could no longer abide him, but rose vp, and said vnto him: What, wilt thou not leaue babling to vs al day: thou that art rich as *Crassus*, that liuest as *Lucullus*, and speakest as *Cato*? Other affirme that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that spake them: neuertheless it is certaine, by the notable sayings they haue gathered of *Lucullus*, he did not only delight to liue so delicatly, but also he gloried in it. Some write that he feasted certaine GRECIANS many daies together in his house, that were come out of GREECE to ROME: and that they being men brought vp with the sobrietie and simplicity of GREECE, after they had bene feasted there diuers times, were ashamed, and refused to go thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*, supposing that he had made them this great cheare for their owne sakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: my Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that: indeed I must needes graunt that there is somewhat more then ordinarie to welcome you withall: but I tell you truly, the most part is for *Lucullus* sake. Another time when he supped alone, and his men had laid but one boord, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and called for his steward to know why he was serued so: the steward answered him: My lord, because I saw you send for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What said he againe: kneweſt not thou that *Lucullus* shold sup to night with himself? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was so well knowne through ROME, that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble housekeeping. Wherupon, *Cicero* & *Pompey* being desirous to see the proofe thereof, came one day to him in the market place seeing him at leysure: for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good friend, and *Pompey* (though there was some iarre betweene them for matters of warres) did not let for all that

Lucullus called Xerxes the gowneman. Xerxes cut through the mountaine Atho, and made a channell for his ships to passe through.

Lucullus curiosity & excesse in meates and seruice.

Catoes saying of Lucullus.

Certain sayings of Lucullus.

to

to come vnto him, and to ſpeake gently one to another. And *Cicero* after he had ſaluted him, aſked him if he would be contented they ſhould come and ſee him. Oh, ſayd he, with all my heart: I pray you come to me. Well then, ſayd *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and ſup with you to night, with condition that you prouide no more then your ordinarie: *Lucullus* told them againe, they ſhould then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they taried till to morow. But they would none of that, no not ſuffer him to ſpeake with his men, for feare he ſhould command them to prouide ſomewhat more then for himſelfe. Neuertheleſſe, at his deſire they ſuffered him onely in their preſence aloud to tell one of his men, that he would ſup that night in *Apollo*: (for ſo was one of the moſt ſtately and ſumptuous haules of his houſe called) and with that word onely he finely deceiued them both, and they neuer found him. For euerie haule had his certaine ſumme and rate appointed for the charge and expence of euery ſupper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and ſeruice for the ſame. So that when his ſeruants had their watch-word but in what haule he would ſup, they knew ſtraight what charge he would be at for his ſupper, and what orders ſhould be obſerued therein. Now *Lucullus* maner was to ſpend when he made any feaſt in the haule of *Apollo*, fifty thouſand pence, and that ſelfe day the ſupper was prepared according to that value: inſomuch as *Pompey* maruelled how it could be poſſible that a ſupper of ſo exceeding great charge could be ſo ſuddenly prepared. In ſuch things therefore did *Lucullus* laviſhly and riotouſly ſpend his goods, like ſpoiles indeed gotten of ſlaues and barbarous people. But that eſpecially which he beſtowed vpon bookes, was a very commendable and honeſt expence. For he had gathered together a great number of notable hiſtories, the vſe whereof was more honour to him, then the hauing of them. For his library was euer open to all commers, and they ſuffered the Greekes to come into his goodly tarraſſes & faire walkes, or other pleaſant places thereabouts conuenient to ſit and reaſon together, and neuer ſhut doore againſt them: where learned men met commonly, and oftentimes ſpent the whole day in conference together, as in the houſe of the *Muſes*, being verie glad when other matters were diſpatched, they had ſo much leiſure as but to go thither. And *Lucullus* ſelfe would alſo many times be amongſt them, in thoſe tarreſſes and pleaſant walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did euer helpe to diſpatch them that had any buſineſſe with him, and graunted the thing they requeſted of him. To conclude, his houſe was a common receipt for all them that came from Greece to Rome. He loued all maner of Philoſophy, and refuſed no ſect of the ſame. But from his youth vpward, he euer loued and eſteemed beſt the Academicke ſect, not that which they call the new Academicke (although it flouriſhed at that time through *Carneades* workes, which *Philo* made ſuch eſtimation of) but the old Academicke, which the Philoſopher *Antiochus* of the citie of Ascalon did defend & maintaine at that time, being an eloquent rhetoritian and well ſpoken, whom *Lucullus* ſought to winne by all meanes, to make him his friend, and to haue him in houſe with him: becauſe he might inuey againſt *Philoes* hearers and followers, whoſe ſcholer *Cicero* among the reſt was, that wrote a notable booke againſt this old Academicke ſect. And in the ſame he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old Academickes: who hold, that a man may certainly know and comprehend ſomething, and called that Catalepſin: but *Cicero* defended the contrarie. The booke is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we haue rehearſed before) verie good friends, and had both one ſelfe deſire for gouernement in the common wealth. For *Lucullus* did not ſo withdraw himſelfe from matters of ſtate, that he would no more meddle at all, nor heare ſpeake of them: but he betimes gaue ouer all ambition and contention, as a thing of no ſmall danger, and breeding great reproch and diſhonour to *Marcus Craſſus*, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authoritie. And theſe two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raiſed vp to withſtand *Pompeys* greatneſſe, being affraid of him, after that *Lucullus* had refuſed the chiefe place of authoritie. But otherwiſe, *Lucullus* would be in the market place at courts and common councels, to pleaſure his friends when they requeſted him: and would go to the Senate alſo, when there was occaſion to breake any new practiſe, or to ouerthrow *Pompeys* ambitious pollicie. For he ouerthrew all the orders and conſtitutions that *Pompey* had made, after he had ouercome the kings, *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: and with the helpe of *Cato* hindred a diſtribution of money which *Pompey* had written for to Rome, to be beſtowed amongſt his ſouldiers. Whereupon *Pompey* fell in friendſhip (or to ſpeake more plainely, in conſpiracie) with *Craſſus* and *Cæſar*, by whoſe helpe and aſſiſtance, he filled Rome with armes and ſouldiers: and made the people by force to paſſe and confirme what he

Lucullus hauing diuerſe haules, had appointed euerie haule his certaine rate and charge of diet.

What Lucullus ſupper was in Apollo.

Lucullus libraria.

Lucullus loued Philoſophy.

Antiochus of Aſcalon an eloquent rhetoritian.

The opinion of the Academikes.

Marcus Craſſus, Cato, Lucullus, againſt Pompey.

Lucullus and Cato againſt Pompey.

Pompey, Craſſus, Cæſar, conſpired together againſt the ſtate.

would haue done, after he had violently expulſed *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the market place. Whereat the noblemen were much offended, and miſliking the great wrong they had offered *Lucullus* and *Cato*, *Pompeys* followers ſuborned a * BRVTIAN, and ſayd he was taken lying in waite to kill *Pompey*. Whereupon the ſayd BRVTIAN being examined by the Senate, named certaine: but when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, ſaying that he had hired him to kill *Pompey*. But no man beleeued him: for they perceiued openly in the market place, that he was procured by themſelues falſly to accuſe *Lucullus*, and *Pompeys* other aduerſaries. And this was proued more plainely within few dayes after, when they threw the body of this BRVTIAN dead in the middeſt of the ſtreete, out of the priſon: who they ſaid died of himſelfe with ſickneſſe. Howbeit the markes being plainly ſeene of the halter wherewith they had ſtrangled him, and the ſtripes appearing alſo which they had giuen him, did plainly ſhew that they themſelues did it, whom after they had ſuborned to accuſe *Lucullus*, they ſlue in this maner. This was the cauſe why *Lucullus* did more then before abſent himſelfe from medling in publicke cauſes: but after, when he ſaw that they had ſo wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes alſo to conuey *Cato* farre inough off, vnder pretenced colour to ſend him with charge into the Ile of CYPRVS: then he gaue vp altogether. Some write that a litle before his death, he was not perfit in his wits, decaying through age by litle and litle. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* ſayth, that it was not for age, nor ſickneſſe that his wits did alter, but through poyſon which one of his ſlaues had giuen him, whom he had made free, called *Calliſthenes*: who gaue it him, not of any euill intent, but becauſe his maiſter ſhould loue him the more, ſuppoſing that this poyſon had power to make him loue him. But he troubled his wits ſo much with this poyſon, that *Lucullus* while he liued was faine to haue his brother *Marcus* to ouerſee his goods. Notwithſtanding this when he was dead, he was as much bewailed and lamented of all the people, as if he had died in his beſt credit, and greateſt proſperity. For all the people ran to honour his funerals, and his bodie was caried to the place, by the young noblemen of the citie. The people would in any caſe haue buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*. But becauſe no man thought of it before, and alſo for that things neceſſary were not eaſily to be prouided for the place: his brother *Marcus* beſought the people they would be content his funerals might be at a towne of his owne, neare vnto the city of THVSCVLVM, where his tombe was prepared, and he himſelfe liued not long time after.

* *Cicero calleth him Lucius Veſtius, howbeit it may be that he was a Brutian borne.*

Lucullus fell out of his wits before his death.

Calliſthenes poyſoned Lucullus whereof he died.

Lucullus dieth.

For as *Lucullus* both in age, and honor, had not left him farre behind him: ſo did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwaies dearely loued him, he could not then long liue, and ſuruiue him.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF *Lucullus with Cimon.*

NOthing (in my opinion) made *Lucullus* more happie, then to dye when he did, before he ſaw the chaunge and alteration of the common weale, which the fatall deſtinies plagued the ROMAINES withall, with ſedition and ciuill warres: and that he died in his countrey yet enioying her libertie, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that (aboue all other things) he was likeſt vnto *Cimon*: who died whileſt the GRECIANS were in good loue and peace with other, and not in broile of diſcord and ciuill warres. Indeed *Cimon* died in his campe, being Generall of his countrey, at the ſiege of the city of CITIVM in CYPRVS, not withdrawne to his home, as one wearied, liuing idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feaſts and banquets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphs: but as *Plato* ſayd (when he wiſely blamed and reproued *Orpheus*, who promiſeth perpetuall drunkenneſſe in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that liued well in this life) merily. And truly it is a great comfort and contentation of mind, for an old man feebled with age, and compelled by weakeneſſe, to withdraw himſelfe from the world, as well in matters of gouernement in peace, as in warres: and quietly to paſſe his time in ſtudy, where delight is ioyned with honeſt contemplation. But to finiſh his vertuous deedes, by referring them to pleaſure, as vnto their onely end, and moreouer, to grow old by pleaſure and vanitie, ſolemnizing *Venus* feaſt all the reſt of his life, after he had made ſuch warres, and commaunded ſuch armies: that me thinkes a thing vnworthie of an honeſt ACADEMICKE, and altogether vnmeete for one profeſſing old *Xenocrates* doctrine, but fit rather for a man giuen ouer altogether to *Epicurus* diſcipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be conſidered of in theſe two men, that the ones youth was altogether vicious and reprochfull, and the others to the contrarie, honeſt and vertuous. But he is the better that chaungeth for the better: and that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time ſheweth ſtill the contrarie. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one ſelfe meane: but they did not both alike vſe their riches. For it were to no purpoſe to compare the buildings of the wall that ſtandeth South within the caſtell of ATHENS, which was built with the money *Cimon* brought thither, with the fine built chambers, and high raiſed turrets to gaſe afarre, and enuironed about with conduits of water, which *Lucullus* erected by NAPLES, with the ſpoiles of the barbarous people. Neither is *Cimons* table alſo of moderate fare and diet, but yet open to euerie man, comparable to *Lucullus* boord: which was ſumptuouſly furniſhed, and ſhewed the greatneſſe of his Lord. For *Cimons* boord fed many mouthes daily with a ſmall charge: and *Lucullus* table exceeded in expence, to feede a few, with ſuperfluous dainties. Vnleſſe they will ſay, that time

Lucullus death bleſſed.

A good gift to decay vice, and to increaſe vertue.

caused this difference betweene them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had bene at leisure to haue withdrawne himselfe to quiet in age from gouernement and armes, he also would not haue led a more sumptuous and dissolute life, giuen to all pleasure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne nature he loued wine, banquets, and playes, and was also giuen to women, as we haue told you before. But prosperitie, and fortunate successe of things do bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises, that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had *Lucullus* died abroad in the warres, whilest he commaunded armies, there had not bene that liuing man, how curious soeuer he had bene to reproue other mens faults, that could haue detected him of any reprochfull vice. And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land. And like as in games of prise and exercises of bodie which are shewed in GREECE, they that in one selfe day winne the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a straunge custome, not conquerours onely, but victours also, to honour them withall: euen so me thinkes that *Cimon* in like case hauing in one selfe day crowned GRECE with two notable markes of triumph, for two battels he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by land, deserueth to haue some place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreouer, *Lucullus* receiued the authority to commaund, of his countrey and common wealth: but *Cimon* gaue his countrey both authority and abilitie to commaund. *Lucullus* found his countrey a commaunding people to all their friends and confederates: through whose aide he ouercame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily, found his countrey marching vnder anothers ensigne, and through his valiantnesse did so behaue himselfe, that he made his citie go before her confederates, and triumph ouer her enemies: compelling the PERSIANS by force to giue them the rule by sea, and perswading the LACEDÆMONIANS willingly to giue place vnto them by land. Now if the chiefest thing that can be in an excellent Captaine, is to make himselfe to be beloued of his souldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was *Lucullus* despised of his souldiers, and *Cimon* esteemed and wondred at, euen of the confederates themselues. For *Lucullus* was forsaken of his owne men: and *Cimon* was followed by verie strangers, for the confederates did ioyne together with him. *Lucullus* returned home into his countrey, forsaken of those he caried out with him. *Cimon* returned againe, commaunding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his countrey three notable things, and hard for them to haue compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, giuen them authoritie and rule of their confederates, and ioyned friendship with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them vndertooke to destroy great Empires, and conquer all ASIA: but neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him off on the sudden being Generall, and when his affaires prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or because he would not satisfie the complaints and griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be sayd also, that in this fault he was like vnto *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accused by his citizens, and at the length banished his countrey for the space of ten yeares, because that in ten yeares space (as *Plato* sayth) they should no more heare him speake. For to say truly, it seldome times happeneth, that the graue wits of noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable vnto the common people: because they striuing continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieue them as much, as surgeons do their patients when they bind vp their sores with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their naturall places againe the broken bones or members out of ioynt: yet put they the patient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* went a great deale farther with his armie, then euer *Cimon* did. For he was the first ROMAINE captaine that passed ouer mount Taurus, & the riuer of Tigris with an armie. He tooke and burnt almost in sight of both the kings, the royall cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCERTA, CABIRA, SINOPE, and NICIBIS. Towards the North, he went as farre as the riuer of Phasis: towards the East, into MEDIA: and Southward, euen to the red sea, and vnto the Realmes of ARABIA, subduing all vnto the ROMAINE Empire. And hauing ouerthrowne all the power of these two mightie kings, he tooke from them all, but their persons onely: who fled and hid themselues like wild beasts, in infinite deserts and vnpassable forrests. Wherein is easily discerned the difference

Cimons two victories obtained in one day.

Great difference betwixt Cimon and Lucullus.

Graue Magistrates resembled by similitude vnto good surgeons.

betwixt

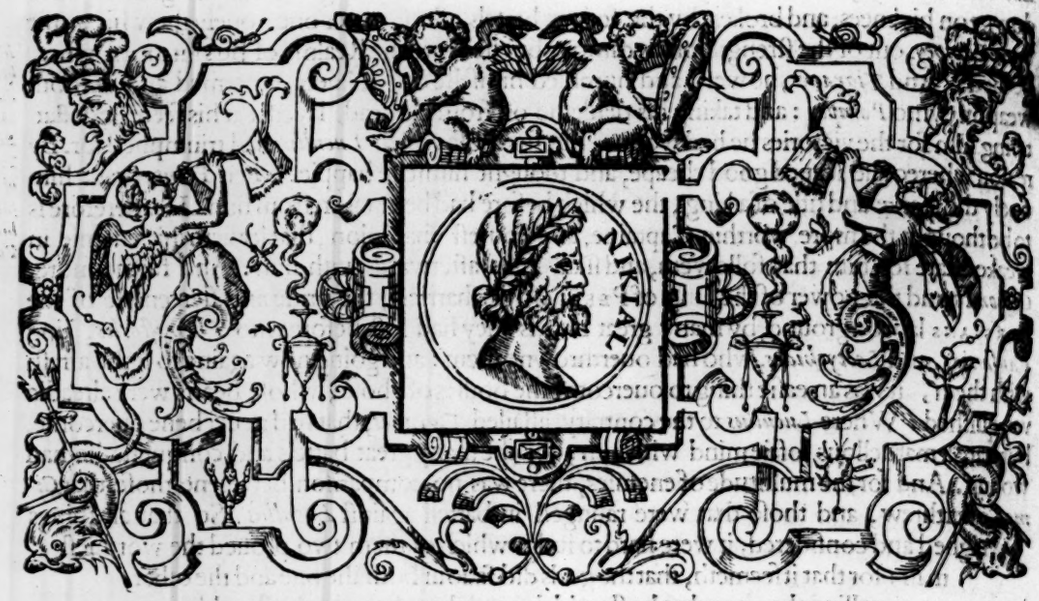
betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor ouerthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediatly after against the GRECIANS, and ouerthrew the greatest part of their armie in EGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after *Lucullus* victories, did neuer any notable act. For the one finding himselfe altogether pulled downe on his knees, and broken by the former battels: durst neuer once onely shew his armie vnto *Pompey*, out of the strength of his campe, but fled into the Realme of BOSPHORVS, where he died. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled himselfe on his knees, vnarmed and without weapon, vnto *Pompey*: and taking his diademe off from his head, layed it at his feete, not flattering him for the victories he had wonne, but for those which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reason whereof he scaped good cheape, and thought himselfe happie, when *Pompey* gaue him onely the marke and title of a king, the which before had bene taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthie Captaine, and stoutest champion, that leaueth his enemie in weake estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwards with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* found the power of the king of PERSIA ouer-harried, the pride and fiercenesse of the PERSIANS layed a ground, by many great battels they had lost before vnto *Themistocles*, king *Pausanias*, and *Leotychides*, who had ouerthrowne them: and going now againe to fight afresh with them, it was an easie thing to ouercome the bodies of those, whose hearts were alreadie vanquished. Where *Lucullus* to the contrary, assailed *Tigranes*, that had neuer bene ouercome, but bare a maruellous loftie mind with him, for the many great battels and conquests he had wonne. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison betweene those that *Cimon* ouerthrew, and those that were raunged in battell against *Lucullus*. So that all things weighed and considered, it were hard to iudge which of them two proued the worthiest man: for that it seemeth, that the gods did fauour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should do, and the other what he should not do. And thus it appeareth by testimonie of the gods, they were both good men, and that they both obtained euerlasting glory.

Mithridates king of Pontus, died in the realme of Bosphorus.

Tigranes king of Armenia, submitteth himselfe to Pompey.

The end of Lucullus life.

THE LIFE OF *Nicias.*



I Haue reaſon (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Craſſus*, and the euents that happened to the one in PARTHIA, with thoſe that befell the other in SICILE: yet am I to pray them that ſhall happen to reade my writings, not to thinke me in entermedling with thoſe matters (in the deſcribing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond himſelfe, both for varietie and liuelineſſe of narration, as alſo in choice and excellent words) to haue the like intent and opinion, that *Timæus* the hiſtoriographer had. Who, hoping by the grauitie and life of his words and reports, to darken the glorie of *Thucydides*, and make *Philiſtus* (in compariſon of himſelfe) appeare ignorant, and without any grace of hiſtoricall narration: hath in his hiſtorie of purpoſe ſought occaſion to enter into the deſcribing of thoſe battels by ſea and by land, and the report of thoſe ſpeeches and orations, which are deliuered by them with great iudgement and eloquence. Wherein he commeth as neare them whom he contends to paſſe, as doth the footman to the LYDIAN coach, as ſayth *Pindarus*: and beſides ſheweth himſelfe fond and of ſmall iudgement, or as *Diphilus* ſaith:

The praiſe of of Thucydides.

Timæus follies.

A lubber laden with Sicylian greaſe.

And in diuers places, he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he ſayeth, that he thinkes it was an euill token for the ATHENIANS, that *Nicias* the Captaine (whoſe name was deriued of this word Nice, ſignifying victorie) diſſwaded their attempts againſt SICILE: and that by the throwing downe and mangling of the Hermes (to ſay, the images of *Mercury*) it was foreſhewed that they ſhould receiue great ouerthrowes by the Generall of the SYRACVSANS, called *Hermocrates*, the ſonne of *Hermon*. And further, that it was not vnlikely that *Hercules* did fauour the SYRACVSANS, by reaſon of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina* (protectour and defendor of the citie of SYRACVSA) to requite her for that ſhe gaue him Cerberus the dogge, porter of hell: and that he did malice the ATHENIANS beſides, becauſe they tooke the ÆGESTÆANS parts (who came of the TROYANS, whom he much hated) for breaking their promiſe and faith with him, whoſe city himſelfe had ouerthrowne in reuenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* king of TROY had offered him. Howbeit *Timæus* ſhewes as much wit and iudgement, in deliuering vs ſuch toyes in an hiſtorie: as he doth in correcting the ſtyle of *Philiſtus*, or in condemning and railing on *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*. But in my fanſie, this ambition and contention to write or to ſpeake more clearely then others, ſheweth alwayes a baſe enuious mind, like a ſcholler full of ſchoole points.

Timæus reproueth Plato and Ariſtotle.

But

But when it striueth with things that for their excellence are past imitation, then is it extreme folly and madnesse. Since therefore I may not passe ouer nor omit certaine things, which *Thucydides* and *Philistus* haue alreadie set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the varietie of his successes and fortune did couer: I must lightly touch them, and report so much as is necessarie and conuenient, least men condemne me, for slouth and negligence. And in the rest I haue endeuoured to gather and propound things not commonly marked and knowne, which I haue collected as well out of sundry mens workes and ancient records, as out of many old antiquities: and of them all compiled a narration, which will serue (I doubt not) to decipher the man and his nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be sayd that which *Aristotle* hath written of him, that there were three famous citizens of Athens, very honest men, and which fauoured the communaltie with a naturall fatherly loue: *Nicias* the sonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the sonne of *Milesius*, and *Theramenes* the sonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this last was of smallest account: for he is flouted as a forreiner borne in the Ile of Ceos, and challenged besides for inconstant and irresolute in matters of state and gouernment: and inclining sometimes to one faction, sometimes to another: he was called *Cothurnus*, a kind of buskin indifferently seruing for both legges, and in old time was vsed of common players of tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good acts in fauour of the nobility against *Pericles*, who alwayes tooke part with the inferiour sort. *Nicias* that was the yonger, had reasonable estimation in *Pericles* life time: for he was ioyned captaine with him, and oftentimes also had charge by himselfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the nobility raised him to great authority, to be as a strong bulwarke for them, against *Cleons* insolency and boldnesse: and withall he had the loue of the people, to aduance and preferre him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the people, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an old man, still feeding their humor with gaine: but yet they themselues whom he thus flattered, knowing his extreme couetousnesse, impudency, and boldnesse, preferred *Nicias* before him, because his grauity was not seuere nor odious, but mingled with a kind of modesty, that he seemed to feare the presence of the people, which made them thereby the more to loue and esteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearfull & mistrustfull nature and disposition: in warres he cloked his feare with good fortune, which euer fauored him alike in all his iourneys & exploits that he tooke in hand where he was captaine. Now being much afraid of accusers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the city, was found to be popular, whereby he wan him the goodwill of the people: and by meanes thereof rose daily more and more, because the people commonly feare those that hate them, and aduance them that feare them. For the greatest honor nobilitie can do to the communalty, is to shew that they do not despise them. Now *Pericles*, who through his perfit vertue only, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole state and comonwealth of Athens, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificiall flattering of the people, to win their fauour and goodwils: but *Nicias* lacking that, and hauing wealth inough, sought thereby to creepe into the peoples fauor. And where *Cleon* would entertaine the Athenians with pleasant toyes and deuises, and could feede the peoples humour that way: *Nicias* finding himselfe no fit man to worke by such encounter, crept into the peoples fauour with liberality, with charges of common playes, and with such like sumptuousnesse, exceeding in cost and pleasant sports, not onely all those that had bene before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remaine monuments of his consecrating vnto the gods: as the image of *Pallas* in the castell of Athens, the gilt being worne off: and the chappell which is vnder the festiuall table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe prise in *Bacchus* daunces, & neuer went away without some game. And touching this matter, there goeth a report that at certaine playes whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth vpon the players stage before the people, apparelled like *Bacchus*: and being a goodly tall young man, without any haire on his face, the Athenians tooke such pleasure to see him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for ioy. Therewithal *Nicias* stood vp, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leaue the bodie of a man in bondage, that openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young slaue a free man. Men write also of certaine sumptuous and deuout acts he did in the Ile of Delos, where the dauncers and singers which the cities of Greece sent thither to sing rimes and verses in the honour of *Apollo*, were wont before to arriue disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of people that ranne to see them, who made them sing straight without any order, and

Nicias equals.

Nicias a timorous man.

The nature of the people.

Nicias liberality and magnificence.

landing in haſte out of their ſhips, they left their apparell, and put on ſuch veſtements as they ſhould weare in proceſſion, and their garlands of flowers on their heads, all at one preſent time. But *Nicias*, being commaunded to go thither to preſent the ſingers of ATHENS, landed firſt in the Ile of RENIA, hard adioyning to the Ile of DELOS, with his ſingers, his beaſts for ſacrifice, and with all the reſt of his traine, carying a bridge with him, which he had cauſed to be made at ATHENS, vpon meaſure taken of the channell, betwixt the one and the other Ile, ſet out with pictures and tables, with gilding, with noſegayes and garlands of triumph, and with excellent wrought tapiſtry: which in the night he ſet vp vpon the channell, being not very broad, and the next morning by breake of the day cauſed his ſingers to paſſe ouer vpon it, ſinging all the way as they went in his proceſſion ſo nobly ſet foorth, euen vnto the very temple of *Apollo*. And when the ſacrifice, the feaſt, and games that were to be played were finiſhed, he gaue a goodly palme tree of copper, which he offered vp to *Apollo*, bought lands beſides that coſt him ten thouſand Drachmas, which he conſecrated alſo vnto the god Patron of the Ile: and ordained, that the profits of the ſame ſhould be yearely beſtowed by the DELIANS, vpon an open ſacrifice and feaſt, in the which they ſhould pray to their god, for the health and proſperity of *Nicias*: and ſo cauſed it to be written and grauen vpon a pillar he left in DELOS, as a perpetuall monument and keeper of his offering, and foundation. Afterwards, this copper palme tree being broken by winds, it fell vpon the great image of the NAXIANS gift, and threw it downe to the ground. Surely in this ceremonie and act of his, there was a maruellous pompe, and great ſhew of popular ambition: neuertheleſſe, he that ſhall conſider of his life and actions, may eaſily perſwade himſelfe that aboue all, he did it of verie pure zeale and deuotion, and ſecondly, to giue pleaſure and paſtime to the people. For by *Thucydides* report of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly giuen to religion. We find written in one of the dialogues of *Paſiphoon*, that *Nicias* did ſacrifice daily to the gods, and kept a ſoothſayer continually in his houſe, giuing out abroad, that it was to councell with him what ſhould happen about the affaires of the common wealth: but in troth it was to inquire of his owne buſineſſe, and ſpecially of his mines of ſiluer. For he had many great mines about LAVRION ſide, that were verie profitable to him: but withall they digged with great daunger, and he was driuen continually to keepe a maruellous number of ſlaues at worke there. The moſt part of *Nicias* riches was in readie money, and thereby he had many crauers and hangers on him, whom he gaue money vnto: for he gaue as well vnto wicked people that might do miſchiefe, as vnto them that deſerued reward, and were worthie of his liberalitie. Thus was his feare a rent to the wicked, as his liberalitie was alſo a reuenew to the good: and hereof the comicall Poets do deliuer vs auncient teſtimonie. For *Teleclides* ſpeaking of a certaine informer, ſaith thus:

Nicias ſuperſtitious.

Nicias mines of ſiluer.

Nicias for feare gaue to the wicked.

Charicles did refuſe to giue one Mina, for to ſtay
The bruting of his ſecret birth, conueyed cloſe away:
But Nice, the ſonne of Nicerate, did willingly beſtow
A brace of Minas double told. And though I well do know
The cauſe of his ſo doing, yet I will not him bewray:
For why? The man is my good friend, and wiſe I dare well ſay.

And he, whom *Eupolis* mocketh in his comedie intituled Maricas, bringing a plaine ſimple man vpon the ſtage, doth aske him:

The informer:

How long is it a go ſince thou didſt ſpeake with Nicias?

The plaine man:

I ſaw him ſtanding euen right now vpon the market place.

The informer:

This man affirmes he ſaw him there. And wherefore ſhould he ſay
He ſaw him, but of ſome intent his lewneſſe to bewray?
Now ſirs, yee ſee how Nicias here is taken in the trip,
For all his walking cloſe in clouds, to giue the priuie ſlip.

The Author:

O fooliſh folke, ſuppoſe ye that ſo good a man as he,
In any fault or ſhamefull fact will tardy taken be?

And

And *Cleon* threatning in the comedie of *Aristophanes*, intituled the Knights, sayth these words:

The Orators if by the throte I take,
Then sure I am, that Nicias straight will quake.

Phrynichus selfe also telleth vs glaunsingly, that he was so timorous and easie to be frayed, when he sayd, speaking of another man:

A good stout man (I know full well) he was,
And not a coward, like to Nicias.

Now *Nicias* being thus timorous of nature, and fearing to giue any litle occasion to the Orators to accuse him: kept himselfe so warily, that he neither durst eate nor drinke with any man in the city, nor yet put forth himselfe in companie to talke, or passe the time amongst them, but altogether auoided such sports and pleasures. For when he was in office, he would neuer out of the counsell-house, but still busied himselfe in dispatching causes, from morning till night, and was euer the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of state in hand, then was he verie hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no accesse vnto him, but kept close in his house: and some of his friends did euer aunswer them that came to his gate, and prayed them to pardon him, saying, that he was busie then about affaires of the commonwealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought vp in his house, and had himselfe taught him both learning and musicke, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keepe him from speech with any man, and brought him to this reputation of greatnesse and grauity. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the sonne of *Dionysius Chalcus*, of whom they find certaine Poeticall words at this day: who being captaine of a certaine number of men that were sent to dwell in ITALIE, did build there the citie of THVRIES. *Hieron* I say did serue his turne, and holpe him secretly to enquire what he would vnderstand of the Soothsayers, and gaue out these words among the people: that *Nicias* led too miserable and painefull a life, for the ouergreat care he tooke to serue the commonwealth: insomuch, as though he were in his hot-house to wash him, or at his table at meate, his mind ran still of some matters about the commonwealth, and to serue the state did neglect his owne priuate affaires: so that he scant began to sleepe and take rest, when others commonly had slept their first sleepe, and that he looked like no bodie. Furthermore, that he was growne crabbed and vncourteous, euen to such as before had bene his familiar friends: so that, sayd he, he loseth them together with his goods, and all for seruice of the commonwealth: where others grow rich, and win friends, by the credit they haue to be heard of the people, and can make merry among them, and sport with the matters of state which they haue in their hands. Now in troth, such was *Nicias* life, that he might truly say that which *Agamemnon* spake of himselfe in the tragedie of *Euripides*, called *Iphigenie* in AVLIDE.

Nicias vvarinesse to offend.

Nicias Hierons schoolmaister.

Dionysius Chalcus founder of the city of Thurics.

Nicias life.

In outward shew of stately pompe, all others I exceed,
And yet the peoples vnderling I am in very deed.

And *Nicias* perceiuing that the people in some things did serue their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, and wiser then others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their courage, by taking their authoritie from them: as for proofe, the condemnation of *Pericles*, the banishment of *Damon*, and the mistrust they had of *Antiphon* RHAMNVSIAN, and moreouer by that they did vnto *Paches* (that tooke the Ile of LESBOS) who being brought before the Iudges in open councell to giue vp an account of his charge, drew out his sword, and slue himselfe in presence of them all. *Nicias* I say, remembring these examples, sought euer to flie from those offices, which were either too great, or too small, and when he accepted anie, had speciall regard to worke surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his enterprises that he tooke in hand, as we may easily coniecture, prospered maruellous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisdome, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiency, but thanked fortune euer for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himselfe to lessen his glorie, and that onely to auoid enuy: as the euent of things falling out euen in his time do sufficiently witnesse vnto vs. For the citie of ATHENS hauing sustained many great losses and ouerthrowes, he was neuer a party, nor had ought to do in any of them. As once for example: the ATHENIANS were ouercome in THRACIA by the CHALCIDONIANS, howbeit it was vnder the leading of *Calliades* and *Xenophon*, who were their Captaines. Another time, the losse they had in ÆTOLIA vnder the charge of *Demosthenes*. Moreouer, at DELIVM, a city of

Boeotia, where they lost a thousand men at one conflict, *Hippocrates* then being generall there. And as touching the plague, the greatest number layd the fault thereof to *Pericles*, who by reason of warres kept the men that came out of the countrey, within the wals of the city of Athens: and so by changing of aire, and their wonted manner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* euer burthened: but contrariwise he being Captaine tooke the Ile of Cythera, which the Lacedæmonians inhabited, being an excellent place for situation to molest and destroy the countrey of Laconia. He wan diuerse cities that had rebelled in Thracia, and brought them once more vnder the obedience of Athens. At his first comming, hauing shut in the Megarians within their wals, he tooke the Ile of Minoa: and at his departure thence, shortly after wan the hauen of Nisea also. Furthermore, landing in the countrey of the Corinthians, he ouercame them that offered him battell, and slue a great number, and among others *Lycophron* the Captaine. At this battell he chanced to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering vp of the rest: howbeit, so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his fleete to stay, and sent an Herauld to the enemies, to pray leaue to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by law of armes they that sent to aske leaue to take away their dead to burie them, did thereby lose the honour of their victory, and were barred to set vp any marke or token of triumph, because it seemed by the sute, that they which had them in their power were conquerors, and not the petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to haue made demaund of them: *Nicias* notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honour of his victory, then to leaue the bodies of two of his countrimen in the field without buriall. So, after he had destroyed all the coast of Laconia, and had ouercome certaine Lacedæmonians that came against him in battell, he tooke the city of Thyrea, which the Æginetes kept at that time, whom he brought prisoners vnto Athens. And when the Peloponnesians had prepared great armies both by sea and by land to besiege the fort of Pyle, the which *Demosthenes* the Captaine had fortified: battell being giuen by sea, it chanced there remained foure hundred naturall citizens of Sparta, within the Ile of Spacteria. Now the Athenians thought it a noble exploit of them (as indeed it was) to take those foure hundred aliue: howbeit the siege was very sore, because they lacked water euen in the middest of sommer, and were forced to fetch a maruellous compasse to bring victuals to their campe, which when winter should be once come, would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to do. Whereupon, they then became sory, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the Lacedæmonians which came to them to treate of peace, and that they had (through *Cleons* procurement) suffered them to depart in that sort without resolution taken: who was against them altogether, onely to do *Nicias* a despite, being his enemy, and did earnestly solicite the matter the Lacedæmonians requested. This was the cause why *Cleon* perswaded the Athenians, to refuse their offer of peace. But when the people saw that this siege drew out in length, and that their campe suffered grieuous wants and necessities: then fell they out with *Cleon*, and he againe burthened *Nicias*, saying, that through his feare he would let the besieged Spartans escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not haue holden out so long. Thereupon the Athenians sayd aloud to *Cleon*: and why doest not thou go thither then to take them? Moreouer *Nicias* selfe also rising vp, openly gaue him his authority to take this Pyle, and bad him leauy as many souldiers as he would to go thither, and not to bragge with such impudent words where was no danger, but to do some notable seruice to the common wealth. *Cleon* at the first shrunke backe, being amazed withall, litle thinking they would haue taken him so suddenly at his word: but in the end, perceiuing the people vrged him to it, and that *Nicias* also was importunate with him, ambition so enflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge vpon him, but in a brauery sayd, that within twentie dayes after his departure he would either put all the Spartans to the sword, or bring them prisoners vnto Athens. The Athenians hearing *Cleon* say so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to beleeue that he spake: for it was their manner euer to laugh at his anger and folly. For it is reported of him, that the people on a time being solemnly assembled in councell early in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would say, and hauing taried long for him: at the length he came with a garland on his head, and prayed the assembly to dismisse the court till the next morning: for (quoth he) I shall not be at leisure to day, because I haue sacrificed, and do feast also certaine straungers my friends that are come to see me. So the people burst out in a laughing,

The lawe of armes.

A feast of Cleon.

laughing, and brake vp the assembly. This notwithstanding, fortune fauored him at that time, and he handled himselfe so well in this charge with *Demosthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, sauing such as were slaine: & hauing made them yeeld, brought them prisoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* shame and reproach. For it appeared not onely a casting away of his shield, but worse then that, a voluntarie forsaking of his prouince vpon a base timerous mind, giuing his enemy occasion thereby to do some noble exploit, depriuing himselfe of his honorable charge. Wherefore *Aristophanes* mocketh him againe, in his comedie of birds, saying:

Cleons victory of the Lacedæmonians.

It is no time to sleepe and linger still,
As Nicias doth: without good cause or skill.

Also in another place of his comedie of plowmen, he saith:

I faine would follow husbandrie. Who lets thee? Mary you.
A thousand Drachmas I will giue to be discharged now
Of office in the common weale. Content, so shall we haue
Two thousand Drachmas iust, with those which Nicias lately gaue.

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the common wealth, suffering *Cleon* in that sort to grow to credit and estimation. For after that victorie, *Cleon* grew to so haughty a mind and pride of himselfe, that he was not to be dealt withal: wherupon fell out the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the city of ATHENS, which most grieued *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongst other things tooke away the modesty and reuerence vsed before in publicke orations to the people: he of all other was the first that cried out in his orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his gowne, and flung vp and downe the pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentiousnesse, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Orators and counsellors fell into, that dealt in matters of state and common wealth, and was in the end the ouerthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to grow to credit, by practise in the state, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither simply euill: but as they say of the land of EGYPT, that for the fatnesse and lustinesse of the soile:

The immoderate liberty of Cleon.

Cleons levvd and light gestures in his Orations.

It bringeth forth both wholesome herbes, and also noysome weeds.

Euen so *Alcibiades* wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause & beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was rid of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the citie of ATHENS againe to peace and quietnesse. For when the commonwealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into warres, through *Alcibiades* extreme furie of ambition. And thus it began. The onely peace-breakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout GRECE, were these two persons, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*: for warre cloked the wickednesse of the one, and aduanced the valiantnesse of the other, giuing to either occasion to do great mischiefe, and also oportunitie to worke many noble exploits. Now *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slaine together at a battell fought by AMPHIPOLIS, *Nicias* straight perceiuing the SPARTANS had long desired peace, and that the ATHENIANS were no more so hotly giuen to warres, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet: deuised what meanes he might vse to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the cities of GRECE also from broile and miserie of warre, that thenceforth they might all together enioy a peaceable and happie life. The rich men, the old men, and the husbandmen, he found verie willing to harken to peace: and talking priuatly also with diuerse others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of wars. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to peace, if they sought it: the SPARTANS beleeued him, not onely for that they had found him at other times verie soft and courteous, but also because he was carefull to see that their prisoners of SPARTA (who had bene taken at the fort of Pyle) were gently intreated, and had made their miserable captiuitie more tollerable. So, peace was concluded betweene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abstinence, they frequenting one another againe, and beginning to taste the sweetnesse and pleasures of peace, and the safety of free accesse one to see anothers friends that were strangers: began then to wish that they might still continue in peace and amitie together, without effusion of bloud of either partie, and tooke great delight in their daunces, to heare them sing such songs:

Alcibiades diuers wit.

Cleon & Brasidas the two peace breakers generally of all Grece.

Nicias reconcileth the Spartans with the Athenians.

And let my speare be ouergrowne, with dustie spiders webs.

They did alſo with great ioy and gladneſſe remember him which ſayd, that in peace no ſound of trumpet, but the crowing of the cocke doth wake them that be aſleepe: & on the other ſide they curſed and tooke on with them that ſayd it was predeſtined, the warre ſhould continue thriſe nine yeares. And ſo, vpon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an vniuerſall peace throughout all GRECE. Now moſt men thought that ſurely all their ſorowes and miſeries were come to an end, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, ſaying: that he was a man beloued of the gods, who for his deuotion towards them, had this ſpeciall gift giuen him, that the greateſt bleſſing that could come vnto the world, was called after his name. For to confeſſe a troth, euery man was certainely perſwaded that this peace was *Nicias* worke, as the warre was *Pericles* procurement, who vpon light cauſes perſwaded the GRECIANS to runne headlong into moſt grieuous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other ſide had brought them to become friends, and to forget the great hurts the one had receiued of the other in former warres. And euen to this preſent day that peace is called Nicium, as who would ſay, *Nicias* peace. The capitulations of the peace were thus agreed vpon: that of either ſide they ſhould alike deliuer vp the cities, and lands, which each had taken from other in time of wars, together with the priſoners alſo: and that they ſhould firſt make reſtitution, whoſe lot it was to begin. *Nicias* (according to *Theophraſtus* report) for ready money ſecretly bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the firſt that ſhould make reſtitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that diſliked of this peace, ſought by the complaints they made, to renew the warre againe: *Nicias* then perſwaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they ſhould adde for ſtrength vnto their countrey, the alliance and peace offenſiue and defenſiue made betweene them, for a more ſure knot of friendſhip, whereby they might be the better aſſured the one of the other, and alſo the more dreadfull to their enemies that ſhould rebell againſt them. Theſe things went cleane againſt *Alcibiades* mind: who beſides that he was ill borne for peace, was enemy alſo vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they ſought to *Nicias*, and made none account of him, but deſpiſed him. Here was the occaſion that cauſed *Alcibiades* to proue from the beginning what he could do to hinder this peace, wherein he preuailed nothing. Yet ſhortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiuing that the ATHENIANS liked not ſo well of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as they did before, and that they thought themſelues iniured by them, becauſe they had lately made league with the BOEOTIANS without their priuity, and had not wholly rendred vp the cities of PANACTVM and AMPHIPOLIS according to the conditions articled betweene them: began then to enlarge and aggrauate the peoples complaints, and to make them offended with euerie one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambaſſadors from the city of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and ſo handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made league offenſiue & defenſiue with thē. While theſe matters were thus in hand, there came to ATHENS alſo Ambaſſadors from LACEDÆMON, with full power and authority to ſet all things at ſtay, & to compound all controuerſies: who hauing firſt ſpoken with the Senate, propounded things vnto them both verie honeſt and reaſonable. Whereupon, *Alcibiades* being affraid that they letting the people vnderſtand ſo much, ſhould therby bring them to yeeld to what they deſired: he finely deceiued the poore Ambaſſadors by this deuiſe. He promiſed vpō his oath to helpe them in that they went about, ſo farre foorth as they would not confeſſe themſelues to haue abſolute power from the *Ephores*: making them to beleeue it was the onely way to bring their matters to paſſe. The Ambaſſadours giuing credit to his words, relied vpon him, and ſo forſooke *Nicias*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* brought them before the people being ſet in councell, and there demaunded openly of them, whether they had full power and authoritie to accord all matters, yea, or no. Whereunto they made him aunſwer with a loud voice, that they had not. Thereupon *Alcibiades*, contrarie both to their expectation, and his owne oath and promiſe made vnto them, began to call the councell to witneſſe, whether they did not in open Senate ſay the contrarie, & ſo aduiſed the people not to truſt nor giue credit vnto ſuch men, as were openly taken with ſo manifeſt a lye, and that in one ſelfe matter would one while ſay one thing, another while another. It bootes not to aske whether the Ambaſſadours were much amazed to heare *Alcibiades* words: for *Nicias* himſelfe wiſt not what to ſay to the matter, the ſuddenneſſe of the cauſe did ſo confuſe and grieue him, being a thing he leaſt looked for. Now the people they were ſo moued beſides, that they became indifferent whether to haue ſent for the Ambaſſadors of ARGOS preſently to haue made league with them, or not: but there fell out an earth-quake vpon this matter, that greatly ſerued *Nicias* turne, and brake vp the aſſembly.

Nicias peace.

Ambaſſadors ſent from Sparta to Athens.

Alcibiades craft and deceipt.

Alcibiades periured.

The earth-quake holpe Nicias.

The

The people meeting againe in councell the next morning, *Nicias* with all that he could do or ſay, could ſcant withhold them from making league with the ARGIVES: and to get leaue in the meane time to go to the LACEDÆMONIANS, promiſing he would make all well againe. Thereupon, *Nicias* going to SPARTA, was receiued and honoured there like a noble man, and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the reſt, he preuailed nothing, and being ouercome by thoſe that fauoured the BOEOTIANS, returned againe to ATHENS as he departed thence: where he was not only ill welcomed home, and worſe eſteemed, but was alſo in danger of his perſon, through the fury of the people, that at his requeſt and counſell had redeliuered ſuch men priſoners, and ſo great a number of them. For indeed, the priſoners which *Cleon* had brought to ATHENS from the fort of Pyle, were all of the chiefeſt houſes of SPARTA, and their kinſemen and friends were the nobleſt men of the citie. Notwithſtanding, the people in the end did none other violence to him, ſauing that they choſe *Alcibiades* their Captaine, and made league with the ELIANS, and MANTINIANS (which had reuolted from the LACEDÆMONIANS) and with the ARGIVES alſo: and ſent pyrats to the fort of Pyle, to ſpoile the country of LACONIA. Vpon theſe occaſions the ATHENIANS fell againe into warres. Now when the quarrell and controuerſie was greateſt betweene *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, the Oſtraciſmon (to wit, the baniſhment for a time) came in, by the which the people baniſhed for ten yeares any ſuch of their citizens as they thought either of too great authoritie, or that was moſt enuied for his wealth and ſubſtance. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were then not a litle perplexed, conſidering their preſent daunger, being ſure that the one of them two ſhould not faile but be baniſhed by this next baniſhment. For the people hated *Alcibiades* life, and were afraid of his valiantneſſe: as we haue more amply declared in the deſcription of his life. And for *Nicias*, his wealth made him to be enuied: beſides they miſliked his ſtraunge maner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conuerſant with the people then he was, and counted him too ſtately: moreouer they hated him alſo becauſe in many matters he had ſpoken directly againſt the thing the people deſired, and had enforced them againſt their wils to agree to that which was profitable for themſelues. In fine, to ſpeake more plainely, there fell out great ſtrife betweene the yong men that would haue warres, & the old men that coueted peace, ſome deſirous to baniſh *Nicias*, & ſome others *Alcibiades*: but

Nicias ſent Ambaſſador vnto Sparta.

The vſe of the Oſtraciſmon.

Where diſcord raignes in realme or towne,
The wicked win the chiefe renowne.

And ſo it fell out then. For the ATHENIANS being deuided in two factions, gaue authoritie to certaine of the moſt impudent & inſolent perſons that were in all the city: and among them was one *Hyperbolus* of the town of PERITHVS, a man of no hauior nor value, why he ſhould be bold: but yet one that grew to ſome credit and power, diſhonouring his country, by the honour they gaue him. Now *Hyperbolus* thinking himſelfe free at that time from any danger of baniſhment, (hauing rather deſerued the gallowes) hoping that if one of them two were baniſhed, he ſhould match him well inough that remained behind: ſhewed openly that he was glad of their diſcord & variance, and buſily ſtirred vp the people againſt thē both. *Nicias* & *Alcibiades* being acquainted with his wicked practiſes, hauing ſecretly talked together, ioyned both their factions in one: wherby they brought it ſo to paſſe, that neither of thē were baniſhed, but *Hyperbolus* ſelfe for ten years. Which matter for the preſent time made the people very mery, though afterwards it grieued them much, ſeeing their ordinance of the Oſtraciſmon blemiſhed by the vnworthines of the perſon: which puniſhment was an honor vnto him. For this baniſhment was thought a meet puniſhment for *Thucydides*, *Ariſtides*, and ſuch like men of accompt as they, or their like: but for *Hyperbolus*, it was thought too great an honour, and too manifeſt an occaſion of glorie to be giuen to him, that for his wickedneſſe had the ſelfe ſame puniſhment, which was to be inflicted vpon the chiefeſt eſtates for their greatneſſe. And the comicall Poet *Plato* himſelf ſaith in a place:

Hyperbolus.

Nicias and Alcibiades ioyned tribes againſt Hyperbolus

Hyperbolus baniſhed for ten yeares.

Although his lewd behauior did ſerue as much and more,
Yet was not that the puniſhment he ſhould haue had therefore.
The Oſtracie deuiſed was for men of noble fame,
And not for varlets, whoſe lewd life deſerued open ſhame.

After this *Hyperbolus*, there was neuer man baniſhed with the Oſtraciſmon. For himſelfe was the laſt, as *Hipparchus* CHOLARGIAN, and neareſt kinſeman to the tyrant was the firſt. Sure fortune is a very vncertaine thing, and without conceit of reaſon. For had *Nicias* franckly put himſelf to the hazard of this baniſhment againſt *Alcibiades*, one of theſe two things muſt needs haue

The taking away of tenne yeares baniſhments.

happened him: either to haue remained in the city with victorie, his aduerſarie being baniſhed: or being conuict by his baniſhment, to haue ſcaped thoſe extreame miſeries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, beſides the fame he had wonne of a wiſe Captaine, though he had bene ouercome. I know notwithſtanding that *Theophraſtus* writeth, how *Hyperbolus* not *Nicias* was baniſhed through the diſſention that fell betwixt *Phæax* and *Alcibiades*: albeit moſt writers agree with that I haue told you before. Now the Ambaſſadors of the EGESTANS and LEONTINES being come to ATHENS, to perſwade the ATHENIANS to attempt the conqueſt of SICILIA, *Nicias* being againſt it, was ouercome by *Alcibiades* craft and ambition. For he, before they were called to counſell, had already through falſe ſurmizes filled the peoples heads with a vaine hope and perſwaſion of conqueſt. Inſomuch as the young men meeting in places of exerciſe, and the old men alſo in artificers ſhoppes, and in their compaſſed chaires, or halfe circles where they ſate talking together, were euery one occupied about drawing the platforme of SICILE, telling the nature of the SICILIAN ſea, and reckening vp the hauens and places looking towards AFRICKE. For they made not their accompt that SICILE ſhould be the end of their warres, but rather the ſtore-houſe and armory for all their munition and martiall prouiſion to make warre againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, and to conquer all AFRICKE, and conſequently all the AFRICKE ſeas, euen to *Hercules* pillars. Now all their minds being bent to warres, when *Nicias* ſpake againſt it, he found very few men of qualitie to ſtand by him. For the rich, fearing leſt the people would thinke they did it to auoide charge, and the coſt they ſhould be at about theſe warres, they held their peace, though indeed not contented withall: yet would not *Nicias* leaue ſtill to counſell them to the contrarie. But when they had paſt the decree in counſell for the enterpriſe of SICILE, and that the people had choſen him chiefe Captaine, with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, to follow the ſame: at the next ſeſſion of the councell holden in the city, *Nicias* roſe vp againe, to ſee if he could turne the people from this iourny with all the proteſtations he could poſſibly make, burdening *Alcibiades*, that for his owne ambition and priuate commoditie, he brought the commonwealth into ſo farre and daungerous a warre. But all his words preuailed not. Himſelfe before all others was thought the meeteſt man for this charge, partly, becauſe of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater ſafetie, when his timerous foreſight ſhould be ioyned with *Alcibiades* valiantneſſe, and with *Lamachus* ſoftneſſe, which indeed moſt confirmed the election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demoſtratus* one of the Oratours that moſt procured the ATHENIANS to vndertake this enterpriſe ſtepped foorth, and ſaid: It were good that *Nicias* left off, and ſet aſide all theſe excuſes and deuices, and preferred a decree, that the people ſhould throughly authorize the Captaines that were choſen, to ſet forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and ſo perſwaded the people to paſſe & authorize it. Yet it is ſaid that the Prieſts obiected many things to hinder the iourney. But *Alcibiades* alſo hauing ſuborned certaine Soothſayers, alleaged in like caſe ſome auncient Oracles that ſaid, the ATHENIANS ſhould haue great honor from SICILE: and further had enticed certaine pilgrimes, who ſaid they were but newly come from the Oracle of *Iupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence: *That the Athenians ſhould take all the Syracuſans.* But worſt of all, if any knew of contrary ſignes or tokens to come, they held their peace, leſt it ſhould ſeeme they intermedled to prognoſticate euill for affections ſake, ſeeing that the ſignes themſelues, which were moſt plaine and notorious, could not remoue them from the enterpriſe of this iourney. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the Hermes and images of *Mercurie*, which in one night were all to be mangled, ſauing one image onely called the Hermes of *Andocides*, which was giuen and conſecrated in old time by the tribe of the ÆGEIDES, and was ſet vp directly ouer againſt a citizens houſe called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chaunce that happened by the altar of the twelue gods: where a man leaping ſodainely vpon it, after he had gone round about it, cut off his genitories with a ſtone. And in a temple alſo in the city of DELPHES, where was a litle image of *Minerua* of gold, ſet vpon a palme tree of copper, which the city of ATHENS had giuen of the ſpoiles won of the MEDES. Vpon that palme tree ſate certaine crowes many daies together, and neuer left pecking and iobbing at the fruit of it which was all of gold, vntill they made the ſame to fall from the tree. But the ATHENIANS ſaid, that the DELPHIANS (whom the SYRACVSANS had ſubdued) had finely fained this deuice. There was a prophecie alſo that commanded them to bring one of *Mineruaes* Nuns to ATHENS, that was in the citie of CLAZOMENES. So they ſent for this Nun called *Heſychia*, which is, reſt: and it ſeemeth

Nicias choſen Captaine for the warres of Sicile.

Signes to feare the Athenians not to attempt the enterpriſe of Sicile.

Statues mangled at Athens.

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it was that which the goddes by this propheſie did counſell them vnto, that for that time they ſhould be quiet. *Meton* the Aſtronomer hauing charge in the armie leauied for the war of SICILE, being afraid of this propheſie, or otherwiſe miſliking the celeſtiall ſignes and ſucceſſe of the iourney: fained himſelfe mad, and ſet his houſe a fire. Others ſay he counterfeited not madneſſe, but did one night indeed ſet his houſe a fire, and that the next morning looking rufully on it, he went into the market place as a man brought to pitifull ſtate, to ſue to the people, that in conſideration of his great misfortune hapned him, they would diſcharge his ſonne of the voyage, who was to take charge of a gally at his owne coſt, and ready to make ſaile. Moreouer, the familiar ſpirit of wiſe *Socrates* that did vſe to tell him before what ſhould happen: told him then that this iorney would fall out to the deſtruction of ATHENS. *Socrates* told it to certaine of his very familiar friends: and from them the rumor became cõmon. And this alſo troubled a number of them, for the vnlucky daies on the which they did imbarke. For they were the very daies on the which the women celebrated the feaſt and yeareday of *Adonis* death: and there were alſo in diuers parts of the city, images of dead men caried to buriall, and women following them, mourning & lamenting. So that ſuch as did put any confidence in thoſe ſignes, ſaid they miſliked it much, and that they were afraid leſt the ſame ſignified, that all the goodly preparation of this army, (the which was ſet out with ſuch pompe and brauery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he ſpake againſt this war in open councell, whileſt they were deliberating vpon it, and that he was not caried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed vp with the glory of ſo honorable a charge to make him change his mind: therein ſurely he ſhewed himſelfe an honeſt man, wiſe & conſtant. But when he ſaw plainly that he could by no perſwaſions remoue the people from the enterpriſe of this war, neither yet by ſute nor intreatie get himſelfe diſcharged from being a captaine therof, but that they would in any caſe make him one of the heads of the army: then was it out of time to be fearefull, and ſtil giuing backe, turning his head ſo oft like a child to looke vpon his gally behind him, and euer to be telling that no reaſon could be heard in determining of his iourney. For indeede this was inough to diſcourage his companions, and to marre all at the firſt ſetting out: where, to ſay truly, he ſhold ſuddenly haue ſet vpon his enemies, and haue gone to it with a luſty courage, to haue aſſayed fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary courſe. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their firſt coming to go ſtraight to SYRACVSA, and to giue them battell as neare the wals as might be, and that *Alcibiades* on the other ſide was of opinion, firſt of all to go about to win the cities that were in league with the SYRACVSANS, and after that they had made them rebell, then to go againſt the SYRACVSANS themſelues: *Nicias* to the contrarie ſpake in counſel, and thought it better to go on faire and ſoftly, deſcrying the coaſts of SICILE round about, to view their gallies and preparation, and ſo to returne ſtraight to ATHENS againe, leauing only a few of their men with the EGESTANS, to helpe to defend them. But this from the beginning marueilouſly cooled the courage of the ſouldiers, and quite diſcouraged them. Shortly after alſo the ATHENIANS hauing ſent for *Alcibiades* to anſwer to certaine accuſations, *Nicias* remaining captaine with *Lamachus* (the other captaine in ſight, but *Nicias* ſelfe in power and authority the Lieutenant generall of all the army) ſtill vſed delayes, running vp and downe, and ſpending time ſo long in conſultation, till the ſouldiers were left without both hope and courage: and the feare the enemie had of them at their firſt comming to ſee ſo great an armie, was now in maner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the army, before he was ſent for from ATHENS, they went with threeſcore gallies to SYRACVSA, of the which they placed fiftie in battell ray out of the hauen, and ſent the other ten into the hauen to diſcouer: which approaching neare the citie, cauſed an Herauld to make open proclamation, that they were come thither to reſtore the LEONTINES to their lands and poſſeſſions, and tooke a ſhippe of the enemies, in the which among other things they found tables, wherein were written the names of all the inhabitants of SYRACVSA, according to their tribes aud houſes. Theſe tables were kept farre from the city, in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had ſent for them to know the number of men of ſeruice, and of age to beare weapon. The ſame tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and caried to the Generals of the army, the ſoothſayers ſeeing this long rolle of names, at the firſt miſliked it, fearing leſt the propheſie had bene fulfilled, which promiſed them, that the ATHENIANS one day ſhould take all the SYRACVSANS. Howbeit it is reported this prophecie came to paſſe in another exploit, when *Calippus* ATHENIAN hauing ſlaine *Dion*, wanne alſo the citie of SYRACVSA. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the campe, *Nicias* bare all the ſway, and commaunded the

The madneſſe of Meton the Aſtronomer.

Nicias fooliſh fearefulneſſe.

Nicias counſel for inuading the Syracuſans.

Lamachus valiant, but simple.

whole armie. For *Lamachus*, though otherwise he was a stout man, an honest man, and very valiant of his hands, and one that would not spare himselfe in time of need: neuertheless he was so poore and miserable, that euen when he was in state of a Generall, and gaue vp an account of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his bookes, so much for a gowne, and so much for a paire of pantophles. Where *Nicias* authoritie and reputation contrariwise was of another maner of cut, as well for other respects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and sitting in councell with his companions in the councell house at ATHENS, about the dispatch of certaine causes, he spake vnto *Sophocles* the Poet, then present amongst the, and bade him speake first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole companie. *Sophocles* answered him againe: Indeed I confesse I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom euery man regardeth best. So hauing at that time *Lamachus* vnder him, a better Captaine and man of warre then himselfe was, yet by being so slow to imploy the army vnder his charge by deferring of time still, and houering about SICILE as farre from his enemies as he could: he first gaue the enemies time and leysure to be bold without feare of him. And the going to besiege HYBLA, being but a pelting litle towne, and raising the siege without taking of it: he fell into so great a contempt with euery man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckening of him. At last, he retired to CATANA with his army, without any other exploit done, sauing that he tooke HYCCARA, a baggage village of the barbarous people, and where it is said *Lais* the curtisan was borne, and that being then a yong girle, she was sold among other prisoners, and afterwards caried into PELOPONNESVS. And in fine, the sommer being far spent, *Nicias* was informed that the SYRACVSANS had taken such courage to them, that they would come and enterprise the charge vpon them first: and that their horsemen were approched already before his campe, to skirmish with them, asking the ATHENIANS in mockerie, if they were come into SICILE to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to restore the LEONTINES to their lands againe. Hereupon with much ado, *Nicias* determined to go to SYRACVSA, and because he wold campe there in safetie, and at ease without hazard: he sent one of CATANA before to SYRACVSA, to tell them (as if he had bene a spie) that if they would suddenly come and set vpon the campe of the ATHENIANS and take all their cariage, he wished them to come with all their power to CATANA at a day certaine which he would appoint them. For the ATHENIANS (said he) for the most part are within the city, wherein there are certaine citizens, which fauouring the SYRACVSANS, haue determined so soone as they heare of their comming, to keepe the gates of the citie, and at the same time also to set the ATHENIANS ships on fire: and how there were also a great number in the city of this confederacie, that did but look euery houre for their comming. And this was the noblest stratageme of warre, that *Nicias* shewed all the time he was in SICILE. For by this deuice he made the SYRACVSANS come into the field with all their power, so that they left their city without guard: and he himselfe departing in the meane time from CATANA with all his fleete, wanne the hauen of SYRACVSA at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without let or difficulty set vpon them with that wherein he most trusted. The SYRACVSANS returning straight from CATANA and offering him battell hard by the wals of SYRACVSA, he came out into the field, and ouerthrew them. There were not many of the SYRACVSANS slaine at this battell, because their horsmen did hinder the chase: but *Nicias* breaking vp the bridges vpon the riuer, gaue *Hermocrates* occasion to mocke him. For comforting and encouraging the SYRACVSANS, he told them *Nicias* deserued to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from ATHENS to SYRACVSA to fight. This notwithstanding, he made the SYRACVSANS quake for feare: for where they had then fifteene Captaines, they chose out three only, to whom the people were sworne, that they wold suffer them to haue full power and authoritie to commaund and take order for all things. The temple of *Iupiter Olympian* was hard by the ATHENIANS campe, which they wold gladly haue taken, for that it was full of rich iewels and offerings of gold and siluer, giuen vnto the temple aforetime. But *Nicias* of purpose still draue off time, and delayed so long, till the SYRACVSANS at last sent a good garrison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with himselfe, that if his souldiers came to take and spoile the temple, his countrey should be nothing the richer by it, and himselfe besides shold beare all the blame of sacriledge. So, hauing obtained victorie without profit, (which

Lais the courtisan caried out of Sicile into Peloponnesus.

Nicias notable stratagem.

Nicias winneth the hauen of Syracusa.

Nicias forbeareth to spoile the temple of Iupiter.

ranne

ran ſtraight through SICILE) within few daies after he returned vnto the city of NAXOS, where he lay all the winter, conſuming a wonderfull maſſe of victuals with ſo great an army, for the doing of things of ſmall moment, vpon certaine SICILIANS that yeelded to him. The SYRACVSANS in the meane time being in hart againe, & couragious, returned to CATANA, where they ſpoiled and ouerran all the country, and burnt the campe of the ATHENIANS. Herefore euery man blamed *Nicias* much, becauſe through his long delay, and protracting of time to make all things ſure, he let ſlip ſundry occaſions of notable exploits, wherein good ſeruice might haue bene done. Yet when he would do a thing indeed, he did it ſo thoroughly as no man could take exception to his doings, for that he brought it to ſo good a paſſe: and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all ſpeed, though he was both ſlow to determine and a coward to enterpriſe. Now when he remoued his army to returne to SYRACVSA, he brought it ſo orderly, and alſo with ſuch ſpeed and ſafetie: that he was come by ſea to THAPSVS, had landed and taken the fort of Epipolis, before the SYRACVSANS had any intelligence of it, or could poſſibly helpe it. For the choiſe men of the SYRACVSANS being ſet out againſt him, hoping to haue ſtopped his paſſage, he ouerthrew them, tooke three hundred priſoners, and made their horſemen flie, which before were thought inuincible. But that which made the SYRACVSANS moſt afraid, and ſeemed moſt wonderfull alſo to the other GRECIANS, was this: that in a very ſhort ſpace he had almoſt enuironed SYRACVSA with a wall, which was as much in compaſſe about, as the wals of ATHENS, and worſe to performe, by reaſon of the woody countrie, and for the ſea alſo that beateth vpon the wals, beſides that there were diuers mariſhes hard by it: and yet (ſicke as he was of the ſtone) he had almoſt finiſhed it. And ſure good reaſon it is that we attribute the fault of the not finiſhing of it, vnto his ſickneſſe. For mine owne part I wonder maruellouſly both of the care and diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiantneſſe and dexterity of the ſouldiers, which appeareth by the notable feates they did. For *Euripides* after their ouerthrow and vtter ruine, made a funerall Epitaph in verſe, and ſaith thus:

Nicias beſiegeth Syracuſa.

Nicias wall at the ſiege of Syracuſa.

Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuſe to flight,
So long as with indifferentie the gods did vſe their might.

But we find it written, that the SYRACVSANS were not only eight times, but many times more ouerthrowne by them: a time at length there was indeed, that both the gods and fortune fought againſt them, euen when the ATHENIANS were of greateſt power. Now *Nicias* in his owne perſon was euer in the greateſt and moſt waightie affaires, ſtriuing with his ſickly body. Howbeit one day when his diſeaſe grew ſore vpon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his campe with a few of his men: and *Lamachus* in the meane time alone hauing charge of the whole army, fought with the SYRACVSANS, who then had brought a wal frō the citie, vnto the wal with the which the ATHENIANS had purpoſed to haue ſhut them in, to keepe that they ſhould not compaſſe it round. And becauſe the ATHENIANS commonly were the ſtronger in theſe skirmiſhes, they many times ouer raſhly followed the chaſe of their enemies that fled: as it chanced one day, that *Lamachus* went ſo farre, that he was left alone to encounter a company of horſemen of the citie, before whom *Callicrates* marched foremoſt, a valiant man of his hands, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand. *Lamachus* abode him, and in the conflict was firſt hurt: but he gaue *Callicrates* alſo ſuch a wound therewithall, that they both fell downe dead preſently in the place. At that time the SYRACVSANS being the ſtronger ſide, tooke vp his body, and caried it away with them: but they ſpurred out for life to the ATHENIANS campe, where *Nicias* lay ſicke, without any guard or ſuccor at all: neuertheleſſe, *Nicias* roſe with ſpeed out of his bed, and perceiuing the daunger he was in, commaunded certaine of his friends to ſet the wood on fire which they had brought within the trenches of the campe, to make certaine deuices for battery, and the engines of timber alſo that were alreadie made. That deuice onely ſtayed the SYRACVSANS, ſaued *Nicias*, and the ſtrength of their campe, together with all the ſiluer and cariage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACVSANS perceiuing afarre off, betwixt them and the ſtrength of their campe, ſuch a great flame as roſe vp in the aire, vpon ſight of it turned taile ſtraight, and made towards their citie. Things falling out thus, *Nicias* being left ſole Captaine of the armie without any companion, in great hope notwithſtanding to do ſome good: diuerſe cities of SICILE yeelded vnto him, ſhips fraught with corne came out of euery quarter to his campe, and many ſubmitted themſelues, for the good ſucceſſe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS alſo ſent to parle with him of peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend

The death of Lamachus.

Nicias ſole Captaine of the whole armie.

their city any longer against him. *Gylippus* also a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, comming to aide the SYRACVSANS, vnderstanding by the way how the city of SYRACVSA was shut in with a wall round about, and in great distresse: held on his voyage notwithstanding, not with any hope to defend SICILE (supposing the ATHENIANS had wonne the whole country) but with intent neuertheless to helpe the cities of ITALY if he could possibly. For it was a common rumour abroad, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wisdome and good fortune was inuincible. *Nicias* himselfe now contrary to his wonted wisedome and foresight, trusting altogether to the good successe which he saw to follow him, but specially beleeuing the reports that were told him of SYRACVSA, and the newes that were brought him thence by some of themselues, which came secretly vnto him, perswading himselfe that within few daies he should haue SYRACVSA by composition: tooke no care to withstand *Gylippus* coming thither, neither sent any men to keepe him from landing in SICILE. By which negligence *Gylippus* landed in a passenger, without *Nicias* knowledge: so small reckening they made of him, and so much did they fondly despise him. *Gylippus* being thus landed farre from SYRACVSA, begaune to gather men of warre together, before the SYRACVSANS themselues knew of his landing, or looked for his comming: insomuch as they had alreadie appointed the assembly of a councell to determine the articles and capitulations of peace, which they should conclude vpon with *Nicias*. Moreouer, there were some that perswaded they should do well to make hast to conclude the peace, before the inclosure of *Nicias* wall was altogether finished, which then lacked not much to performe, hauing all the stuffe for the purpose brought euen ready to the place. But as these things were euen thus a doing, arriued one *Gongylus* at SYRACVSA, that came from CORINTH with a galley. At whose landing, the people vpon the peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he told them that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other galleys after to their aide. The SYRACVSANS would hardly beleeue him, vntill there came another messenger also sent from *Gylippus* selfe of purpose, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the field. Thereupon the SYRACVSANS being maruellously reuiued, went all straight and armed themselues. And *Gylippus* was no sooner come into SYRACVSA, but he presently put his men in battell ray, to set vpon the ATHENIANS. *Nicias* for his part had likewise also set the ATHENIANS in order of battell, and ready to fight. When both the armies were now approached neare each to other, *Gylippus* threw downe his weapons, and sent a herauld vnto *Nicias* to promise them life and baggage to depart safely out of SICILE. But *Nicias* would make the herauld none answer to that message. Howbeit there were certaine of his souldiers that in mockerie asked the herauld, if for the comming of a poore cape and wand of LACEDÆMON, the SYRACVSANS thought themselues strengthened so much, that they should despise the ATHENIANS, which not long before kept three hundred LACEDÆMONIANS prisoners in irons, farre stronger and more haire on their heads, then *Gylippus* had, and had also sent them home to their citizens at LACEDÆMON. And *Timæus* writeth also, that the SICILIANS themselues, made no reckening of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they saw his extreme couetousnesse and misery: and then, for that he came so meanely apparelled, with a threed-bare cape, and a long bush of haire, which made thē scorne him. Yet in another place he saith, that so soone as *Gylippus* arriued in SICILE, many came to him out of euery quarter with very good wil, like birds wondering at an owle. This second report seemeth truer then the first: for they swarmed about him, because in this cape and wand they saw the tokens of the maiestie of the citie & seigniory of SPARTA. *Thucydides* also saith, that it was *Gylippus* only that did all there. And much like doth *Philistus* selfe a SYRACVSAN confesse, who was present then in person and saw all things that were done. Notwithstanding at the first battel the ATHENIANS had the vpper hand, & slue a nūber of the SYRACVSANS, among the which *Gongylus* the CORINTHIAN was one. But the next morning following, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wise Captaine. For, with the selfe same weapons, with the same men, with the same horses, and in the same places, chaunging onely the order of his battell, he ouerthrew the ATHENIANS: and (fighting with them still) hauing driuen them euen into their campe, he set the SYRACVSANS a worke to build vp a wall ouerthwart, (with the very selfe same stones and stuffe, which the ATHENIANS had brought and laid there for the finishing of their inclosure) to cut off the other, and to keepe it from going forward, that it ioyned not together. So, all that the ATHENIANS had done before vntill that present, was vtterly to no purpose. Things standing in these tearmes, the SYRACVSANS being

Gylippus a Lacedæmonian aideth the Syracusans.

Gongylus a Corinthian.

Gylippus arriuall at Syracusa.

Gongylus the Corinthian slaine.

being couragious againe, beganne to arme gallies, and running vp and downe the fields with their horſemen and ſlaues, tooke many priſoners. *Gylippus* on the other ſide, went in perſon too and fro through the cities of SICILE, perſwading and exhorting the inhabitants in ſuch ſort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke armes by his procurement. *Nicias* ſeeing things thus fall out, fell to his old trade againe, and conſidering the chaunge of his ſtate and former good lucke, his heart beginning to faint, wrote ſtraight to the ATHENIANS to ſend another army into SICILE, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any caſe to giue him leaue to returne, and to diſcharge him of his office, for cauſe of his ſickneſſe. The ATHENIANS were indifferent before he wrote, to ſend aide thither: howbeit the enuie the nobility bare vnto *Nicias* good fortune, did euer cauſe ſome delay that they ſent not vntill then, and then they determined to ſend with ſpeede. So *Demoſthenes* was named to be ſent away immediatly after winter, with a great nauie. In the middeſt of winter *Eurymedon* went to *Nicias*, and caried him both money and newes, that the people had choſen ſome of them for his companions in the charge, which were already in ſeruice with him, to wit, *Euthydemus* and *Menander*. Now *Nicias* in the meane time being ſuddenly aſſailed by his enemies both by ſea and land: though at the firſt he had fewer gallies in number then they, yet he budged diuerſe of theirs and ſuncke them. But by land again, he could not aide his men in time, becauſe *Gylippus* at the firſt onſet had taken a fort of his called Plemmyrion, within the which lay the ſtore and tackle for many gallies, and a great maſſe of readie monie, which was wholly loſt. Beſides, in the ſame conflict alſo were many men ſlaine, and many taken priſoners. Yet further, the greateſt matter of weight was, that thereby he tooke from *Nicias* the great commoditie he had to bring his victuals ſafely by ſea to his campe. For while the ATHENIANS kept this fort, they might at their pleaſure bring victuals without daunger to their campe, being couered with the ſame: but when they had loſt it, then it was hard for them ſo to do, becauſe they were euer driuen to fight with the enemies that lay at anker before the fort. Furthermore the SYRACVSANS did not thinke that their armie by ſea was ouerthrowne, becauſe their enemies were the ſtronger, but for that their men had followed the ATHENIANS diſorderedly: and therfore were deſirous once againe to venture, in better ſort and order then before. But *Nicias* by no meanes would be brought to fight againe: ſaying, that it were a madneſſe looking for ſuch a great nauie and a new ſupply as *Demoſthenes* was comming withall, raſhly to fight with a fewer number of ſhips then they, and but poorely furniſhed. But contrarily, *Menander* and *Euthydemus* newly promoted to the ſtate of Captaines with *Nicias*, being pricked forwards with ambition againſt the two other Captaines (*Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* that was then coming) deſired to preuent *Demoſthenes*, in performing ſome notable ſeruice before his arriuall, & thereby alſo to excell *Nicias* doings. Howbeit the cloke they had to couer their ambition withal was, the honor and reputation of the city of ATHENS, the which (ſaid they) were ſhamed & diſhonored for euer, if they now ſhould ſhew themſelues afraid of the SYRACVSANS, who prouoked them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* againſt his will to battell, in the which the ATHENIANS were ſlaine and ouercome, by the good counſell of a CORINTHIAN pylot called *Ariſton*. For the left wing of their battell (as *Thucydides* writeth) was clearely ouerthrowne, and they loſt a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, conſidering on the one ſide that he had taken maruellous paines, whilſt he was ſole Captaine of the whole army: and on the other ſide, for that he had cõmitted a foule fault, when they had giuen him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great deſpaire, they deſcried *Demoſthenes* vpon a peere of the hauen, with his fleet brauely ſet out and furniſhed, to terrifie the enemies. For he had threeſcore and thirteen gallies, and in them he brought 5 thouſand footmen well armed and appointed, & of darters, bowmen, and hurlers with ſlings about 3 thouſand, and the gallies trimmed and ſet forth with goodly armors, numbers of enſignes, and with a world of trumpets, howboies, and ſuch marine muſicke, and all ſet out in this triumphant ſhew, to feare the enemies the more. Now thought the SYRACVSANS themſelues againe in a pecke of troubles, perceiuing they ſtroue againſt the ſtream, and conſumed themſelues to no purpoſe, when by that they ſaw there was no likelihood to be deliuered from their troubles. And *Nicias* alſo reioyced, that ſo great aide was come, but his ioy held not long: for ſo ſoone as he began to talke with *Demoſthenes* of the ſtate of things, he found him bent forthwith to ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS, and to hazard all with ſpeed, that they might quickly take SYRACVSA, and ſo diſpatch away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more haſt then good ſpeed, and feared much this foole-hardineſſe. Whereupon he prayed him to attempt no-

Nicias good fortune changed

Euthydemus and Menander choſen captaines with Nicias.

Demoſthenes arriuall at Syracuſa.

Demoſthenes raſhneſſe.

Nicias counsel vnto Demosthenes.

thing rashly nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the warre against the enemies, who were without money, and therefore would soone be forsaken of their confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of victuals: that they would then quickly seeke to him for peace, as they had done aforetime. For there were many within SYRACVSA that were *Nicias* friends, who wished him to abide time: for they were wearie of warre, and waxed angry also with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but straighted a litle more with want of victuals, they would yeeld straight. *Nicias* deliuering these perswasions somewhat darkely, and keeping somewhat also from vtterance, because he would not speake them openly: made his colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardlinesse, and that he returned againe to his former delaies to keepe all in securitie, by which manner of proceeding he had from the beginning killed the hearts of his armie, for that he had not at his first comming set vpon the enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the courage of his souldiers was cold and done, and himself also brought into contempt with his enemies. Whereupon the other Captaines (his colleagues and companions with him in the charge) *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, stucke to *Demosthenes* opinion: whereunto *Nicias* was also forced against his will to yeeld. So *Demosthnes* the selfe same night taking the footme, went to assault the fort of Epipolis: where, before his enemies heard any thing of his comming, he slue many of them, and made the rest flie that offered resistance. But not content with this victory, he went farther, till he fell vpon the BOEOTIANS. They gathering themselues together were the first that resisted the ATHENIANS, basing their pikes with such fury and loud cries, that they caused the former to retire, and made all the rest of the assailants afraid and amazed. For the formost flying backe, came full vpon their companions: who taking them for their enemies, and their flight for a charge, resisted them with all their force, and so mistaking one another, both were wounded and slaine, and the hurt they meant vnto their enemies, did vnfortunatly light vpon their owne fellowes. For this multitude meeting thus confusedly together, what through their great feare, and what for that they could not discerne one another in the night, the which was neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleare, as they might certainly iudge by sight what they were that met them: (for then the Moone declined apace, & the small light it gaue was diffused with the number of men that ran too and fro) the feare they had of the enemie, made them mistrust their friends. All these troubles and disaduantages had the ATHENIANS, and beside the Moone on their backs, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and glistring of armor: and contrarily, the enemies targets glaring in their eyes by the reflection of the Moone that shone vpon them, increased their feare, and made them seeme a greater number and better appointed then they were in deed. At last, the enemies giuing a lustie charge vpon them on euery side, after they once began to giue backe and turne taile: some were slaine by their enemies, others by their owne company, and others also brake their neckes falling from the rockes. The rest that were dispersed abroad in the fields, were the next morning euery man of them put to the sword by the horsemen. So the account made, two thousand ATHENIANS were slaine, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their armors backe againe. Wherefore *Nicias* that alwaies mistrusted it would thus come to passe, was maruellously offended with *Demosthenes*, and condemned his rashnesse. But he excusing himselfe as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the morning betimes, and so to hoise saile homewards. For said he, we must looke for no new aide from ATHENS, neither are we strong enough with this army to ouercome our enemies: and though we were, yet must we of necessity auoid the place we are in, because (as it is reported) it is alwaies vnwholesome for an army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, by reason of the autumne and season of the yeare, as they might plainely see by experience. For many of their people were already sicke, and all of them in maner had no mind to tary. *Nicias* in no case liked the motiõ of departing thence, because he feared not the SYRACVSANS, but rather the ATHENIANS, for their accusations & condemnation. And therefore in open councell he told them, that as yet he saw no such daunger to remaine: and though there were, yet that he had rather dye of his enemies hands, then be put to death by his owne countrymen. Being therin of a contrarie mind to *Leo* BIZANTINE, who after that, said to his citizens: I had rather suffer death by you, then to be slaine with you. And furthermore, as for remouing their campe to some other place, they should haue leisure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when *Nicias* had deliuered this opinion in councell, *Demosthenes* hauing had ill lucke at his first comming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that

Demosthenes rashnesse.

The slaughter of the Athenians at Syracusa.

The courage of Leo Bizantine.

that *Nicias* ſtucke not ſo hard againſt their departure, but that he relyed vpon the truſt and confidence he had of ſome within the citie: they all agreed to *Nicias*. But when newes came that there was a new ſupply come vnto the SYRACVSANS, & that they ſaw the plague increaſed more and more in their campe: then *Nicias* ſelfe thought it beſt to depart thence, and gaue notice to the ſouldiers to prepare themſelues to ſhip away. Notwithſtanding, when they had put all things in readineſſe for their departure, without any knowledge of the enemie, or ſuſpition thereof: the Moone began to eclipſe in the night, and ſodainly to loſe her light, to the great feare of *Nicias* and diuerſe others, who through ignorance and ſuperſtition quaked at ſuch ſights. For, touching the eclipſe & darkening of the Sunne, which is euer at any coniunction of the Moone, euery common perſon then knew the cauſe to be the darkeneſſe of the bodie of the Moone betwixt the Sunne and our ſight. But the eclipſe of the Moone it ſelfe, to know what doth darken it in that ſort, and how being at the full it doth ſodainely loſe her light, and chaunge into ſo many kinds of colours: that was aboue their knowledge, and therfore they thought it very ſtrange, perſwading themſelues that it was a ſigne of ſome great miſchiefes the gods did threaten vnto men. For *Anaxagoras*, the firſt that euer determined and deliuered any thing for certaine and aſſured, concerning the light and darkneſſe of the Moone, his doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquitie, nor was generally knowne but only to a few, who durſt not talke of it, but with feare euen to them they truſted beſt. And the reaſon was, for that the people could not at that time abide them that profeſſed the knowledge of naturall Philoſophie, and inquired of the cauſes of things: for them they called then Μετεωρολεσχης, as much to ſay, as curious inquirers, and tatlers of things aboue the reach of reaſon, done in heauen and in the aire. Becauſe the people thought they aſcribed that which was done by the gods only, vnto certaine naturall and neceſſarie cauſes, that worke their effects not by prouidence nor wil, but by force & neceſſary conſequences. For theſe cauſes was *Protagoras* baniſhed frō ATHENS, & *Anaxagoras* put in priſon: from whence *Pericles* had much ado to procure his deliuery. And *Socrates* alſo, though he did not meddle with that part of Philoſophie, was notwithſtanding put to death for the ſuſpition therof. In fine, the doctrine of *Plato* being receiued and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as alſo for that he ſubmitted the neceſſity of naturall cauſes vnto the controlement and diſpoſition of diuine power, as vnto a more excellent and ſupreme cauſe: tooke away all the ill opinion which the people had of ſuch diſputations, and gaue open paſſage and free entry vnto the Mathematicall ſciences. And therfore *Dion*, one of *Platoes* ſcholers and friends, an eclipſe of the Moone chancing euen at the very ſame time that he was weying vp his ankers to ſaile from ZAZYNTHE, to make war with the tyrant *Dionyſius*: being nothing afraid nor troubled therewithall, made ſaile notwithſtanding, and when he came to SYRACVSA, draue out the tyrant. But then it fell out vnfortunately for *Nicias*, who had no expert nor skilfull ſoothſayer: for the party which he was wont to vſe for that purpoſe, and which tooke away much of his ſuperſtition, called *Stilbides*, was dead not long before. For this ſigne of the eclipſe of the Moone (as *Philochorus* ſaith) was not hurtfull for men that would flie, but contrarily very good: for ſaid he, things that men do in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemie vnto them. But this notwithſtanding, their cuſtome was not to keepe thēſelues cloſe aboue three daies in ſuch eclipſes of the Moone and Sun, as *Autoclides* ſelfe preſcribeth in a book he made of ſuch matters: where *Nicias* bare them then in hand, that they ſhould tarie the whole and full reuolution of the courſe of the Moone, as though he had not ſeene her ſtraight cleare againe, after ſhe had once paſſed the ſhadow and darkneſſe of the earth. But all other things laid aſide and forgotten, *Nicias* diſpoſed him ſelfe to ſacrifice vnto the gods: vntill ſuch time as the enemies came again as well to beſiege their forts, and all their campe by land, as alſo to occupie the whole hauen by ſea. For they had not onely put men aboord into their galleys able to weare armor, but moreouer young boyes into fiſher boats and other light barkes, with the which they came to the ATHENIANS, and ſhamefully reuiled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble houſe, called *Heraclides*, whoſe boate being forwarder then his companions, was in daunger of taking by a gallie of the ATHENIANS, that rowed againſt him. *Pollichus* his vncle being afraid of it, lanched forward with ten gallies of SYRACVSA for his reſcue, of the which himſelfe was Captaine. The other galleys doubting alſo leſt *Pollichus* ſhould take hurt, came on likewiſe amaine: ſo that there fell out a great battell by ſea, which the SYRACVSANS wanne, and ſlue *Eurymedon* the Captaine, and many other. This made the ſouldiers of the ATHENIANS ſo afraid, that they

The eclipſe of the Moone.

The eclipſe of the Moone not knowne of long time.

Anaxagoras the firſt that wrote of the eclipſe of the Moone.

The Athenians do perſecute the Philoſophers.

Socrates put to death for Philoſophie.

Dion very skilfull in naturall cauſes.

Nicias ignorant of naturall cauſes.

The Syracuſans ouercome the Athenians by ſea.

began to cry out, it was no longer tarying there, and that there was none other way but to depart thence by land. For after the SYRACVSANS had won that battell, they had ſtraight ſhut vp the hauens mouth. *Nicias* could not conſent to ſuch a retire: for, ſaid he, it would be too great a ſhame for them to leaue their gallies and other ſhips to the enemie, conſidering the number not to be much leſſe then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and ten gallies with the beſt and valianteſt of their footmen, and darters, that were in the army, becauſe the other galleys had ſpent their owers. And for the reſt of the armie, *Nicias* forſaking their great campe and walles (which reached as farre as the temple of *Hercules*) did ſet them in battell ray vpon the peere of the hauen. Inſomuch as the SYRACVSANS which vntill that day could not performe their wonted ſacrifices vnto *Hercules*, did then ſend their Prieſts and Captaines thither to do them. The ſouldiers being imbarked into the galleys, the Prieſts and Soothſayers came and told the SYRACVSANS, that vndoubtedly the ſignes of the ſacrifices did promiſe them a noble victorie, ſo that they gaue no charge, but onely ſtood vpon their defence: for ſo did *Hercules* euer ouercome, defending when he was aſſailed. With this good hope the SYRACVSANS rowed forward, and there was ſuch a hote and cruell battell by ſea, as had not bene in all this warre before: the which was as dreadfull to them that ſtood on the ſhore to behold it, as it was mortall vnto them that fought it, ſeeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the ATHENIANS did as much hurt themſelues by the order they kept in their fight, and by the rankes of their ſhips, as they were hurt by their enemies. For they had placed all their great ſhips together, fighting with the heauie, againſt the enemies that were light and ſwift, which came on on euery ſide of them, hurling ſtones at them, which were made ſharpe to wound how euer they lighted: whereas the ATHENIANS only caſting their darts, and vſing their bowes and ſlings, by meanes of their rowing vp and downe, could not lightly aime to hit with the head. That maner of fight, *Ariſto* a CORINTHIAN (an excellent ſhip-maiſter) had taught the SYRACVSANS, who was himſelfe ſlaine valiantly fighting, when they were conquerors. The ATHENIANS thereupon being driuen to fight, hauing ſuſtained a maruellous ſlaughter & ouerthrow, (their way to flie by ſea being alſo clearely taken from them) and perceiuing moreouer that they could hardly ſaue thēſelues by land: were then ſo diſcouraged, as they made no longer reſiſtance, when their enemies came hard by them and caried away their ſhips before their faces. Neither did they aske leaue to take vp their dead mens bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forſake their diſeaſed & ſore wounded companions, then to bury them that were already ſlaine. When they conſidered all theſe things, they thought their own ſtate more miſerable then theirs, which were to end their liues with much more crueltie, then was their miſerie preſent. So they being determined to depart thence in the night, *Gylippus* perceiuing the SYRACVSANS through all the citie diſpoſed themſelues to ſacrifice to the gods, and to be merrie, as well for the ioy of their victorie, as alſo for *Hercules* feaſt: thought it bootleſſe to perſwade them, and much leſſe to compell them to take armes vpon a ſudden, to ſet vpon their enemies that were departing. Howbeit *Hermocrates* deuiſing with himſelf how to deceiue *Nicias*, ſent ſome of his friends vnto him with inſtructions, to tell him that they came from ſuch as were wont to ſend him ſecret intelligence of all things during this warre: and willed him to take heed not to depart that night, leſt he fell into the ambuſhes which the SYRACVSANS had laid for him, hauing ſent before to take all the ſtraights and paſſages, by the which he ſhould paſſe. *Nicias* being ouerreached by *Hermocrates* craft and ſubtiltie, ſtaied there that night, as though he had bene afraid to fall within the daunger of his enemies ambuſh. Thereupon the SYRACVSANS the next morning by peepe of day, hoiſſed ſaile, got the ſtraights of *Nicias* paſſage, ſtopped the riuers mouths, and brake vp the bridges: and then caſt their horſemen in a ſquadron in the next plaine fields adioyning, ſo that the ATHENIANS had no way left to eſcape and paſſe by them without fighting. At laſt notwithſtanding, hauing ſtayed all that day and the next night following, they put themſelues in iourney, and departed with great cries and lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall countrie, and not out of their enemies land: as well for the great diſtreſſe and neceſſitie wherein they were (lacking all things needfull to ſuſtaine life,) as alſo for the extreame ſorrow they felt, to leaue their ſore wounded companions and diſeaſed kinſemen and friends behind them, that could not for their weakneſſe follow the campe, but ſpecially for that they looked for ſome worſe matter to fall to themſelues, then that which they ſaw preſent before their eyes to be happened vnto their fellowes. But of all the moſt pitifull ſightes to behold in that campe, there was none more lamentable

The Soothſayers do promiſe victorie to the Syracuſans.

The Athenians againe ouercome on the ſea by the Syracuſans.

Nicias deceiued by Hermocrates.

The miſerable ſtate of the Athenians departing from Syracuſa.

lamentable nor miſerable, then the perſon of *Nicias* ſelfe: who being tormented with his diſeaſe, and waxen very leane and pale, was alſo vnworthily brought to extreame want of naturall ſuſtenance, euen when he had moſt neede of comfort, being very ſickly. Yet notwithſtanding his weakeneſſe and infirmitie, he tooke great paines, and ſuffered many things which the ſoundeſt bodies do labour much to ouercome and ſuffer: making it appeare euidently to euery man, that he did not abide all that paines for any reſpect of himſelfe, or deſire that he had to ſaue his owne life, ſo much as for their ſakes, in that he yeelded not vnto preſent deſpaire. For where the ſouldiers for very feare and ſorrow burſt out into teares and bitter wailing, *Nicias* ſelfe ſhewed, that if by chaunce he were forced at any time to do the like, it was rather vpon remembrance of the ſhame and diſhonour that came into his mind, to ſee the vnfortunate ſucceſſe of this voyage, in ſteed of the honour and victorie they hoped to haue brought home, then for any other reſpect. But if to ſee *Nicias* in this miſerie, did moue the lookers on to pitie: yet did this much more increaſe their compaſſion, when they remembred *Nicias* words in his orations continually to the people, to breake this iourney, and to diſſwade them from the enterpriſe of this warre. For then they plainely iudged him not to haue deſerued theſe troubles. Yet furthermore, this cauſed the ſouldiers vtterly to deſpaire of helpe from the gods, when they conſidered with themſelues, that ſo deuout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing vndone that might tend to the honour and ſeruice of the gods) had no better ſucceſſe, then the moſt vile and wicked perſons in all the whole armie. All this notwithſtanding, *Nicias* ſtrained himſelfe in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerefull words, and his kind vſing of euery man: to let them know that he fainted not vnder his burden, nor yet did yeeld to this his misfortune and extreme calamitie. And thus trauelling eight daies iourny out right together, notwithſtanding that he was by the way continually ſet vpon, wearied and hurt: yet he euer maintained his bands, & led them whole in company, vntill that *Demoſthenes* with all his bands of ſoldiers was taken priſoner, in a certaine village called POLYZELIOS: where remaining behind, he was enuironed by his enemies in fight, and ſeeing himſelfe ſo compaſſed in, drew out his ſword, and with his owne hands thruſt himſelfe thorow, but died not of it, becauſe his enemies came ſtraight about him, and tooke hold of him. The SYRACVSANS thereupon went with ſpeed to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demoſthenes* caſe. He giuing no credit to them, ſent preſently certaine of his horſemen thither to vnderſtand the truth: who brought him word that *Demoſthenes* and all his men were taken priſoners. Then he beſought *Gylippus* to treate of peace, to ſuffer the poore remaine of the ATHENIANS to depart out of SICILE with ſafetie, and to take ſuch hoſtages for the ſure payment of all ſuch ſummes of money the SYRACVSANS had diſburſed by meanes of this warre, as ſhould like himſelfe: which he promiſed he would cauſe the ATHENIANS to performe and ſatisfie vnto them. Howbeit the SYRACVSANS would in no wiſe hearken to peace, but cruelly threatening and reuiling them that made motion hereof, in rage gaue a new onſet vpon him, more fiercely then euer before they had done. *Nicias* being then vtterly without any kind of victuals, did notwithſtanding hold out that night, and marched all the next day following (though the enemies darts ſtil flew about their eares) vntill he came to the riuer of Aſinarus, into the which the SYRACVSANS did forcibly driue them. Some others of them alſo dying for thirſt, entred the riuer of themſelues, thinking to drinke. But there of all others was the moſt cruell ſlaughter of the poore wretches, euen as they were drinking: vntill ſuch time as *Nicias* falling downe flat at *Gylippus* feete, ſaid thus vnto him: Since the gods haue giuen thee (*Gylippus*) victorie, ſhew mercy, not to me that by theſe miſeries haue won immortall honor and fame, but vnto theſe poore vanquiſhed ATHENIANS: calling to thy remembrance, that the fortunes of warre are common, and how that the ATHENIANS haue vſed you LACEDÆMONIANS courteouſly, as often as fortune fauoured them againſt you. *Gylippus* beholding *Nicias*, & perſwaded by his words, tooke cõpaſſion of him (for he knew he was a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS at the laſt peace concluded betwixt them, & furthermore thought it great honor to him, if he could cary away the two Captains or Generals of his enemies priſoners) ſhewed him mercy, gaue him words of comfort, and moreouer commanded beſides that they ſhould take all the reſidue priſoners. But his commandement was not knowne in time to all: inſomuch as there were many mo ſlaine then taken, although ſome priuate ſoldiers ſaued diuers notwithſtanding by ſtealth. Now the SYRACVSANS hauing brought all the priſoners that were openly taken into a troupe together, firſt vnarmed them, then taking their weapons from them, hung them vp vpon the goodlieſt young trees that ſtood vpon

Nicias extreame miſery.

Demoſthenes taken of the Syracuſians.

Nicias moueth treaty of peace.

Nicias armie ouercome at the riuer of Aſinarus.

Nicias words yeelding himſelfe vnto Gylippus.

Gylippus ſheweth mercie to Nicias.

The Syracusans enter into Syracusa with triumph.

the riuers side in token of triumph. And so putting on triumphing garlands vpon their heads, and hauing trimmed their owne horses in triumphant manner, and also shorne all the horses of their enemies: in this triumphing sort they made their entrie into the city of SYRACVSA, hauing gloriously ended the most notable warre that euer was amongst the GREEKES one against another, and attained also the noblest victorie that could be atchieued, & that only by force of armes and valiancie. So at their returne, a councell and assembly was holden at SYRACVSA, by the citizens and their confederates: in the which, *Eurycles* one of the Oratours (a practiser in publike causes) first made petition, that the day on the which they had taken *Nicias*, might for euer thenceforth be kept holy-day, without any maner of worke, or labour, but only to do sacrifice to

Asinarus feast.

the gods, and that the feast should be called, Asinarus feast, after the name of the riuer where the ouerthrow was giuen. This victorie was had the sixe and twentieth day of the moneth of Iuly. And as touching the prisoners, that the confederates of the ATHENIANS and their slaues should be openly sold by the drumme: and that the natural ATHENIANS which were free-men and their confederates of the country of SICILE, should be clapped in irons, and laid in prison,

The Captaines of the Athenians condemned to die.

the Captaines onely excepted, whom they should put to death. The SYRACVSANS confirmed this decree. And when the Captaine *Hermocrates* went about to perswade them, that to be mercifull in victory, would be more honor vnto them, then the victory it selfe: they thrust him backe with great tumult. And furthermore, when *Gylippus* made sute that for the Captaines of the ATHENIANS, he might cary them aliue with him to SPARTA: he was not only shamefully denied, but most vilely abused, so lusty were they growne vpon this victorie, beside also that in the time of the war they were offended with him, & could not endure his streight seuere LACONIAN gouernment. *Timæus* saith moreouer, that they accused him of couetousnes and theft, which vice

Gylippus, a couetous man. Cleandrides condemned for extortion.

he inherited from his father. For *Cleandridres* his father was conuict for extortion, and banished ATHENS. And *Gylippus* selfe hauing stolen thirtie talents out of a thousand which *Lysander* sent to SPARTA by him, and hauing hid them vnder the eauings of his house, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to flie his countrey, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lysander*. So *Timæus* writeth, that *Nicias* & *Demosthenes* were not stoned to death by the SYRACVSANS,

Nicias and Demosthenes slue themselues.

as *Thucydides* & *Philistus* report, but that they killed themselues, vpon word sent them by *Hermocrates* (before the assembly of the people was broken vp) by one of his men whom the keepers of the prison let in vnto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the iayle doore, for euery man to behold. I haue heard there is a target at this present to be seene in a temple at SYRACVSA, which is said to be *Nicias* target, couered all ouer with gold and purple silke, passing finely wrought together. As for the other prisoners of the ATHENIANS, the most of them dyed of sickenesse, and of ill handling in the prison: where they had no more allowed them to liue withall but two dishfuls of barley for their bread, and one of water for each man a day. Indeed many of them were conueyed away, and sold for slaues: and many also that scaped vnknowne as slaues, were also sold for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage endured also this paine. But such, their humble patience and modesty did greatly profit them: for either shortly after they were made freemen, or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated, and beloued of their maisters. Some of them were saued also for *Eurypides* sake. For the SICILIANS liked the verses of this Poet better, then they did any other GRECIANS verses of the midst of GRECE. For if they heard any rimes or songs like vnto his, they would haue them by hart, & one would present them to another with

Eurypides verses saued many of the Athenians liues.

great ioy. And therfore it is reported, that diuers escaping this bondage, & returning againe to ATHENS, went very louingly to salute *Eurypides*, & to thank him for their liues: and told him how they were deliuered from slauery, only by teaching them those verses which they remembred of his works. Others told him also, how that after the battell, they scaping by flight, and wandering vp and downe the fields, met with some that gaue them meate and drinke to sing his verses. And this is not to be maruelled at, weighing the report made of a ship of the city of CAVNVS, that on a time being chased in thither by pyrats, thinking to saue themselues within their ports, could not at the first be receiued, but had repulse: howbeit being demanded whether they could sing any of *Eurypides* songs, and answering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamentable ouerthrow, was not beleeued at the first, when they heard of it at ATHENS. For a stranger that landed in the hauen of PIRÆA, went and sate him downe (as the maner is) in a Barbers shop, and thinking it had bene commonly known there, began to talk of it.

The

The Barber hearing the ſtraunger tell of ſuch matter: before any other had heard of it, ranne into the citie as faſt as he could, and going to the gouernors told the newes openly before them al. The Magiſtrates therupon did preſently call an aſſembly, and brought the barber before them: who being demaunded of whom he heard theſe newes, could make no certaine report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of newes, that without ground had put the citie in feare and trouble, he was preſently bound, and layed on a wheele, whereon they vſe to put offenders to death, and ſo was there tormented a great time, vntill at laſt there arriued certaine men in the city, who brought too certaine newes thereof, and told euery thing how the ouerthrow came. So as in fine they found *Nicias* words true, which now they beleeued, when they ſaw all thoſe miſeries light fully vpon them, which he long before had prognoſticated vnto them.

The Athenians do torment the bringer of the newes of their ouerthrow.

Nicias foreſhewed the miſeries of the Athenians.

The end of Nicias life.

THE LIFE OF *Marcus Craſſus.*

Marcus Craſſus was the ſonne of a Cenſor, who had alſo receiued the honour of triumph: but himſelfe was brought vp in a litle houſe with two other of his brethren, which were both maried in their fathers & mothers life time, and kept houſe together. Whereupon it came to paſſe, that he was a man of ſuch ſober and temperate diet, that one of his brethren being deceaſed, he maried his wife by whom he had children. For women, he liued as continent a life, as any ROMAINE of his time: notwithſtanding, afterwards being of riper yeares, he was accuſed by *Plotinus* to haue defloured one of the Veſtall Nunnes called *Licinia*. But in troth the cauſe of that ſuſpition grew thus. *Licinia* had a goodly pleaſant garden hard by the ſuburbes of the city, wherewith *Craſſus* was maruellouſly in loue, and would faine haue had it good cheape: & vpon this onely occaſion was often ſeene in ſpeech with her, which made the people ſuſpect him. But for as much as it ſeemed to the Iudges that his couetouſneſſe was the cauſe that made him follow her, he was cleared of the inceſt ſuſpected, but he neuer left following of the Nunne, till he had got the garden of her. The ROMAINES ſay there was but that onely vice of couetouſneſſe in *Craſſus*, that drowned many other goodly vertues in him: for mine owne opinion, me thinkes he could not be touched with that vice alone without others, ſince it grew ſo great, as the note of that onely did hide and couer all his other vices. Now to ſet out his extreme couetous deſire of getting, naturally bred in him, they proue it by two manifeſt reaſons.

Marcus Craſſus kinred, and youth.

Craſſus couetouſneſſe.

The first, his manner and meanes he vsed to get: and the second, the greatnesse of his wealth.

Crassus riches. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth, then three hundred talents. And during the time that he dealt in the affaires of the common wealth, he offered the tenths of all his goods wholly vnto *Hercules*, kept open house for all the people of Rome, and gaue also to euery citizen of the same as much corne as would keepe him three moneths: and yet when he went from Rome to make warre with the Parthians, himselfe being desirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the summe of seuen thousand one hundred talens. But if

How Crassus came by his goods. I may with licence vse euill speech, writing a troth: I say he got the most part of his wealth by fire and bloud, raising his greatest reuenew of publicke calamities. For when *Sylla* had taken the citie of Rome, he made portsale of the goods of them whom he had put to death; to those that gaue most, terming them his booty, onely for that he would the nobilitie, and greatest men of power in the citie should be partakers with him of this iniquitie: and in this open sale *Crassus* neuer left taking of gifts, nor buying of things of *Sylla* for profit. Furthermore, *Crassus* perceiuing that the greatest decay commonly of the buildings in Rome came by fire, and falling downe of houses, through the ouermuch weight by numbers of stories built one vpon another: bought bondmen that were masons, carpenters, and these deuisours and builders, and of those he had to the number of fiue hundred. Afterwards, when the fire tooke any house, he would buy the house while it was a burning, and the next houses adioyning to it, which the owners sold for litle, being then in danger as they were, and a burning: so that by processe of time, the most part of the houses in Rome came to be his. But notwithstanding that he had so many slaues to his workemen, he neuer built any house from the ground, sauing his owne house wherein he dwelt:

Crassus saying of builders. saying, that such as delighted to build, vndid themselues without helpe of any enemy. And though he had many mines of siluer, many ploughs, and a number of hinds and ploughmen to follow the same: yet all that commodity was nothing, in respect of the profit his slaues and bondmen brought him daily in. As readers, scriueners, goldsmiths, bankers, receiuers, stewards of houshold, caruers, and other such officers at the table, taking paines himselfe to helpe them when

Crassus care about seruants. they were learners, and to instruct them what they should do: and to be short, he thought the greatest care a good housholder ought to haue, was to see his slaues or seruants well taught, being the most liuely cattell and best instruments of a mans house. And surely therein his opinion was

What belongeth to good husbandry, and in whom it consists. not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake: that all things must be done by seruants, and his seruants must be ruled by him. For we see that the art and skill to be a good husband, when it consisteth in gouernement of things without life or sence, is but a base thing, only tending to gaine: but wen it dependeth vpon good order and gouernement of men, me thinkes then it is to know how to gouerne well a common wealth. But as his iudgement was good in the other, so was it

Crassus iudgement who was a rich man. verie bad in this: that he thought no man rich and wealthie, that could not maintaine a whole armie with his owne proper goods. For the warre (as king *Archidamus* was wont to say) is not made with any certaintie of expence: and therefore there must no sufficiencie of riches be limited for the maintenance of the same. But herein *Marius* and he differed farre in opinion:

Archidamus saying of warre. who hauing allowed euerie Romaine fourteene acres land (called with them, Iugera) vnderstanding that some were not pleased, but would haue more, made them this answer: The gods forbid any Romaine should thinke that land litle, which indeed is inough to suffise for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, *Crassus* was courteous to strangers, for his house was open to them all, and he lent his friends money without interest: but when they brake day of payment with him, then would he roundly demaund his money of them. So, his courtesie to lend many times without interest, did more trouble them, than if he had taken very great vsury. Indeed when he bad any man to come to his table, his fare was but euen ordinarie, without all excesse: but his

Crassus fare at his boord. fine and cleanly seruice, and the good entertainement he gaue euery man that came to him, pleased them better, than if he had bene more plentifull of diet and dishes. As for his learning and studie, he chiefly studied eloquence, and that sort specially that best would serue his turne to

Crassus eloquence. speake in open presence: so that he became the best spoken man in Rome of all his time, and by his great industry and diligent indeuour excelled all them that euen by nature were most apt vnto it. For some say, he had neuer so small nor litle a cause in hand, but he alwayes came prepared, hauing studied his case before for pleading: and oftentimes also when *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Cicero* refused to rise and speake to matters, *Crassus* would defend euerie cause, if he were requested. And therefore was he generally beloued & well thought of, becaus he shewed himselfe painfull,

and

and willing to helpe euery man. Likewiſe was his gentleneſſe maruellouſly eſteemed, becauſe he ſaluted euery body curteouſly, and made much of all men: for, whomſoeuer he met in the ſtreets that ſpake to him as he paſſed and ſaluted him, were he neuer ſo meane, he would ſpeake to him againe, and call him by his name. It is ſayd alſo he was very well ſtudied in ſtories, and indifferently ſeene in Philoſophy, ſpecially in *Ariſtotles* workes, which one *Alexander* did reade vnto him, a man that became very gentle and patient of nature, by vſing of *Craſſus* company: for it were hard to ſay, whether *Alexander* was poorer when he came to *Craſſus*, or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his friends he would euer haue *Alexander* abroad with him, and while they were abroad, would lend him a hat to couer his head by the way: but ſo ſoone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull patience of a man! to ſee that he making profeſſion of Philoſophy as he did, the poore man being in great pouerty, did not place pouerty in things indifferent. But hereof we will ſpeake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marius* being now of greateſt power, & comming on directly towards Rome, euery man ſuſpected ſtraight their comming was for no good to the commonwealth, but as appeared plainly, for the death and deſtruction of the nobleſt men of Rome. For it ſo fell out indeed, that they ſlue all the chiefe men they found in the city, among whom *Craſſus* father and his brother were of the number, and himſelfe being at that time but yong, eſcaped the preſent danger only by flight. Furthermore, *Craſſus* hearing that they layed waite to take him, and that the tyrants ſought him in euery place, tooke three of his friends in his company, and ten ſeruants onely, and fled into Spaine with all poſſible ſpeed, where he had bene with his father before, and had got ſome friends when he was Prætor, and ruled the country. Neuertheleſſe, ſeeing euery body afraid, and miſtruſting *Marius* crueltie as if he had bin at their doores, he durſt not bewray himſelfe to any man, but went into the fields, and hid him in a great caue being within the land of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the ſea ſide, from whence he ſent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to feele what goodwill he bare him, but ſpecially for that his victuals began to faile him. *Vibius* hearing that *Craſſus* was ſafe, and had ſcaped, became very glad of it: and vnderſtanding how many perſons he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not himſelfe to ſee him, but called one of his ſlaues (who was his receiuer and occupied that ground for him) and bringing him neare the place where *Craſſus* was, commanded him euery night to prouide meate for ſupper, to bring it ready dreſſed to this rocke whereunder was the caue, & make no words of it, neither be inquiſitiue for whō it was, for if he did, he ſhould die for it: and otherwiſe, for keeping the thing ſecret as he commanded, he promiſed to make him a free man. This caue is not farre from the ſea ſide, and is cloſed in round about with two rockes that meet together, which receiue a ſoft coole wind into them. When ye are entred into the caue, it is of a great height within, and in the hollowneſſe thereof are many other caues of great receipt one within another, & beſides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a well of paſſing good water running hard by the rocke, and the naturall rifts of the rocks alſo receiuing the light without, where they meet together, do ſend it inward into the caue. So that in the day time it is maruellous light, & hath no dampe aire, but very pure and dry, by reaſon of the thickneſſe of the rocke, which ſendeth all the moiſtneſſe and vapour into that ſpringing well. *Craſſus* keeping cloſe in this caue, *Vibius* receiuer brought victuals thither daily to relieue him and his company, but ſaw not them he brought it to, nor could vnderſtand what they were: and yet they ſaw him plainly, obſeruing the houre and time of his comming when he brought the ſame. He prouided them no more then would euen neceſſarily ſerue their turne, and yet plenty ſufficient to make good cheare withall: for *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Craſſus* as honourably as he could poſſible, in ſo much as he conſidered he was a young man, and therefore reaſon would he ſhould offer him ſome occaſion to take ſuch pleaſure and delight as his youth required. For to relieue his neceſſitie onely, he thought that rather a part of feare, than anie ſhew of loue towards him. One day he tooke two faire young damſels, and brought them with him to the ſea ſide: and when he came to the caue, ſhewed them where they ſhould get vp, and bad them not be afraid. *Craſſus* at the firſt, when he ſaw the young wenches, was affraid he had bene betrayed: yet he aſked them what they were, and whom they ſought. They being inſtructed by *Vibius* what they ſhould ſay, aunſwered, that they ſought their maiſter that was hidden there. Then *Craſſus* knew this was *Vibius* mirth to ſhew him courteſie: ſo he receiued them into his caue, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* vnderſtand by them what he lacked. *Feneſtella* writeth, that he ſaw one of them when ſhe was an old woman, and that he had heard her tell him this tale

Craſſus flieth Marius and Cinna.

Vibius curteſie vnto Craſſus.

Craſſus caue.

many a time with great delight. In fine, *Craſſus* (after he had lyen hidden in this caue eight moneths) vnderſtanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and ſo ſoone as he made himſelfe to be knowne, there repaired a great number of ſouldiers vnto him, of whom he only choſe two thouſand fiue hundred, and with them paſſed by many cities, and ſacked one called MALACA, as diuerſe do write, but he flatly denied it, and ſtoutly contraried them that affirmed it. And afterwards hauing gotten ſhips together, went into AFRICKE, to *Metellus Pius*, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great armie together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but iarring with him, went vnto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honoured him as much, as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwards arriuing in ITALY, intending to imploy all the yong nobilitie he had in his company, gaue euery one of them charge vnder him, and ſent *Craſſus* into the countrey of the MARSIANS, to leauy men of warre there. *Craſſus* deſiring certaine bands of *Sylla* to aide him, being driuen to paſſe by his enemies: *Sylla* anſwered him angerly againe: I giue thee thy father, thy brother, thy friends and kinſmen to aide thee, whom they moſt wickedly haue ſlaine and murthered, and whoſe deaths I purſue with hot reuenge of maine army, vpon thoſe bloudy murtherers that haue ſlaine them. *Craſſus* being netled with theſe words, departed thence preſently, and ſtoutly paſſing through his enemies, leauied a good number of ſouldiers: and was euer after ready at *Syllaes* commaundement in all his warres. Here began firſt (as they ſay) the ſtrife and contention betwixt him and *Pompey*. For *Pompey* being yonger than *Craſſus*, and borne of a wicked father in ROME, whom the people more hated than euer they did man: came yet to great honor by his valiancy, and by the notable acts he did in the warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did *Pompey* that honour many times, which he ſeldome did vnto them that were his elders, nor yet vnto thoſe that were his equals: as to riſe vp when he came towards him, to put of his cap, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant generall. And this galled *Craſſus* to the hart, although he had no wrong in that *Pompey* was taken before him, becauſe he had no experience in matters of war at that time, and alſo becauſe theſe two vices that were bred in him, miſery and couetouſneſſe, drowned all his vertue and well doing. For at the ſacke of the city of TVDER, which he tooke, he priuily got the moſt part of the ſpoile to himſelfe, whereof he was accuſed before *Sylla*. Yet in the laſt battell of all this ciuill warre (which was the greateſt and moſt dangerous of all other) euen before ROME it ſelfe, the wing that *Sylla* led, was repulſed and ouerthrowne: but *Craſſus* that led the right wing, ouercame his enemies, followed them in chaſe till midnight, ſent *Sylla* word of his victory, and demaunded victuals for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great defame, for buying, or begging the confiſcate goods of the outlawes appointed to be ſlaine, for litle or nothing. And it is ſayd alſo, that he made one an outlaw in the countrey of the BRVTIANS, without *Syllaes* priuitie or commandement, only to haue his goods. But *Sylla* being told of it, would neuer after vſe him in any open ſeruice. Surely this is a ſtrange thing, that *Craſſus* ſelfe being a great flatterer of other, and could creepe into any mans fauor, was yet himſelfe eaſie to be won through flattery, of any man that would ſeeke him that way. Furthermore, it is ſayd of him that he had this property: that though himſelfe was as extremely couetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproued and vtterly miſliked them that had his owne humor of auarice. *Pompeyes* honour that he attained vnto daily, by bearing great charge and rule in the warres, did greatly trouble *Craſſus*: both becauſe he obtained the honour of triumph before he came to be Senator, and alſo for that the ROMAINES commonly called him, *Pompeius Magnus*, to ſay, *Pompey* the great. *Craſſus* being in place on a time when one ſayd that ſaw *Pompey* comming, See, *Pompey* the great is come. And how great I pray ye, ſayd he ſcornefully? howbeit deſpairing that he could not attaine to match him in the warres, he gaue himſelfe vnto the affaires of the city: and by his paines and induſtrie of pleading, and defending mens cauſes, by lending of money to them that needed, and by helping of them that ſued for any office, or demaunded any thing elſe of the people, he attained in the end to the like eſtimation and authority that *Pompey* was come vnto, by his many noble victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For *Pompeyes* fame and power was greater in ROME, when himſelfe was abſent: and contrariwiſe when he was there preſent, *Craſſus* oftentimes was better eſteemed than he. *Pompey* caried a great maieſty and grauity in his maner of life, would not be ſeene often of the people, but kept from repairing to open places, and would ſpeake but in few mens cauſes, and that vnwillingly: all to keepe his fauour and credit whole for himſelfe, when he ſtood in need to employ the ſame. Where *Craſſus* diligence was profitable to manie, becauſe he kept continually in the

Craſſus voyage into Africke.

Craſſus ſent by Sylla into the countrey of the Marſians.

The emulation betwixt Craſſus and Pompey.

Sylla called Pompey Imperator.

Craſſus tooke the citie of Tuder.

The valiantneſſe of Craſſus.

Craſſus enuieth Pompey.

The Romaines called Pompey, the great.

Craſſus induſtry and cauſe of riſing in the comonwealth.

market

market place, and was easie to be repaired vnto by any man that required his helpe, daily following those exercises, indeuouring himselfe to pleasure euerie man: so that by this easie accesse and familiaritie, for fauour and goodwill, he grew to exceed the gravity any maiesty of *Pompey*. But as for the worthinesse of their persons, their eloquence of speech, and their good grace and countenance: in all those (it is sayd) *Pompey* and *Crassus* were both alike. And this enuy and emulation neuer caried *Crassus* away, with any open malice or ill will. For though he was sory to see *Pompey* and *Cæsar* honoured aboue him: yet the worme of ambition neuer bred malice in him. No, though *Cæsar* when he was taken by pyrates in Asia (as he was once) and being kept prisoner cried out aloud: O *Crassus*, what ioy will this be to thee, when thou shalt heare I am in prison! This notwithstanding, they were afterwards good friends, as it appeareth: for *Cæsar* being ready on a time to depart out of Rome for Prætor into Spaine, and not being able to satisfie his creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to stay and arrest his carriage: *Crassus* in that time of need forsooke him not, but became his surety for the summe of eight hundred and thirtie talents. In fine, all Rome being deuided into three factions, to wit, of *Pompey*, *Cæsar*, and *Crassus* (for as for *Cato*, the estimation they had of his fidelitie was greater than his authoritie: and his vertue more wondred at then practised) in so much as the graueſt and wiſeſt men tooke part with *Pompey*. The liueliest youths, and likeliest to runne into desperate attempts, they followed *Cæsars* hope. *Crassus* keeping the middest of the streame, was indifferent to them both, and oftentimes chaunged his mind and purpose. For in matters of gouernement in the commonweale, he neither shewed himselfe a constant friend, nor a daungerous enemy: but for gaine, was easily made friend or foe. So that in a moment they saw him praise and reproue, defend and condemne, the same lawes, and the same men. His estimation grew more, through the peoples feare of him: then for any goodwill they bare him. As appeareth by the answer that one *Sicinius* (a very busie headed man, and one that troubled euerie gouernor of the commonweale in in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not busie with *Crassus* amongst the rest: and how it happened that he so scaped his handes? O, sayd he, he caries hay on his horne. The manner was then at Rome, if any man had a curst bullocke that would strike with his horne, to wind hay about his head, that the people might beware of him when they met him. The commotion of fencers, which some call *Spartacus* warre, their wasting and destroying of Italie came vpon this occasion. In the citie of Capva, there was one *Lentulus Batiatus*, that kept a great number of fencers at vnrebated foiles, whom the Romaines call Gladiatores, whereof the most part were Gavles and Thracians. These men were kept locked vp, not for any fault they had committed, but onely for the wickednesse of their maister that had bought them, and compelled them by force, one to fight with another at the sharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steale away: but their conspiracie being bewrayed, three score and eighteene of them entred into a cookes house, and with the spits and kitchin-knives, which there they got, went quite out of the citie. By the way they fortuned to meete with cartes loden with fencers weapons, that were brought from Capva going to some other city: those they also tooke by force, and arming themselues therewith, got them then to a strong place of situation. Where amongst themselues they choose three Captaines, and one *Spartacus* a Thracian borne (and of those crountrymen that go wandring vp and downe with their heardes of beasts neuer staying long in a place) they made their Generall. This *Spartacus* was not onely valiant, but strong made withall, and endued with more wisdome and honesty, than is commonly found in men of his state and condition: and for ciuilitie & good vnderstanding, a man more like to the Grecians, than any of his country men cõmonly be. It is reported, that when *Spartacus* came first to Rome to be sold for a slaue, there was found as he slept, a snake wound about his face. His wife seeing it, being his owne country woman, and a wise woman besides, possest with *Bacchus* spirit of diuination: said plainly that it did signifie, that one day he should be of great power, much dread, and haue very good successe. This same woman propheteſſe was then with him, and followed him likewise when he fled. Now first they ouerthew certaine souldiers that came out of Capva against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their armor and weapons, made them glad to take the fencers weapons, which they threw away as vile & vnseemly. After that, the Romaines sent *Clodius* Prætor against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their fort, situate vpon a hill that had a very steepe and narrow ascent vnto it, and kept the passage vp to them: all the rest of the ground round about it, was nothing but high rockes hanging

Three factions at Rome.

Crassus inconstancy.

Sicinius prouerbe.

The warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus warre.

The wit and behauiour of Spartacus, the chiefe Captaine of the bandmens warre.

Clodius a Romaine Prætor, sent against Spartacus with 3000 men.

ouer, and vpon them great ſtore of wild vines. Of them the bond'men cut the ſtrongeſt ſtrips, and made therof ladders, like to theſe ſhip ladders of ropes, of ſuch a length and ſo ſtrong, that they reached from the top of the hill euen to the verie bottome: vpon thoſe they all came ſafely downe, ſauing one that taried aboue to throw downe their armour after them, who afterwards by the ſame ladder ſaued himſelfe laſt of all. The Romaines miſtruſting no ſuch matter, theſe bondmen compaſſed the hill round, aſſailed them behind, and put them in ſuch a feare with the ſudden onſet, as they fled vpon it euerie man, and ſo was their campe taken. Thereupon diuerſe heardmen and ſhepheards that kept cattell hard by the hill, ioyned with the Romaines that fled, being ſtrong and hardy men: of which ſome they armed, and others they vſed as ſcouts and ſpials to diſcouer. Vpon this ouerthrow was ſent another Captaine from Rome, called *Publius Varinus*, againſt theſe bondmen: who firſt ouercame *Furius*, the Lieutenant of *Varinus* in battell, and two thouſand of his men: and after that againe they ſlue one *Coſſinius*, and ouerthrew a great armie of his, being ioyned with *Publius Varinus*, as his fellow and counſellor. *Spartacus* hauing intelligence that *Coſſinius* was bathing himſelfe at a place called the ſalt pits, had almoſt taken him tardy, hauing much ado by flight to ſaue himſelfe: notwithſtanding, *Spartacus* wan all his cariage at that time, and hauing him hard in chaſe, tooke his whole campe with great ſlaughter of his men, among whom *Coſſinius* ſelfe was ſlaine. *Spartacus* hauing thus now in ſundry battels and encounters ouercome the Prætor himſelfe, *Publius Varinus*, and at the length taken his ſergeants from him that caried the axes before him, and his owne horſe whereon he rode himſelfe: was growne then to ſuch a power, as he was dreaded of euery man. Yet all this notwithſtanding, *Spartacus* wiſely conſidering his owne force, thinking it not good to tarie till he might ouercome the power of the Romaines, marched with his army towards the Alpes, taking it their beſt way after they had paſſed them ouer, euery man to repaire home to his owne countrey, ſome into Gavle, the reſt into Thracia. But his ſouldiers truſting to their multitude, & perſwading themſelues to do great things, would not obey him therein, but went againe to ſpoile and ouerrun all Italy. The Senate of Rome being in a great perplexity, not onely for the ſhame and diſhonour that their men ſhould be ouercome in that ſort by ſlaues and rebels, but alſo for the feare and danger all Italy ſtood in beſides: ſent both the Conſuls together, *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, as vnto as difficult and dangerous a warre, as any that could haue happened vnto them. This *Gellius* one of the Conſuls, ſetting ſuddenly vpon a band of the Germaines, which in a brauery & contempt as it were, diſpearſed themſelues from their campe, put them to the ſword euery man. *Lentulus*, his colleague and fellow Conſull on the other ſide, compaſſed in *Spartacus* round with a great army: but *Spartacus* charged his Lieutenants that led the army, gaue the battell, ouerthrew them, and tooke all their cariage. Hereupon, marching on ſtill with his army towards the Alpes, *Caſsius* the prætor, and gouernor of Gavle about the Po, came againſt him with an army of ten thouſand men. *Spartacus* ioyned battell with him, and ouercame him. *Caſsius* hauing loſt a great number of his men, with great difficulty ſaued himſelfe by flying. The Senate hearing of *Caſsius* ouerthrow, were maruellouſly offended with the Conſuls, and ſent commaundement vnto them, to leaue off the warre: and thereupon gaue the whole charge thereof vnto *Marcus Craſſus*, who was accompanied in this iourney with many noble young gentlemen of honorable houſes, both for that he was maruellouſly eſteemed, and alſo for the goodwill they bare him. Now went *Craſſus* from Rome, and camped in Romania, tarying *Spartacus* comming, who was marching thitherward. He ſent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenants with two legions, to fetch a compaſſe about to intrap the enemy behind: ſtraightly commaunding him to follow *Spartacus* rereward, but in no caſe to offer him skirmiſh nor battell. But *Mummius* notwithſtanding this ſtraight commaundement, ſeeing ſome hope giuen him to do good, ſet vpon *Spartacus*, who gaue him the ouerthrow, ſlue numbers of his men, and moe had ſlaine, ſauing that certaine of them ſaued themſelues by flight, hauing onely loſt their armour and weapons. Hereupon *Craſſus* was grieuouſly offended with *Mummius*, and receiuing his ſouldiers that fled, gaue them other armour and weapons: but yet vpon ſureties, that they ſhould keepe them better thenceforth, than they had before done. Now *Craſſus* of the fiue hundred that were in the firſt rankes, and that firſt fled, them he deuided into fiftie times ten, and out of euery one of thoſe he put one of them to death, as the lot fell out: renewing againe the ancient diſcipline of the Romaines to puniſh cowardly ſouldiers, which of long time before had not bene put in vſe. For it is a kind of death that bringeth open ſhame withall: and becauſe it is done in the face of the campe, it maketh all the reſidue afraid

Clodius the Prætor ouercome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinus Prætor, ſent againſt Spartacus.

Spartacus victorie of Publius Varinus.

Gellius and Lentulus, both Conſuls, ſent againſt Spartacus.

Caſſius ouercome by Spartacus.

Craſſus ſent againſt Spartacus.

Mummius, Craſſus Lieutenant.

Mummius ouerthrowne by Spartacus.

The Romaines maner of puniſhing cowardly ſouldiers.

afraid to see the terrour of this punishment. *Crassus* hauing done execution in this sort vpon his men, led his armie against *Spartacus*: who still drew backe, vntill he came to the sea side through the countrey of the LVCANIANS, where he found in the straight of the Far of MESSINA, certaine pyrats ships of CILICIA, and there determined to go into SICILIA. And hauing put two thousand men into SICILE, he then reuiued the warre there of the slaues, which was but in manner newly ended, and lacked small prouocation to begin it againe. But these pyrats hauing promised *Spartacus* to passe him ouer thither, and also taken gifts of him, deceiued him, and brake their promise. Whereupon *Spartacus* returning backe againe from the sea side, went and camped within a litle Ile of the RHEGIANS. *Crassus* comming thither to seeke him, and perceiuing that the nature of the place taught him what he should do: determined with a wall to choke vp the barre or channell entring into this litle Iland, both to keepe his men occupied from idlenesse, and his enemies also from victuall. This was a maruellous hard and long peece of worke, notwithstanding *Crassus* finished it beyond all mens expectation in a very short time, and brought a trench from one side of the sea to the other ouerthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fifteene foote broad, and so many in height: and vpon the top of this trench built a high wall, of a maruellous strength, whereof *Spartacus* at the first made light account, and laughed at it. But when pillage began to faile him, and trauelling all about the Ile for victuals, perceiuing himselfe to be shut in with this wall, and that there was no kind of victuals to be had within all the compasse of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boisterous night, the wind being very great, when it snowed exceedingly, set his men on worke, and filled vp a peece of the trench (being a small breadth) with earth, stones, and boughes of trees, whereupon he passed ouer the third part of his army. *Crassus* at the first then became afraid, least *Spartacus* would haue taken his way directly toward ROME: but he was soone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling against *Spartacus*, went and camped by themselues by the lake of LVCANIA, which water by report hath this variable propertie, that at certaine times it changeth and becommeth very sweete, and at some other times againe so salt and brackish, as no man can drinke it. *Crassus* going to set vpon them, draue them beyond the lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very farre: because *Spartacus* came presently to the rescue with his armie, who stayed the chase. *Crassus* had written letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, and *Pompey* out of SPAINE, whereof he then repented him, and made all the possible speed he could to end this warre, before either of them came thither: knowing, that which of them so euer came to his helpe, to him would the people giue the honour of ending this warre, and not to himselfe. Wherefore he first determined to assaile them that had reuolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by themselues: who were led by *Caius Canicius*, and another called *Castus*. So *Crassus* sent sixe thousand footmen before to take a hill, commaunding them to lie as close as they could, that their enemies might not discouer them: and so they did, and couered their morians and head-peeces as well as might be, from being seene. Neuertheless they were discouered by two women doing sacrifice for the safetie of their armie: and thereupon were all in great hazard of casting away, had not *Crassus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gaue the enemies the cruellest battell that euer they fought in all that warre. For there were slaine of the slaues at that battell, twelue thousand and three hundred, of which, two onely were found hurt in the backes, and all the rest slaine in the place of their ranckes, valiantly fighting where they were set in battell ray. *Spartacus* after this ouerthrow, drew towards the mountaines of Petelie, whither *Quintus* one of *Crassus* Lieutenants, & *Scrofa* his treasurer followed him, still skirmishing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned suddenly vpon them, made the ROMAINES flie that still harried his men in that sort, and hurt *Scrofa Crassus* treasurer so sore, that he hardly escaped with life. But the vantage they had of the ROMAINES by this ouerthrow, fell out in the end to the vtter destruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitiue bondmen, grew to such a stoutnesse and pride of themselues, that they would no more flie from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their leaders and Captaines: but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their weapons, and told them, that they should go backe againe with them whether they would or not, and be brought through LVCANIA against the ROMAINES. All this made for *Crassus* as he wished, for he had receiued newes that *Pompey* was comming, and that diuerse were suters for him at ROME to be sent in

Crassus vvonderfull trench and vvall.

A vvonderfull nature of the vvater of the lake of Lucania.

Ambush layd by Crassus.

The valiantnesse of Spartacus souldiers.

Spartacus retired to the mountaines of Petelie.

this iourney, saying, that the last victorie of this warre was due to him, and that he would dispatch it at a battell, as soone as he came thither. *Crassus* therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as neare the enemie as he could, and made his men one day cast a trench, which the bondmen seeking to preuent, came with great furie, and set vpon them that wrought: Whereupon fell out a hot skirmish, and still supplies came on of either side: so that *Spartacus* in the end perceiuing he was forced vnto it, put his whole power in battell ray. And when he had set them in order, and that they brought him his horse he was wont to fight on: he drew out his sword, and before them all slue the horse dead in the place, saying: If it be my fortune to win the field, I know I shall haue horse enow to serue my turne: and if I chaunce to be ouercome, then shall I need no more horses. After that, he flew in among the Romaines, thinking to attaine to fight with *Crassus*, but he could not come neare him: yet he slue with his owne hands two Romaine Centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsooke him and fled, so as *Spartacus* was left alone among his enemies: who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in peeces. Now though *Crassus* fortune was very good in this warre, and that he had shewed himselfe a noble and valiant Captaine, venturing his person in any danger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the honour of ending this warre: for the slaues that scaped from this last battell where *Spartacus* was slaine, fell into *Pompeys* hands, who made an end of all those rebellious rascals. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus* had ouercome the slaues in battell, but that he himselfe had pulled vp that warre euen by the very rootes. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into Rome, and triumphed for his victory of *Sertorius*, and the conquest of Spaine. *Crassus* also sued not for the great triumph, neither thought he the small Ouation triumph on foote, which they graunted him, any honour vnto him, for ouercommiug a few fugitiue bondmen. But for this small triumph, whereby it was called Ouatio, how much it differeth from the great triumph, see *Marcellus* life, where we haue at large discoursed thereof. Now *Pompey* being called to be Consull: *Crassus*, though he stood in good hope to be chosen Consull with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherance. *Pompey* was very willing to helpe him, and was euer desirous to make *Crassus* beholding to him: whereupon he dealt friendly for him, and spake openly in the assembly of the citie, that he would no lesse thanke the people to appoint *Crassus* his companion and fellow Consull with him, then for making himselfe Consull. But notwithstanding they were both Consuls together in office, their friendship held not, but were euer at iarre, and the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulship, without any memorable act done: sauing that *Crassus* made a great sacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept an open feast for the people of Rome of a thousand tables, and gaue to euery citizen corne to find him three moneths. But in the end of their Consulship, at a common councell holden, there was a knight of Rome called *Onatius Aurelius* (a man not greatly knowne, for that he had no dealings in the state, and kept most in the countrey,) who getting vp to the pulpit for orations, told the people what a vision he had seene in his dreame. *Iupiter*, sayd he, appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put *Crassus* and *Pompey* out of their office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the words, but the people commaunded them to be friends. *Pompey* sate still, and sayd neuer a word to it. But *Crassus* rose, and tooke *Pompey* by the hand, and turning him to the people, told them aloud: My Lords of Rome, I do nothing vnworthie of my selfe, to seeke *Pompeys* friendship and fauour first, since you your selues haue called him the Great before he had any haire vpon his face, and that ye gaue him the honour of triumph before he was Senator. And this is all that *Crassus* did of any account in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it ouer without any act done. For he reformed not the Senate, mustered not the men of warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the peoples goods: although *Luctatius Catulus* was his colleague and fellow Censor, as gentle a person as any of that time that liued in Rome. Now *Crassus* at the first entry into his office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent act, to bring Egypt to pay tribute to the Romaines, *Catulus* did stoutly withstand him: wherby dissention falling out betweene them, they both did willingly resigne their office. In that great conspiracy of *Catiline*, which in maner ouerthrew the whole state and commonwealth of Rome, *Crassus* was had in some iealousie and mistrust: because there was one of the confederates that named him for one of them, howbeit they gaue no credit vnto him. Yet *Cicero* in an oration of his, doth plainely accuse *Crassus* and *Cæsar*, as confederates with *Catiline*: howbeit this

The noble courage of Spartacus.

Spartacus slaine.

Pompeys triumph for Spaine.

Ouatio, see Marcellus life.

Crassus made Consull with Pompey.

Crassus great feasting of the people of Rome.

The dreame of Onatius Aurelius.

Crassus and Pompey made friends.

Crassus Censor with Catulus.

Crassus suspected for Catilines conspiracy.

oration

oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the oration he made also, when his office and authority of Consull ceased, he sayd: that *Crassus* came one night to him, and shewed him a letter touching *Catiline*, certainely confirming the conspiracie then in examination. For which cause *Crassus* euer after hated him: and that he did not openly reuenge it, the let was by meane of his sonne. For *Publius Crassus* much fauoring eloquence, and being giuen to his booke, bare great good will vnto *Cicero*: in such sort, that vpon his banishment he put on changed garments as *Cicero* did, and procured many other youths to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his father to become his friend. *Cæsar* now returning to Rome from the prouince he had in gouernement, intended to sue for the Consulship: and perceiuing that *Pompey* and *Crassus* were againe at a iarre, thought thus with himselfe, that to make the one of them his friend to further his sute, he should but procure the other his enemy: and minding therefore to attaine his desire with the fauour of them both, sought first the meanes to make them friends, and perswaded with them, that by their controuersie the one seeking the others vndoing, they did thereby but make *Cicero*, *Catulus*, and *Cato*, of the greater authoritie, who of themselues were of no power, if they two ioyned in friendship together: for making both their friends and factions one, they might rule the state and commonwealth euen as they would. *Cæsar* hauing by his perswasion reconciled *Crassus* and *Pompey*, ioyning their three powers in one, made themselues vnuincible, which afterwards turned to the destruction of the people and Senate of Rome. For he made them not only greater than they were before, the one by the others meanes: but himselfe also of great power through them. For when they began to fauour *Cæsar*, he was straight chosen Consull without any deniall: and so behaued himselfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gaue him charge of great armies, and then sent him to gouerne the Gavles: which was, as a man may say, euen themselues to put him into the castell that should keepe all the city in subiection: imagining that they two should make spoile and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a gouernement. Now for *Pompey*, the cause that made him commit this error was nothing else, but his extreme ambition. But as for *Crassus*, besides his old vice of couetousnesse rooted in him, he added to that a new auarice and desire of triumphs and victories, which *Cæsars* fame for prowesse and noble acts in warres did throughly kindle in him, that he being otherwise his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferiour: which furie tooke such hold as it neuer left him, till it brought him vnto an infamous end, and the commonwealth to great miserie. Thus *Cæsar* being come out of his prouince of Gavle vnto Lvca, diuerse Romaines went thither to see him, and among other *Pompey* and *Crassus*. They hauing talked with him in secret, agreed among them to deuise to haue the whole power of Rome in their hands: so that *Cæsar* should keepe his armie together, and *Crassus* and *Pompey* should take other prouinces and armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should againe sue the second time to be Consuls, and that *Cæsars* friends at Rome should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his souldiers to be there at the day of chusing the Consuls. Thereupon *Pompey* and *Crassus* returned to Rome to that end, but not without suspition of their practise: for there ranne a rumour in the citie, that their meeting of *Cæsar* in Lvca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked *Pompey* in open Senate, if he meant to make sute to be Consull. *Pompey* aunswered them: peraduenture he did, peraduenture he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he aunswered, he would sue for the good men, not for the euill. *Pompeys* aunswers were thought very proud and haughty. Howbeit *Crassus* aunswered more modestly, that if he saw it necessarie for the common wealth, he would sue to be Consull: if not, that he would not stand for it. Vpon these words, some were so bold to make sute for the Consulship, as *Domitius* among other. But afterwards *Pompey* and *Crassus* standing openly for it, all the rest left off their sute for feare of them, *Domitius* onely excepted: whom *Cato* so prayed and intreated, as his kinsman and friend, that he made him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their libertie, and how that it was not the Consulship *Crassus* and *Pompey* looked after, but that they went about to bring in a tyrannie: and that they sued not for the office, but to get such prouinces and armies into their hands as they desired, vnder colour and countenance of the Consulship. *Cato* ringing these words into their eares, and beleeuing it certainely to be true as he said, brought *Domitius* as it were by force into the market place, where many honest men ioyned with them: because they wondred what the matter meant, that these two noble men should sue

Crassus and Cæsar confederates with Catiline.

Crassus Ciceroes enemy.

Cæsar reconciled Crassus and Pompey together.

Pompey, Crassus, and Cæsar, all three ioyned in friendship.

Pompey and Crassus did meete with Cæsar at Luca.

Pompeys stout answer.

Crassus modest answer.

the ſecond time to be Conſuls, and why they made ſute to be ioyned together, and not to haue any other with them, conſidering there were ſo many other worthie men, meete to be companion with either of them both in that office. *Pompey* fearing he ſhould be preuented of his purpoſe, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongſt other, when the day came to chuſe the Conſuls, *Domitius* going early in the morning before day, accompanied with his friends to the place where the election ſhould be: his man that caried his torch before him was ſlaine, by ſome whom *Pompey* had layd in waite, and many of the company hurt, and among others, *Cato*. And hauing thus diſperſed them, he beſet a houſe round about whither they fled for ſuccour, and incloſed them there, vntill they were both choſen Conſuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the pulpit for orations, and draue *Cato* out of the market place, and ſlue ſome of them that reſiſted and would not flie. They alſo then prolonged *Cæſars* gouernement of the GAVLES for fiue yeares more, and procured for themſelues by decree of the people, the countries of SYRIA and SPAINE. Againe, when they drew lots together, SYRIA fell to *Craſſus*, and SPAINE to *Pompey*. Euerie man was glad of their fortune. For the people on the one ſide were loth *Pompey* ſhould go farre from ROME: and himſelfe alſo louing his wife well, was glad he had occaſion to be ſo neare her, that he might remaine the moſt of his time at ROME. But *Craſſus* of all other reioyced moſt at his hap, that he ſhould go into SYRIA: and it appeared plainely that he thought it was the happieſt turne that euer came to him, for he would euer be talking of the iourney, were he in neuer ſo great or ſtrange company. Furthermore, being among his friends and familiars, he would giue out ſuch fond boaſts of it, as no young man could haue made greater vaunts: which was cleane contrarie to his yeares & nature, hauing liued all his life time as modeſtly, and with as ſmall oſtentation as any man liuing. But then forgetting himſelfe too much, had ſuch fond conceipts in his head, as he not only hoped after the conqueſt of SYRIA, and of the PARTHIANS, but flattered himſelfe that the world ſhould ſee all that *Lucullus* had done againſt king *Tigranes*, and *Pompey* againſt king *Mithridates*, were but trifles (as a man would ſay) to that he intended. For he looked to conquer the BACTRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Ocean ſea toward the Eaſt, though in the decree paſſed by the people, there was no mention made of any warres againſt the PARTHIANS. Now euery man ſaw *Craſſus* ambition and greedie deſire of honour: in ſo much as *Cæſar* ſelfe wrote vnto *Craſſus* out of GAVLE, commending his noble intent and forwardneſſe, and wiſhed him to go through therewith. But *Atteius* one of the Tribunes being bent againſt *Craſſus* to withſtand his departure: (hauing diuerſe other confederates with him to further his purpoſe, who much miſliked that any man of a brauery and luſtineſſe ſhould make warre with any nation or people that had no way offended the ROMAINS, but were their friends and confederates) *Craſſus* fearing this conſpiracy, prayed *Pompey* to aſſiſt and accompany him out of the city, becauſe he was of great authority and much reuerenced of the people, as it appeared then. For, though multitudes of people were gathered together of purpoſe to let *Craſſus* of his departure, and to cry out vpon him: yet when they ſaw *Pompey* go before him, with a pleaſant ſmiling countenance, they quieted themſelues, and made a lane for them, ſuffering them to paſſe on, and ſayd nothing. This notwithſtanding, *Atteius* the Tribune ſtepped before them, and commaunded *Craſſus* he ſhould not depart the city, with great proteſtations if he did the contrary. But perceiuing *Craſſus* ſtill held on his way notwithſtanding, he commaunded then one of the officers to lay hold of him, and to arreſt him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not ſuffer the officer to do it. So the ſergeant diſmiſſed *Craſſus*. Then *Atteius* running towards the gate of the city, got a chafingdiſh with coles, and ſet it in the middeſt of the ſtreet. When *Craſſus* came againſt it, he caſt in certaine perfumes, and made ſprinklings ouer it, pronouncing horrible curſes, and calling vpon terrible and ſtraunge names of gods. The ROMAINES ſay that thoſe maner of curſes are very auncient, but yet very ſecret, and of ſo great force, as he that is once curſed with that curſe can neuer eſcape it, nor he that vſeth it doth neuer proſper after it. And therefore few men do vſe it, and neuer but vpon vrgent occaſion. But then they much reproued *Atteius*, for vſing theſe dreadfull ceremonies and extreme curſes, which were much hurtfull to the common wealth, although he for his countries ſake had thus curſed *Craſſus*. *Craſſus* ſetting forward notwithſtanding, ſailed on, and arriued at BRVNDVSIVM, when winter ſtormes had not left the ſeas, and he had loſt many of his ſhips: howbeit he landed his army, and marched through the country of GALATIA. There he found king *Deiotarus*, a very old man, and yet building a new city: and to taunt him pretily, ſayd vnto him:

Pompey made himſelfe and Craſſus Conſuls by force.

Pompey and Craſſus Conſuls the ſecond time.

Craſſus had the gouernment of Syria.

Atteius the Tribune, againſt Craſſus departure.

Obſeruations of curſings among the Romaines.

Craſſus iourney into Syria.

Deiotarus, king of Galatia.

What,

What, ô King, begin you to build now in the afternoone? To whom the king of the GALATIANS againe ſmiling made anſwer: And truly Sir Captaine, you go not very early (me thinkes) to make warre with the PARTHIANS. For indeed *Craſſus* was three ſcore and vpward, and yet his face made him ſeeme elder then he was. But to our ſtorie againe. *Craſſus* being come into the countrey, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he eaſily built a bridge vpon the riuer of Euphrates, and paſſed his armie ouer it without any let or trouble. So entring into MESOPOTAMIA, he receiued many cities, that of good will yeelded themſelues vnto him. Howbeit there was one city called ZENODOTIA, whereof *Appolonius* was tyrant, where *Craſſus* loſt a hundred of his men: thereupon he brought his whole armie thither, tooke it by force, ſacked their goods, and ſold the priſoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this citie ZENODOTIA, and for winning of the ſame *Craſſus* ſuffered his men to call him Imperator, to ſay, ſoueraigne Captaine: which turned to his ſhame and reproch, and made him to be thought of a baſe mind, as one that had ſmall hope to attaine to great things, making ſuch reckoning of ſo ſmall a trifle. Thus when he had beſtowed ſeuen thouſand of his footmen in garriſon, in thoſe cities that had yeelded vnto him, and about a thouſand horſemen, he returned backe to winter in SYRIA. Thither came his ſonne *Publius Craſſus* to him out of GAVLE from *Iulius Cæſar*, who had giuen him ſuch honours, as Generals of ROME did vſe to giue to valiant ſouldiers for reward of their good ſeruice: and brought vnto his father a thouſand men of armes, all choiſe men. This me thinkes was the greateſt fault *Craſſus* committed in all his enterpriſe of that warre. For when he ſhould preſently haue gone on ſtill, and entred into BABYLON and SELEVCIA, (cities that were euer enemies vnto the PARTHIANS) he tracted time, and gaue them leiſure to prepare to encounter his force when he ſhould come againſt them. Againe they found great fault with him for ſpending of his time when he lay in SYRIA, ſeeming rather to leade a merchants life, than a chiefetaines. For he neuer ſaw his armie, nor trained them out to any marſhiall exerciſe, but fell to counting the reuenew of the cities, and was many dayes buſily occupied weying of the gold and ſiluer in the temple of the goddeſſe *Hierapolis*. And worſe then that: he ſent to the people, princes, and cities about him, to furniſh him with a certaine number of men of warre, and then he would diſcharge them for a ſumme of money. All theſe things made him to be both ill ſpoken of, and deſpiſed of euerie bodie. The firſt token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this goddeſſe *Hierapolis*, whom ſome ſuppoſe to be *Venus*, other ſay *Iuno*, and others, that ſhe is the mother and chiefe cauſe that giueth beginning of moiſture to euerie thing that commeth foorth and hath a being, and taught men the originall cauſe alſo of euerie good thing. For as *Craſſus* the father, and ſonne both, were comming out of the temple: *Craſſus* the yonger fell firſt on his face, and the father afterwards vpon his ſonne. Likewiſe as he was gathering his garriſons together, calling them out of the cities into the field, there came Ambaſſadours vnto him from *Arſaces* king of the PARTHIANS: who deliuered him their meſſage in few words, and told him, that if this armie he brought came from the ROMAINES to make warre with their maiſter, then that he would haue no peace nor friendſhip with them, but would make mortall warres againſt them. Further, if it were (as he had heard ſay) that *Craſſus* againſt the peoples minds of ROME, for his owne couetous deſire, and peculiar profite was come in a iolity to make warre with the PARTHIANS, and to inuade their countrey: then in that reſpect *Arſaces* would deale more fauourably, in conſideration of *Craſſus* yeares, and was contented alſo to ſuffer his men to depart with life and goods, whom he tooke rather to be in priſon, then in garriſon within his cities. Thereto *Craſſus* couragiouſly aunſwered, that he would make them aunſwer in the citie of SELEVCIA. Therewith *Vagiſes*, one of the eldeſt Ambaſſadours fell a laughing, and ſhewing *Craſſus* the palme of his hand, told him thus: haire will ſooner grow in the palme of my hand, *Craſſus*, then you will come to SELEVCIA. In this ſort the Ambaſſadours tooke their leaue of *Craſſus*, and returned to their king *Hyrodes*, telling him he was to prepare for warre. In the meane ſpace, certaine of *Craſſus* ſouldiers whom he had left in garriſon in the cities of MESOPOTAMIA, hauing ſcaped maruellous daungerouſly and with great difficultie, brought him newes of importance, hauing themſelues ſeene the wonderfull great campe of the enemie, and their maner of fight in the aſſaults they made to the cities where they lay in garriſon. And, as it falleth out commonly among men eſcaped from any daunger making things more fearefull and daungerous then they be indeed: they reported that it was vnpoſſible by flying to ſaue themſelues, if they did follow in chaſe: neither to ouertake them alſo

Craſſus paſſeth ouer the riuer of Euphrates.

Zenodotia taken by Craſſus

Publius Craſſus came to his father in Syria.

Great faults committed by Craſſus.

The firſt ſignes of Craſſus ill lucke.

This name of Arſaces, or Arſacides, was common to all the kings of the Parthians.

Ambaſſadours of the Parthians ſent to Craſſus.

Vagiſes words, ſhewing Craſſus the palme of his hand.

Hyrodes king of the Parthians.

if they fled. And further, that they had ſuch kind of arrowes as would flie ſwifter, then a mans eye could diſcerne them, and would pierce through any thing they hit, before a man could tell who ſhot them. Beſides, for the horſemens weapons they vſed, that they were ſuch, as no armour could poſſibly hold out: and their armours on the other ſide made of ſuch a temper and mettall, as no force of any thing could pierce them through. The Romaines hearing theſe newes, fell from their former ſtoutneſſe and courage, being borne in hand before, that the Parthians differed nothing at all from the Armenians and Cappadocians, whom *Lucullus* had ouercome and ſpoiled ſo oft, that he was wearie withall: and they had already made account, that their greateſt paines in this warre, was but the tediouſneſſe of the iourney they had to make, and the trouble they ſhould haue to follow thoſe men that would not abide them. But then contrary to expectation, they looked to come to ſtrokes, and to be luſtily fought withall. Herupon, diuerſe Captaines and head officers that had charge in the army (among whom *Caſſius* the treaſurer was one) aduiſed *Craſſus* to ſtay, and to deliberate in councel to know whether he were beſt to go on, or to remaine where he was. The ſoothſayers themſelues did partly let *Craſſus* vnderſtand, that the gods ſhewed no good tokens in all their ſacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But *Craſſus* gaue no eare to them, neither would heare any other that told him as much, but only liſtned to them that counſelled him to make haſte. Yet *Craſſus* chiefeſt comfort and incouragement, was of *Artabazes* king of Armenia, who came to his campe with ſix thouſand horſe, which were but onely the kings cornet and gard. Againe he promiſed him other ten thouſand horſemen all armed and barbed, and thirty thouſand footmen which he kept continually in pay, and counſelled *Craſſus* to enter the Parthians countrey vpon Armeniaes ſide: becauſe his campe ſhould not onely haue plentie of victuals, which he would ſend him out of his countrey, but for that he ſhould alſo march in more ſafety, hauing a countrey full of mountaines and woods before him very ill for horſemen, which was the onely ſtrength and force of the Parthians. *Craſſus* coldly thanked *Artabazes* for his good will, and all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his iourney through Mesopotamia, where he had left many good ſouldiers of the Romaines. And thus departed the king of Armenia from him. But now as *Craſſus* was paſſing his armie vpon the bridge he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, there fell out ſudden ſtraunge and terrible crackes of thunder, with fearefull flaſhes of lightning full in the ſouldiers faces: moreouer, out of a great blacke cloud came a wonderfull ſtorme and tempeſt of wind vpon the bridge, that the maruellous force thereof ouerthrew a great part of the bridge, and caried it quite away. Beſides all this, the place where he appointed to lodge, was twiſe ſtriken with two great thunder-clappes. One of his great horſe in like caſe, being brauely furniſhed and ſet out, tooke the bit in his teeth, leapt into the riuer with his rider on his backe, who were both drowned, and neuer ſeene after. They ſay alſo, that the firſt Eagle and enſigne that was to be taken vp when they marched, turned backe of it ſelfe, without any hands layed vpon it. Further it fortuned that as they were diſtributing the victuals vnto the ſouldiers, after they had all paſſed ouer the bridge, the firſt thing that was giuen them, was ſalt and water lintels, which the Romaines take for a token of death and mourning, becauſe they vſe it at the funerals of the dead. After all this, when *Craſſus* was exhorting his ſouldiers, a word ſcaped his mouth that troubled the armie maruellouſly. For he told them that he had broken the bridge which he had made ouer the riuer of Euphrates, of purpoſe, becauſe there ſhould not a man of them returne backe againe. Where indeed when he had ſeene that they tooke this word in ill part, he ſhould haue called it in againe, or haue declared his meaning, ſeeing his men ſo amazed thereat: but he made light of it, he was ſo wilfull. In the end he made ordinarie ſacrifice for the purging of his armie: and when the Soothſayer gaue him the intrailes of the beaſt that was ſacrificed, they fell out of his hands. *Craſſus* perceiuing that the ſtanders by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them, you ſee what age is: yet ſhall you not ſee my ſword fall out of my hand. So hauing ended his ſacrifice, he began to march forward into the countrey by the riuers ſide, with ſeuen legions of footmen, and litle lacke of foure thouſand horſe, and in manner as many ſhot and ſlings lightly armed. There returned to him certaine of his ſcouts that had viewed the country, and told him there was not an enemie to be ſeene in the field, howbeit that they had found the tracke of a maruellous number of horſe, which ſeemed as they were returned backe. Then *Craſſus* firſt of all beganne to hope well: and his ſouldiers alſo, they fell to deſpiſe the Parthians, thinking certainely that they would not come to battell with them.

Caſſius treaſurer vnder Craſſus.

Craſſus forewarned by the Soothſayers of his ill ſucceſſe.

Artabazes king of Armenia, came to Craſſus campe.

Wonderfull ſignes and tokens to Craſſus.

Craſſus army was fifty thouſand men.

Yet

Yet *Cassius* his treasurer euer perswaded him the contrarie, and thought it better for him to refresh his army a litle in one of the cities where he had his garrison, vntill such time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or else that he would march directly towards SELEVCIA by the riuers side, which lay fit for him to victuall himselfe easily by boats that wold alwaies follow his campe, & should be sure besides that the enemies could not enuiron him behind, so that hauing no way to set vpon them but before, they should haue none aduantage of them. *Crassus* going about then to consult of the matter, there came one *Ariamnes* vnto him, a Captaine of the ARABIANS, a fine subtill fellow, which was the greatest mischiefe and euill, that fortune could send to *Crassus* at that present time, to bring him to vtter ruine and destruction. For there were some of *Crassus* soldiers that had serued *Pompey* before in that country, who knew him very wel, and remembred that *Pompey* had done him great pleasures: whereupon they thought that he bare great goodwill to the ROMAINS. But *Ariamnes* had bene laboured at that time by the king of PARTHIAES Captaines, and was won by them to deceiue *Crassus*, and to entice him all he could, to draw him from the riuer and the wooddy countrey, and to bring him into the plaine field, where they might compasse him in with their horsemen: for they meant nothing lesse then to fight with the ROMAINES at the swords point. This barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* coming to *Crassus*, did highly praise and commend *Pompey*, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was an excellent spoken man) and extolled *Crassus* armie, reprouing him that he came so slowly forward, tracting time in that sort as he did, preparing himselfe as though he had neede of armour and weapon, and not of feet and hands swift & ready against the enemies: who (for the chiefest of thē) had of long time occupied thēselues to flie with their best moueables, towards the deserts of SCYTHIA & HYRCANIA. Therfore if you determine (said he) to fight, it were good you made hast to meet them, before the king haue gathered all his power together. For now you haue but *Surena* and *Sillaces*, two of his Lieutenants against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you, that you follow him not: & for the king himself, be bold, he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyed in all. For king *Hyrodes* had deuided his army in two parts at the first, whereof himself tooke the one, and went to spoile the realme of ARMENIA, to be reuenged of king *Artabazes*: and with the other he sent *Surena* against the ROMAINES, not for any contempt he had of *Crassus* (for it was not likely he would disdaine to come to battell with him, being one of the chiefest noblemē of ROME, and to thinke it more honorable to make war with king *Artabazes* in ARMENIA) but I thinke rather he did it of purpose to auoide the greater daunger, and to keepe farre off, that he might with safetie see what would happen, and therefore sent *Surena* before to hazard battell, and to turne the ROMAINES backe againe. For *Surena* was no meane man, but the second person of PARTHIA next vnto the king: in riches, reputation, valure and experience in wars, the chiefest of his time among all the PARTHIANS, and for execution, no man like him. *Surena* when he did but remoue into the countrey onely with his houshold, had a thousand camels to cary his sumpters, and 200 coaches of Curtisans, a thousand men of armes armed at all peeces, and as many mo besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine and court made aboue 10000 horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancestors, his office was at the first proclaiming of any king, to put the royall crown or diademe vpon the kings head. Moreouer, he had restored king *Hyrodes* that then raigned, to his crowne, who had bene before driuen out of his realme: and had won him also the great city of SELEVCIA, himselfe being the first man that scaled the wals, and ouerthrew them with his owne hands that resisted him. And though he was vnder thirty yeares of age, yet they counted him a wise man, as well for his counsell, as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he ouercame *Crassus*: who through his rashnesse and folly at the first, and afterwards for very feare & timerousnes, which his misfortune had brought him vnto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any pollicie or deceit. Now this barbarous captaine *Ariamnes* hauing then brought *Crassus* to beleeue all that he said, and drawne him by perswasion from the riuer of Euphrates, vnto a goodly plaine country, meeting at the first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sands where their feet sunke deep, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could discern by eye, so that not onely extreme thirst, and miserable way maruellously amazed the ROMAINS; but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight vpon: that aboue all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For, neither farre nor neare any sight of tree, riuer, brooke, mountaine, grasse, or greene hearbe appeared within their view, but in troth an

Ariamnes, a captaine of the Arabians.

Ariamnes deceiueth Crassus

Surena and Sillaces, Arsaces Lieutenants.

Surena sent against Crassus.

Surena what he was.

Surenaes court and traine.

Surena a young man, but very wise.

endleſſe ſea of deſert ſands on euery ſide round about their campe. Then began they to ſuſpect that they were betrayed. Againe, when newes came that *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, was kept in his countrey with a great warre king *Hyrodes* made vpon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promiſe come to aide him, yet that he wiſhed him to draw towards ARMENIA, that both their armies being ioyned together, they might the better fight with king *Hyrodes*, if not, that he would alwaies keepe the woody countrie, marching in thoſe vallies and places where his horſmen might be ſafe, and about the mountaines: *Craſſus* was ſo wilfull, as he would write no anſwer to it, but angrily told the meſſenger, that he had no leyſure then to hearken to the ARMENIANS, but that afterwards he would be reuenged well enough of *Artabazes* treaſon. *Caſsius* his treaſurer was much offended with *Craſſus* for this anſwer: howbeit perceiuing he could do no good with him, and that he tooke euery thing in euill part, he ſaid vnto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithſtanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the ARMENIANS aſide, he rebuked him roundly, and ſaid: O thou wretch, what curſed diuell hath brought thee to vs, and how cunningly haſt thou bewitched and charmed *Craſſus*: that thou haſt made him bring his army into this endleſſe deſert, and to trace this way fitter for an ARABIAN Captaine of theeues, then for a Generall and Conſull of the ROMAINES? *Ariamnes* being craftie and ſubtill, ſpeaking gently vnto *Caſsius*, did comfort him, and prayed him to haue patience, and going and comming by the bands, ſeeming to helpe the ſoldiers, he told them merily: O my fellowes, I beleeue you thinke to march through the countrie of NAPLES, and looke to meet with your pleaſant ſprings, goodly groues of wood, your naturall baths, and the good Innes round about to refreſh you, and do not remember that you paſſe through the deſerts of ARABIA and ASSYRIA. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the ROMAINES awhile: but afterwards he diſlodged betimes, before he was openly knowne for a traitour, and yet not without *Craſſus* priuity, whom he bare in hand, that he would go ſet ſome broile and tumult in the enemies campe. It is reported that *Craſſus* the very ſame day came out of his tent not in his coate armour of ſcarlet, (as the manner was of the ROMAINE Generals) but in a blacke coate: howbeit, remembring himſelfe, he ſtraight chaunged it againe. It is ſaid moreouer, that the enſigne-bearers when they ſhould march away, had much ado to plucke their enſignes out of the ground, they ſtucke ſo faſt. But *Craſſus* ſcoffing at the matter, haſtened them the more to march forward, compelling the footmen to go as faſt as the horſemen, till a few of their skouts came in, whom they had ſent to diſcouer: who brought newes how the enemies had ſlaine their fellowes, and what ado they had themſelues to ſcape with life, and that they were a maruellous great armie, and well appointed to giue them battell. This newes made all the campe afraid, but *Craſſus* ſelf more then the reſt, ſo as he began to ſet his men in battell ray, being for haſt in maner beſides himſelfe. At the firſt following *Caſsius* mind, he ſet his rankes wide, caſting his ſouldiers into a ſquare battell, a good way aſunder one from another, becauſe he would take in as much of the plaine as he could, to keepe the enemies from compaſſing them in, and ſo deuided the horſemen into the wings. Yet afterwards he chaunged his mind againe, and ſtraighted the battell of his footmen, faſhioning it like a bricke, more long then broad, making a front and ſhewing their faces euery way. For there were twelue cohorts or enſignes imbattelled on either ſide, and by euery cohort a company of horſe, becauſe there ſhould be no place left without aide of horſemen, and that all his battel ſhould be alike defended. Then he gaue *Caſsius* the leading of one wing, his ſonne *Publius Craſſus* the other, and himſelfe led the battell in the middeſt. In this order they marched forward, till they came to a litle brooke called Baliſſus, where there was no great ſtore of water, but yet happily lighted on for the ſouldiers, for the great thirſt and extreame heate they had abidden all that painefull way, where they had met with no water before. There the moſt part of *Craſſus* Captaines thought beſt to campe all night, that they might in the meane time find meanes to know their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Craſſus* yeelding to his ſons and his horſemens perſwaſion, who intreated him to march on with his armie, and to ſet vpon the enemie preſently: commaunded, that ſuch as would eate, ſhould eate ſtanding, keeping their rankes. Yet on the ſodaine, before this commaundement could runne through the whole armie, he commaunded them againe to march, not faire and ſoftly as when they go to giue battell, but with ſpeed, till they ſpied the enemies, who ſeemed not to the ROMAINES at the firſt to be ſo great a number, neither ſo brauely armed as they thought they had bene. For, concerning their great number, *Surena* had of purpoſe

Artabazes ſent an Ambaſſage vnto Craſſus.

Craſſus wilfulneſſe.

Craſſus army againſt the Parthians.

pose hid them, with certaine troupes he sent before: and to hide their bright armors, he had cast cloakes and beasts skins vpon them, but when both the armies approached neare the one to the other, and that the signe to giue charge was lift vp in the aire: first they filled the field with a dreadful noise to heare. For the PARTHIANS do not encourage their men to fight with the sound of a horne, neither with trumpets nor howboies, but with great kettle drums hollow within, and about them they hang litle bels and copper rings, and with them they all make a noise euery where together, and it is like a dead sound, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wild beast, and a fearefull noise as if it thundred, knowing that hearing is one of the sences that soonest moueth the heart and spirit of any man, and maketh him soonest beside himselfe. The ROMAINS being put in feare with this dead sound, the PARTHIANS straight threw the cloths and couerings from them that hid their armor, & then shewed their bright helmets and curaces of Margian tempered steele, that glared like fire, & their horses barbed with steele & copper. And *Surena* also, generall of the PARTHIANS, who was as goodly a personage, and as valiant, as any other in all his hoast, though his beautie somewhat effeminate, in iudgement shewed small likelihood of any such courage: for he painted his face, and ware his haire after the fashion of the MEDES, contrarie to the maner of the PARTHIANS, who let their haire grow after the fashion of the TARTARES, without combing or tricking of thē, to appeare more terrible to their enemies. The PARTHIANS at the first thought to haue set vpon the ROMAINES with their pikes, to see if they could breake their first ranks. But when they drew neare, & saw the depth of the ROMAINS battel standing close together, firmly keeping their ranks: then they gaue back, making as though they fled, and dispersed themselues. But the ROMAINS maruelled when they found it contrarie, and that it was but a deuice to enuiron them on euery side. Wherupon *Crassus* commanded his shot and light armed men to assaile thē, the which they did: but they went not far, they were so beaten in with arrowes, and driuen to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and troubled the ROMAINES, when they saw the vehemencie and great force of the enemies shot, which brake their armors, and ran through any thing they hit, were it neuer so hard or soft. The PARTHIANS thus still drawing backe, shot all together on euery side, not aforehand, but at aduenture: for the battel of the ROMAINES stood so neare together, as if they would, they could not misse the killing of some. These bowmen drew a great strength, & had big strong bowes, which sent the arrowes frō them with a wonderfull force. The ROMAINS by means of these bowes were in hard state. For if they kept their ranks they were grieuously wounded: again, if they left thē, and sought to run vpon the PARTHIANS to fight at hand with them, they saw they could do them but litle hurt, and yet were very likely to take the greater harme themselues. For as fast as the ROMAINES came vpon them, so fast did the PARTHIANS flie from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no nation but the SCYTHIANS could better do then they, being a matter indeed most greatly to their aduantage. For by their flight they best do saue themselues, and fighting still, they thereby shun the shame of that their flying. The ROMAINES still defended themselues, and held it out, so long as they had any hope that the PARTHIANS would leaue fighting when they had spent their arrowes, or would ioyne battell with them. But after they vnderstood that there were a great number of camels loden with quiuers ful of arrowes, where the first that had bestowed their arrowes fetched about to take new quiuers: then *Crassus* seeing no end of their shot, began to faint, and sent to *Publius* his son, willing him in any case to charge vpon the enemies, and to giue an onset, before they were compassed in on euery side. For it was on *Publius* side, that one of the wings of the enemies battell was nearest vnto them, and where they rode vp and downe to compasse them behind. Wherupon *Crassus* sonne taking thirteene hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thousand were of the men of armes whom *Iulius Cæsar* sent) and fiue hundred shot, with eight ensignes of footmen hauing targets, most neare to the place where himselfe then was: he put them out in breadth, that wheeling about they might giue a charge vpon them that rode vp and downe. But they seeing him comming, turned straight their horse and fled, either because they met in a marish, or else of purpose to beguile this yong *Crassus*, inticing him thereby as farre from his father as they could. *Publius Crassus* seeing them flie, cryed out, these men will not abide vs, & so spurred on for life after thē: so did *Censorinus* & *Megabacchus* with him (the one a Senator of ROME a very eloquent man, the other a stout couragious valiant man of war) both of them *Crassus* well approued friends, and in maner of his owne yeares. Now the horsemen of the ROMAINES being

Surenas stratageme for the hiding of his great armie.

Crassus battell with the Parthians.

The Parthians kettle drums.

The person of Surena, Generall of the Parthians described.

The Parthians fought retiring

The maner of the Parthians fight.

The praise of Censorinus and Megabacchus.

trained out thus to the chaſe, their footemen alſo would not abide behind, nor ſhew themſelues to haue leſſe hope, ioy and courage, then their horſemen had. For they thought all had bene won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chaſe: till they were gone farre from the armie, and then they found the deceipt. For the horſemen that fled before them, ſodainly turned againe, and a number of others beſides came and ſet vpon them. Wherupon they ſtayed, thinking that the enemies perceiuing they were ſo few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they ſet out againſt them their men at armes with their barbed horſe, and made their light horſemen wheele round about them, keeping no order at all: who galloping vp and downe the plaine, whirled vp the ſand hils from the bottome with their horſe feete, which raiſed ſuch a wonderfull duſt, that the ROMAINES could ſcarce ſee or ſpeake one to another. For they being ſhut vp into a litle roome, and ſtanding cloſe one to another, were ſore wounded with the PARTHIANS arrowes, and died of a cruell lingring death, crying out for anguiſh and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting themſelues vpon the ſand, they brake the arrowes ſticking in them. Againe, ſtriuing by force to plucke out the forked arrow heads, that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and ſinewes, thereby they opened their wounds wider, and ſo caſt themſelues away. Many of them died thus miſerably martyred: and ſuch as died not, were not able to defend themſelues. Then when *Publius Craſſus* prayed and beſought them to charge the men at armes with their barbed horſe, they ſhewed him their hands faſt nailed to the targets with arrowes, and their feet likewiſe ſhot through and nailed to the ground: ſo as they could neither flie nor yet defend themſelues. Thereupon himſelfe encouraging his horſemen, went and gaue a charge, and did valiantly ſet vpon the enemies, but it was with too great diſaduantage, both for offence, and alſo for defence. For himſelfe and his men with weake and light ſtaues, brake vpon them that were armed with curaces of ſteele, or ſtiffe leather iackes. And the PARTHIANS in contrarie maner with mighty ſtrong pikes gaue charge vpon theſe GAVLES, which were either vnarmed, or elſe but lightly armed. Yet thoſe were they in whom *Craſſus* moſt truſted, hauing done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they receiued the PARTHIANS pikes in their hands, and tooke them about the middles, and threw them off their horſe, where they lay on the ground, and could not ſtirre for the waight of their harneſſe: and there were diuerſe of them alſo that lighting from their horſe, lay vnder their enemies horſe bellies, and thruſt their ſwords into them. Their horſe flinging and bounding in the aire for very paine threw their maiſters vnder feete, and their enemies one vpon another, and in the end fell dead among them. Moreouer, extreame heate and thirſt did maruellouſly comber the GAVLES, who were vſed to abide neither of both: and the moſt part of their horſe were ſlaine, charging with all their power vpon the men at armes of the PARTHIANS, and ſo ranne themſelues in vpon the points of their pikes. At the length, they were driuen to retire towards their footmen, & *Publius Craſſus* among them, who was very ill by reaſon of the wounds he had receiued. And ſeeing a ſand hill by chaunce not farre from them, they went thither, and ſetting their horſe in the middeſt of it, compaſſed it in round with their targets, thinking by this meanes to couer and defend themſelues the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the country being plaine, they in the foremoſt rankes did ſomewhat couer them behind, but they that were behind, ſtanding higher then they that ſtood foremoſt (by reaſon of the nature of the hill that was higheſt in the middeſt) could by no meanes ſaue themſelues, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miſerie and misfortune, that muſt needes dye without reuenge, or declaration of their valiancie. At that preſent time there were two GRECIANS about *Publius Craſſus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nichomachus*, who dwelt in thoſe quarters, in the city of CARRES: they both counſelled *Publius Craſſus* to ſteale away with them, and to flie to a citie called ISCHNES, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the ROMAINES part. But *Publius* anſwered them, that there was no death ſo cruell as could make him forſake them that died for his ſake. When he had ſo ſaid, wiſhing them to ſaue themſelues, he embraced them, and tooke his leaue of them: and being very ſore hurt with the ſhot of an arrow through one of his hands, commaunded one of his gentlemen to thruſt him through with a ſword, and ſo turned his ſide to him for the purpoſe. It is reported *Cenſorinus* did the like. But *Megabacchus* ſlue himſelfe with his owne hands, and ſo did the moſt part of the gentlemen that were of that company. And for thoſe that were left aliue, the PARTHIANS got vp the ſand hill, and fighting with them, thruſt them through with their ſpeares and pikes, and tooke but fiue hundred priſoners. After that, they ſtroke off *Publius*

The miſerable fight of the Romaines againſt the Parthians.

Carres a citie of Miſopotamia.

Iſchnes, a citie.

The death of Publius Craſſus.

Craſſus

Craſſus head, and thereupon returned ſtraight to ſet vpon his father *Craſſus*, who was then in this ſtate. *Craſſus* the father, after he had willed his ſon to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and purſued the chaſe: and perceiuing alſo that they that remained in their great battell, did not preaſe vpon him ſo neare as they did before, becauſe that a great number of them were gone after the other for reſcue: he then began to be liuely againe, and keeping his men cloſe, retired with them the beſt he could by a hils ſide, looking euer that his ſonne would not be long before that he returned from the chaſe. But *Publius* ſeeing himſelf in danger, had ſent diuerſe meſſengers to his father, to aduertiſe him of his diſtreſſe, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and ſlue by the way: and the laſt meſſengers he ſent, ſcaping very hardly, brought *Craſſus* newes, that his ſonne was but caſt away, if he did not preſently aide him, and that with a great power. Theſe newes were grieuous to *Craſſus* in two reſpects: firſt for the feare he had, ſeeing himſelfe in daunger to loſe all: and ſecondly, for the vehement deſire he had to go to his ſons helpe. Thus he ſaw in reaſon all would come to nought, and in fine determined to go with all his power, to the reſcue of his ſonne. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his ſons ouerthrow, with a more dreadfull noiſe and crie of victory, then euer before: and thereupon their deadly ſounding drummes filled the aire with their wonderfull noiſe. The ROMAINES then looked ſtraight for a hote alarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought *Publius Craſſus* head vpon the point of a launce, comming neare to the ROMAINES, ſhewed them his head, and asked them in deriſion, if they knew what houſe he was of, and who were his parents: for it is not likely (ſaid they) that ſo noble and valiant a young man, ſhould be the ſon of ſo cowardly a father, as *Craſſus*. The ſight of *Publius Craſſus* head killed the ROMAINES hearts more, then any other daunger they had bene in at any time in all the battel. For it did not ſet their harts on fire as it ſhould haue done, with anger, and deſire of reuenge: but far otherwiſe, made them quake for feare, & ſtroke them ſtarke dead to behold it. Yet *Craſſus* ſelfe ſhewed greater courage in this misfortune, then he before had done in all the war beſide. For riding by euery band he cried out aloud: The griefe and ſorrow of this loſſe (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine only: but the noble ſucceſſe and honor of ROME remaineth ſtill vnuincible, ſo long as you are yet liuing. Now if you pitie my loſſe of ſo noble and valiant a ſon, my good ſouldiers, let me intreate you to turne your ſorrow into furie: make them dearely buy the ioy they haue gotten: be reuenged of their crueltie, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why? aſpiring minds ſometime muſt needes ſuſtaine loſſe. *Lucullus* ouercame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio Antiochus*, but their bloud did pay for it. Our auncestors in old time loſt a thouſand ſhips, yea in ITALIE diuers armies and chiefetaines for the conqueſt of SICILIA: yet for all the loſſe of them, at the length they were victorious ouer them, by whom they were before vanquiſhed. For the Empire of ROME came not to that greatneſſe it now is at, by good fortune only, but by patience and conſtant ſuffering of trouble and aduerſitie, neuer yeelding or giuing place vnto any danger. *Craſſus* vſing theſe perſwaſions to encourage his ſouldiers for reſolution, found that all his words wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commanded them to giue the ſhoute of battell, he plainely ſaw their hearts were done, for that their ſhout roſe but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other ſide their ſhout was great, and luſtily they rang it out. Now when they came to ioyne, the PARTHIANS archers on horſebacke compaſſing in the ROMAINES vpon the wings, ſhot an infinite number of arrowes at their ſides. But their men at armes giuing charge vpon the front of the ROMAINES battell with their great lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow roome, a few excepted, that valiantly, and in deſperate manner ran in among them, as men rather deſiring ſo to die, then to be ſlaine with their arrowes, where they could do the PARTHIANS almoſt no hurt at all. So were they ſoone diſpatcht, with the great launces that ranne them through, head, wood and all, with ſuch a force, as oftentimes they ranne through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, ſaying: they would giue *Craſſus* that nights reſpit, to lament and bewaile his ſonnes death: vnleſſe that otherwiſe he wiſely looking about him, thought it better for his ſafetie to come and offer himſelfe to king *Arſaces* mercy, then to tarie to be brought vnto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the ROMAINES, were in very good hope to ouerthrow him the next morning. The ROMAINS on the other ſide had a marueilous ill night, making no reckening to bury their dead, nor to dreſſe their wounded men, that died in miſerable pain: but euery man bewailed his hard fortune, when they ſaw not one of them could eſcape, if they taried till the morning. On the other ſide, to depart in

Craſſus oration to his ſouldiers when his heart was full of ſorrow.

the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieue them much. Because, to carie them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leaue them so behind, their pitifull cries would giue the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now though they all thought *Crassus* the only author of their miserie, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to heare him speake. But *Crassus* went aside without light, and laid him downe with his head couered, because he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sort an example of vnstable fortune: and the wise men, a good learning to know the fruites of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to commaund so many thousands of men, but thought (as a man would say) himselfe the meanest of all other, and one that possest nothing, because he was accounted inferior vnto two persons onely, *Pompey* and *Cæsar*. Notwithstanding, *Octauius* one of his chieftaines, and *Cassius* the treasurer, made him rise, and sought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so ouercome with sorrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor spirit in him: they themselues called the Captaines and Centurions together, and sate in councell for their departure, and so agreed that there was no longer tarying for them. Thus of their owne authoritie at the first they made the armie march away without any sound of trumpet or other noise. But immediatly after, they that were left hurt and sicke, and could not follow, seeing the campe remoue, fell a crying out and tormenting themselues in such sort, that they filled the whole campe with sorrow, and put them out of all order with the great mone and loud lamentation: so as the foremost ranke that first dislodged, fell into a maruellous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and set vpon them. Then turning off, and setting themselues in battell ray, one while loading their beasts with the wounded men, another while vnloading them againe, they were left behind, sauing three hundred horsemen that scaped, who came about midnight to the citie of Carres. *Ignatius* their Captaine called to the watch on the wals, and spake in the Latine tongue. Who answering, he willed them to tell *Coponius*, Gouernour of the towne, that *Crassus* had fought a great battell with the Parthians, and said no more, neither told what he was: but rode on still, till he came to the bridge which *Crassus* had made ouer Euphrates. Yet this word *Ignatius* gaue to the watch to tell *Coponius*, serued *Crassus* turne very well. For *Coponius* thought by this great hast of his, and the short confused speech he made, passing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight armed his souldiers, and vnderstanding that *Crassus* was returning backe, went to meet him, and brought him and his armie into the citie of Carres. The Parthians knew well enough of the remouing of the Romaines campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their campe where they lay, slue all that were left behind, which were aboue foure thousand men: and riding after them that were gone, tooke many stragglers in the plaine. Among them there was *Barguntinus*, one of *Crassus* Lieutenants, who strayed in the night out of the army with foure whole ensignes, and hauing lost his way, got a hill, where the Parthians besieged him, slue him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himselfe: yet twenty of them onely escaped, who with their swords drawne in their hands, running forward with their heads, thrust in among the thickest of the Parthians. They wondering at their desperation, opened of themselues, and suffered them to march on towards the city of Carres. In the meane time false newes was brought to *Surena*, how *Crassus* with all the chiefest men of his host was fled, and that the great number that were receiued into the citie of Carres were men of all sorts gathered together, and not a man of any qualitie or estimation. *Surena* thereupon thinking he had lost the honour of his victorie, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would know the troth, that he might either besiege the city of Carres, or pursue after *Crassus*: sent one of his interpreters to the wals of the citie, charging him to call for *Crassus*, or *Cassius*, and to tell them that *Surena* would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commanded. Word was brought to *Crassus*, and he accepted parlance. Shortly after also, thither came certaine souldiers of the Arabians from the campe of the Parthians, who knew *Crassus* and *Cassius* very well by sight, hauing diuers times seene them in their camp before the battell. These Arabians seeing *Cassius* vpon the wals, told him, that *Surena* was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go safely, as his maisters good friends, so that they would surrender Mesopotamia into the king of Parthias hands, and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather then to be enforced vnto it by extremitie. *Cassius* thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day and place, where *Crassus* and *Surena* should

Crassus an example of fortunes inconstancie.

Crassus flying.

Coponius, Gouernor of Carres in Mesopotamia.

The valiantnes of twenty Romaines.

A stratageme of Surena.

ſhould meet to talke together of the matter. The ARABIANS made anſwer they would do it, and ſo departed. *Surena* hearing this, was glad he had them at ſuch aduantage, where he might beſiege them. The next day he brought all his army before the citie of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS maruellouſly reuiled the ROMAINES, and told them, they muſt deliuer them *Craſſus* and *Caſſius* bound hands and feete, if they would haue any grace or peace with them. The ROMAINES were maruellouſly offended that they were thus deceiued, and told *Craſſus* that it was no boote any longer to looke for aide of the ARMENIANS, but preſently to flie: howbeit to keepe it ſecret in any wiſe from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet *Craſſus* ſelfe had told it to *Andromachus*, the verieſt traitor and villaine in all the citie, whom he had choſen to be his guide. This traitor *Andromachus* aduertiſed the enemies in euery point, of their purpoſe and departure. But becauſe the PARTHIANS do neuer vſe to fight in the night, and that it was a hard matter to bring them to it, and againe that *Craſſus* departed in the night time: *Andromachus* was afraid leſt the ROMAINS would win ſuch ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not poſſibly ouertake them the next day. Therfore of purpoſe he ſometime brought them one way, other while another way, and at the laſt, brought them into a great bogge or mariſh, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they muſt needes make many turnes and returnes before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, ſome in the armie began to miſtruſt, that *Andromachus* meant no good to turne and toſſe them vp and downe in that ſort, and therefore would follow him no more: inſomuch as *Caſſius* among others, returned towards the citie of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARABIANS) counſelled him to tarie there till the Moone were out of the ſigne of *Scorpio*, he anſwered them: I feare the ſigne of *Sagittarie* more. So as ſoone as he could, he tooke his way towards ASSYRIA with fiue hundred horſemen. And other of the armie alſo hauing faithfull guides, recouered a country of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, & retired into a ſafe place before the break of day: and they were about fiue hundred men, whom *Octauius* a noble man had in charge. But the day ſtale vpon *Craſſus*, hunting vp & downe yet in the mariſh, in thoſe ill fauored places, into the which *Andromachus* that traitor had of purpoſe brought him, hauing with him 4 enſignes of footmen all with targets, and very few horſemen, & fiue ſergeants that caried the axes and rods before him: with whom, with much ado and great labour, he got into the right way, when the enemies were almoſt vpon him, & that he was within twelue furlongs of ioyning with *Octauius*. There in haſt he had gotten a hill, which was not ſo ſteepe for horſemen, neither of ſuch ſtrength as the other hils were, called *Sinnaces*, yet vnder them, & ioyning to them by a long hill that runneth alongſt the plaine, ſo as *Octauius* plainly ſaw the danger *Craſſus* was in. Thereupon he firſt ran downe the hils with a few of his men that followed him: but after alſo came all the reſt, ſaying they were cowards if they ſhould tarie behind. At their comming they gaue ſuch a hote onſet vpon the PARTHIANS, that they made them giue backe from that hill: and compaſſing *Craſſus* in the middeſt of them, couering him round with their targets, they ſpake nobly, that neuer arrow of the PARTHIANS ſhould touch the bodie of their Generall, before they were ſlaine one after another, and that they had fought it out to the laſt man in his defence. Herupon *Surena* perceiuing the PARTHIANS were not ſo couragious as they were wont to be, and that if night came vpon them, and that the ROMAINES did once recouer the high mountaines, they could neuer poſſibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile *Craſſus* once more by this deuice. He let certain priſoners go of purpoſe, before whom he made his men giue out this ſpeech: That the king of PARTHIA would haue no mortall war with the ROMAINES: but far otherwiſe, he rather deſired their friendſhip, by ſhewing them ſome notable fauour, as to vſe *Craſſus* very courteouſly. And to giue colour to this brute, he called his men from fight, and going himſelfe in perſon towards *Craſſus*, with the chiefeſt of the nobilitie of his hoaſt, in quiet maner, his bow vnbent: he held out his right hand, and called *Craſſus* to talke with him of peace, and ſaid vnto him: Though the ROMAINES had felt the force and power of their king, it was againſt his will, for he could do no leſſe but defend himſelf: howbeit that now he was very willing and deſirous to make them taſt of his mercy and clemency, & was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go ſafely where they would. All the ROMAINES beſides *Craſſus* were glad of *Surenaes* words. But *Craſſus* that had bene deceiued before by their crafty fetches & deuices, conſidering alſo no cauſe apparant to make them change thus ſodainly: would not hatken to it, but firſt conſulted with his friends. Howbeit the ſoldiers they cried out on him to go, and fell at words with

Andromachus treaſon to Craſſus.

The Parthians do neuer fight by night.

Caſſius gentle anſwer in the ſtraights.

The worthines of the Romane ſouldiers to their chieftaine

Another ſtratagem of Surena.

Surenaes craftie ſpeech to Craſſus.

him, saying: that he cared not though they were all slaine, and that himselfe had not the heart only to come downe and talke with the enemies that were vnarmed. *Crassus* proued first to pacifie them by faire meanes, perswading them to haue a litle patience but till night, which was at hand, and then they might safely depart at their pleasure, and recouer the mountaines & streight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint hearted, nor to despaire of their safetie, seeing they were so neare it. But in the end *Crassus* perceiuing they fell to mutinie, and beating of their harnesse, did threaten him if he went not: fearing then they would do him some villanie, went towards the enemie, and comming backe a litle, said onely these words: O *Octauius*, and you *Petronius*, with all you ROMAINE gentlemen that haue charge in this armie: you all see now how against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, & can witnes with me, how I am driuen with shame and force. Yet I pray you if your fortunes be to escape this daunger, that ye will report whersoeuer you come, that *Crassus* was slaine, not deliuered vp by his owne souldiers into the hands of the barbarous people, as I am: but deceiued by the fraud and subtilty of his enemies. *Octauius* would not tary behind on the hill, but went downe with *Crassus*: but *Crassus* sent away his officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHIANS vnto *Crassus* were two mongrell GRECIANS, who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to send some of his men before, and *Surena* would shew them, that both himselfe and his traine came vnarmed towards him. *Crassus* thereto made them answer, that if he had made any account of his life, he would not haue put himselfe into their hands. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before, called the ROSCIANS, to know what number of men, and to what end they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to *Surena*, but they were staid: and himselfe in the meane time kept on his way a horsebacke, with the noblest men of his army. Now when *Surena* came neare to *Crassus*: why, how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? a Consull & Lieutenant generall of ROME on foot, and we on horsebacke? Therwithall he straight commaunded one of his men to bring him a horse. *Crassus* answered *Surena* againe: In that they neither of both offended, following the vse and maner of their country, when any meeting is made for treatie of peace. *Surena* replyed: As for the treatie of peace, that was already agreed vpon between the king *Hyrodes*, and the ROMAINES: howbeit that they were to go to the riuer, and there to set downe the articles in writing. For you ROMAINES, said he, do not greatly remember the capitulations you haue agreed vpon. With those words he gaue him his right hand. As *Crassus* was sending for a horse, you shall not need, said *Surena*, for looke, the king doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a steele saddle richly gilt, vpon the which his gentlemen mounted *Crassus* immediatly, and following him behind, lashed his horse to make him run the swifter. *Octauius* seeing that, first laid hand on the bridle, then *Petronius* Colonell of a thousand footmen: and after them, all the rest of the ROMAINES also gathered about *Crassus* to stay the horse, and to take him from them by force, that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at another at the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then *Octauius* drew out his sword, and slue one of the barbarous noblemens horsekeepers: and another came behind him and slue *Octauius*. *Petronius* had no target, and receiuing a blow on his curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurt: and on the other side came *Pomaxathres*, one of the PARTHIANS, and slue *Crassus*. Some say notwithstanding, that *Pomaxathres* slue him not, but another, yet that he cut off his head and his hand after he fell dead to the ground. But all these reports are rather coniectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slaine in the field fighting for *Crassus*, & other saued themselues by flying to the hill. The PARTHIANS followed them, and told them that *Crassus* had paid the paine he had deserued: & for the rest, that *Surena* bad them come down with safetie. Then some of them yeelded to their enemies: and other dispersed themselues when night came, and of them very few escaped with life. Other being followed and pursued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the sword. So as it is thought there were slaine in this ouerthrow, about twenty thousand men, and ten thousand taken prisoners. *Surena* had now sent *Crassus* head and his hand vnto *Hyrodes*, the king his maister, into ARMENIA: and gaue out a brute as farre as the citie of SELEVCIA, that he brought *Crassus* aliue, and that he had prepared a sight to laugh at, which he called his triumph. Among the ROMAIN prisoners there was one called *Caius Pacianus* who was very like *Crassus*: him they clothed in womans apparell of the PARTHIANS, and had taught him to answer, when any called him *Crassus*, or Lord captaine. Him they put a horsebacke, and

Crassus words to the Romains going to his death.

Surenaes craft to Crassus.

Octauius slaine.

Crassus slaine.

The number of the Romains that were slaine and taken.

and had many trumpets before him, and Sergeants vpon camels backes, that caried axes before him, and bundels of rods, and many purses tyed to the bundels of rods, and ROMAINES heads newly cut off, tyed to the axes: and after him followed all the strumpets and women minstrels of SELEVCIA, who went singing of songs of mockerie and derision of *Crassus* womanish cowardlinesse. Now for these open shewes, euery one might see them: but besides that sight, *Surena* hauing called the Senate of SELEVCIA together, laid before them *Aristides* bookes of ribaldrie, intituled the Milesians, which was no fable, for they were found in a ROMAINES fardle or trusse, called *Rustius*. This gaue *Surena* great cause to scorne and despise the behauiour of the ROMAINES, which was so farre out of order, that euen in the wars they could not refraine from doing euill, and from the reading of such vile bookes. Then the Senators of SELEVCIA found that *Æsope* was a wise man, who said, that euery man caried a sacke on his neck, and that they put other mens faults at the sackes mouth, and their owne towards the bottome of the sacke. When they considered that *Surena* had put the booke of the lasciuiousnesse of the MILESIANS at the sackes mouth, and a long taile of the PARTHIANS vaine pleasures and delights in the bottome of the sacke, carying such a number of carts loden with naughtie packes in his armie as he did, which seemed an armie of ermites and field mise. For in the voward and foremost rankes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being only launces, pikes, bowes, and horse: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, instruments of musicke, dauncing, singing, banquetting, and ryoting all night with curtisans. I will not deny but *Rustius* deserued blame: but yet withall, I say, that the PARTHIANS were shameless to reproue these bookes of the vanities of the MILESIANS, considering that many of their kings, and of the royall blould of the *Arsacides*, were borne of the IONIAN and MILESIAN curtisans. Things passing thus in this sort, king *Hyrodes* had made peace and league with *Artabazes* king of ARMENIA, who gaue his sister in mariage vnto *Pacorus*, king *Hyrodes* son, and made great feasts one to another: in the which were many Greeke verses sung, *Hyrodes* selfe vnderstanding well the Greeke tong, and *Artabazes* was so perfect in it, that he himselfe made certaine tragedies, orations, and stories, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night *Crassus* head was brought, the tables being all taken vp, *Iason* a common player of enterludes (borne in the city of TRALLES) came before the kings, and recited a place of the tragedie of the BACCHANTES of *Euripides*, telling of the misfortune of *Agaue*, who strake off his sons head. And as euery man took great pleasure to heare him, *Syllaces* coming into the hall, after his humble dutie first done to the king, deliuered him *Crassus* head before them all. The PARTHIANS seeing that, fell a clapping of their hands, and made an outcry of ioy. The gentlemen Vshers by the kings commandement, did set *Syllaces* at the table. *Iason* casting off his apparell representing *Pentheus* person, gaue it to another player to put it on him, and counterfeiting the BACCHANTES possest with fury, began to rehearse these verses, with a gesture, tune and voice of a man mad and beside himselfe:

Aristides bookes intituled, the Milesians.

Æsops wise saying.

The description of Surenaes army.

Crassus head brought to Hyrodes.

Behold, we from the forest bring a stag now newly slaine,
A worthy bootie and reward, beseeming well our paine.

This maruellously pleased the company: and specially singing these verses afterwards, where the Chorus both asked and answered himselfe:

Who strake this stag?
None else but I thereof may brag.

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the table with others, rose straight, and went and tooke the head himselfe, to whom of right it belonged to say those words, and not vnto the player that spake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this sport maruellously, and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the maner of the countrey in such a case: and to *Iason* he also gaue a talent. Such was the successe of *Crassus* enterprise and voyage, much like vnto the end of a tragedie. But afterwards *Hyrodes* crueltie, and *Surenaes* foule periurie and craft, were in the end iustly reuenged vpon them both, according to their deserts. For king *Hyrodes* enuying *Surenaes* glory, put *Surena* to death. And *Hyrodes* fell into a disease that became a dropsie, after he had lost his sonne *Pacorus*, who was slaine in a battell by the ROMAINES. *Phraates* his second sonne, thinking to set his father forwards, gaue him drinke of the iuyce of Aconitum. The dropsie receiued the poison, and one draue the other out of *Hyrodes* body, and set him a foot againe. *Phraates* perceiuing his father to amend vpon it, to make short worke, with his owne hands, strangled him.

See the reward of craft and periurie.

The miserable end of king Hyrodes and Surena.

Hyrodes strangled by his sonne.

THE COMPARISON OF *Crassus with Nicias.*

Nicias and Crassus riches.

BVt now to proceed to the comparison: first, *Nicias* goods were more iustly gotten, and with lesse reproch, then *Crassus* wealth, for otherwise a man cannot giue any great praise to minerall workes, the which are wrought by lewde and ill disposed barbarous fellowes kept in irons, and toiled to death in vnwholesome and pestilent places. But being compared vnto *Crassus* buying of confiscate goods at *Syllaes* hands, and vngentlemanly bargaines of houses on fire, or in daunger thereof: surely *Nicias* trade will appeare the better way of getting: for as openly did *Crassus* auow vsurie, as tillage. And againe for other faults, wherwith *Crassus* many times was burthened, and which he stoutly denyed: as, that he tooke money of men hauing matters before the Senate at Rome, to winne fauour for their side: and that he preferred matters to the preiudice of the confederates of the Romaines, onely for his priuate profite: and therfore curried fauor with Ladies, and generally sought to cloke all foule offenders: of all these faults, was *Nicias* neuer so much as once suspected. For he to the contrarie, was mocked of euery body, becausse for feare he maintained wicked doers by gifts: which perhaps would not haue becommed *Pericles*, nor *Aristides*, and yet was meet for *Nicias*, who was borne a timerous natured man, and neuer had courage in him. Wherof *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunt afterwards to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractors with mony: I am glad, said he, that hauing dealt thus long in affaires of the state, it is found I haue rather giuen then taken. And now touching expences: *Nicias* was thought the better and more ciuill citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the gods, or in making of publike playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was woorth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small part of that *Crassus* bestowed in an open feast he made at Rome: feasting so many thousands at one time, and did find and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I cannot but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequalitie and disagreement of maners, repugnant in it selfe, seeing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goods. For *Nicias* doings in the commonweale he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor vniustly, neither any thing of selfe-will or stomacke, but rather dealt plainely and simply. For he was deceiued by trusting of *Alcibiades*, and neuer came to speake before the people, but with great feare. *Crassus* on the other side was reproued for his vnconstancie and lightnesse, for that he would easily change friends or enemies: and he himselfe denyed not, that he came to be Consull the second time by plaine force and crueltie, hauing hired two murtherers to kill *Cato* and *Domitius*. And in the assembly the people held for deuiding of the prouinces, many men were hurt, and foure were slaine in the market place: and more then that, *Crassus* himselfe (which we haue forgotten to write in his life) gaue one *Lucius*

Lycurgus saying.

Nicias and Crassus acts in the common wealth.

Lucius Annalius ſo ſore a blow on the face with his fiſt, for ſpeaking againſt him, that he ſent him going with bloud about his eares. But as *Craſſus* in thoſe things was very fierce and cruell: ſo *Nicias* womanniſh behauiour on the other ſide, and faint heart in matters of the common wealth, humbling himſelfe to the meaneſt and moſt vile perſons, deſerueth great reproch. Where *Craſſus* in this reſpect ſhewed himſelfe aſſuredly of a noble mind, not contending with men of ſmall account, as with *Cleon*, or *Hyperbolus*, but would giue no place to *Cæſars* fame and glorie, nor yet to *Pompeys* three triumphs, but ſought to go euen with them in power and authoritie: and had immediatly before exceeded *Pompeys* power, in the dignitie of Cenſor. For Magiſtrates, and Gouernours of the commonweale, ſhould make themſelues to be honored, but not enuied, killing enuie by the greatneſſe of their power. But if it were ſo that *Nicias* preferred quietneſſe, and the ſafetie of his perſon aboue all things elſe, and that he feared *Alcibiades* in the pulpit for orations, the LACEDÆMONIANS in the fort of Pyle, and *Perdiccas* in THRASIA: he had libertie and ſcope enough to repoſe himſelfe in the citie of ATHENS, and might haue forborne the dealing in matters, and (as Rhetoricians ſay) haue put a hood of quietnes vpon his head very well. For doubtleſſe, concerning his deſire to make peace, it was a godly mind in him, and an act worthie of a noble perſon, to bring that to paſſe he did, appeaſing all warre: wherein *Craſſus* certainely was not to be compared to him, though he had ioyned all the prouinces to the empire of ROME, that reach vnto the Caſpian ſea, and to the great Ocean of the INDIANS. But on the other ſide alſo, when one hath to deale with people that can diſcerne when a man ruleth according to equitie and iuſtice, and that he ſeeth he is in the prime of his credit and authoritie: he muſt not then for lacke of courage ſuffer wicked men to ſtep in his roome, nor giue occaſion to preferſuch to authoritie in the commonweale, as are vnworthy for that place and countenance: neither ſhould allow ſuch any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor truſt, as *Nicias* did: who was the only occaſion that *Cleon*, being before but a pratling Orator, was choſen Generall. Neither do I alſo commend *Craſſus*, for that in the warre againſt *Spartacus*, he made haſt to giue him battell, more raſhly then ſafely or conſideratly. For his ambition ſpurred him forward, becauſe he was afraid leſt *Pompeys* coming ſhould take from him the glory of all that he had done in that war: as *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* the honor of the winning of CORINTH. But beſides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the compaſſe of reaſon, and can no way be excuſed. For he did not reſigne his honour and office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemie, when there was hope of good ſucceſſe, or litle perill: but fearing the danger of the iorney, he was contented to ſaue one, and tooke no care beſides for the commonwealth. Which *Themiſtocles* ſhewed not, in the time of the war againſt the PERSIANS. For he, to keepe *Epycides* an Orator (a man of no reckening beſide his eloquence, and extreamely couetous) from being choſen Generall of ATHENS, leſt he ſhould haue ouerthrowne the commonweale: ſecretly bribed him with money to leaue off his ſute. And *Cato* alſo when he ſaw the ſtate of ROME in greateſt danger, ſued to be Tribune of the people for the commonwealths ſake. And *Nicias* in contrary maner, reſeruing himſelfe to make war with the city of MINOA, or with the Ile of CITHERA, or with the poore vnfortunate MELIANS, if there fell out afterwards occaſion to fight againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, then away went his Captaines cloke, and he left the ſhips, the armie and munition to the charge and gouernment of *Cleons* raſhneſſe and ſmall experience of war, when the neceſſitie of the ſeruice required the wiſeſt and moſt expert captaine. The which he did not, deſpiſing the means to make him honored: but it was a plaine drawing back, at time of need to defend his country. Wherfore afterwards he was compelled againſt his will to be generall, to make wars in SICILIA with the SYRACVSANS: becauſe the people thought he was not ſo earneſt to diſſwade the iorny, for that he thought it not meet for the cómonwealth, but becauſe through his ſloth & cowardlines he wold make his country loſe ſo good an oportunity to conquer SICILE. Yet was this a great teſtimony of his honeſty & truſt they had in him: who though he euer hated war, and did fly from the offices of honor & charge in the cómonwealth, his countrimen notwithſtanding did alwaies chuſe him, as the moſt experienced perſon & meeteſt man of the city. Now *Craſſus* in contrary maner deſiring nothing elſe but to be generall, could neuer attaine to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lack of another: (for *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and both the *Lucullus* were then abrode in the warres) although he was otherwiſe of great eſtimation and authority. Howbeit it ſeemeth to me, that his friends that loued him beſt, thought him (as the comicall Poet ſaith)

A good man any way elſe but in wars.

The duty of Gouernors and Magiſtrates.

Nicias feareſulneſſe.

Themiſtocles and Catoes vertues.

Nicias honeſty

The diuerſitie betwixt Nicias & Craſſus.

His ambition notwithſtanding, and couetous deſire of rule, did nothing benefit the ROMAINS. For the ATHENIANS ſent *Nicias* to the war againſt his will: but *Craſſus* led the ROMAINES thither againſt their wils. So that the commonwealth fell into miſerie by the one, and the other through the commonwealth was brought into miſerie: and yet therein there is rather cauſe to praiſe *Nicias*, then to blame *Craſſus*. For *Nicias* like a wiſe man, and a Captaine of great experience, could neuer ſo much as be brought to thinke they ſhould conquer SICILE: and therefore diſſwaded his countrimen from the iourney: and would giue no place to the vaine hope of the people of ATHENS. But *Craſſus* taking vpon him to make wars with the PARTHIANS, as though it had bene an eaſie matter to ouercome them, found himſelfe deceiued, yet did he aſpire to great things. For as *Iulius Cæſar* had conquered and ſubdued to the imperiall crowne of ROME, all the countries of the Weſt parts, to ſay, the GAVLES, the GERMAINES, and ENGLAND: euen ſo did *Craſſus* deſire to go towards the Eaſt parts, to conquer all to the great Weſt ſea of the INDIANS, and to ſubdue all the regions of ASIA, whereunto *Pompey* and *Lucullus* aſpired, being both very noble perſonages, and ſuch as euer courteouſly behaued themſelues to all men: notwithſtanding, prouoked thereunto with the like deſire that *Craſſus* had. For when the charge of the wars in the Eaſt parts was aſſigned to *Pompey* by decree and order of the people, the Senate vtterly miſliked it, and were againſt it all they could. When newes were brought to ROME that *Iulius Cæſar* in battell had ouerthrowne and ſlaine three hundred thouſand GERMAINES, *Cato* perſwading with the Senate, was yet ſtill of this mind, that *Cæſar* ſhould be deliuered into the hands of his enemies whom he had ouercome, for to be puniſhed: therby to turne the ſharpe reuenge and wrath of the gods from ROME, vpon him onely, that was the vniuſt breaker of peace. This notwithſtanding, the people making none account of *Catoes* perſwaſions, made common feaſts and proceſſions fifteene dayes together, and open ſacrifices to the gods with great ioy through the citie, to thanke them for this famous victorie. How glad may we thinke would they haue bene, and how many daies would they haue feaſted and ſacrificed, if *Craſſus* had written from BABYLON of his victorie, and that he had conquered all the realmes of the MEDES, of the PERSIANS, of the HYRCANIANS, of SVSE, and of the BACTRIANS, and that he had made new gouernments and prouinces to the Empire of ROME?

If a man will needes do wrong and iniuſtice,

As *Eurypides* ſaith to them that cannot liue in peace, and be contented with their owne: he muſt not then ſticke at trifles, (as the razing of a caſtell of Scandia, or of a citie of MENDA, or chaſing of the ÆGINETES being out of their owne natural country, and hiding themſelues like birds without neſts, in another birds holes) but muſt dearely ſell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne iuſtice, as a thing of ſmall account. For they that will commend the intent of *Alexander* the Great in his voyage, for the conqueſts he made in the Eaſt, and do diſpraiſe *Craſſus* voyage: do not well to iudge of the beginning, by the euents and ſucceſſe of the end. For executing of their offices, *Nicias* did many noble exploits: for he ouerthrew his enemies in diuerſe battels, and had almoſt taken the city of SYRACVSA: and ſure they cannot iuſtly blame him for all the misfortunes that chaunced in the warre of SICILIA, but partly the plague was cauſe of it, and partly alſo the enuie of thoſe towards him that remained at ATHENS. Whereas *Craſſus* ranne into ſo many errors, and committed ſuch foule parts in all his voyage, that he gaue fortune no leyſure to do him good: ſo that I wonder not ſo much that his folly was ouercome by the power of the PARTHIANS, as that it could ouercome the good fortune of the ROMAINES. Sithence it ſo falleth out then, that they both came to like vnfortunate end, *Nicias* prognoſticating before what things ſhould happen by art and rule of diuination, and *Craſſus* contrarily diſdaining to obſerue any thing: ſure it falleth out hard in iudgement, which of them two proceeded with moſt ſafetie. Yet according to the beſt approued opinions, a fault committed of feare is more excuſable, then of raſhneſſe and folly to breake any auncient law or cuſtome. For their deaths, *Craſſus* end deſerued leaſt reproch. For he againſt his will did yeeld himſelfe, and was neither bound nor mocked, but onely perſwaded by his friends, and through his enemies fraud and treaſon moſt traiterouſly deceiued: where *Nicias* cowardly and diſhonorably hoping to ſaue his life, truſting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

Nicias acts commended.

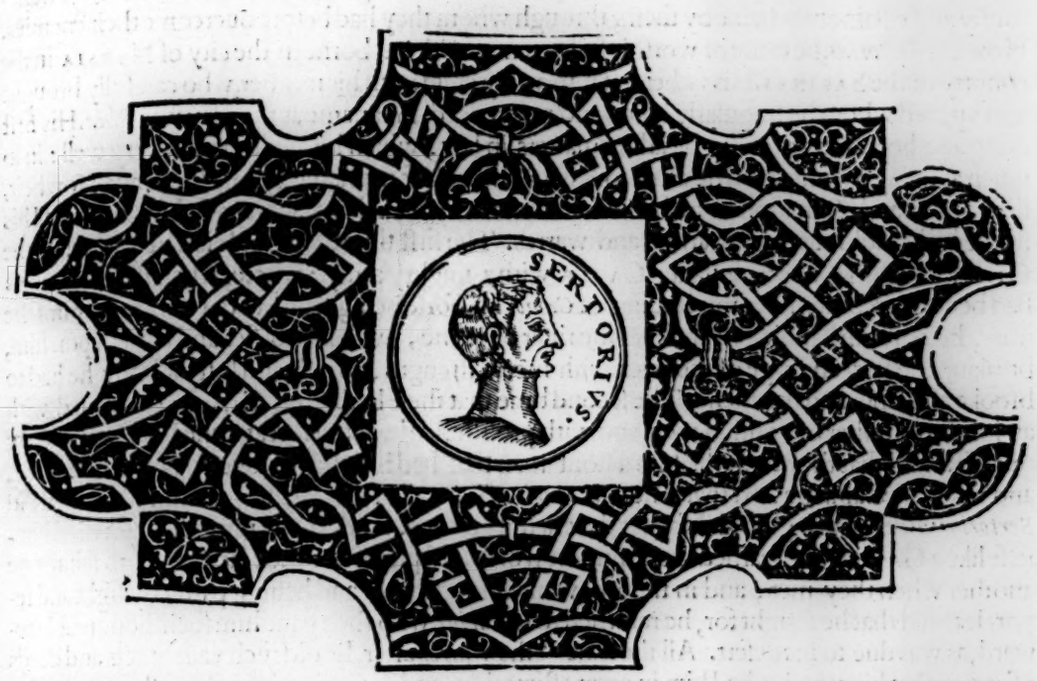
Craſſus by his folly blemiſhed the happineſſe of the Romains

Craſſus death more commendable then Nicias end.

The end of Craſſus life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Sertorius.



PEraduenture it is not to be maruelled at, if in long proceſſe of time (fortune altering her effects daily) theſe worldly euents fall often out one like another. For whether it be that the variety of things are infinite, fortune hath ſtore of matter apt inough to worke to likeneſſe: or be it that worldly matters be comprehended within determinate number: of neceſſitie one thing muſt fall out like another, ſince they proceed from one cauſe, tyed to the ſame meanes it before did vſe. But becauſe men do delight to compare ſuch chaunces together, as they haue ſeene or heard to haue happened ſo like, as if they had bene done of purpoſe, the one by the example of the other (as that of two men being both named *Attis*, both of them come of noble houſes, the one in SYRIA, and the other in ARCADIA, both the one and the other were ſlaine with a wild bore. That of two called *Actæon*, the one was torne in peeces by his dogges, the other by his louers. That of the two famous *Scipioes*, the CARTHAGINIANS were firſt ouercome by the one, and afterwards vtterly deſtroyed by the other. That the city of TROY was firſt taken by *Hercules*, for the horſes that *Laomedon* had promiſed him: the ſecond time by *Agamemnon*, by meanes of the great woodden horſe: and the third time by *Charidemus*, by meanes of a horſe that fell within the gate, and kept the TROYANS that they could not ſhut it in time. And that of two ſweete ſmelling plants, IOS, and SMYRNA, two cities were named, the one ſignifying the Violet, and the other Mirre: it is ſuppoſed that the Poet *Homer* was borne in the one, and that he died in the other. We may alſo adde to this example, that amongſt the auncient Captaines, the greateſt warriers (and that haue done the nobleſt exploits by wit and warlike ſtratagemes) had but one eye: as *Phillip*, *Antigonus*, *Hannibal* and *Sertorius* alſo, whom we write of at this preſent. Whom we may truly report to haue bene more chaſt than *Phillip*: more faithfull to his friend than *Antigonus*: more courteous to his enemies than *Hannibal*: and for wiſedome and iudgement to giue place to none of them, but in good fortune to them all. The which, though ſhe ſhewed her ſpite more to him, than to his enemies that were all great men: yet in experience he was equall with *Metellus*, in proweſſe and valiancie with *Pompey*, and in fortune with *Sylla*. So that being baniſhed his country, a ſtranger in another realme, and hauing to gouerne a barbarous nation, he notwithſtanding maintained warres for a time, againſt the power of the ROMAINES. Me thinkes therefore, that of all the

VVhy chances of neceſſity happen one like another.

The townes vvhere Homer vvas borne and died.

Foure famous captaines that had but one eye a peece.

The praiſe of Sertorius.

GRECIAN Captaines I can liken none ſo well vnto him as *Eumenes* the CARDIAN. For both of them knew how to command, both were very valiant and politicke in warres, both were baniſhed men out of their countrey, both were Captaines ouer ſtrangers, and both of them were traiterouſly and villainouſly ſlaine by them, through whom they had before ouercome their enemies. Now for *Sertorius*, he came of worſhipfull parents, and was borne in the city of NVRSIA in the country of the SABINES. His father left him a very child with his mother, who carefully brought him vp, and whom he ſingularly loued and reuerenced. Her name as they ſay was *Rhea*. His firſt riſing and beginning grew by pleading matters in law, which he could handle very well: in ſo much as being a young man he came to ROME, and wan ſome name by his eloquence. Howbeit, the honour and eſtimation he atchieued afterwards by his valiant acts, made him imploy all his ſtudie and ambitious care, to armes and warres. The firſt time of his ſouldierſare was, when the CIMBRES and TEVTONS inuaded GAVLE with a mighty army: where, when the ROMAINES had bene ouercome vnder the leading of *Capio*, his horſe being ſlaine vnder him, and himſelfe hurt, he notwithſtanding ſwam ouer the riuer of Rone, with his corſlet and target vpon him, breaking the fury and rage of the riuer with meere ſtrength, ſo able and luſty a body he had to brooke all paines and hardneſſe. The ſecond time that theſe barbarous CIMBRES returned with an infinite number of fighting men, and with proud and dreadfull threats, the ROMAINES were then ſo afraid that they thought him a ſtout man that had but the courage to keepe his rancke, and obey his Captaine. At that time was *Marius* Generall of the ROMAINE armie, and then did *Sertorius* vndertake to go and diſcouer the enemies campe. And for the purpoſe, apparelled himſelfe like a GAVLE, and learned the common words and phraſes of their language, to ſalute one another when they met, and in this ſort went among them: and hauing partly by ſight and report learned that he ſought for, he returned to *Marius*, who then gaue him ſuch honourable reward, as was due to his deſert. All the time of the warres after, he did ſuch valiant acts and deeds of armes, that his captaine had him in great eſtimation, and committed the chiefeſt matters to his charge. Whereupon the warres being ended with the TEVTONS and CIMBRES, *Sertorius* was ſent into SPAINE, vnder *Didius* the Prætor, with charge of a thouſand footmen, with whom he wintered in the citie of CASTVLO, in the marches of the CELTIBERIANS: where the ſouldiers finding plentie of victuals, fell to gluttony and drunkenneſſe, and committed great inſolency, being ouercome with wine. In ſo much as the barbarous people of the city grew to ſuch a miſliking and diſdaine of them, that they ſent one night to their next neighbours the GYRISÆNIANS for aide, and as they came by the ROMAINS lodgings, ſlue a great number of them. *Sertorius* hearing the noiſe, went immediatly out of the city with a few of his men, and gathering them together alſo that fled one after another to ſaue themſelues, went round about the wals of the city, and finding the gate open where the GYRISÆNIANS came in, there entred he alſo; who being more carefull than they had ſhewed themſelues, left the gates, and all the parts of the city well garded, and then put all to the ſword within that were of age to carie weapon. Now when he had executed this reuenge, he commaunded all his ſouldiers to leaue off their owne apparell and weapons, and to take thoſe of the barbarous people whom they had ſlaine, and to folow him to the city of the GYRISÆNIANS, from whence they came that had on ſuch a ſudden aſſailed them in the night. The GYRISÆNIANS ſeeing the garments and weapons of their ſuppoſed men farre of, thinking certainely they had bene they, opened their gates, and a number of people went out, as to meete their friends and citizens, whom they thought had happily ſped of their purpoſe. Thus were a maruellous number of them ſlaine by the ROMAINES, euen hard at the gates of their citie: and the reſt putting themſelues to *Sertorius* mercy, be ſold for ſlaues. After this exploit, *Sertorius* wanne great fame through all SPAINE, and returning to ROME, was made Quæſtor or treaſurer Generall of GAVLE, on this ſide of the mountaines, by the riuer of Po. A happy chance for ROME: for euen at that very preſent time fell out the warres of the confederates and allies of ITALIE, called the MARSIANS warre, in the which he had commiſſion to preſt ſouldiers, and to make armour. And therein he ſhewed ſuch diligence and expedition for quicke diſpatch of that ſeruice, in reſpect of the long delay and careleſſe regard other young men had of the ſame before: that he won the name to be a carefull man of his charge; and one that afterwards would atchieue great enterpriſes. Furthermore, when he came to be a Captaine himſelfe, he would not let to venture his perſon as valiantly, as any other priuate ſouldier whatſoeuer, but did maruellous acts with his owne hands, euen in greateſt perils

The parentage of Sertorius.

Rhea the mother of Sertorius.

Sertorius eloquent.

Sertorius firſt ſouldier fare.

Sertorius ſouldierfare vnder Marius.

Sertorius Colonell of a 1000 footmen.

Caſtulo a city of the Celtiberians.

Sertorius ſtratageme.

Sertorius treaſurer Generall of Gaule about the Po.

and

and conflicts: in ſo much as at the length he loſt one of his eyes in fight. Whereof he was nothing aſhamed, but continually gloried in it: for others, ſayd he, do not alwayes cary the markes about them of their valiant ſeruice, but leaue them otherwhiles at home, as their chaines, carcanets, iauelins, and crownes, giuen them by their Captaines for teſtimonie of their valiancy: howbeit that he alwayes caried the markes about him (whereſoeuer he went) of his ſeruice, ſo that ſuch as ſaw the blemiſh of his eye, did therewithall witneſſe his valiantneſſe and courage. The people alſo did honour him as became them. For when he came into the Theater, they welcomed him with clapping of their hands, and great praiſes, which the Romaines did ſcantly vſe vnto their oldeſt Captaines, and which were moſt honoured for their great and noble ſeruice. Neuertheleſſe, when he ſued to be Tribune, he was reiected by *Syllaes* practiſe, who hindred him: whereupon grew as it ſeemeth, that grudge and malice which he euer after bare vnto *Sylla*. For after that *Marius* was fled being ouercome by *Sylla*, and that *Sylla* was gone out of Italie to make warre with *Mithridates*, and that of the two Conſuls, *Octauius* tooke part with *Sylla*, and *Cinna* the other Conſull (which ſought change and alteration) was gathering men together to ſet vp *Marius* faction, that was in maner vnder foote: *Sertorius* tooke his part, becauſe he ſaw that *Octauius* was but a ſlow and lither man, and did not beſides truſt any of *Marius* friends. So was there a cruell conflict betweene them, euen in the market place within the city ſelfe, where *Octauius* had the vpper hand: and *Cinna* and *Sertorius* ſcaped by flying, hauing loſt few leſſe then ten thouſand men in this onely ouerthrow. Neuertheleſſe, afterwards through practiſe and pollicy, they got thoſe ſouldiers together againe that were diſperſed here and there through Italie, ſo as in ſhort time they made their power equall with *Octauius* force. *Marius* alſo being aduertiſed of the ſame, tooke the ſea incontinently, and returned into Italy out of Africke, and came to *Cinna* to ſerue as a priuate ſouldier, vnder his Captaine and Conſull. Now they all liked well, that *Marius* ſhould be receiued, ſauing *Sertorius*, who was againſt him all he could: fearing that either his credit and eſtimation ſhould diminiſh, *Cinna* hauing a worthier Captaine then himſelfe to ſerue him, or elſe that *Marius* cruelty and ſeuerity (who pardoned none offence) would marre all together, hauing no ſtay in his anger, but bent vterly to all kind of crueltie to his enemies, if *Cinna* fortuned to haue the victory. And thereunto he added this further: that now they had the victorie in maner in their hands, if they once receiued *Marius* vnto them, he would rob them of all the honour of ending this warre, and being alſo in authority, he was neither to be truſted nor commaunded. Whereunto *Cinna* aunſwered thus: that he thought the words he had alleadged to be true, howbeit that he was aſhamed, and beſides, could not ſee with honeſty how he might refuſe *Marius*, or ſend him backe, ſithence he had purpoſely ſent for him, to commit part of the charge of theſe warres vnto him. *Sertorius* againe replied: Sure I thought *Marius* had come of his owne goodwill vnſent for, and therefore (as for the beſt in mine owne opinion) I gaue aduiſe not to receiue him: but ſithence it is ſo that you ſent for him before, and that he is now come vpon your commandement, you were much to blame to aske counſell whether you ſhould now receiue him, or not. And therefore you muſt needs accept his ſeruice, that is come vpon your word: for, the bond of your promiſe paſt you, doth now cut off all counſell or other reſolution. Thereupon *Marius* was called for: and when he came, they deuided their whole armie into three parts, and then began to charge vpon their enemies of all hands, ſo as they obtained victorie. Howbeit *Cinna* and *Marius* committed as horrible crueltie in this victorie, as could poſſibly be ſhewed: in ſo much as the Romaines thought all the miſeries they had endured in time of this war nothing, and but a play as it were, in reſpect of the great calamities they fell into afterwards. Now *Sertorius* on the other ſide neuer cauſed man to be ſlaine for any priuate malice, or quarrell he had with any perſon, neither did he hurt any man when he had ouercome, but was much offended with *Marius* inſolency and cruell murthers: and when he had good oportunity to ſpeake with *Cinna* apart, he did qualifie him the beſt he could, and made him more mild and tractable through his perſwaſion. In fine, *Sertorius* ſeeing *Marius* garded with a great number of bondmen for lacke of other ſouldiers in this warre, whom he vſed as executioners of his ſlaughter and butcherie, alwayes attending about his perſon as a gard, and ſuffering them alſo to make themſelues rich, partly with that he gaue them, or commaunded them to ſpoile, and partly alſo with that they violently tooke without his commaundement of their owne maiſters, killing them when they had done, rauiſhing their miſtreſſes, and defiling their children: he could no longer abide ſuch

Sertorius loſt one of his eyes by fight.

The occaſion of Sertorius malice vnto Sylla

Sertorius tooke part with Cinna.

Sertorius diſſuaded Cinna to receiue Marius.

Sertorius temperance.

Sertorius slue Marius gard of bondmen.

wickednesse and villainy, but made them all to be slaine in their campe where they lay together, being no lesse then foure thousand persons. Afterwards when he saw that the elder *Marius* was dead, and that soone after *Cinna* was slaine, the younger *Marius* his sonne (against his counsell, and contrarie to the lawes of Rome) had by force made himselfe Consull: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene ouercome by *Sylla*) were come out of Greece to Romewards, partly through the cowardlinesse of their Captaines, and partly also because they were betrayed and sold of their owne men: and further, considering therewithall, that his person could do no good in those affaires which waxed worse and worse, by meanes of the authority of such as had least wit and vnderstanding, and specially also seeing *Sylla* campe hard by *Scipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good peace, whilst vnderhand he wanne his souldiers from him, notwithstanding that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then vtterly despairing of Romes prosperity and welfare, departed from Rome to go towards Spaine, thinking that if he could get the first possession and gouernment of that realme, it would at the least be a refuge and receipt for all those of their tribe, that should chance to be banished out of their country. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and passing through a country of mountaines, the barbarous people inhabiting the same, demanded tribute of him, for licence to passe through their territories. Thereat the souldiers of his company were maruellously offended, saying: that it were too much shame and dishonor for a Proconsull of Rome, to pay tribute to vile barbarous people. Notwithstanding, *Sertorius* passed not for the shame they sayd it would be to him, but answered them thus: that he bought time, which thing he should not reckon of, that aspireth to haughty enterprises: and so pleased the barbarous people with mony. And thus he made such speed, as he quickly recouered Spaine, which he found greatly replenished with people, and specially of young men able to weare armour. But now *Sertorius* perceiuing that they had bene hardly dealt withall before, through the insolency, pride, and couetousnesse of the Romaine gouernours, whom they ordinarily sent from Rome, and that therefore they hated all maner of gouernment: first of all sought to win the goodwils of all the whole countrimen one and other. Of the noblemen, by being familiar and conuersant with them: and of the common people, by easing them of their taxe and subsidies. But that which bred him most loue of all men generally was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of souldiers, and receiuing of any garrison within their cities, compelling his souldiers to set vp their tents, and to make their cabines without the suburbes of great cities to winter there, and causing also his owne pauillion to be first set vp, and lay in it himselfe in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous people in all things to win their fauour: for he armed all the Romaine citizens of age to cary weapon that dwelt in Spaine, and made them make all sorts of engines for battery, and a number of galleys besides, so that he had all the cities at commaundement, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike munition, very dreadfull to his enemies. After *Sertorius* vnderstood that *Sylla* kept Rome, and that the most part of the tribe of *Marius* and *Carbo* was vtterly ouerthrowne, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some captaine with a great army against him: he sent *Iulius Salinator* betimes to keepe the mountaines Pirenei, with six thousand men well armed. Immediatly after *Caius Annius* also came thither, sent by *Sylla*: who seeing no possibilitie to distresse *Salinator* in a place of such aduantage, was driuen to stay at the foote of the mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune one *Calphurnius* surnamed *Lanarius*, traiterously slue *Salinator*: whereupon his souldiers forthwith forsooke the top of the mountaines, and by this meanes *Annius* had easie passage with his army which was very great, and ouerthrew them that resisted his farther comming on into the country. *Sertorius* finding himselfe not strong inough to fight with him, marched away with three thousand men vnto the city of new Carthage, & there tooke sea: from thence he coasted ouer into Africke, and fell with the coast of the Mavrvsians, where his souldiers landed immediatly for fresh water, dispersing themselues without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous people gaue a charge vpon them, and slue numbers of them: insomuch as *Sertorius* was driuen to imbarke againe, and to take his course towards Spaine, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driuen to take certaine pyrats botes of the Cilicians, & to saile towards the Ile of Pityvsa, where he landed in despite of *Annius* garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came *Annius* thither himselfe with a good number of ships, and fiue thousand fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by sea, though he had but

Sertorius went into Spaine.

Sertorius courtesie to the Spaniards.

Sertorius flieth out of Spaine into Africke.

The Ile of Pityusa.

but ſmall barkes, purpoſely made for ſwift ſailing, and of no ſtrength for fight. But now the Weſt wind riſing very big, did ſwell the ſea in ſuch ſort, that it caſt the moſt part of *Sertorius* ſhips (being weake and very light) vpon rockes in the ſea, and himſelfe with a few being kept from land by his enemies, and from the ſea by ſtorme, was driuen to ride ten dayes together at anker, working ſtill for life againſt the danger of the ſurging waues and boiſterous winds, which continued rough all that time: yet in the end when it calmed againe he wayed anker, and ran into certaine deſolate Iles, where was no water to be had. Then hoyſing ſaile from thence, he paſſed the ſtraight of Gilbratar, and turning on his right hand, landed vpon the coaſt of SPAINE, lying towards the great Weſterne ſea, a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Bætis, the which falling into the ſea Atlanticum, gaue name in old time to that part of SPAINE, which was called HISPANIA BÆTICA. There certaine ſailers met with him that were newly arriued from the Iles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the ancients called, the fortunate Ilands. Theſe two Ilands are not farre one from another, being but a litle arme of the ſea betweene them, and are from the coaſt of AFRICKE onely ten thouſand furlongs. They haue raine there very ſeldome, howbeit a gentle wind commonly that bloweth in a litle ſiluer deaw, which moiſtneth the earth ſo finely, that it maketh it fertile and luſty, not onely to bring forth all that is ſet or ſowne vpon it, but of it ſelfe without mans hand it beareth ſo good fruit, as ſufficiently maintaineth the inhabitants dwelling vpon it, liuing idly, and taking no paines. The weather is faire and pleaſant continually, and neuer hurteth the body, the climate and ſeaſons of the yeare are ſo temperate, and the aire neuer extreme: becauſe the winds that blow vpon that land from the other ſide of the coaſt oppoſite to it, as the North and Eaſterly wind comming from the maine, what with their long comming, and then by diſperſing themſelues into a wonderfull large aire and great ſea, their ſtrength is in maner ſpent and gone before their comming thither. And for the winds that blow from the ſea (as the South and Weſterly) they ſometime bring litle ſhowers with them, which commonly do but moiſt the ground a litle, and make the earth bring forth all things very trimly: inſomuch as the very barbarous people themſelues do faithfully beleeue, that there are the Elyſian fields, the aboad of bleſſed creatures, which *Homer* hath ſo much ſpoken of. *Sertorius* hearing report of theſe Ilands (vpon a certaine deſire now to liue quietly out of tyranny and warres) had ſtraight a maruellous mind to go dwell there. But when the pyrats of CILICIA (who were no men of peace, but giuen altogether to ſpoile and pillage) heard that, they by and by forſooke *Sertorius* and went into AFRICKE, to reſtore *Aſcalius* the ſon of *Iphtha* to his realme of MAVRITANIA againe. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made warre againſt *Aſcalius*, and all to the end that his ſouldiers ſeeing matter of new hope and meanes to be imployed, ſhould not ſo leaue him, as being forced to be diſcharged of very neceſſity. The MAVRVSIANS being very glad of his arriuall, he preſently went on with his enterpriſe, ouercame *Aſcalius* it battell, and beſieged the city whereinto vpon the ouerthrow of his army he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being aduertiſed thereof, ſent *Paccianus* thither with an army to ayd *Aſcalius*. *Sertorius* gaue him battell, ſlue him in the field, and wan the reſt of his army, which yeelded vnto him: then tooke he the city of TINGIS, whereinto *Aſcalius* was fled with his brethren. The LYBIANS write that *Antæus* is buried there. But *Sertorius* giuing no credit to the tales of the barbarous people of that countrey, by reaſon of the greatneſſe of the tombe they ſhewed: made it to be broken open round, and finding there the body of a man (as they ſay) of threeſcore cubits long, he maruelled at it, and ſo finiſhing his ſacrifice to honour the memory thereof, cauſed the tombe to be well cloſed vp againe. By this act he did greatly increaſe the honour of *Antæus* memory, which the city did vnto him, and therby confirmed the countrimens report of *Antæus*. For the TINGIANS do report, that after *Antæus* death, his wife *Tinga* lay with *Hercules*, and had a goodly ſon by him called *Sophax*, who was king of that country, and there built this city, giuing it his mothers name. Furthermore, it is ſayd alſo that this *Sophax* had a ſonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered the moſt part of AFRICKE with an army of the GRECIANS, OLBIANIANS and MYCENIANS, which *Hercules* brought thither to inhabite thoſe parts. We were willing to imbrace the occaſion offred vs to ſpeake of this matter as we went, for the honor of *Iuba*, the nobleſt hiſtoriographer that euer came of royall bloud: for it is thought his aunceſtors were lineally diſcended from *Sophax* and this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as conqueror now, hauing the whole country in ſubiection, did in no wiſe hurt them that yeelded vnto him, & put truſt in him, but reſtored them their goods, cities, and gouernement againe, contenting himſelfe with that they offered him

The fortunate Ilands.

The Elyſian fields.

Sertorius wan the citie of Tingis.

Antæus tombe and greatneſſe.

Iuba, of a kings ſtocke.

Sertorius was sent for by the Lusitanians to be their Captaine.

of their goodwils. But then ſtanding doubtfull what way to determine: the LVSITANIANS ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, to intreate him to be their chiefetaine: for they ſtood in great need of a worthy perſonage, and a man expert in warres to defend them againſt the fury of the ROMAINES: and therefore they only truſted him, hearing of his honorable behauiour, by them that were conuerſant with him. Whoſe qualities as we find written, were theſe. He was neuer greatly moued, with feare nor ioy: but as he was a reſolute man without feare in moſt danger, ſo was he moſt temperate in greateſt proſperity. In valiantneſſe inferiour to no Captaine of his time, and very quicke of execution in euery imminent daunger. For where any preſent exploit was to be done, any ſtrong place of aduantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to paſſe ouer any riuer, or ſcape any inſtant danger, where it ſtood vpon ſpeedy execution, and to ſhew ſome ſtratageme or pollicy in time and place to ſupplant the enemie: in thoſe matters he paſſingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good ſeruice, and mercifull in puniſhing of offenders: but this notwithſtanding, the foule murther he did in his latter dayes vpon certaine young children that were pledges with him (which doubtleſſe was an act of great cruelty and anger that could not forgiue) doth manifeſtly proue, that he was neither mercifull nor courteous of nature: but that he many times did finely counterfeit it, when both the time and occaſion did ſo require it. But for mine opinion, ſure I am perſwaded that no misfortune can haue power to make perfect vertue, grounded vpon good reaſon, to worke in any ſort contrarie to it ſelfe: neither do I thinke it impoſſible alſo, but that mens goodwils and gentle natures being iniured without cauſe, may peraduenture chaunge their naturall diſpoſitions. Which then proued true in *Sertorius*, who finding fortune contrarie vnto him, and his good hap changed into ill, grew ſo crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell reuenge of them which had villanouſly betrayed him. But now to our matter where we left. *Sertorius* departed out of AFRICKE vpon the LVSITANIANS offer, who choſe him for their Generall, giuing him abſolute power and authority: and ſo ſoone as he arriued, he ſtraight leauied men of warre, and with them ſubdued the people of SPAINE fronting vpon their marches, of which the more part did willingly ſubmit themſelues, vpon the brute that ran of him to be mercifull and courteous, and a valiant man beſides in preſent danger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine deuiſes and ſubtilties to win their goodwils: as among others, the pollicy and deuiſe he had of the hynd, which was this. There was a poore man of the countrey called *Spanus*, who meeting by chance one day with a hynd in his way that had newly calued, flying from the hunters: he let the damme go, not being able to take her, and running after her calfe tooke it, which was a yong hind, and of a ſtraunge haire, for ſhe was all milke-white. It chaunced ſo, that *Sertorius* was at that time in thoſe parts, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him ſuch manner of preſents: as fruits, foule, or veniſon, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and alſo reward them well for the ſame. So, this poore man preſented *Sertorius* with his young hynd, which he gladly receiued, and which with time he made ſo tame, that ſhe would come to him when he called her, and follow him where euer he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily ſight of ſuch a number of armed ſouldiers together as they were, nor yet affraid of the noiſe and tumult of the campe. Inſomuch as *Sertorius* by litle and litle made it a miracle, making the ſimple barbarous people beleeue that it was a gift that *Diana* had ſent him, by the which ſhe made him vnderſtand of many and ſundrie things to come: knowing well inough of himſelfe, that the barbarous people were men eaſily deceiued, and quickly caught by any ſubtill ſuperſtition, beſides that by art alſo he brought them to beleeue it as a thing very true. For when he had any ſecret intelligence giuen him, that the enemies would inuade ſome part of the countries and prouinces ſubiect vnto him, or that they had taken any of his forts from him by any intelligence or ſudden attempt: he ſtraight told them that his hynd ſpake to him as he ſlept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put himſelfe in ſtrength. In like manner if he had heard any newes that one of his Lieutenants had wonne a battell, or that he had any aduantage of his enemies, he would hide the meſſenger, and bring his hynd abroad with a garland and coller of noſegayes: and then ſay it was a token of ſome good newes comming towards him, perſwading them withall to be of good cheare, and ſo did ſacrifice to the gods, to giue them thankes for the good tidings he ſhould heare before it were long. Thus by putting this ſuperſtition into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, in ſo much as they thought they were not now gouerned any more by a ſtraunger wiſer than themſelues, but were ſtedfaſtly

Sertorius vertues and qualities.

Sertorius bountie and clemencie.

Sertorius fained lye of the hynd.

perſwaded

perſwaded that they were rather led by ſome certaine god: and ſo much the more, becauſe that his deedes confirmed their opinions, ſeeing his power ſo dayly to increaſe beyond the hope and expectation of man. For with two thouſand and fiue hundred ſouldiers, which he called ROMAINES (although the moſt of them indeed were AFRICANS, which came ouer with him out of AFRICKE into SPAINE) and foure thouſand LVSITANIANS, with ſeuen hundred horſemen alſo, he made warre againſt foure great Captaines of ROME, which had the leading of ſixe ſcore thouſand footmen, two thouſand archers and ſling-men, with a world of cities and countries beſides. Where *Sertorius* at the firſt had not aboue twentie at the moſt, and yet with this ſmall power to maintaine this warre withall, he did not onely conquer great countries and many goodly cities, but tooke ſome of the Captaines priſoners alſo, whom the ROMAINES ſent againſt him. Of which companie *Cotta* was one, whom he ouerthrew in battell by ſea, not farre from the citie of MELLARIA. He alſo ouercame *Fidius* in battell, being gouernor of SPAINE BÆTICA, by the riuer of BÆTIS, where he ſlue two thouſand ROMAINES. By his treaſurer likewiſe he ouercame *Lucius Domitius*, Proconſull of the other prouince of SPAINE. And another time he diſcomfited *Toranius* another Captaine, one of *Metellus* Lieutenants, whom he ſlue in fight with all his armie. And *Metellus* ſelfe, being taken at that time for one of the moſt expert men of warre, and chiefeſt Captaines among the ROMAINES: him he put alſo ſo oft to diſtreſſe, that *Lucius Lollius* was faine to come out of GAVLE NARBONENSIS (now *Languedocke*) to his aide. And they were furthermore driuen to ſend *Pompey* the great with all ſpeed frō ROME with a new armie: becauſe *Metellus* knew not what courſe to take, hauing to fight with a moſt valiant man, and one whom he could neuer either bring to any ſet battell, nor yet intrap in the plaine field (ſo eaſily could he caſt himſelfe into all kind of formes) by reaſon of the dexteritie and ſwiftneſſe of his Spaniſh ſouldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched field, without remouing a foote, and to leade an armie heauie armed, which could keepe their rankes, and fighting ſteadily could ouerthrow their enemies with hand-ſtrokes, and march vpon their bellies. But to clime vp the mountaines, and to be continually (as they were) charged in the rereward with theſe men armed as light as the wind, and to purſue them in chaſe that fled ſtill, and neuer kept place: it was vnpoſſible for them to do it, and much leſſe to abide hunger and thirſt, to liue without a kitchin and fire, and likewiſe to lie on the bare ground without tents or pauilions, as *Sertorius* ſouldiers did. Furthermore, *Metellus* being growne an old man (hauing ſpent all his youth in ſeruice of the warres, and taken and ſuffered great paines and troubles, giuing himſelfe now to quiet and pleaſure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then euen at his beſt age, and luſtieſt of body, beſides that nature had made him both ſtrong, actiue, and temperate withal. For he was neuer giuen to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at moſt quiet, and out of wars, he was likewiſe acquainted with paines and hardnes from his youth, could away with long iournies, watch many dayes and nights without ſleepe, eate litle, and content himſelf with any meate that came to hand. And had he neuer ſo litle leyſure, he would continually be on horſebacke, riding a hunting vp and downe the fields, which made him very ready and expert to know how to wind himſelfe out of danger when he was diſtreſſed, and contrarily alſo to compaſſe in his enemy vpon any aduantage: and beſides, to ſee where he might enter, and where not. For this cauſe was *Metellus* driuen (who was ſtill deſirous to fight) to abide the loſſes and diſcommodities which they ſuffer that be vanquiſhed: and *Sertorius* on the other ſide refuſing battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they haue, which chaſe their enemies whom they haue ouercome. For he cut off his victuals on euery ſide, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march further forward, *Sertorius* ſtayd him: and when he lay ſtill in his campe, *Sertorius* came and gaue him alarums, and draue him to diſlodge. If *Metellus* laid ſiege to any place, *Sertorius* ſtraight beſieged him for want of victuals: ſo that his ſouldiers were euen wearie of altogether. Whereupon, when *Sertorius* challenged the combat of *Metellus*: Oh, well ſaid, cried all the ſouldiers, let Captaine fight againſt Captaine, and ROMAINE againſt ROMAINE. Howbeit *Metellus* refuſed him, and the ſouldiers laughed him to ſcorne. Neuertheleſſe he did but ſmile at them, and therein ſhewed himſelfe a wiſe man: for as *Theophraſtus* ſaith, a Captaine muſt die as a Captaine, not like a priuate ſouldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* conſidering that the LANGOBRITES (who gaue aide vnto *Sertorius* in all ſeruices) were eaſie to be taken for lacke of water (hauing but one onely well in all their citie) and that whoſoeuer did beſiege that ſame, ſhould ſtraight be maſter of all the ſpring heads of the ſuburbes about it, hoping thereby to

Sertorius armie.

The armie of the Romaines led by foure Captaines.

Sertorius victories.

This place may well be taken two waies, and either of both allowable: and acording to the other it might be ſaid, to leade Romaine citizens to the wars, fighting like valiant men.

Sertorius warlike vertues.

Metellus practiſeth to beſiege the Langobrites, and to take their citie for lacke of water.

Sertorius finely deceiued Metellus, at the siege of the Langobrites.

make the citie yeeld vnto him within two dayes at the vtmost, he commaunded his souldiers to victuall themselues for fiue daies onely. But *Sertorius* hauing intelligence thereof, gaue good direction and speedie order to preuent him. For he caused two thousand goats skins to be filled with water, and promised round summes of money for euery skin brought thither. Many SPANIARDS and MAVRVSIANS straight tooke vpon them the enterprise. Thereupon *Sertorius* chusing the lustiest men among them, sent them away through the mountaine, commaunding them withall, that when they deliuered their goates skins with water vnto the citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle people, that the water might last thē the longer which defended the citie. *Metellus* receiuing aduertisement hereof, was much agrieued withall, because his souldiers victuals were wel-neare spent, which they had brought according to his commandement: and therefore he sent *Aquinus* one of his Lieutenants, with six thousand men to get victuals. *Sertorius* hauing intelligence of his purpose, presently laid an ambush for his returne in a valley full of wood, and bestowed there three thousand men to set vpon the rereward, whilest he himself gaue charge on the voward. Thus made he *Aquinus* flie, slue the most part of his men, and tooke the rest prisoners. Howbeit *Aquinus* selfe the Captaine, hauing lost his weapons and horse, by flying recouered *Metellus* campe: who thereupon was driuen with shame to raise his siege, being mocked of all the SPANIARDS. For these valiant deeds, was *Sertorius* wonderfully beloued and honoured of all the barbarous people, and specially because he had made them good souldiers, brought them from their former rude and beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the ROMAINE fashion, to keepe their rankes when they fought, to follow their ensigne, and to take the signall and word of the battel: insomuch as he made them then appeare a goodly armie, wel taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of theeues and robbers. Furthermore, he deuided great store of gold and siluer among them, shewing them how they should gild their head-peeces, set out their shields and targets with fine workmanship, and also brauely apparell themselues with rich clokes, and sleeueleſſe cassocks vpon their armour, teaching them to be fine, and furnishing them with mony, whereby he maruellously wan the hearts of the barbarous people. Yet did he farther bind them vnto him, by that he did vnto their children: for he sent generally for all the noble mens yong sons, through all the countries and prouinces subiect vnto him: and brought them to the goodly citie of OSCA, where he prouided them of schoolemaisters to teach them the Greeke and Latine tongue: bearing their parents in hand, that it was to no other end, but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be employed in the seruice of the common-weale, albeit indeede it was but a fine deuise of him, to haue them as hostages for their faith and loyaltie towards him. Then were the fathers of these children glad men to see their sons apparelled like ROMAINES, in faire long gownes garded with purple, to go ciuilly to the schools: that *Sertorius* payd for their learning: and that oftentimes he went thither to appose them, to see how they profited: and how he gaue rewards vnto them that were the best scholers, hanging iewels about their neckes, which the ROMAINES call Bulla. Insomuch as they hauing a custome at that time in SPAINE, that such as were about the Prince or their Chiefetaine should die with him when he died, that custome of voluntarie vow to die with their Lord, being called by the barbarous people, deuotion: there were very few of their followers and familiars that would vow to die with other Captaines, but on the other side, thousands commonly followed *Sertorius*, hauing vowed to loose their liues with him. And for proofe hereof it is reported, that when his armie on a time was ouerthrowne by a certaine citie of SPAINE, the enemies eagerly pursuing him, the SPANIARDS not regarding their owne liues to saue his, tooke him vpon their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man vpon them, till they put him into the citie, who being safe & out of danger, they then looked by running to saue themselues the best they could. Thus was *Sertorius* not onely beloued of the SPANIARDS, but of other souldiers also that came out of ITALY. For when *Perpenna Vento*, being of the same faction, arriued in SPAINE full of money, and with a good number of souldiers, intending to make warre in his behalfe against *Metellus*: his souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his campe but of *Sertorius*. The which spited *Perpenna* to the heart, being proud and stately by meanes of his wealth and estate, comming of a noble house. Newes being come that *Pompey* was past ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, the souldiers armed themselues, & plucked vp their ensignes that were fast in the ground and cried out vpō *Perpenna* to leade them to *Sertorius*, threatning him that if he would not, they would leaue him alone, and seeke them a Captaine, that could both saue himselfe and them.

Sertorius ouerthrew Aquinus

Sertorius taught the Spaniards the manner of the Romaines.

The citie of Osca.

Sertorius subtill policie.

The Spaniards deuotion.

The Spaniards loue to Sertorius.

Perpenna ioyned with Sertorius.

So

So was *Perpenna* forced againſt his will to follow their minds, and to leade the three and fiftie enſignes he had with him, to ioyne with *Sertorius* force. Thus became *Sertorius* armie very great, and ſpecially after all the cities on this ſide the riuer of Ebrus had yeelded vnto him. For then came ſouldiers to him out of all parts, howbeit they were a raſh confuſed multitude of Omnigatherum together, hauing no reaſon nor patience to abide time, but cried out in furie, to ſet vpon their enemies. This troubled *Sertorius* much, ſeeking firſt to quiet them by reaſon and perſwaſion. But when he ſaw they fell to mutinie, and would needs haue their wils, and both without reaſon and all good order would ſo go ſet vpon their enemies: he gaue them the head, and let them go as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly, but yet tooke ſuch order and direction, as they ſhould not vtterly be caſt away, hoping after that to haue them the more obedient vnto him. And indeed they had their payment as he coniectured: notwithſtanding he went to reſcue them, and ſo brought them ſafe into his campe. Now to take away the feare and perplexitie from them, which this ouerthrow perhaps had ſtriken into them: immediatly after he cauſed his whole armie to aſſemble, as purpoſing to vſe ſome ſpeech vnto them. At which time he cauſed two horſes to be brought and ſet in the middeſt among them, the one an old and feeble iade, and the other a goodly luſty horſe, which beſides other things, had a maruellous faire thicke taile. Behind the old leane iade, he ſet a luſty tall fellow: and behind the goodly horſe alſo, he placed a litle weariſh man, and ſeeming to ſight to haue but ſmall ſtrength. Now vpon a ſigne giuen them which he had made them priuie to, the ſtrong man tooke the leane horſe by the taile with all his might, as if he would haue pluckt it off by the ſtumpe: and the other weariſh man fell to plucking off haire by haire from the great horſe taile. So when the ſtrong man had tugged and ſwet a great while in vaine at the leane horſe taile, thinking to haue plucked it off, and in the end did nothing elſe but make the lookers on laugh: and that the weariſh wretch on the other ſide in a ſhort ſpace (and at eaſe) had left the great horſe taile with neuer a haire on it: *Sertorius* then riſing vp, ſpake in this ſort to his ſouldiers: Do ye not ſee (my friends & companions) ſaid he, how time and perſeuerance exceedeth force? and that things vnlikely at the firſt to be ouercome by force, are yet in time by litle and litle obtained? For continuance ouercommeth all things, and there is no force nor power, but proceſſe of time conſumeth & bringeth to nought, being a moſt certaine help to them that can take oportunitie, and abide time: as in contrariwiſe haſte and raſhnes is as dangerous an enemie as may be, to thē that do things of a head without regard. By theſe common deuiſes wherewith *Sertorius* daily acquainted the barbarous people, he taught them to abide the oportunitie of time. But of all the ſtratagemes he vſed in warre, that onely exceeded all other, which he ſhewed vnto a people called the CHARACITANIANS. The people do dwel on the other ſide of the riuer of Tagus, and haue neither cities nor villages for their common abode, but only a great high hil, ful of hollow caues and deepe holes among the rockes, looking towards the North. At the foote of this mountaine the valley is a great ſlimie ground, and ſo rotten, that it is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crūmeth like white lime, and turneth to duſt vnder his feet. And therefore by meanes of the ſame, when thoſe people were afraid of any enemies, or that they had conueyed the goods they had robbed and ſtolne from their neighbours into thoſe caues, they thought themſelues ſafe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was impoſſible to compel them to come out. Now it chanced that *Sertorius* flying from *Metellus*, came and encamped hard by this hill which theſe barbarous people inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining *Metellus* had ouerthrown him. But *Sertorius* being in a rage with them, and becauſe he would ſhew that he fled not: tooke his horſe-back the next morning, and rode as neare to the hil as he could, to view the nature and ſituation of the place: and when he ſaw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, & walked vp & downe, vainely threatning them to no purpoſe. Yet going and coming to & fro, he perceiued the wind raiſed a great duſt, of that brittle earth we haue ſpoken of, and caried it ful into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof as we ſaid before, lay full vpon the North. This Northren wind which ſome call Cæcias, is the onely wind of all other that moſt keepeth in that quarter, and riſeth from the moores and mountaines thereabouts, which be continually couered with ſnow, and then in the heart of ſommer is nouriſhed and inforced by the melting of the yce and ſnow, and ſo bloweth a iolly coole wind, which refreſheth the barbarous people and beaſtes all the day long. *Sertorius* marking this with himſelf, and vnderſtanding by the inhabitants thereabouts, that this wind blew commonly among them: commaunded his ſouldiers to gather a great quantitie of this light brittle earth together,

Ebrus fl.

A fine deuice of Sertorius to teach men the benefite of time and perſeuerance.

Sertorius words to his ſouldiers, declaring the intent of his deuiſe.

The Characitanians what people they be. Tagus fl.

Sertorius wonderfull deuice againſt the barbarous people, called the Characitanians.

and to raiſe a mount of it, right againſt the other hill. The barbarous people made a mockerie of it at the firſt, thinking *Sertorius* would haue made a mount to haue fought with them vpon it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his ſouldiers backe againe into his camp. The next morning by breake of day there was a pretie litle wind ſtirring, that only blew off the top of his forced mount, and the higheſt part of that maſſe of earth, as chaffe when they winnow corne: and as the Sun began to haue any power, the North wind alſo roſe, which forthwith filled all the hill with duſt. And withall, came *Sertorius* ſouldiers who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all thoſe drie clods of clay in peeces. The horſemen on the other ſide, they ſtill managed their horſes vp and downe in it, to raiſe vp the greater duſt, which the wind caried as ſoone as it roſe, and blew into the caues of theſe barbarous people, full in their faces, through their holes and riftes of the rockes. So they hauing no other vents nor ayre any way, but there where the wind blew in vpon them: it did ſo blindfold their eyes, and filled their caues with ſuch a hot ſtuffing ayre, that they were almoſt choked withall, not able to take breath. For when they ſhould draw their breathes, this ſtuffing ayre and duſt came in at their mouthes ſo faſt, that they had much a do to hold out two dayes, and on the third yeelded themſelues vnto *Sertorius* mercie: the which thing did not ſo much increaſe his power, as it wanne him honour; by policie to haue wonne ſuch an vnlikely conqueſt, which by force could neuer haue bene gotten, and where to fight was a matter impoſſible. So long therefore as he made warre with *Metellus* alone, he commonly had the aduantage of him, becauſe *Metellus* was an old man and heauie, and could not reſiſt *Sertorius* luſtie youth, that led a light armie, like rather to a companie of theeues and robbers, than to an armie of men of warre.

Sertorius deeds againſt Pompey.

But afterwards when *Pompey* was come ouer the mountaines Pyrenei, and that both of them were encamped each before other, and that *Pompey* had ſhewed him all the ſtratagemes and policies of warre poſſible for a good captaine to deuiſe, and he the like vnto *Pompey*, and found that *Sertorius* had the better of him, both in laying his ambuſhes, and alſo in foreſeeing to intrap him: then grew the fame of *Sertorius* to be ſo great, that euen in Rome it ſelfe he was thought to be the nobleſt Captaine, and of beſt conduction of any man in his time. Yet was *Pompey* at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwards alſo waxed greater, by the noble actes he did vnder *Sylla*, who gaue him the ſurname of *Pompey* the great, for that he deſerued the honor of triumph, before his beard was growne. So, when he was come thus into Spaine, diuers townes and cities ſubiect vnto *Sertorius*, were halfe in mind to yeeld vnto *Pompey*: but afterwards they altered againe, vpon the chaunce that happened vnto the citie of Lavron, beyond all expectation.

Sertorius goeth to lay ſiege to the citie of Lauron.

For *Sertorius* being gone to lay ſiege to it, *Pompey* in haſte went thither with his armie to raiſe the ſiege. Neare vnto the citie there was a litle hill very commodious to lodge a campe in, and alſo to diſtreſſe them of the citie: whereupon the one made haſte to get it, and the other to keepe him from it. Notwithſtanding, *Sertorius* was the firſt man, and got the hill: and *Pompey* came euen as he had taken it, who was very glad it had ſo fallen out, thinking to haue made *Sertorius* ſure at that time, being kept in on the one ſide with the citie of Lavron, and with his armie on the other. Thereupon he ſent vnto the citizens, and bade them care for nothing, more then to ſtand vpon their walles at their pleaſure, to ſee *Sertorius* ſtraightly beſieged, who thought to haue beſieged them. This meſſage being brought to *Sertorius*, he ſmiled at it, and ſaid, that he would teach *Sillaes* young ſcholler (for ſo in mockerie he called *Pompey*) that a wiſe Captaine ſhould rather ſee behind then before him: and therewithall he ſhewed the Lavronitans ſixe thouſand footmen well armed, which he had left in his campe when he came to take the hill where he was, to the end that if *Pompey* came by chaunce to aſſayle him, they ſhould giue a charge vpon his rereward. *Pompey* hauing found this too late, durſt not offer *Sertorius* battell, fearing to be compaſſed in behind: and on the other ſide he was aſhamed to forſake the Lavronitans, whom he was driuen in the end to ſee vtterly ſpoyled and deſtroyed before his eyes, and durſt not once ſtirre to helpe them. The barbarous people of the contrarie part ſeeing no hope of aide by him, yeelded ſtraight vnto *Sertorius*, who did not onely pardon them, but alſo ſuffered them to go whither they would. Howbeit he burnt the citie, for no anger or crueltie (being a Captaine that neuer ſhewed crueltie in anger) but to ſhame *Pompey* withall, and to ſtop their mouthes that made ſuch account of him: and that this brute might runne among the barbarous people, that *Pompey* himſelfe being preſent, and might in manner haue warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly citie of his confederates, neither durſt nor could helpe them.

Sertorius worthy ſaying of a Captaine.

Sertorius burnt the citie of Lauron in Pompeyes ſight.

Indeed

Indeed *Sertorius* in continuance of this warre ſuſtained much loſſe and great hurt, howbeit it was alwayes through the fault of his Lieutenants: for, as touching himſelfe, he was neuer ouerthrowne, nor thoſe he led. And yet he euer wan more honor in recouering of thoſe battels which his Captaines loſt, than his enemies did that had put them to the worſe. As in the battell he wan againſt *Pompey*, by the citie of SVCRON: and in another he wanne againſt *Pompey* and *Metellus* both, by the citie of TVTTIA. And as for the ouerthrow of SVCRON, it is thought it came through *Pompeys* ambition, making the more haſte for feare *Metellus* ſhould be partaker of the honour of his victorie: and that was the thing *Sertorius* looked for, to fight before *Metellus* came to ioyne with him, and therefore he fought the battell with *Pompey* towards night, ſuppoſing the darknes of the night would trouble his enemies much, be a helpe to ſaue themſelues if they were ouercome, and alſo to chaſe the enemies if it ſo happened they had the vpper hand, becauſe they were ſtrangers, and knew not the country. When both battels came to giue charge, *Sertorius* at the firſt was not directly againſt *Pompey*, but againſt *Afranius* who led the left wing of *Pompeys* battell, and himſelfe was in the right wing of his owne battell. Howbeit *Sertorius* being aduertiſed that the left wing of his owne armie againſt which *Pompey* fought, was in ſuch diſtreſſe as they gaue backe and could abide no longer, if they were not preſently ayded: ſtraight left the leading of the right wing, which he aſſigned ouer to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all ſpeed poſſible vnto the left wing, which were then euen as good as flying. And firſt he gathered them together againe which had turned their backes, and after put thoſe alſo in good order that were yet a fighting: and ſo hauing encoraged them, both with his words and the preſence of his perſon, he gaue a new charge againe vpon *Pompey*, more couragiouſly then before, (who thinking he had alreadie wonne the field, was then a chaſing ſuch as fled) and came ſo fiercely vpon him, that he put all the whole armie of the ROMAINES to flight: inſomuch as *Pompey* himſelfe eſcaped killing in the field very hardly, being ſore hurt, and ſaued by a ſtrange meane. For the AFRICANS of *Sertorius* hauing taken *Pompeys* horſe (which was richly trapped with harneſſe of gold and other precious furniture) falling out among themſelues, and fighting for diuiſion of the ſame: in the meane time let *Pompey* go, and neuer followed after him. *Afranius* againe on the other ſide, whileſt *Sertorius* was gone to helpe the other wing of his battell, made them all flie that ſtood before him, and folowed killing of them euen into the trenches of their campe, entring in amongeſt them that fled, and ſpoiled the campe being darke night, knowing nothing of *Pompeys* ouerthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from ſpoile. *Sertorius* alſo comming thither vpon the inſtant, finding *Pompeys* men in diſorder, ſlue a number of them: and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the field, to fight once more with *Pompey*. But receiuing intelligence that *Metellus* was at hand, he ſounded the retraite, and diſlodged from the place he encamped, ſaying: had not that old woman come, I would haue whipped that yong boy to ROME with rods. Now was *Sertorius* very heauie, that no man could tell him what was become of his white hynd: for thereby all his ſubtiltie and fineneſſe to keepe the barbarous people in obedience was taken away, and then ſpecially, when they ſtood in neede of moſt comfort. But by good hap, certaine of his ſouldiers that had loſt themſelues in the night, met with the hynd in their way, and knowing her by her colour, tooke her and brought her backe againe. *Sertorius* hearing of her, promiſed them a good reward, ſo that they would tell no liuing creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be ſecretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroade among them, and with a pleaſant countenance told the noble men and chiefe Captaines of theſe barbarous people, how the gods had reuealed it to him in his dreame, that he ſhould ſhortly haue a maruellous good thing happen to him: and with theſe words ſate downe in his chaire to giue audience. Whereupon they that kept the hynd not farre from thence, did ſecretly let her go. The hynd being looſe, when ſhe had ſpied *Sertorius*, ranne ſtraight to his chaire with great ioy, and put her head betwixt his legges, and layed her mouth in his right hand, as ſhe before was wont to do. *Sertorius* alſo made very much of her, and of purpoſe appeared maruellous glad, ſhewing ſuch tender affection to the hynd, as it ſeemed the water ſtood in his eyes for ioy. The barbarous people that ſtood there by and beheld the ſame, at the firſt were much amazed therewith: but afterwards when they had better bethought themſelues, for ioy they clapped their hands together, and waited vpon *Sertorius* to his lodging with great and ioyfull ſhouts, ſaying, and ſtedfaſtly beleeuing, that he was a heauenly creature, and beloued of the gods: whereupon they were maruelouſly pleaſed in their minds,

Sertorius of himſelfe inuincible.

Battell betwixt Sertorius and Pompey.

Pompey fled Sertorius at Sucron.

Sertorius mock to Pompey.

and certainly hoped that their affaires ſhould proſper daily better & better. Another time hauing ſtraighted his enemies with ſcarcitie of victuals, in the territorie of the SAGVNTINES, he was by force compelled to fight againſt his will, for that they ſent great troupes of men to forrage the countrey, to get victuals. Vpon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either ſide, where *Memmius* was ſlaine, (the valianteſt Captaine *Pompey* had) couragiouſly fighting in the middeſt of the battell. *Sertorius* finding himſelfe the ſtronger, followed his firſt wing, making great ſlaughter of thoſe that withſtood him, vntill he came vnto *Metellus* ſelfe, who taried his comming, defending himſelfe more valiantly then was either hoped or looked for, in a man of his yeares: in ſomuch as he was at the laſt hurt with a partizan. Which was ſuch a diſhonor to the ROMAINES, not vnto them onely that ſaw it, but vnto ſuch alſo as heard of it, that being all aſhamed to forſake their Captaine, and turning their ſhame into anger againſt their enemies, they couered *Metellus* round about with their ſhields and targets, and getting him out of the preaſe and furie of the fight, gaue ſuch a fierce onſet, as they draue the SPANIARDS to flie. Thus fortune changing the victorie, *Sertorius* to giue his ſcattered men time to ſaue themſelues, and leiſure alſo for a new ſupply (which he cauſed to be preſently leauied) to come at their pleaſure: fled of purpoſe into a citie of the mountaines of ſtrong ſituation, and there ſetting a good face of the matter, repaired the rampers, and fortified the gates, thinking nothing leſſe then to abide there to be beſieged, but onely to lay a baite for his enemies, comming to beſiege the citie, hoping they ſhould eaſily win it, and in the meane time left purſuing of the barbarous people, which had thereby good leiſure giuen them to ſaue themſelues. Furthermore, they tooke no order to ſuppreſſe the new ſupply that was comming to *Sertorius*, who had ſent out his Captaines to the next cities and ſhires adioyning to leauie men, with expreſſe commaundement, that when they had muſtered a conuenient number together, they ſhould ſend them vnto him, as they did. So when he vnderſtood of their comming, he eaſily paſſed through his enemies to meete them, and with them ſodainly came backe againe, and harried his enemies worſe then before, ſometime cutting their victuals from them by land, through his ambuſhes and continuall ſubtile pollicies, being quickly in euery place whither they thought to go, with his light armie: and on the ſea alſo with certaine pyrats pinnaces, with the which he ſcoured all the coaſt vpon the ſea ſide. By this meanes both the Captaines his enemies were compelled to ſeuer themſelues farre one from the other, in ſomuch as *Metellus* went to winter in GAVLE, *Pompey* remained in SPAINE, (in great ſcarcitie of all things for lacke of money) to winter in the territories of the VACCEIANS, and wrote to the Senate at ROME, that he would returne with his armie into ITALY, if they ſent him not money out of hand, for that he had ſpent all his owne dayly fighting for the defence of ITALY. Thus it was certainely thought at ROME, that *Sertorius* would be in ITALY before *Pompey*: becauſe he had through his valiancie and great skill brought two of the moſt famous Captaines of their time, to great extremitie and diſtreſſe. Then did *Metellus* ſhew how much he feared *Sertorius*, and how he thought him a great and dreadfull enemie. For he proclaimed by ſound of trumpet, that if any ROMAINE could kill him, he would giue him an hundred ſiluer talents, and twentie thouſand Iugera of land: and if he were a baniſhed man, he promiſed he ſhould be reſtored to his countrey and goods againe, buying his death by treaſon, whom he could not ouercome by force. And furthermore, being his chance once to winne a battell of *Sertorius*, he was ſo iocond and proud for this victorie, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to ſay, Prince, or ſoueraigne Captaine: and was contented the people ſhould ſet vp altars and do ſacrifices vnto him in euerie citie where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore garlands of flowers on his head, and would be bidden to diſſolute banquets, ſitting at the table in a triumphing robe: and they made images of victorie go vp and downe the hall, moued by certaine ſecret engines carying triumphes of gold, and crownes and garlands of triumph, and dauncers of goodly young boyes and faire girles following of them, with ſongs of triumph in his praiſe. Wherein doubtleſſe he deſerued to be laughed at, ſhewing himſelfe ſo much caried away with ioy and vaine glorie, for one ouerthrow giuen vnto him, whom himſelfe was wont to call *Syllaes* fugitiue, and the remnant of the baniſhed men of *Carbo*. On the other ſide, *Sertorius* noble courage was eaſily diſcerned: firſt, for that he called the baniſhed men which were eſcaped from ROME, and come to him Senatours: and hauing them about him, called them the Senate, making ſome of them Treaſurers, others Prætors, directing and ordering all things according to the maner of his countrey. And in this alſo, that making wars with the ſouldiers of the cities of SPAINE, and

Sertorius ſlue Memmius, Pompeyes Lieutenant.

Shame turned into anger.

Sertorius beſieged of Pompey.

Metellus feared Sertorius.

Metellus made himſelf be called Imperator.

Metellus vanitie.

Sertorius noble mind.

and defraying the ſame at their owne charges, yet he neuer gaue them any authoritie, ſo much as in word, but ruled them alwayes with ROMAINE officers and captaines: ſaying ſtill, that he fought for the libertie of the people of ROME, and not to increaſe the glorie and power of the SPANIARDS, to the hurt & diſhonor of the ROMAINES. For to ſay truly of him, he euer loued his country well, and longed much to be ſent for home againe: and yet in his greateſt troubles, when things thwrated him moſt, then was his mind greateſt, yeelding no maner of ſhew or appearance to his enemies, of any faint heart or diſcouragement in him. Againe, when he was in beſt proſperitie, and had moſt aduantage of his enemies, he ſent vnto *Metellus* and *Pompey*, both letting them vnderſtand that for his part he was contented to lay armes aſide, and to liue at home like a priuate man, ſo that he might be lawfully reſtored and called home by edict: and that he had rather be counted the meaneſt citizen in ROME, then being a baniſhed man out of his countrey, to be called Emperour of the world. And it is ſaid, that one of the chiefeſt cauſes which made him deſire ſo much to be called home againe, was the tender loue he bare vnto his mother (that had brought him vp from the time of his fathers death) vpon whom he caſt all his loue and delight: inſomuch as after that his friends in SPAINE had ſent for him to come to be their captaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiuing newes that his mother was departed out of the world, it ſo ſtrake him to the heart, that he had almoſt died for ſorrow. For he lay ſeuen dayes together continually on the ground weeping, and neuer gaue his ſouldiers the watch-word, nor would be ſeene of any of his friends: vntill that the other noble men and captaines of his owne eſtate, came to him to his tent, and were ſo importunate of him by intreatie and perſwaſion, that they got him out of his tent to ſhew himſelfe to his ſouldiers, to ſpeake to them, and to take order for his affaires which proſpered very well. By theſe ſignes many haue iudged, that he was of a courteous and pitifull nature, and that naturally he was giuen to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of neceſſitie to take charge of men of warre, becauſe he could not otherwiſe liue quietly nor ſafely, being purſued by his enemies, which would neuer let him reſt, and thereupon entred into warre, for his owne gard and ſafetie. The treatie ſelfe he made with king *Mithridates*, argued his noble mind. For when *Mithridates* whom *Sylla* had ouercome was recouered againe (like a wreſtler that being ouerthrowne, getteth vp on his feete to trie another fall with his enemie) & took vpon him to inuade ASIA: *Sertorius* fame was then ſo great, that he was ſpoken of through the world, by merchants comming from the Weſt, who blew abroad the report thereof all the Eaſt parts ouer, euen into the Realme of PONT, like to merchandizes which they went to ſeeke for in ſtrange countries. Whereupon *Mithridates* being perſwaded by the vaine vaunts of his fauoured Courtiers, who compared *Sertorius* to *Hanniball*, and himſelfe vnto king *Pyrrus*, ſaying, that the ROMAINES being ſet vpon by them both, could not withſtand two ſuch excellēt natures, & great powers together, whē the nobleſt captain of the world ſhould be ioyned with the greateſt and moſt puiſſant Prince that euer was: ſent therupon his Ambaſſadors into SPAINE vnto *Sertorius*, with full power and commiſſion to promiſe him money and ſhips towards the maintenance and charge of this warre, in recompence whereof he deſired that *Sertorius* would redeliuer him the poſſeſſion of ASIA againe, the which he had ſurrendred vp vnto the ROMAINES vpon the peace made betwixt him and *Sylla*. *Sertorius* hereupon called his Councell together (which he termed the Senate) to conſult vpon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he ſhould accept *Mithridates* offers, and were exceedingly glad of the ſame, conſidering that they asked them nothing but a title in the aire, and a name of things which were not in their power, offering them therefore things preſent, whereof they had greater need, yet would *Sertorius* neuer agree thereunto. Notwithſtanding, thus much he granted *Mithridates*, that he ſhould enioy CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, which had euer bene countries ſubiect vnto kings, and whereunto the ROMAINES had neuer any right, excepting this ſpecially: that he would neuer ſuffer him to vſurpe any countrey; vnto the which the ROMAINES had any iuſt title, and the which he had loſt in warres by force of armes vnto *Fimbria*, and had afterwards alſo willingly ſurrendred by agreement made betwixt him & *Sylla*. For he ſaid he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his victories, but not impaire or hurt it by his conqueſts. For, a valiāt man (ſaid he) ſhould couet to conquer with honour, but in no wiſe deſire life with diſhonor. His anſwer being reported vnto king *Mithridates*, did much amaze him: and ſome haue written, that he then ſayd vnto his familiars: What would *Sertorius* command vs then, if he ſate among them in the Senate at ROME, who being an exile now, and remaining in the fartheſt part of the world by the ſea

Sertorius honorable reſpect vnto his countrey.

Sertorius mind greateſt in aduerſitie.

Sertorius affection to his countrey.

Sertorius naturall loue to his mother.

Mithridates ſent Ambaſſadours vnto Sertorius in Spaine.

Sertorius noble and vvorthie anſvvere to Mithridates requeſts.

Sertorius worthy ſaying.

Atlanticum, doth take vpon him to bound the certaine confines of our kingdome, threatning vs alſo with wars, if we attempt any thing againſt Asia? All this notwithſtanding, they were agreed vpon othes taken betweene them, that *Mithridates* ſhould enioy the countries of Cappadocia and Bithynia, and that *Sertorius* ſhould ſend him one of his Captaines with aide of men of warre, and that vpon performance thereof, the king ſhould giue him the ſumme of three thouſand talents, and fortie ſhips of warre. So *Sertorius* ſent thither one of his Captaines called *Marcus Marius*, a Senator of Rome, who fled to him for ſuccour: with whom *Mithridates* diſtreſſed certaine cities of Asia. And when *Marius* entred into them, with his ſergeants carying the bundels of rods and axes before him, as before a Proconſull of the Romaines, *Mithridates* gaue him the vpper-hand, as his better, and followed after him. Furthermore, *Marius* did ſet certaine cities at libertie, and wrote vnto others, declaring vnto them, that *Sertorius* of his grace and goodneſſe did releaſe them of their taxe and cuſtomes they paid: ſo that poore Asia which had bene oppreſſed by the couetouſneſſe of the Treaſurers and Farmers of the Romaines, and alſo by the pride and inſolencie of the ſouldiers which lay in garriſon among them, beganne to haue ſome hope of change, and to deſire the alteration of gouernement, which *Sertorius* offered. But on the other ſide, the Senators of Rome that were in Spaine as baniſhed men in *Sertorius* armie, and of the like dignitie and eſtate that himſelfe was of, they hearing ſay that all was well againe at Rome, and perſwading themſelues that they ſhould be ſtrong inough for their enemies, hauing no cauſe to feare any more danger: began then to enuie *Sertorius* greatneſſe and authoritie, but *Perpenna* ſpecially among other, who by reaſon of his nobilitie, being puft vp with a vaine preſumption and ambitious ſelfe will, practiſed to make himſelfe chiefe of all the armie, and to that end threw forth amongſt his friends and familiars ſuch kind of ſeditious wordes: What curſed fortune (quoth he) my friends doth dayly haunt vs worſe then other, making vs that were vnwilling to obey *Sylla* (commaunding at this day both land and ſea at his will) to chooſe rather to forſake our lands and countrey? And now being come hither in hope to liue at libertie, we willingly make our ſelues ſlaues, becomming *Sertorius* guard for defence of his perſon in exile: who to requite vs withall, payeth vs with faire words, calling vs the Senate, whereat euery man laugheth to heare vs ſo called, and in fine we muſt abide this diſhonour to be at his commaundement, and drudge and take as much paines, as the Spaniards and Lvcitanians do themſelues. Hereupon the more part of them being caried away with theſe mutinous words, durſt not yet ſhew themſelues in actuall rebellion againſt *Sertorius*, being afeard of his authoritie; howbeit ſecretly vnderhand they ouerthrew his doings, by ſhewing extreme crueltie vnto the barbarous people, by pretext of iuſtice, impoſing great payments vpon them, giuing it out it was *Sertorius* commaundement. By which their leud practiſes, many cities reuolted againſt him, and put themſelues into his enemies hands: and they dayly alſo raiſed new mutinies and rebellions vpon him. Furthermore, thoſe whom he ſent to pacifie the tumults did handle themſelues in ſuch ſort, that where they ſhould haue quieted the grudges and rebellions of the people, they ſet them farther out, and procured new tumults. Hereupon was *Sertorius* gentle nature and former goodneſſe ſo altered, that he committed a moſt cruell act vpon all the noble mens children of that land, which he brought vp at ſchoole in the citie of Osca: for ſome of them he put to death, and others he ſold as ſlaues. Thus *Perpenna* hauing many aſſociates in his wicked conſpiracie againſt *Sertorius*, brought into his confederacie alſo one called *Manlius*, who had chiefeſt charge in all the armie. This *Manlius* loued a young boy exceedingly, and becauſe he would let him know he loued him well, he told him on a time the whole plot of this conſpiracie, willing him not to reckon any more of others loue but of his, and to loue him onely: for he ſhould ſee him a great man before it were long. The young boy louing another better then him, called *Aufidius*, went and reuealed vnto him all that *Manlius* had told him. *Aufidius* maruelled to heare the boy made priuie to it, ſeeing himſelfe alſo was of the confederacie, and knew not yet that *Manlius* was one of them. And when the boy alſo named *Perpenna*, *Græcinus*, and ſome other whom *Aufidius* knew well to be of counſell, he was worſe afrayd then before, but yet ſeemed to make litle of it, and told the boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counſelled him not to credit *Manlius* words, who was but a vaine man, and boaſted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceiue him. This notwithſtanding, departing thence, he went forthwith vnto *Perpenna*, and told him how their practiſe was diſcouered, declaring further what danger they were in, if it were not ſpeedily put in execution. All the confederates agreed it was true that he ſaid, and

Sertorius league with Mithridates.

M. Marius ſent vnto Mithridates.

King Mithridates gaue M. Marius Proconſull, the vpperhand.

The enuie of Perpenna vnto Sertorius.

The ſeditious words of Perpenna againſt Sertorius.

Sertorius ſlue the Spaniards ſonnes.

The treaſon of Perpenna and his accomplices againſt Sertorius.

and thereupon they deuiſed this treaſon. They had ſuborned a meſſenger to bring counterfeit letters to *Sertorius*, faining in the ſame that one of his Lieutenants had wonne a great battell, in the which he had ſlaine a maruellous number of his enemies. *Sertorius* being very glad of the good newes, made ſacrifice vnto the gods to giue them thankes. Whereupon, *Perpenna* taking the preſent oportunitie, inuited *Sertorius* to ſupper to him, and all other his friends that were preſent (euery one of the conſpiracie with him) and was ſo importunate with *Sertorius*, that in the end he promiſed him to come. Now *Sertorius* did euer vſe great modeſtie at the boord, and would ſuffer no diſſolute talk nor light parts at his meate, and had acquainted them alſo that vſed his table, to talke of graue and wiſe matters, and yet one to be honeſtly merrie with another, without any playing or vncomely talke. In the middeſt of ſupper, they that ſought occaſion of quarrell, began to ſpeake leud words, counterfeiting to be drunke, and to play many vile parts, of purpoſe to anger *Sertorius*. Whereupon *Sertorius*, whether it was that he could not abide to ſee thoſe villainous parts, or that he miſtruſted their ill will towards him by fumbling of their wordes in their mouthes, and by their vnwonted irreuerent maner ſhewed vnto him: fell backwards vpon the bed where he ſate at meate, ſeeming no more to marke what they did or ſaid. *Perpenna* at that inſtant tooke a cup full of wine, and making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpoſe. The cup falling down made a noiſe, and that was the ſigne giuen among them. Therewithall *Antonius* that ſate aboue *Sertorius* at the table, ſtabbed him in with his dagger. *Sertorius* feeling the thruſt, ſtroue to riſe: but the traiterous murtherer got vp on *Sertorius* breaſt, and held both his hands. And thus was *Sertorius* cruelly murthered, not able to defend himſelf, all the conſpirators falling vpon him. *Sertorius* death being blowne abroade, the moſt part of the Spaniards ſent Ambaſſadours immedialy vnto *Pompey* and *Metellus*, and yeelded themſelues vnto them: and *Perpenna* with thoſe that remained with him, attempted to do ſomething with *Sertorius* armie and preparation; but all fell out to his vtter deſtruction and ruine, making the world know that he was a wicked man, who could neither commaund, nor knew how to obey. For he went to aſſaile *Pompey*, who had ouerthrowne him ſtraight, and was in the end taken priſoner. And yet in that inſtant of his calamitie, he did not vſe himſelfe like a valiant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to ſaue his life, hauing *Sertorius* letters and writings, he offered *Pompey* to deliuer him all *Sertorius* letters ſent him from the chiefeſt Senators of Rome, written with their owne hands, requeſting *Sertorius* to bring his armie into Italy, where he ſhould find numbers of people deſirous of his comming, and that gaped ſtill for change of gouernement. But here did *Pompey* ſhew himſelfe a graue and no young man, deliuering thereby the citie of Rome from great feare and daunger of chaunge and innouation. For he put all *Sertorius* letters and writings on a heape together, and burnt them euery one, without reading any of them, or ſuffering them to be read. And moreouer, he preſently put *Perpenna* to death, fearing he ſhould name ſome, which if they were named, would breed new occaſion of trouble and ſedition. And as for the other conſpirators, ſome of them afterwards were brought to *Pompey*, who put them all to death: and the reſt of them fled into Africke, where they were all ouerthrowne by them of the countrey, and not a man of them ſcaped, but fell vnfortunately vpon the edge of the ſword, *Auſidius* onely except, *Manlius* companion in loue. Who, either becauſe he was not reckoned of, or elſe vnknowne, died an old man in a pelting village of the barbarous people, poore, miſerable, and hated of all the world.

The treaſon deuiſed againſt Sertorius.

Sertorius modeſtie at his table.

The murther of Sertorius.

Perpenna taken by Pompey.

Pompeys wiſedome in burning Sertorius letters.

Perpenna and his conſpiraters put to death by Pompey.

The end of Sertorius life.

THE LIFE OF *Eumenes.*

Eumenes parentage.

Vris the Hiſtoriographer writeth, that *Emenes* was borne in the citie of CARDIA in THRACIA, being a cariers ſonne of the ſame countrey, (who for pouertie earned his liuing by carying merchandizes to and fro) and that he was notwithſtanding honeſtly brought vp, aſwell at ſchoole, as at other comely exerciſes. And furthermore, how that he being but a boy, *Philip* king of MACEDON chancing to come through the citie of CARDIA, where hauing nothing to do, he tooke great pleaſure to ſee the young men of the citie handle their weapons, and boyes to wreſtle: and among them, *Eumenes* ſhewed ſuch actiuitie, and performed it with ſo good a grace withall, that *Philip* liked the boy well, and tooke him away with him. But ſure their report ſeemeth trueſt, which write that *Philip* did aduaunce him for the loue he bare to his father, in whoſe houſe he had lodged. After the death of *Philip*, *Eumenes* continued his ſeruice with King *Alexander* his ſonne, where he was thought as wiſe a man, and as faithfull to his maiſter, as any: and though he was called the Chancellor or chiefe Secretarie, yet the King did honour him as much as he did any other of his chiefeſt friends or familiars. For he was ſent his Lieutenant generall of his whole armie, againſt the INDIANS, & was *Perdiccas* ſucceſſor in the gouernement of his prouince, *Perdiccas* being preferred vnto *Hephæſtions* charge after his death. Now becauſe *Neoptolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squiers for the bodie vnto the King) after the death of *Alexander* told the Lords of the councell of MACEDON, that he had ſerued the King with his ſhield and ſpeare, and how *Eumenes* had followed with his pen and paper: the Lords laughed him to ſcorne, knowing that beſides many great honours *Eumenes* had receiued, the King eſteemed ſo well of him, that he did him the honour by mariage to make him his kinſeman. For the firſt Ladie that *Alexander* knew in ASIA, was *Barſine Artabazus* daughter, by whom he had a ſonne, and called his name *Hercules:* and two of her ſiſters he maried the one of them called *Apama* vnto *Ptolomie*, and her other ſiſter alſo called *Barſine*, he beſtowed vpon *Eumenes*, when he diſtributed the PERSIAN Ladies among his Lords and familiars to marrie them. Yet all this notwithſtanding, he often fell in diſgrace with King *Alexander*, and ſtood in ſome daunger by meanes of *Hephæſtion*. For *Hephæſtion* following *Alexanders* Court on a time, hauing appointed *Euius* a fife-player a lodging, which *Eumenes* ſeruants had taken vp for their maiſter: *Eumenes* being in a rage, went with one *Mentor* vnto *Alexander*, crying out that a man were better be a fife and a common player of Tragedies, then a ſouldier, ſithence

How Eumenes came to preferment by the kings of Macedon.

Barſine the wife of Eumenes.

ſithence ſuch kind of people were preferred before men of ſeruice that ventured their liues in the warres. *Alexander* at that preſent time was as angrie as *Eumenes*, and roundly tooke vp *Hephæſtion* for it: howbeit immediatly after hauing chaunged his mind, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, becauſe he thought him not to haue vſed that franke ſpeech ſo much againſt *Hephæſtion*, as of a certaine preſumptuous boldneſſe towards himſelfe. And at another time alſo, when *Alexander* was ſending *Nearchus* with his armie by ſea to cleere the coaſts of the Ocean, it chanced the king was without money: whereupon he ſent to all his friends to take vp money in preſt, and among others, vnto *Eumenes*, of whom he requeſted three hundred talents. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, & ſaid he had much a do to get him ſo much of all his tenãts. *Alexander* ſaid nothing to him, neither would he ſuffer them to take his hundred talents: but commaunded his officers to ſet *Eumenes* tent on fire, becauſe he would take him tardie with a lie, before he could giue order to carie away his gold and ſiluer. Thus was his tent burnt downe to the ground, before they could make ſhift to ſaue any thing: the which *Alexander* repented afterwards, and was ſorie it was burnt, becauſe all his letters and writings were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in niggots of gold and ſiluer mingled together, aboue a thouſand talẽts, and yet *Alexander* tooke none of it away: but more then that, he ſent vnto all his Lieutenants, Captaines, and Gouernours of countries, whereſoeuer they were, that they ſhould ſend him copies, of all the letters which they before had ſent vnto him, becauſe all thoſe which he had were burnt, and commanded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hephæſtion* fell at variance againe, by reaſon of a gift that was giuen him, inſomuch as very foule words paſſed betwixt *Hephæſtion* and him: yet did not the King giue *Eumenes* any ill countenance at that time. Notwithſtanding, ſhortly after *Hephæſtion* was dead, the King taking his death grieuouſly whom he loued ſo dearely, gaue no good countenance (and was very briefe beſides) vnto thoſe whom he knew bare any grudge to *Hephæſtion* whiles he liued, and that he thought were glad of his death, but ſpecially vnto *Eumenes* of all other, whoſe malice towards *Hephæſtion* was knowne to him well enough: in ſomuch as he would oft twit him withall, remembring him of the iniuries he had offered *Hephæſtion*. But *Eumenes* being very wiſe, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the ſelfe ſame meane that did him hurt: and deuiſed (to further *Alexanders* deſire, ſeeking to honour *Hephæſtions* funerall with all pompe poſſible) new inuentions to ſet forth the ſame, of more magnificence then had before bene ſeene, ſparing for no coſt, laying on money bountifully, to make him a rich and ſtately tombe. Againe, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwixt the MACEDONIAN footmen, and the noblemen that had bene neareſt about him: and in that quarrell, *Eumenes* in good will ſtucke to the Lords, but in words he ſeemed a neuter & friend to both parts: ſaying, it was not for him being a ſtranger, to thruſt himſelf into the quarrels of the MACEDONIANS. And when the other Lords were departed from BABYLON, *Eumenes* tarying behind pacified the greateſt part of the ſouldiers, and made them more tractable and readie to agree with the Lords. Whereupon, after the Lords and Captaines had conſulted together, and taken order for thoſe contentions, they deuided the gouernement of the prouinces among them, which they called Satrapaes: in which partition *Eumenes* had CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, and all that coaſt vpon Mare Ponticum, vnto the citie of TRAPEZVNTE, the which at that time was not ſubiect to the Empire of MACEDON, for *Ariarathes* kept it then as king. Howbeit it was ſaid, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would put him in poſſeſſion of it, with a great and puiſſant armie, and make him Gouernour there. Yet afterwards *Antigonus* made none account of *Perdiccas* letters vnto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to conquer all, deſpiſing all other. And *Leonatus* alſo came downe into PHRYGIA, and vndertooke the iourney of this conqueſt for *Eumenes* ſake. But when he was in his iourney thitherwards, *Hecataeus* tyrant of the CARDIANS, went to him to his armie, and prayed him rather to go helpe *Antipater*, and the other MACEDONIANS, which were beſieged in the citie of LAMIA. So *Leonatus* being willing to take ſea, & go thither, went about to perſwade *Eumenes* alſo to like of it, & to reconcile him with *Hecataeus*: for they were not friends one with another, by reaſon of a quarrell that *Eumenes* father had with this *Hecataeus*, about the gouernement of their citie. Beſides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly vnto King *Alexander*, ſaying, that he was a tyrant, and beſought the King that it would pleaſe him to ſet the CARDIANS at libertie. And therefore *Eumenes* refuſing that iourney againſt the GRECIANS, alleaging that he was afrayd of *Antipater*, who had bene his enemie of long time, doubting that for the old grudge he bare him,

Eumenes made Gouernour of the countries of Cappadocia & Paphlagonia.

and also to gratifie *Hecataeus*, he would put him to death: *Leonatus* then reuealed himselfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe ouer the sea to aid *Antipater*, where indeed his meaning was to take the kingdome of MACEDON. Thereupon he shewed him letters sent him from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come to the citie of PELLA, and there she would marie him. When *Eumenes* was made priuie to his purpose: either because he feared *Antipater*, or else for that he had no great good opinion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a fond man, and very rash and vnconstant in his doings, he stale away from him by night, with those few men he had (being about three hundred horsemen, and two hundred footmen well armed) taking all his gold with him, which amounted to the summe of fiue thousand talents, and fled with them vnto *Perdiccas*, vnto whom he bewrayed all *Leonatus* intent and mind: whereupon he was immediatly of great credite about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after *Perdiccas* brought him into CAPPADOCIA, with a great armie which he himselfe did leade. Where *Ariarathes* was taken prisoner, and *Eumenes* established Gouernor of the countrey, who deliuered the charge of the great cities vnto his friends, and left them there Captaines of garrisons which he appointed, placing euery where, Iudges, Receiuers, Gouernours, and all such other officers necessarie as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* medling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* againe, as well to waite vpon him, as also because he would euer be about the kings. But *Perdiccas* thinking with himselfe that he alone could well enough performe the enterprise he went about: and considering also that the realme he left behind him stood needfull of a wise and skilfull Gouernor, whom he might trust with the safetie of his state: when they were in CILICIA, returned *Eumenes* backe againe, vnder colour to send him to his gouernement, but indeed to keepe the realme of ARMENIA in obedience, the which confined vpon the frontiers of his countrey whereof he was Gouernour, because *Neoptolemus* did vnder-hand practise some alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a proud and insolent person, yet *Eumenes* still deuised to hold him in, and kept him from attempts by gentle and faire words. Furthermore, perceiuing also that the regiment of the MACEDONIAN footmen were growne exceeding stout and insolent: he for a strength and defence against them, set vp a companie of horsemen, and to bring it to passe, released all the countrimen from paying of tribute or taxe, being meete to serue on horseback, and brought a great number of horse of seruice, which he gaue amongst them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them couragious, by honors and gifts he gaue to them that serued wel, and so by continuall exercise and often remouing them from place to place, made them very readie and seruiceable. Thus were the noble men of MACEDON, some much amazed, some others very glad when they saw how by this diligence *Eumenes* had in so short a time gotten about him such a number, as sixe thousand three hundred horsemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* hauing subdued the GRECIANS, came on with their armie into ASIA to ouerthrow *Perdiccas* greatnesse and power: and newes also, that shortly they would inuade CAPPADOCIA. Whereupon *Perdiccas* being otherwise occupied in warres, fighting against *Ptolomy*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenant generall, and gaue him commission and full authoritie ouer all his souldiers that were for him, either in CAPPADOCIA, or in ARMENIA: and wrote letters vnto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*, commanding them by the same that they should be obedient vnto *Eumenes*, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for *Alcetas*, he flatly answered, that he would not be at this warre: for the MACEDONIANS vnder his charge were ashamed to take armes against *Antipater*, and moreouer they would not fight against *Craterus*, but contrarily were bent to receiue him for their Captaine, so much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus* on the other side, was as readie to play the traitor, and to do *Eumenes* a shrewd turne, as *Alcetas* was. For being sent by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he should haue obeyed him, he set his men in battel ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the first frute of his wise foresight of the horsemen, which he had set vp to make head against the footmen of the MACEDONIANS. For when his owne footmen were broken and ouerthrowne, he ouercame *Neoptolemus*, and put him to flight with his horsmen, and took all their cariage. Then he made the march in order of battell against the MACEDONIANS, who were dispersed euery where, following the chase of his footmen, whō they had ouerthrowne. Thus coming vpon them in this disorder, he draue them to throw away their weapons, and to yeeld vnto him: and moreouer, euery man to take his oath to serue him faithfully in this war, whereseoeuer he would leade them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them vnto *Craterus* and *Antipater*:

who

who ſent vnto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their part, with condition that he ſhould not onely enioy the countries and prouinces ſtill which he had in gouernement, but furthermore that they would giue him others vnto them, and make him ſtronger then euer he was: beſides that by the acceptation of the offer, he ſhould be taken for *Antipaters* good friend, where before he was euer reckoned his enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made aunſwer: that hauing alwayes bene *Antipaters* enemy, he could not of a ſudden become his friend, ſpecially ſeeing him vſe his friends as enemies: howbeit otherwiſe that he was very willing to make *Craterus* peace with *Perdiccas*, and to reſtore him againe to his fauour, vpon reaſonable and indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he meant to aſſaile him, that then he would aide him ſo long as he had any breath in his bodie, and would loſe his life before he would breake his promiſe. This aunſwer being brought vnto *Antipater*, they fell to conſult at leiſure what was to be done. In the meane ſpace, *Neoptolemus* that fled vpon his ouerthrow, was come vnto them: who told them how the battell was fought, and beſought them both very inſtantly (but *Craterus* chiefly) to giue him aide if it were poſſible. For the MACEDONIANS were ſo farre in loue with him, that if they did but ſee his hat, and heare him ſpeake, they would all arme themſelues and follow him. For to ſpeake a troth, *Craterus* was had in great eſtimation among the MACEDONIANS: in ſomuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more deſired of the common ſouldiers, than any other Captaine, remembring how often he had for their ſakes incurred *Alexanders* diſgrace and diſpleaſure, becauſe he went about to perſwade him to leaue the king of PERSIANS maner, wherunto *Alexander* by litle and litle gaue himſelfe: and alſo for that he maintained and defended the cuſtomes of the countrey of MACEDON, the which euery man through pride and exceſſe began to forſake and contemne. At that time therefore *Craterus* ſent *Antipater* into CILICIA, and he himſelfe with *Neoptolemus*, went againſt *Eumenes* with the beſt part of his army, hoping to take him tardy and altogether vnprouided, ſuppoſing he would giue himſelfe to pleaſure and paſtime, after ſo late a victorie. But *Eumenes* like a wiſe and vigilant Captaine had taken ſuch order, that he heard newes time inough of his enemies comming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readineſſe to reſiſt him. Yet was not this the chiefeſt point of his skill in warre: for he looked ſo preciſely to his doings, that he did not onely keepe his enemies from knowledge of any thing that he did, but making his men alſo to kill *Craterus* in battell, before they knew againſt whom they ſhould fight, and to keepe alſo ſo dreadfull an enemie from their knowledge: that of all others ſhewed the paſſing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his pollicy. Firſt, he made a rumour to be ſpred in his hoaſt, how *Neoptolemus* and *Pigres* were againe come againſt him, with certaine horſemen of all ſorts gathered together, CAPPADOCIANS and PAPHLAGONIANS. And when he thought to haue remoued in the night, a great deſire of ſleepe came vpon him, in the which he had a maruellous ſtraunge dreame. For it ſeemed vnto him that he ſaw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with another, either of them leading a battell of footemen, ranged after the MACEDONIAN faſhion: who comming to giue charge the one vpon the other, the goddeſſe *Minerua* came to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewiſe to aide the other. Then him thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerua* aided was ouerthrowne, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of corne and made a crowne of them, to giue him that had wonne the field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perſwaded himſelfe that this dreame made for him, and promiſed him victorie, for that he fought for a fertile countrey of corne, where was great plentie of it. For all the fields were ſowne with corne in euerie place, that it was a pleaſure to behold it, ſhewing the benefit of long peace, to ſee all the corne fields how greene they looked. But when he vnderſtood that the enemies had giuen their ſouldiers for the ſignall of battell, *Minerua* and *Alexander*: then was his firſt imagination confirmed more then before. Whereupon, he gaue *Ceres* and *Alexander* for ſignall of the battell to his ſouldiers, and commaunded euery man to make them a garland of wheate eares to weare on their heads, and that they ſhould wreath flowers and noſegayes about their pikes. He was in a mind many times to make his truſtieſt Captaines priuie againſt whom they ſhould fight, and not alone to truſt himſelfe withall, to keepe ſo neceſſary a thing as that ſecret: yet in fine, he kept his firſt reſolution, thinking it the ſafeſt way, not to commit this danger, but to himſelfe. Now when he came to giue battell, he would place neuer a MACEDONIAN directly againſt *Craterus*, but ſet two companies of men at armes that were ſtraungers againſt him, the which *Pharnabazus* (*Artabazus* ſonne) and *Phœnix Tenidian* did leade. Then he

Eumenes skill in warre.

Eumenes dreame.

Battell betwixt Eumenes and Craterus.

specially commaunded, that so soone as they saw the enemies before them, they should straight giue charge, giuing them no leisure to speake nor retire, neither to harken to any Herauld or trumpet that they should send vnto them: for he feared much that the MACEDONIANS would turne against him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for himselfe, he led the right wing of his battell, with a troupe of three hundred men at armes, the chiefest men of all his armie, where he should meete full with *Neoptolemus* front. When they had passed a litle hill that stood betweene both battels, *Eumenes* horsemen following his commaundement, ranne with full cariere to set vpon their enemies. *Craterus* seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed *Neoptolemus* that had deceiued him in that sort, informing him that the MACEDONIANS would turne of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shew themselues like valiant men that day, and therewithall fiercely set spurres to his horse to meete with his enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their staues being broken, they fell straight to their swords: but that day did not *Craterus* dishonour the memory of *Alexander*, for he slue many of his enemies round about him, valiantly repulsed them that did assaile him, and many times ouerthrew them. Yet in fine, one of the men of armes of THRACIA gaue him such a blow on the side, that he turned him off his horse, and when he was downe, many passed ouer him. But *Gorgias*, one of *Eumenes* Captaines knowing him, lighted from his horse, and appointed men about him to gard him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and euen in the verie pangs of death. *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on the other side, which had bin mortall enemies of long time, being on fire with an old malice, they sought vp and downe the one for the other. And at the two first courses they could not one light vpon the other, but at the third meeting, when they knew one another, then they set spurres to their horses, their swords drawne, and with great cries gaue charge vpon each other. And their horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed galleys had met with their prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridles in their horse neckes, closed together, and with both hands striued to plucke off each others head-peece, & to rent their polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing each other, their horses ran from thē, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. *Neoptolemus* got vp first: but as he rose, *Eumenes* cut the ham of his legge, and raised himselfe vp withall. *Neoptolemus* staying himselfe vpon one knee, his other legge being very sore hurt, defended himselfe on the ground the best he could, from *Eumenes* that was on his feete, but he could giue him no deadly wound: neuertheless himselfe had a blow on the necke, that layd him flat on the ground. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choler against him, went about to strip him, and fell a reuiling of him, and being in that furious mood, remembred not that *Neoptolemus* had his sword yet, who hurt him vnder his curaces, euen about his groine, not farre from his priuie parts: howbeit the wound made *Eumenes* worse afraid, then there was cause of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* strength was gone before the stroke came, dying presently vpon it. *Eumenes* hauing stripped him, found himselfe very ill (by reason of his wounds) on his armes and legges, which had many a sore gash: notwithstanding, he got vp on his horse againe, and rode towards the other wing of his battell, thinking his enemies had bene fighting still. But there being told that *Craterus* had his deaths wound, he went straight to the place where he lay, and found him yet aliue, not past knowledge. Then *Eumenes* lighted from his horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accursed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pitifull state, and had also forced him to be in battell against one of his deerest friends, to make him the instrument of his vtter vndoing. This second battell *Eumenes* wanne ten dayes after the first battell obtained, which got him great honour, for that he had discomfited one of his enemies through wisedome, and the other by valiantnesse. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his enemies, but of his friends also that tooke his part, when they bethought them, that he being a straunger, had with the weapons and power of the MACEDONIANS themselues, slaine the greatest and most famous Captaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had bene so happie, as to haue liued and receiued the aduertisement of *Craterus* death: no doubt he had bene the greatest person of all the MACEDONIANS. But as ill lucke would haue it, within two dayes after that *Perdiccas* was slaine in a mutinie of his men in ÆGYPT, newes came to his armie of *Eumenes* victorie, and also of the death of *Craterus*. Whereupon the MACEDONIANS were so offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to die, and gaue *Antigonus* and *Antipater* commission to execute the reuenge. When

Craterus death.

Neoptolemus slaine.

Eumenes victorie of Craterus and Neoptolemus.

Eumenes

Eumenes passing by mount Ida (where the king kept a race and breed of horses) had taken away with him as many horses as he would, and had sent letters of aduertisement thereof to the kings riders: *Antipater*, as it is reported, smiled, and in mockerie sayd, that he maruelled to see *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he should either giue or receiue any account of the kings goods. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great plaines of LYDIA, especially neare vnto the chiefe city of SARDIS, because he was the stronger in horsmen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* see the power of his armie. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into high PHRYGIA, and wintered in the city of CELÆNES. But there *Polemon*, *Alcetas*, and *Docimus*, fell in contention with him for leading of the army, saying, that they had as much right to leade the army as he. *Eumenes* answered them, Truly here is the common saying vp and downe: desperate men regard no danger. Now *Eumenes* hauing promised his souldiers pay within three dayes, to keepe his promise, sold them all the farmes and castels of that country, together with the men and beasts of the same, whereof the prouince was fully replenished. Thereupon his Lieutenants of the bands hauing bought certaine of them, went and tooke them perforce, through *Eumenes* engines of battery which he suffered them to cary with him: and hauing taken them, they went and deuided the spoile, paying euery souldier ratably his wages due. This deuise brought him againe in fauour among his souldiers. For certaine papers being found in his campe cast abroad by his enemies, promising great offices, and a hundred talents besides to any man that killed *Eumenes*: the MACEDONIANS that serued vnder him were so offended withall, that they presently set downe an order, that from that time forward a thousand of the best souldiers among them (which also had charge vnder them) should alwayes gard his person, keeping watch euery night about him, as fell out by turnes one after another. Whereunto they all agreed: and *Eumenes* gaue them those honors and rewards, which the kings of MACEDON were wont to giue vnto their friends, and which they gladly receiued. For through their graunt he had authority to giue purple clokes and hats to whom he thought good, which was the honourablest gift the king of MACEDON could giue. It is true that prosperitie maketh simple men high minded, whereby they seeme (though they be not) very honorabe, but specially when fortune hath raised them to honor and wealth. But indeed he that is of a noble mind and stout courage, is best discerned in aduersity: for he neuer yeeldeth to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For when he had lost a battell among the ORCYNIANS, in the realme of CAPPADOCIA, through the treason of one of his souldiers: he being pursued, yet neuer gaue the traytor any leisure to flie to his enemies for safety, but tooke him and trussed him vp. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his horse head vpon a sudde, & leauing his enemies side-hand of him that had him in chase, he closely stale by them without their knowledge, & held on iourneying so long, vntill he came to the selfe same plaine, where the battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering vp the dead bodies (the Captaines by themselues, and the souldiers apart) he burnt them with the doores, gates, and windowes of all the villages and townes thereabouts that he could get together: an in stead of tombes for them, he raised vp great heapes of earth. Insomuch as *Antigonus* comming thither immediatly after, he wondred much at his valiantnesse and inuincible courage. Remouing thence, he met with *Antigonus* cariage, and might easily without danger haue taken a number of prisoners, as well free as bond, and haue gotten all the riches and treasure which they had spoiled in so many sundry warres, townes, and countries: howbeit he was afraid that if his souldiers were loden with that spoile, it would make them more heauy to march, and vnable to flie, but specially more tender to abide to runne from place to place a long time together, being the onely meane wherein he trusted to come to end this warre. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be weary in following him so long a time, and therefore that he would turne some other way. Moreouer he perceiued that it was vnpossible for him by his authority to keepe the MACEDONIANS from taking so rich a prey, as offered it selfe vnto them: whereupon he commaunded them to stay a while, and baite their horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the enemies cariage. But in the meane time he secretly sent a messenger to *Menander* (who had the charge and conduct of all the cariage) to will him to flie with all speed out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a hill not farre from thence, and safe from horsemen, where they could not be enuironed, and there to fortifie himselfe: sending him word also, that he sent him this aduertisement, for the old friendship and acquaintance that had bene betweene them afore. *Menander* hearing what danger he was in, made his men trusse vp their cariage straight. Therupon *Eumenes*

Sardis, the chiefe city of Lydia.

The constancy of Eumenes in aduersity.

Eumenes stratageme.

openly ſent certaine light armed men to diſcouer, and to bring him newes: and therewithall commaunded them to arme, and bridle their horſes, as if he had meant to haue led them againſt the enemies. His ſcouts were now returned, and told him that it was vnpoſſible either to diſtreſſe or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of ſuch ſtrength, and therefore he was not to be come by. *Eumenes* ſeemed to be very ſory for it, howbeit he led his army from thence notwithſtanding. *Menander* afterwards reported this matter to *Antigonus*, and the MACEDONIANS that were in his army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, and after that loued him better then euer they did before: becauſe that hauing their children in his hands whom he might haue made ſlaues, and their wiues alſo whom he might haue defiled, he ſpared them all. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humor, told thē, ye are deceiued, my friends: for it was not for your ſakes, nor yet to pleaſure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your wiues, your children, and your goods, but onely for the feare he had to haue ſhackles on his heeles, to let him from ſpeedy flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled ſtill before *Antigonus*, and wandring vp and downe, did himſelfe wiſh his ſouldiers to get them ſomewhere elſe: either indeed for that he was carefull of them, or for that he was vnwilling to haue ſuch a number about him, being too few to fight a battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a ſtrong place of ſituation called NORA, in the confines of LYCAONIA and CAPPADOCIA, with fiue hundred horſmen, and two hundred foot-men well armed. And when he was come thither alſo, he gaue euery one leaue to depart that aſked him licence, becauſe they could not haue abidden the diſcommodity of the place, which was very ſtraight, and the lacke of neceſſary victuals, which they muſt needs haue wanted, if the ſiege did continue long: and thus departed from them with very good words and louing countenance. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the fort, but would not beſiege it, before he ſent for *Eumenes* to come to him vpon his word. *Eumenes* anſwered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the heads of his tribe, and that himſelfe on the other ſide had not a noble man for whom he fought. And therefore if *Antigonus* would haue him come and ſpeake with him, that he ſhould ſend him one of his chiefeſt friends in hoſtage. Againe, *Antigonus* being earneſt with him, and telling him it was reaſon he ſhould come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power: *Eumenes* aunſwered him, I will acknowledge none better then my ſelfe, ſo long as I can hold my ſword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* requeſt) ſent his owne nephew *Ptolomy* into the fort, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both imbraced and ſaluted each other, as friends of old acquaintance and familiarity: and ſo fell in talke of diuerſe matters: but all this while *Eumenes* neuer once made requeſt to depart in ſafety, neither yet demanded pardon, but onely deſired the confirmation of his charge and gouernement, and that he might be reſtored to that which was giuen him. They that were preſent at that meeting maruelled much at *Eumenes*, and greatly commended his ſtoutneſſe. Now whileſt they were thus in talke together, the MACEDONIANS came out of all parts of the campe, to ſee what maner of man *Eumenes* was: becauſe that after the death of *Craterus* there was no talke among the MACEDONIAN ſouldiers, of any Captaine, but of *Eumenes*. Neuertheleſſe, *Antigonus* fearing they would do *Eumenes* ſome miſchiefe, commaunded them aloud to giue backe, and made ſtones to be throwne among them to keepe them off him. All this notwithſtanding he was faine in the end to put them off with his gard, and to take *Eumenes* in his armes, and had much ado to deliuer him ſafely into his fort againe. After this imparlance, *Antigonus* compaſſed this fort of NORA round about with a wall, and left a ſufficient number of men to continue the ſiege, and ſo went his way with the reſt of his army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained beſieged within this fort, where there was plentie of wheate, water, and ſalt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor ſweete of taſte, to ſuſtaine them with their bread. Yet with ſuch as he had, he kept them in good liking that were in houſe with him. For he made them euery one after another ſit at his boord with him, and withall did faſhion out that manner of diet, with a certaine life and familiarity of pleaſant deuiſes to entertaine them at their meate. For beſides that he ſought to ſhew them as pleaſant a countenance as he could, yet naturally he had a ſweete faire face, not looking like a man of warre, that all the dayes of his life had bene trained vp in it: but like a freſh youth, being of ſuch a conſtitution of body, that the excellenteſt workeman that euer was could not better ſet out all the parts and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be ſeene in him. His ſpeech was not harſh nor churliſh, but very mild, and pleaſant, as appeareth by the letters he wrote. Now for the ſiege, there was nothing that more

Eumenes talke with Antigonus, and his magnanimity.

Eumenes beſieged in the fort of Nora.

Eumenes perſonage and pleaſantneſſe.

more annoyed the beſieged, then the narrowneſſe of the fort wherein they were, which was not aboue two furlongs compaſſe about, and their houſes ſo litle and narrow, that they could ſcant turne them in them: and did eate and drinke without any manner of exerciſe for themſelues, or their horſe. Now *Eumenes* to take away the ſluggiſhneſſe that groweth by idleneſſe, a thing moſt hurtfull to them that are acquainted with trauell and paines, to keepe them in breath, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occaſion were offered: put his men into the longeſt and wideſt hall he had in his houſe (being fourteene cubits long to walke vp and downe in) and taught them firſt of all to march faire and ſoftly, and then by litle and litle to haſten their pace: for the horſes he had, them he made to be girt before, one after another, & then did ſoftly triſe them vp with long pulleys faſtned to the beames: their hindmoſt part ſtanding on the ground, and their formoſt being aloft. The horſes being triſed vp in this maner, their riders came with loud cries behind them, and ſome with whips in their hands to laſh them, that the horſe being mad withall, yerked out behind, & ſprang forward with his formoſt legs to touch the ground, that they did but euen raſe it a litle, ſo as euery veine and ſinew of them were ſtrained by this meanes, that they blew, and were all of a ſome withall, ſo good an exerciſe to them it was, as well to put them in breath, as to keepe their legs ſupple to run. After that, they had their oats very cleane pickt and dreſſed, that they might digeſt them the ſooner. *Antigonus* hauing long continued this ſiege, newes came vnto him that *Antipater* was dead in Macedon, and that the realme was in a great broile, through the factions of *Caſſander* and *Polyperchon*. *Antigonus* whoſe head was ſtraight ful of great imaginations, greedily coueting with himſelfe the whole kingdom of Macedon, thought good to make *Eumenes* his friend, that through his helpe he might attaine his deſired purpoſe. Thereupon he ſent *Hyeronymus* vnto him to treat of peace, and gaue him the forme of the oath which he would haue him ſweare vnto him. When *Eumenes* had ſeene it, he would not be ſworne in that manner, but corrected it, and ſayd: that he did referre himſelfe to the iudgement of the Macedonians which kept him beſieged, to iudge which of thoſe two formes was moſt meeteſt: that which *Antigonus* had ſent him, or the ſame which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of oath, there was a litle mention onely made at the beginning of the bloud royall, but in all the reſt following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to himſelfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of oath, did firſt of all put *Olympias* the mother of king *Alexander*, & the kings his ſonnes afterwards: and for the reſt, he ſware he would be friend of the friends, and enemy of the enemies, not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the kings, and of *Olympias*. The Macedonians being at the ſiege before Nora, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* oath, than they did that of *Antigonus*. So hauing giuen *Eumenes* his oath, and made him ſweare according to that forme, they raiſed their ſiege, and ſent alſo vnto *Antigonus* to take his oath. All this accompliſhed, *Eumenes* redeliuered the Cappadocians their hoſtages, (which he had kept in Nora with him) and they that came for them, gaue him in their ſtead, horſe of warre, beaſts of cariage, tents and pauillions. Thus he began to gather his men againe together, which were diſperſed abroad after his ouerthrow, ſo that in few dayes he was aboue a thouſand horſemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet *Antigonus*, and he did wiſely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commaunded them to ſhut him vp againe ſtraighter then he was before: but beſides that wrote ſharpe letters and very angrily vnto the Macedonians, which had accepted the correction of the oath. Whileſt *Eumenes* wandred vp and downe flying ſtill, he receiued letters from certaine in Macedonia (fearing *Antigonus* greatneſſe) and ſpecially from *Olympias*: which ſent vnto him to come into Macedon, to take the charge and gouernment of her young ſonne *Alexander*, whom they ſought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewiſe receiued letters from *Polyperchon*, and from king *Philip*, who commanded him to make war with *Antigonus* with his army he had in Cappadocia, and to put in his purſe of the kings fiue hundreth ſiluer talents (which had bene taken from him before) which were in the city of Cyndes: and beſides, to defray the charges of the warres, as much as he thought meete. And therewithall alſo they wrote vnto *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, the two Captaines of the Argyraſpides: to wit, the ſouldiers with the ſiluer ſhields, or ſhields ſiluered, which were of the old bands of *Alexanders* armie. Theſe two Captaines hauing receiued theſe letters, did vſe *Eumenes* with verie good words, and ſhewed him great countenance: yet a man by their lookes might eaſily coniecture that they enuied him, for either of them both thought themſelues men ſufficient, and worthie to commaund *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howbeit *Eumenes* behaued himſelfe very wiſely: for as touching their enuy, he pacified that, becauſe he tooke not the mony which

Eumenes induſtry in the ſiege for martiall exerciſe.

This was Arideus, the ſon of Philip, father to Alexander, whom they had ſurnamed Philip.

Eumenes made king Philips Lieutenant of his armie.

Argyraſpides Alexanders ſouldiers, ſo called for their ſiluered ſhields.

Eumenes temperance.

Eumenes faigned deuise.

he was commanded to take for his owne vse, for that he had no need of it. And as for their ambition and presumption, disdaining to be commaunded by him, though they could neither tell how to command nor obey: he did reclaime them, by a superstition he layd before them, which was this. He made them beleeue that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his sleepe, and that he shewed him a pauillion sumptuously set out in the state and magnificence of a king, in the which was a royall throne: and told him, that if they would keepe their councell place in that pauillion, he would be present among them, and aide them in all their counsels and conducts of their warres, so that they would alwayes begin by him. He easily perswaded *Antigenes* and *Teutamus* to beleeue that which he spake, who would not go to him to consult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honorable for himselfe to be seene to go to other mens gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set vp a goodly rich pauillion, which was called *Alexanders* pauillion: and there they kept their counsels & assemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest causes. After this, they went towards the high countries and met with *Peucestas* on the way (*Eumenes* very great friend) who ioyned with them, and other great peeres of the realme, with all their power besides. This did greatly strengthen the army of the noblemen of MACEDONIA, as touching the number of men, and their braue armors and furniture: but for their owne persons, because they had no man to command them since the death of *Alexander*, they were growne selfe willed by dissolute liberty, and effeminate in their manner of life: and moreouer they had gotten a tyrannicall fiercenesse, nourished and increased by the vanities of the barbarous people. So that many of them being then together, could not be quiet one with another, but shamefully flattered the old bands of the MACEDONIAN souldiers, giuing them money, and making them banquets and feasts of sacrifices. And thus in short time, of a campe they brought it to be a dissolute tauerne, where the noblemen got the souldiers fauour that they might be chosen chieftaines of all the army: like as the common peoples voyces are bought in free cities (where the people do rule) to be preferred to honourable states and offices of the common wealth. Now *Eumenes* found straight that these peeres of the realme disdained one another, howbeit that they all feared and mistrusted him, and sought but for oportunity to kill him. Wherefore to preuent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupy mony, and so borrowed a great summe of them specially, whom he knew most hated him: to the end that from thencefoorth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the mony they had lent him. And thereof followed a strange thing: for other mens money and goods, was the safety of his life. For where others giue money to saue their liues, he by taking of money saued his owne life. Now for the souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, whilest they saw they were without danger of enemies to make them afraid, they still hung vpon them that gaue them, being desirous to be made Generals: and came euery morning to their vprising to waite vpon them, and follow them whersoeuer they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to campe hard by them with a great and puissant army, and that their case required then a valiant Captaine and skilfull leader: not the souldiers alone, but all the peeres and states besides (which in peace did braue it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit themselues vnto *Eumenes*, to be at his commaundement. For when *Antigonus* assayed all the wayes he could to passe ouer the riuer of Pasitigris, the peeres which were layed in diuerse places to let him from passing ouer, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that resisted him, and fought with him: where he slue such a number of his men, that he filled the riuer with them, and tooke foure thousand of them prisoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was sicke, these old bands did more plainely shew what opinion they had of him, and of others: to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them good cheare at their houses, yet that *Eumenes* onely of all other was worthiest to be their Captaine, and to commaund them. For *Peucestas* hauing feasted them in the kingdome of PERSIA, and giuen euery souldier a mutton to sacrifice, thought he had won great fauor and credit among them. But shortly after, as the army marched against their enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell dangerously sicke, and therfore would needs be caried in a litter farre from the campe, to be out of the noyse, because he could take no rest. But they had not gone farre, before they saw their enemies, which hauing passed ouer certaine litle hils betweene them, were comming downe into the valley. When the souldiers saw the glistering of the gilt armours of their enemies, that glared in the Sunne, and the good order they marched withall in battell ray, the Elephants with the towers vpon their backes, and the men at armes with their purple coates vpon their armours (which was the apparell they

Eumenes willinesse to vwind himselfe out of daunger.

Pasitigris fl.

Eumenes battell vvith Antigonus, and his victorie.

Antigonus souldiers armed vvith gilt armours.

they wore when they went to fight with their enemies) then the foremoſt ſtaid vpon it, and cried out, willing them to ſend for *Eumenes* to lead thē, for they would elſe go no further if they had not him for their Generall. And therewithall they raiſed their pikes, and laid downe their ſhields at their feet, calling from one to another to ſtay, and to their priuate Captaines alſo: and told them plainely, that they would not ſtirre a foot from thence, nor fight at all, vnleſſe *Eumenes* were among them to leade them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great ſpeed, haſtning his ſlaues and littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his litter on euery ſide, he held out his right hand to the ſouldiers, and told them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The ſouldiers alſo ſo ſoone as they ſaw him, ſaluted him in the MACEDONIAN tongue, and tooke vp their ſhields, clapping them againſt their pikes with a great ſhout, bidding their enemies come when they would, they ſhould be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. *Antigonus* on the other ſide, being informed by certaine priſoners which his ſouldiers had taken in skirmiſh, that *Eumenes* was fallen very ſore ſicke, and by reaſon thereof was caried in a litter: thought now he ſhould haue no great ado to diſcomfit the reſt of the armie, and therefore made all poſſible ſpeed he could to fight. But when he came ſo neare, that he might eaſily ſee the order and countenance of his enemies, who were ſet in ſuch good order of battell, that it could not any waies be amended: he was much amazed withall, and pawſed a great while, and in the meane time ſpied *Eumenes* litter a farre off, caried from one end of the battell to the other, whereat he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and turning himſelfe to his friends, ſaid: See, ſaid he, I beleeue it is that litter that maketh warre with vs, and doth offer vs battell. But with thoſe wordes, he ſounded the retraite, and brought his men backe againe into his campe. *Antigonus mocke to Eumenes.*

When this feare was a litle paſſed ouer, the MACEDONIANS fell to their old trade againe, the Peeres to flatter the ſouldiers, and the ſouldiers to waxe braue and ſtout againſt their Captaines: ſo that when they came to take their garriſons for the winter time, they deuided in maner among them the whole country of the GABENIANS, the firſt from the laſt being lodged almoſt a thouſand furlongs off. Which *Antigonus* vnderſtanding, determined to ſet vpon thē, they miſtruſting nothing: and ſo went ſodainly towards them, by a ſhorter way then that he had already come, but the worſer way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if he met them thus diſperſed aſunder, their Captaines could not readily aſſemble them all together. But while he was in this his iourney, in the deſert crooked way, he was ſo ouertaken, with ſuch boiſterous winds and extreame bitter cold, that his ſouldiers could go no further, but were forced to tarie ſtill, to prouide them preſent remedie againſt the furie of the time. Now the onely remedie they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their enemies knew of their comming. For the barbarous people inhabiting the mountaines, towards the deſert, being amazed to ſee ſuch a number of fires in the valley, ſent preſently with ſpeed vpon two camels light loden, to aduertiſe *Peucestas*, who being neareſt vnto the mountains was ſo ſcared with theſe newes, that he was at his wits end, not knowing what to do. For ſeeing his other companions as much afraid as himſelfe, he fled vpon it, and caried all them with him which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quieted this great feare, aſſuring them that he would ſtay the ſodaine attempt of their enemies, and that they ſhould come three daies later then they looked for: which they beleeued. Then did *Eumenes* ſend meſſengers into euery quarter to all the Captaines, commaunding them ſpeedily to put their men in readineſſe, and to meet him at a certaine place which he appointed. Him ſelfe in the meane time went with other Captaines to chuſe a fit ground to lodge a campe, the which might eaſily be ſeene from the top of the mountaines, which they muſt paſſe that come from the deſert: and there fortified the ſame with trenches, and deuided it out into quarters, making fire in euery place, ſuch a diſtance off one from another, as they vſe commonly to make in a campe. It was no ſooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the top of the mountaines, and ſaw theſe fires a farre off, which grieued him much: for he thought that his enemies had long before knowne of his comming, and that they came againſt him. Being afraid therefore leaſt his enemies would compell him to fight, comming freſh vpon him, his owne men being wearie and done with the paines they had abidden, comming through that deſert countrey: he tooke his way to leade backe his armie, not the neareſt way by the which he came, but through the country richly inhabited and repleniſhed with great cities and good townes, to refreſh his ouer-wearied people. Yet ſeeing he had none alarmes giuen, nor any skirmiſhes offered him, (as they vſe commonly when both armies are neare together) and that the valley men told him that they *Eumenes ſtratageme againſt Antigonus.*

had ſeene none other armie but his, ſauing that round about there was ſtore of fires: then he ſtraight miſtruſted that it was one of *Eumenes* ſtratagemes of warre, wherewith he had deceiued him. And therewithall he was in ſuch a rage, that he went ſtraight to the place where he thought to find him, determining no more to ſteale vpon him, but to put all to the hazard of a battell. But in the meane time, the moſt part of the hoaſt was gathered about *Eumenes*, for the great eſtimation euery man had of his wiſedome and ſufficiencie: inſomuch that they agreed and ordained, that he onely as their Lieutenant generall ſhould commaund the whole armie. This ſpited the two Captaines of the ARGYRASPIDES, *Antigenes* and *Teutamus*, who bare him ſuch an inward grudge, that from that time forth, they practiſed his death: and aſſembling together with many of the States and particular Captaines, they ſate in counſell to know when, and in what ſort they ſhould kill him. Howbeit the moſt voices aſſembled in this counſell, were whole of opinion, that they ſhould take the benefite of his ſeruice in leading the battell, and that immediatly after they ſhould put him to death. This being thus reſolued vpon, *Eudamus* Captaine of the Elephants, and another called *Phædimus*, went ſecretly and told *Eumenes* what they had concluded vpon in the aſſembly againſt him, not for any goodwill that they bare him, or for that they ſought to pleaſure him, but onely becauſe they were afraid to loſe the money they had lent him. *Eumenes* gaue them great thankes, and commended their fidelitie, and then reported it vnto his beſt friends, & told them: You ſee how I am enuironed with a troupe of wild and brutiſh beaſts. That done, he made his will, and tare all the letters and writings that had bene ſent him, becauſe he would not haue them ſuffer for him after his death, that had ſent him ſecret aduertiſements. Afterwards when he had diſpoſed of all his priuate matters in this ſort, he ſtood in a doubt whether he ſhould loſe the battell, giuing his enemies the victorie, or whether it were better for him to flie into CAPPADOCIA, through MEDIA and ARMENIA. Howbeit he reſolued of nothing before his friends. But when the miſchiefe he was in had put diuers thoughts into his head, in fine, he determined to fight, and did ſet his army in battell ray, perſwading the GRECIANS as well as the barbarous people to ſtand to it like men. And as for the old ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS, they ſo litle needed exhortation, that they themſelues did exhort *Eumenes* to be of good courage, ſaying: that their enemies would neuer abide them, becauſe they were all the oldeſt ſoldiers, and of greateſt experience that had bene in all the conqueſts of king *Philip*, and of his ſonne *Alexander*, and that it was neuer heard that they dad bene ouerthrowne in any ſet battell, the moſt of them being threeſcore and ten yeares old, and the youngeſt no leſſe then threeſcore. Whereupon, when they ran with great furie to giue charge vpon their enemies, they cryed out aloude ſpeaking to the ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS that were vnder *Antigonus*: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your fathers? And ſo aſſailing them with a luſty courage, and in a rage withall, in a ſhort ſpace ouerthrew the ſquadron of their enemies, and ſlue the moſt part of them in the field. Thus was *Antigonus* armie cleane ouerthrowne on that ſide: but on the other ſide where his men of armes were, through *Peuceſtas* cowardlineſſe (that handled himſelf very ill at that battell) he had the vpper hand, and wanne all their cariage, through his foreſight in the greateſt fury of the battell, and the ſtrength of the place where the battell was fought. For it was a maruellous great plaine of length, neither too deepe, nor yet too hard vnder foote, but couered ouer with a ſmall fine ſand, much like to the drie ſand the ſea caſteth vp, and leaueth vpon the ſhore. This ſand being ſcattered abroad by riding and going too and fro of ſo many thouſands of men and horſes during the time of the battell foughten, had raiſed ſuch a mighty duſt and white ſmoke in the element, as if they had ſtirred or tempered white lime together, which troubled their ſight ſo ſore, as they could ſee nothing before them: in reſpect whereof *Antigonus* might eaſily ſeize all their cariage, themſelues being neuer a whit the wiſer. The battell being come to this paſſe you haue heard, *Teutamus* ſent preſently vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to redeliuer them their cariage again, which he had taken and caried into his campe. *Antigonus* made him anſwer, that he would not onely redeliuer the goods vnto the ARGYRASPIDES, but would moreouer vſe them with all the fauour he could, ſo farfoorth as they deliuered *Eumenes* into his hands. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES took preſently a wicked reſolution, to deliuer him aliue into the hands of his enemies. And with that determination they came neare vnto him, not making any countenance as though they would lay hands on him, but rather ſeeming to guard and defend his perſon, as their maner was: ſome of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had won the battell: and others accuſing the noblemen of cowardlines, ſaying, that the

Enuy the companion of vertue.

Eumenes death conſpired.

Eumenes tare all his friends letters to keepe them out of trouble.

The old band of the Macedonians, were euery man 60. yeare old and moſt aboue.

Eumenes conflict with Antigonus.

Eumenes betrayed by the Argyraſpides.

the fault was in them that they had not the whole victorie. But in fine, one of them hauing ſpied his time, flew to him, and tooke his ſword out of his hand: the others ſtraight laid hold of him, and bound both his hands behind him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* vnderſtanding it, ſent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their hands, and to bring him to him. Then *Eumenes* hauing made requeſt vnto them to ſuffer him to ſpeake, as they brought him through the bands of theſe old MACEDONIAN ſouldiers: it was graunted him with condition, that he ſhould make no motion vnto them to turn from that they were determinated to do, but to tell them of things, which (as he ſaid) tended greatly to their benefite. Whereupon ſilence being made, he got vp vpon a litle hillocke, and there ſpake vnto them, putting foorth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithleſſe men, the wickedeſt that euer MACEDON bred! What ſo great triumph or victorie, hath euer *Antigonus* wonne of you, hauing ſought it ſuch infinite wayes: as you your ſelues do now put into his hands, deliuering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great ſhame, that being maiſters of the field, you will grant the honour of the victorie vnto your enemie, only for a litle couetouſneſſe of money and paltrie ſtuffe which you haue loſt? And yet is not this all, but the worſt behind: to ſend your Captaine as you do to pay the ranſome of your baggage. For my ſelf, though now they leade me bound, yet do I remain free vnouercome, vanquiſher of mine enemies, and ſold by them that ſhould be my friends. Well, yet this requeſt I only make vnto you, in the name of *Iupiter*, protector of armes, and for the honour of the gods, (vnto whom all vowed othes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and coniure you, to kill me your ſelues in this place. For all commeth to one end. To be ſlaine in *Antigonus* campe by the hands of mine owne enemies, will euer be counted your deed: and you may be aſſured he will not be angry withall, for he onely deſireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needs hold your hands from this attempt, vnlooſe yet one of mine only: that ſhall ſuffice to do the feate. And if for feare ye will not put a ſword in my hand, throw me bound yet hands and feet vnto wild beaſts: which if ye performe, then do I diſcharge you of your oth taken between both my hands, which ye haue ſworne vnto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly performed. Vpon this ſpeech of *Eumenes*, all the reſt of the army had compaſſion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the ARGYRASPIDES cried out to carie him away, and not to giue eare to his preaching: and that it was a good deed to puniſh this wicked CHORRONESIAN, according to his deſerts, conſidering that he had turmoyled the MACEDONIANS with endleſſe war and battell. And moreouer, that it were too much ſhame that the worthieſt ſouldiers that euer ſerued king *Philip* and *Alexander*, ſo painefully in all their warres, ſhould for recompence of their ſeruice in their old age be turned a begging, their wiues hauing now lien three nights with their enemies. With thoſe words, they violently draue him on towards *Antigonus* campe, who fearing leſt the multitude of people that ranne to ſee him, would ſmoother him in the preaſe, becauſe euery man ranne out of the campe: he ſent thither ten of the ſtrongeſt Elephants he had, and a good number of men at armes of the MEDES and PARTHIANS, to make way for him in the preaſe. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* campe, his heart would not ſerue him to ſee him in that miſerable ſtate, for that they had once bene familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, ſuch as had him in their cuſtodie, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how he would haue him kept: who anſwered them: Like a Lion or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pitie of him, and diſcharged him of his waightieſt irons, and ſent one of his houſhold ſeruants to him to ſee him well vſed, and ſuffered his friends to come and bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many dayes before he would determine ought of *Eumenes*, hearing euery man ſpeake, and pondering their purpoſes and ſeuerall opinions. *Nearchus* CRETAN, and his owne ſonne *Demetrius* ſpake for *Eumenes*, and made ſute to ſaue his life, contrarie to all the other Lords and Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who would in any caſe haue him die. *Eumenes* ſtanding in theſe termes, asked his keeper *Onomarchus* one day what *Antigonus* meant, that hauing his enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or nobly deliuer him? *Onomarchus* churliſhly anſwered him againe, that the time was paſt now to ſhew his courage, as though he feared not death: and that he ſhould haue ſhewed it in the field at the battell. So helpe me *Iupiter* (quoth he) ſo haue I done, and if thou beleeueſt not me, aske them that ſet vpon me: for I neuer met with man yet more ſtrong then my ſelfe. *Onomarchus* replyed again: ſith now therfore thou haſt found a ſtronger then thy ſelf, why then canſt thou not abide his pleaſure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had reſolued of his death, he commanded them to giue him no more meate: and thus

The oration of Eumenes to the traiterous Argyraſpides his ſouldiers.

Antigonus anſwer for keeping of Eumenes being priſoner.

The noble mind of Eumenes.

taking his ſuſtenance from him, *Eumenes* was three dayes a dying. In the meane time came ſuch newes, that ſodainly the campe remoued: and therefore before their departure, a man was ſent to *Eumenes* to diſpatch him out of his paine. *Antigonus* licenced his friends to take his body and burne it, and then to gather his aſhes and bones to ſend them to his wife and children. *Eumenes* being ſlaine in this maner, the gods appointed none other iudges to reuenge the diſloyaltie and treaſon of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captains, for betraying of *Eumenes*, but *Antigonus* ſelf: who deteſting them as cruell murtherers, and periured perſons to the gods, appointed *Ibyrtius* Gouernour of the prouince of ARACHOSIA, to kill them euery mothers ſon what way he could, that none of them might euer ſee MACEDON againe, nor the Greekiſh ſea.

The death of Eumenes.

The iuſt reuuard of treaſon.

THE COMPARISON OF *Eumenes with Sertorius.*

HEre haue we ſet downe the things worthie memorie of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. Now to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being ſtrangers in a ſtraunge countrie, and baniſhed out of their owne, had alwaies bene Captaines of diuers nations, and chieftaines of great and warlike armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all thoſe of his faction gaue him the chiefeſt place of authoritie, as the moſt ſufficienteſt man among them, and worthieſt to commaund: where *Eumenes* hauing many that contended againſt him for the chief rule and conduction of the armie, through his noble deedes, obtained the chiefe place and authoritie in the ſame. So that they obeyed the one, deſiring to be gouerned by a good Captaine: and for their owne ſafetie gaue place to the other, ſeeing themſelues vnable to commaund. For *Sertorius* being a ROMAINE, gouerned the SPANIARDS and LVSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHOERRONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which the SPANIARDS of long time had bene ſubiect to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had ſubdued all the world. Furthermore, *Sertorius* being then of great eſtimation, for that he was a Senator of ROME, and had had charge of men of warre before, came to the dignity and eſtate to be chieftaine of a great army. Where *Eumenes* came with ſmall reputation, diſdained for that he was but a Secretarie: and when he began to come forwards, had not only leſſe means to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets and impediments alſo, to hinder his riſing and eſtimation. For many openly ſtood againſt him, and ſecretly conſpired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whome no man contraried from the beginning, vntill his latter end, when certaine of his companions ſecretly conſpired againſt him. Therefore *Sertorius* end of all his dangers, was to ouercome his enemies: where *Eumenes* greateſt dangers came through his victories which he wan of his owne men, through the malice of them that enuied his honor. Now for their deeds of armes, they are both in maner alike: but on the other ſide for their conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loued warre and contention: and *Sertorius* imbraced peace and quietneſſe. For, *Eumenes* that

The gouernment of Eumenes and Sertorius.

The deedes and conditions of Eumenes and Sertorius compared.

that might haue liued in ſafetie with honor, if he would but haue giuen place to his betters, and forſaken the warres: liked better with the daunger of his life to follow martiall feates, with the greateſt perſonages of MACEDON, and in the end ſo came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being vnwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the ſafetie of his perſon to take armes againſt them, that would not let him liue in peace. For had not *Eumenes* bene ſo ambitious and ſtout to ſtriue againſt *Antigonus* for the chiefeſt place of authoritie, but could haue bene contented with the ſecond, *Antigonus* would haue bene right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would neuer ſo much as ſuffer *Sertorius* to liue in reſt. So the one made voluntarie warre onely to rule, and the other againſt his will was compelled to rule, becauſe they made wars with him. Whereby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loued warre, preferring the couetous deſire of a better eſtate, aboue the ſafetie of his life: and the other as a right ſouldier, vſed the warres onely for a meane to ſaue his life by valiant defence of armes. Furthermore, the one was ſlaine, miſtruſting no treaſon againſt him: and the other, looking euery houre for preſent death threatned him. Whereof the one argued a noble mind, not to miſtruſt them whom he thought his friends: and the other ſhewed a faint heart, being taken when he meant to flie. So *Sertorius* death diſhonoured not his life, ſuffering that of his owne companions, which his deadly foes could neuer make him ſuffer. The other hauing no power to auoid his deſtinie before he was taken, and hauing ſought meanes to liue being in priſon and captiuitie: could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For begging life at his enemies hands, he gaue him his heart with his bodie, who before had but his bodie in his power. *The end of Eumenes life.*

Sertorius death more honeſt, then the death of Eumenes.

THE LIFE OF *Ageſilaus.*

ARchidamus the ſonne of *Zeuxidamus*, hauing honorably raigned in LACEDÆMON, left two ſons behind him: *Agis* which he begat of that noble Ladie *Lamprido*, and *Ageſilaus* a great deale younger, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Meliſippidas* daughter. So the kingdom falling by ſucceſſiō vnto *Agis* the elder, the younger ſon *Ageſilaus* remaining a priuate perſon, was brought vp after the LACONIAN maner, which was a ſtraight kind of life: but withall it taught children how to obey. Whereof it is thought the Poet *Simonides* calleth SPARTA, *Damaſimbrotos*: to wit, making men ciuil: for that by continuance of cuſtom, it frameth the citizens to be obedient to the lawes, as much or more thē any other city that euer was in the world taming thē from their childhood, as they do yong colts. The law diſpenſeth with the heires apparant to the crowne, frō that ſtreight ſubiection & hard life: but *Ageſilaus* had that excellency in

The parentage of Ageſilaus.

The inſtruction of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus learned to obey, before he came to commaund.

him aboue all others of his eſtate, that he came to the dignitie and honour to commaund, hauing from his youth learned to obey. The which vndoubtedly was the cauſe, that he knew better then any other king, how to pleaſe and beare with his ſubiects, helping his royall ſtate and princely behauiour grafted in him by nature, with that courteſie and familiaritie, which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the boyes which were brought vp together, *Lyſander* fell in loue with him, wondering at the modeſty of his wit. For hauing better ſpirit, and being more conſtant in his opinion, then any of the other children, ſtriuing euer to excell in all things, with ſuch a vehemency he tooke all trauels in hand, that it was vnpoſſible to ouercome him, much leſſe to compell him. He was on the other ſide ſo mild and gentle, that euery courteous word wrought in him better obedience, then any feare could do: becauſe it grieued him more to be reproued, then to take vpon him any paine or labour. And for the deformitie of his legges, the one being ſhorter then the other, in the flower of his youth, through his pleaſant wit, he vſed the matter ſo pleaſantly and patiently, that he would merily mocke himſelfe: which manner of merie behauiour did greatly hide the blame of the blemiſh. Yea further, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men ſaw that notwithſtanding his lameneſſe, he refuſed no paines nor labour. Of his perſon we haue drawne no counterfeit, becauſe he would not in any wiſe haue it drawne, and did expreſly commaund by his will, that they ſhould neither draw his picture nor make any mould or image of his bodie. Howbeit we find that he was ſmall of ſtature, whereby his preſence promiſed no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet for that he was euer merie and pleaſant, and neuer penſiue nor troubleſome in word nor looke, euen to the laſt end of his life he was better loued, then the moſt faire creature that liued. Notwithſtanding, the Ephori (as *Theophraſtus* writeth) did condemne king *Archidamus* in a ſum of money becauſe he maried a litle woman: ſaying that he would beget them demy kings, no kings indeed. In the time that his eldeſt ſonne *Agis* raigned king, *Alcibiades* being baniſhed Athens, fled out of Sicile into Lacedæmon, and had not long remained in Sparta before they ſuſpected him that he kept king *Agis* wife, called *Timæa*: for which cauſe *Agis* would not acknowledge the child ſhe brought to be his ſonne, ſaying that *Alcibiades* had begotten him. But *Timæa* cared not much for it, as *Duris* writeth: for otherwhile as ſhe ſate amongſt her women, ſoftly ſhe called him *Alcibiades*, not *Leotychides*. On the other ſide they report, that *Alcibiades* himſelfe ſaid, it was for no hurt he meant to any man, that he lay with Queene *Timæa*, but onely for the deſire he had that ſome of the kings of Lacedæmon ſhould be begotten of his ſeede. Neuertheleſſe at the length he was driuen to forſake Lacedæmon, miſtruſting king *Agis*, who euer after doubted of the child, and thought him a baſtard: vntill ſuch time as being on his death bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and ſo behaued himſelfe, that *Agis* before many witneſſes, ſaid he did acknowledge him for his ſonne. This notwithſtanding, when king *Agis* was dead, *Lyſander* that had then ouercome the Athenians by ſea, and was more in credit and authoritie in the citie of Sparta, then any other: practiſed to put the crowne vpon *Ageſilaus* head, ſaying, that *Leotychides* had no intereſt vnto it, becauſe he was a baſtard. The like did diuers other citizens ſay of him, which loued *Ageſilaus* vertue, and liked him paſſingly; for that he had bene brought vp from his childhood among them. But on the contrarie part alſo, there was a Soothſayer or wiſard in Sparta called *Diopithes*, that had a number of old prophecies without booke, and was accounted a very skilfull man touching prophecies and diuinations. He maintained that ~~it was not lawfull for~~ any lame man to be king of Sparta: and for proofe thereof he told this ancient oracle before the counſell.

The modeſty of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus lameneſſe.

Alcibiades committeth adulterie with king Agis wife.

Ageſilaus created king, through Lyſanders meanes.

A lame king.

As ſtately as thy ſtomacke is, o Sparta take good heed,
And ſtand vpon thy guard, and looke about thee, I thee reed.
For halting one day downe will caſt thine Empire to the ground,
By meane of warres and troubles great that ſhall incloſe thee round.

Lyſander replyed againſt it, ſaying, that if the Spartans were afraid of this oracle, they ſhould rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the gods cared not, if any man lame of a foot aſpired to be king: but rather if he were a baſtard, and not lineally deſcended of the race of *Hercules*. For that, ſaid he, were to make the kingdome halt. *Ageſilaus* furthermore alleaged, that the god *Neptune* himſelfe had witneſſed, that *Leotychides* was a baſtard: for he draue *Agis* by an earthquake, to runne out of his wiues chamber, and that ten moneths after that, and more, *Leotychides* was borne. So was *Ageſilaus* vpon theſe allegations not onely proclaimed king of Sparta, but he had giuen him

Ageſilaus proclaimed king, and Leotychides a baſtard.

him moreouer, as lawfull heire, all his brother *Agis* goods, and *Leotychides* reiected as a baſtard. Notwithſtanding, conſidering that his parents by his mothers ſide were very poore, (yet honeſt men) he left them the moytie of all the goods: by which act, *Ageſilaus* wonne all their good willes, where elſe they had enuied him for his ſucceſſion in the kingdome. And (as *Xenophon* ſaith) by obeying his countrey, he grew to ſuch power that he might do whatſoeuer he would. The Ephori and Senatours at that time bare all the ſway and gouernment of the Commonwealth, the Ephores office chaunging yearely, the other being for life: the which Ephori were onely ordained to bridle the inſolencie of the kings, for that they ſhould not (as we haue more amply written in *Lycurgus* life) haue abſolute power in their hands. Vpon this occaſion, the kings that ſucceeded in the gouernement, had (as it were) by inheritance, a preſent grudge and malice againſt them. This notwithſtanding, *Ageſilaus* tooke a contrarie courſe to all his predeceſſors. For where others preſently quarrelled with the Ephori and Senatours, *Ageſilaus* did honour and reuerence them, and would neuer diſpatch any matter without their priuity, but was alwaies readie to go when they did ſend him. When he was ſet in his chaire of ſtate to giue audience, if any of the Ephori chaunced to come in, he would riſe vp vnto them: and at the election of any new Senatour, he would for honours ſake preſent him a gowne and an oxe. And thus cunningly ſeeming to honor and increaſe the dignity of the Senators, winning their goodwils, he made his power great, and the realme much greater. Furthermore, his behauior towards the reſt of his countrimen was ſuch, as his enmitie was leſſe faultie then his friendſhip. For he did neuer hurt his enemies without iuſt cauſe, but he aided his friends euen in vniuſt cauſes. And wheras he thought it a ſhame not to honor his enemies, when they had done well: he could not find in his hart to rebuke his friends when they did amiſſe, but rather gloried in ſuccoring & helping of thē in their euil doings. For he thought it no ſhame to ſerue his friends turne, howſoeuer it were. Againe, when any of his aduerſaries offended, he was as ſory for it as any man, and as readie to beare with it if he were intreated: whereby he allured and wan the hearts of all men. The Ephori ſeeing that, and fearing his power, puniſhed him in money, for that he made the cōmon loue of his country priuate to himſelfe. For as naturall Philoſophers hold opinion, that if contention and ſtrife were taken out of nature, it would come to paſſe that the heauenly bodies ſhould ſtand ſtill, and alſo that the generation of all things ſhould be at a ſtay, by reaſon of the mutuall agreement betweene the world and them: euen ſo, the law-maker of LACEDÆMON ſeemeth to haue allowed ambition and ſtrife in the cōmonwealth, as a ſpur to vertue by procuring alwaies ſome contention and emulation among great perſons. And his reaſon was, that this baſe and effeminate fauour, in winking one at another when men are to be rebuked, ought not of right to be called by the name of concord. And ſure ſome thinke that *Homer* alſo ſaw the ſame, for he would neuer elſe haue made *Agamemnon* to haue reioyced to ſee *Vlyſſes* & *Achilles* at great words together, if he had not bene of opinion, that enuy and contention among great men, were very auaileable for the commonwealth. Yet is not this thus ſimply to be allowed: for contentions are hurtfull to cities, where they are violent: and do bring great dangers with them. Now when *Ageſilaus* was entred into his kingdome of LACEDÆMON, newes were brought him out of ASIA, that the king of PERSIA prepared a great nauie to conquer the LACEDÆMONIANS ſignioric by ſea. *Lyſander* being glad of this occaſion, longing to be ſent againe into ASIA to ſuccour his friends whom he left there as gouernors and Lieutenants of cities and prouinces (of the which, ſome of them were driuen away by their citizens, others alſo put to death for abuſing of their authority & ruling ouer cruelly:) perſwaded *Ageſilaus* to go into ASIA, to make war vpon this barbarous king, far from GREECE, before his army were gathered together. And to cōpaſſe this the eaſilier, he wrote vnto his friends in ASIA that they ſhould ſend vnto SPARTA to require *Ageſilaus* for their Captaine, and ſo they did. Therupon *Ageſilaus* going to the aſſembly of the people accepted the charge, with condition that they would giue him thirtie Captaines of the SPARTANS to be counſellers & aſſiſtants to him in theſe wars, two thouſand free ILOTES, and 6000 of the confederates of LACEDÆMON. All this was immediatly granted through *Lyſanders* friendſhip towards him, and he was ſent away ſtraight with the thirtie Captaines which he had requeſted: of the which *Lyſander* was the chiefeſt, not onely for his riches and authoritie, but alſo for the good will he bare vnto *Ageſilaus*: who thought himſelfe more beholding to him for procuring him this charge, then for his friendſhip he ſhewed him in bringing him to be king. Now *Ageſilaus* army being aſſembled at the hauen of Gereſtæ, himſelf with certain of his friends went vnto

Ephori were certaine officers authoriſed to controule the kings inſolencie and iniuſtice, if any were by them vſed.

Ageſilaus, an vpriʒter enemie then a friend.

Whether contention among the nobilitie be profitable in a cōmonwealth.

Ageſilaus iorney into Aſia.

Ageſilaus dreame in Aulide.

the citie of AVLIDE, where in his ſleepe he dreamed that one ſaid vnto him: O king of the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou knoweſt that neuer none but *Agamemnon*, and now thy ſelfe, was choſen generall of all GRECE, conſidering therfore that thou commandeſt the ſame people he did, that thou makeſt warres with the ſelfe ſame enemies, departing from the ſelfe ſame place to go thither, it is reaſon that thou make the ſelfe ſame ſacrifice vnto the goddeſſe, the which he made at his like departure. *Ageſilaus* ſtraight vpon this viſion, remembred that *Agamemnon* through the perſwaſion of the Soothſayers did ſacrifice his owne daughter in the ſame place. Yet this made him not afraid, but the next day he told it to his friends, and ſaid he would ſacrifice that vnto the goddeſſe, which he thought would pleaſe her well enough, and that he would not follow that cruell deuotion of this auncient Captaine *Agamemnon*. And with that, he brought a hind crowned with a garland of flowers, and commanded his Soothſayer to ſacrifice her: and would not ſuffer him to haue the honour to do the ſacrifice that was appointed for the ſame purpoſe by the Gouernours of BOEOTIA, according to the cuſtome of that place. The Gouernours of BOEOTIA vnderſtanding it, were much offended, and ſent their officers to will *Ageſilaus* not to do any ſacrifice there, contrarie to the law and cuſtome of their countrey. The officers that were ſent, performed their commiſſion: and finding that the beaſt was ſlaine, and the quarters of it vpon the altar, they tooke and flung them off the altar euery way. This vexed *Ageſilaus* being readie to imbarke, and departed thence in choler againſt the THEBANS, and miſtruſted much his good ſucceſſe by this vnluckie prediction, which ſeemed to prognoſticate vnto him, that he ſhould not preuaile according to his deſire. Furthermore, when he was arriued at EPHESVS, he preſently miſliked the honor he ſaw done vnto *Lyſander*, and the great traine that waited on him. For all the countrimen there repaired continually to his houſe, and when he came abroad, they all followed him whereſoeuer he went: as though *Lyſander* had indeed bene in authoritie to do what he would, and that *Ageſilaus* only had but the name to be generall, ſo appointed by the law of LACEDÆMON. For in truth there was neuer GRECIAN Captaine in thoſe parts that had won him ſuch eſtimation, nor that was more feared then he: nor there was neuer man that was more beneficiall to his friends, neither alſo that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All theſe things being freſh in memorie, the country men of that country perceiuing the ſimplicity of *Ageſilaus*, & how he was giuen to pleaſe the people, and caried no great maieſtie nor countenance with him, and obſeruing in *Lyſander* that wonted roughneſſe and ſharpe ſpeech wherewith they had bene acquainted before: euery man obeyed him, & nothing was done but what he commanded. This firſt of all made the other SPARTANS angry, for that it appeared they were come as it were to ſerue *Lyſander*, and not as to counſell the king: but after that, *Ageſilaus* himſelfe alſo grew miſcontented, although of his owne nature he was not enuious nor ſorie to ſee others honoured beſides himſelfe. Yet being a man ambitiouſly giuen, and of a noble courage, fearing if he ſhould do any noble exploit in this war, that they would impute it vnto *Lyſander*, for the great eſtimation he was of: he began to deale in this ſort with him. Firſt he contraried all his counſels: and what matters ſoeuer he preferred, which he was deſirous ſhold haue taken effect, *Ageſilaus* would none of that, but tooke ſome other in hand. Furthermore, if any of *Lyſanders* followers came to make ſute to him for his fauor, perceiuing that they did leane vnto *Lyſander*: he ſent them away without any thing done for them. In like caſe alſo in matters of iudgements, if *Lyſander* were againſt any, they were ſure to haue the matter paſſe on their ſide. On the contrarie part alſo, if *Lyſander* bare goodwill to the partie, and fauored the cauſe to gratifie him: they hardly eſcaped frō ſetting a fine on their heads. *Ageſilaus* continuing theſe ſhewes ordinarily of purpoſe, not by chance to one or two, but indifferētly to al: *Lyſander* looking into the cauſe, diſſembled not with his friends, but told them plainly, that it was for his ſake they had thoſe repulſes and wrongs, and therfore did counſell thē to wait vpon the king, & thoſe that had more credit then himſelf. Now *Ageſilaus* ſuppoſed he gaue that aduice to make euery man to malice him: wherefore, to deſpite him the more, he made him diſtributer of his victuals: & hauing done ſo, ſome ſay that he ſpake theſe words in open preſence of many: now let them go and honor my fleſh diſtributer. *Lyſander* being grieued withall, ſaid vnto the king: my Lord, you know how to oppreſſe your friends. And ſo do I, ſaid *Ageſilaus*, how to keepe them vnder, that would be greater then my ſelfe. It may be yet (replyed *Lyſander*) I haue not done as your Grace doth ſay: yet if you ſo conceiue of me, put me I beſeech you in ſome place of charge or office, where I may do you good ſeruice without offence. After this talke betweene them, *Ageſilaus* ſent him into HELLESPONT, where by

Lyſanders glorie diminiſhed.

Ageſilaus grudge vnto Lyſander.

See the life of Lyſander.

by practise he tooke prisoner a nobleman a PERSIAN, called *Spithridates*, out of *Pharnabazus* prouince whereof he was gouernor, and brought him to *Agesilaus* with a great sum of gold and siluer, and neare about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgate not his grudge to *Agesilaus*, but being offended stil, sought oportunitie and means to defeat the two houses of the priuiledge of the kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of SPARTA: and surely he had made great broile (in my opinion) in the citie of SPARTA, had he not bene preuented by death, in a iourney he made into BOEOTIA. Thus we see, that ambitious minds obseruing no meane, are in a commonweale oft times more hurtfull, then beneficial. For though *Lysander* was indeed intollerable, to shew himselfe so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not *Agesilaus* ignorant neither, that there were diuerse other meanes lesse reprochfull to punish such a nobleman, that offended only by greedinesse of honour. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfe passion: the one not to know his Princes power, & the other not to beare with his friends imperfection. Now *Tisaphernes* at the first being afraid of *Agesilaus*, made league with him, colourably letting him vnderstand that the king would be content to set the cities of GREECE in ASIA at libertie. Notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed war. *Agesilaus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through all GREECE, that he would do some noble exploit in this iourney. Moreouer he thought himself dishonored for euer, that the ten thousand GRECIANS which were returned backe from the farthest part of ASIA, euen vnto the sea Maior (vnder the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Captaine) had ouercome the king of PERSIANS army as oft as they listed themselues: and that he which was the Lieutenant generall of the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at that time commanded both sea and land) should not do some deed worthy memorie among the GRECIANS. Presently therefore to reuenge *Tisaphernes* periurie by iust deceipt, he made a countenance as though he would first inuade the countrie of CARIA. Whereupon, this barbarous person *Tisaphernes*, gathered all his power together. But *Agesilaus* on a sodaine returned backe againe, and entred into PHRYGIA, tooke there many cities, and wan great spoile, making his men see by experience, that to infringe and break a league made and auowed by oath, was a sacriledge, and contemning of the gods. On the other side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only iust and honorable, but also profitable and pleasant. Now *Agesilaus* being weaker in horsemen then his enemie, and finding the liuers of the beasts which he had sacrificed, without heads, returned into the city of EPHESVS, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the rich men vnderstand (which would not themselues serue in person) that he did dispence with their persons, so that they did set out a horse and man furnished for seruice in their place. Many of them tooke that course, & by this means *Agesilaus* within few daies had leauied a great number of men at armes, in stead of footmen that could do small seruice. For they that were vnwilling to go to the wars, did hire them that were willing to serue in their place: and such also as would not serue a horsebacke, did giue them pay that were desirous to serue in their steades. In this he wisely followed king *Agamemnons* example, who did dispence with the person of a rich coward for going to the warres, by taking a good mare of him. Then *Agesilaus* commanded them that sold the prisoners by the drum taken in the warres, that they should strip them naked, and so sell them, which they did. And sundry persons willingly bought their spoiles and rayment, but they scorned their bodies, because they saw them white skinned, soft and delicate: so that few men would out-bid the price for them, for that they thought those men vnprofitable and good for nothing. *Agesilaus* also being present at this sale of purpose, said thus vnto his men: See, my friends, quoth he: these be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoiles for the which ye shall fight. Time being come now to put himselfe into the field, and to inuade his enemies countrey againe, he gaue it out that he would enter LYDIA, not meaning to deceiue *Tisaphernes* againe, but *Tisaphernes* deceiued himselfe. For he being deceiued before by *Agesilaus*, gaue no credit to this second rumor, but perswaded himselfe that doubtlesse *Agesilaus* meant then to enter into CARIA, & the rather for that it was a woody country, very ill for horsemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, *Agesilaus* inuading (as he had giuen it out) the champion country, in the which stood SARDIS, the capitall city of LYDIA: *Tisaphernes* was cõpelled to come to rescue it in hast, & being come thither with great speed with his horsemen, he stale vpõ many of his enemies whõ he found straggling out of order, spoiling the country, and put the most of them to the sword. *Agesilaus* hauing intelligence of this, imagined with

Ambitious heads are very daungerous in a common-wealth.

Agesilaus deedes in Asia, & the falshood of Tisaphernes.

Agisilaus craft

Sardis, the chiefe citie of Lydia.

himselfe that the footmen of his enemie could not yet be arriued, and considering also that he had his army whole about him: thought it best foorthwith to bid him battell, rather then to delay time any longer. Thereupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed footmen, and commanded them straight to charge the enemy, whilst he caused the heauier armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled vpon it immediatly: & the GRECIANS lustily following the chase, tooke their campe, and made great slaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leysure enough not only to spoile & ouerrun the kings country at their pleasure, but also to see the reuenge taken of *Tisaphernes*, that was a vile man, & a cruel enemie to the GRECIANS. For the king of PERSIA made another his Lieutenant immediatly in his roome, called *Tithraustes*: who strake off *Tisaphernes* head, and sent vnto *Agesilaus* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of gold & siluer to depart out of his country. Thereto *Agesilaus* answered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but in the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that for his owne part, it was an easier matter to enrich his souldiers, then himselfe. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thought it dishonor to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then spoiles. This notwithstanding, to gratifie *Tithraustes* somewhat, for that he had taken reuenge of a common enemy of all the GRECIANS: for the sum of thirty talents giuen him to defray his charges, he withdrew his armie out of LYDIA; and went into PHRYGIA. In his iourney he receiued from the councel of LACEDÆMON, the Scytala, or scrole of parchment wreathed about, aduertising him that the citizens had made him also their Generall by sea, as he was by land. *Agesilaus* only of all men obtained this honor, who without comparison was of all other the worthiest man of fame in his time, as *Theopompus* witnesseth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, then for the greatnesse of his authority. In this notwithstanding he was to be blamed, when he made choise of one *Pisander* his wiues brother, to be Lieutenant of the nauy, and forsooke other Captaines of better experience and elder yeares: seeking rather to please his wife, and to aduance one of his kinne, then to regard the weale and safetie of his country. Afterwards he led his army into *Pharnabazus* countrey which he had in charge, where he found not onely plenty of all sorts of victuals, but gathered together also a wonderfull masse of mony. From thence he went into the realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with king *Cotys*: who for his vertue and constant fidelity, was very desirous of his friendship. The like did *Spithridates*, forsaking *Pharnabazus*, and came vnto *Agesilaus*: & after he was come to him, he neuer went from him, but alwaies followed him whersoeuer he went. *Spithridates* had a yong son that was passing faire, called *Megabetes*, (of whom *Agesilaus* had great liking) and likewise a faire young woman to his daughter, of age to be maried, whom *Agesilaus* caused king *Cotys* to marrie. So taking of king *Cotys* a thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen light armed, he returned backe into PHRYGIA, and there destroyed *Pharnabazus* countrey which he had in gouernment, who durst not meete him in the field, nor trust to his holds, but still fled from him, carying all his chiefest things with him, flitting from place to place: vntill that *Spithridates* accompanied with *Erippidas* the SPARTAN, followed him so neare, that he tooke his campe, and all his treasure in it. But there did *Erippidas* shew himselfe so hard and cruell, ouer straightly searching out part of the spoile that had bene imbeazled, compelling the barbarous people to deliuer it againe, ransacking euery corner for it: that *Spithridates* was so offended withall, that on a sodaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, and went backe vnto the city of SARDIS. This more grieued *Agesilaus* then any thing that happened to him in all his iourney: for that he had lost so valiant a man as *Spithridates*, and such a number of good souldiers as he caried away with him. Moreouer, he was afraid lest they would detect him of miserable couetousnes, a thing which he euer was carefull to auoid, not onely in his owne person, but also to keepe all his countrimen from it. But besides these knowne causes, the loue he bare to *Spithridates* son pinched him nearely: though when the boy was with him, he striued with his owne nature to subdue that naughty affection, and desire he had of him. For when *Megabetes* on a time came to make much of him, and to kisse him: *Agesilaus* turned his face from the boy. The boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come so familiarly, but saluted him aloofe off. *Agesilaus* then repenting him that he had not suffered *Megabetes* to kisse him, made as though he maruelled why he did not kisse him as he was wont to do. Then answered some of his familiars about him: your selfe, O king, is in fault, because you durst not tarie, but were afraid to kisse so faire a boy. For if he knew your mind, he would come againe, so that you turned your face no more away. When

Agesilaus victorie of Tisaphernes.

Agesilaus made Generall of all the Lacedæmonians nauie.

Cotys, king of Paphlagonia, became Agesilaus friend.

Agesilaus draue Pharnabazus out of his tents.

Agesilaus

Ageſilaus had heard them, he pawſed awhile, and ſaid neuer a word, but in fine anſwered them: It ſhall not need you ſay any thing to him, for it would do me more good I could refuſe ſuch an other kiſſe againe, then if all that I ſee before me were gold. Thus was *Ageſilaus* diſpoſed when *Megabates* was with him: but in his abſence he did ſo loue him, that I dare ſcantly ſay, that if the boy had come againe into his preſence, he would haue refuſed a kiſſe at his hands. After that, *Pharnabazus* ſought to ſpeake with him, and one *Apollophanes* a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a friend vnto them both. *Ageſilaus* was the firſt that met at the place appointed with his friends, and tarying for *Pharnabazus* comming, he laid him downe vpon the deepe graſſe in the ſhadow, vnder a faire great tree. *Pharnabazus* alſo came thither, and they ſpread ſoft skins long haired, and tapeſtry excellently wrought of diuers colours, for him to ſit on vpon the ground. But being aſhamed to ſee *Ageſilaus* laid on the bare ground in that ſort, he alſo lay down by him, though he had vpon him a maruellous rich gowne, of excellent tiſſue and paſſing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, *Pharnabazus* began firſt to ſpeake, and lacked no good perſwaſions & iuſt complaints, for that he hauing bene (as he was) a friend vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS in the war againſt the ATHENIANS, was then ſpoiled and ſacked by them. *Ageſilaus* then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung downe their heads for ſhame, not knowing how to anſwer him, conſidering that *Pharnabazus* had iniurie offered him, began to ſpeake in this manner: Heretofore when we were friends with the king (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) we haue vſed his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we vſe them: and ſince we ſee that thou wilt needs be a ſlaue of his, maruell not though we hurt thee for his ſake. But when thou ſhalt like rather to be a friend of the GRECIANS, then a ſlaue to the king of PERSIA: then make account, that all theſe ſoldiers, this armor, our ſhips, and all we, are to defend thy goods & liberty againſt him, without which, nothing that is honeſt can be looked for of mortall men. Therupon *Pharnabazus* told him his mind plainly: Surely, ſaid he, if the king do ſend hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenant, be ſure I will then take your part ſtraight. But on the other ſide, if he make me his Lieutenant in this war, truſt to it, I will do him the beſt ſeruice I can againſt you. This anſwer paſſingly pleaſed *Ageſilaus*, who taking him by the hand, and riſing vp with him, ſaid vnto him: I would wiſh (my Lord *Pharnabazus*) hauing ſo noble a mind as thou haſt, that thou were rather our friend, then an enemie. So *Pharnabazus* departing from thence with his men, his ſonne being left behind, ran to *Ageſilaus*, and ſmiling told him: King *Ageſilaus*, I will make thee my friend: and therewith gaue him a dart he had in his hand. *Ageſilaus* tooke it of him, and liking well the beautie of the young youth, and the courteſie he had offered him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might beſtow on him. At the laſt he ſpied his Secretarie *Adæus* horſe, which had a rich capariſon on: he ſtraight tooke it from him, and gaue the horſe and furniture to this liuely youth *Pharnabazus* ſon, who neuer after forgate it. For it chaunced afterwards that being driuen out of his country by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESVS, *Ageſilaus* made very much of him, and did not ſticke to further him in his loue abroad. For he had a great fancie and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whom they brought vp in wreſtling, one day to play for the beſt games. But when he was growne a big man and ſtrong, and that he came to offer himſelfe to be billed with them that ſhould wraſtle at the games Olympicall, being in ſome perill to be vtterly refuſed: this PERSIAN that loued him, went vnto *Ageſilaus*, and beſought his helpe, that this wraſtler might not receiue the foile to be reiected. *Ageſilaus* being deſirous to pleaſure him, perfourmed his requeſt with ſome difficultie. Thus *Ageſilaus* in all things elſe was a ſtrict obſeruer of the lawe: but in his friends cauſes to be ſtraight laced in matters of iuſtice, he ſaid that was but an excuſe for them that would do nothing for their friends. To this effect, they find a letter of his written vnto *Idrian*, Prince of CARIA, for the deliuerie of his friend. If *Nicias* haue not offended, let him go: if he haue offended, then pardon him for my ſake. But howſoeuer it be, let him go. This was *Ageſilaus* maner in the moſt part of his friends cauſes. Notwithſtanding, occaſions fell out oftentimes, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the commonwealth. As appeared one day when he was driuen to remoue in haſt on a ſodaine, and to leaue one ſicke behind him whom he loued dearely: the ſicke man calling him by his name as he was going his way, beſought him that he would not forſake him. *Ageſilaus* (as *Hieronymus* the Philoſopher reporteth) turned back againe, and ſaid: O how hard is it both to loue, and to be wiſe! Now had *Ageſilaus* ſpent two yeares in this warre, and was ſpoken of throughout ASIA, being maruellouſly commended to

The meeting of Ageſilaus and Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus words vnto Pharnabazus.

Ageſilaus to his friends, was without reſpect a frend.

Ageſilaus letter in the behalfe of his friend.

Other reade, to haue pitie, and to be wiſe.

Ageſilaus ſaying.

Ageſilaus vertues.

the king himselfe, for his great honestie, his continencie, his curtesie and plaine dealing. For when he rode out into the country with his owne traine only, he would euer lye in the holiest temples of the gods: because he would the gods themselues should be witnesses of his priuate doings, whereas commonly we are loth that men should see what we do. Furthermore, amongst so many thousand souldiers as were in his campe, there could hardly be found a worse matresse then that himselfe did lye vpon euery night. And as for heate and cold, he could as easily away with either of both, as if by constitution of bodie he had bene borne to abide any weather and season. But aboue all, it was a pleasant sight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they saw the great Lords, the kings Lieutenants of PERSIA, (which before were proud, cruell, rich, and giuen to all lust and pleasure) to honour and feare a man that went vp and downe in a poore cape, being afraid of euery short word that he spake like a LACONIAN: insomuch as many of them called to mind *Timotheus* the Poets verses, who said:

As Mars hath no mercie, so Greece scorneth gold.

Now all ASIA being vp and in garboile, they willingly yeelded to him in euery place, after he had taken order with the cities, and had established the liberty of their commõweale, without any bloudshed, or banishment of any person: he determined to go further into the land, and transporting the wars from the sea coasts of GREECE, to fight with the king of PERSIA in proper person, and with the wealth and happinesse of the ECBATANIANS and the SVSIANIANS, and by that meanes to take his leysure from him, who sitting still before, made the GRECIANS make war one with another, by force of money, corrupting the Gouernours of euery citie. In the meane time came *Epycidas* LACONIAN vnto him, and brought him newes how SPARTA was grieuously troubled with wars, enforced on them by the other GREGIANS: and that therefore the Ephori did send for him home, and commaunded him to returne to defend his countrie.

Agesilaus sent for out of Asia.

Ah wretched Greece, how cruell slaughters hast
Thou brought vpon thee, for to lay thee mast?

For how should a man otherwise call this enuie, treason, and ciuill conspiracie among the GRECIANS, who ouerthrew their good fortune that made them happie before, turning their wars against the barbarous people out of GREECE, and now to bring it against themselues? I am not of *Demaratus* opinion the CORINTHIAN, that said the GRECIANS delight was taken from them, which saw not *Alexander* the Great sitting in *Darius* royall throne: but rather I would think they should haue wept, to haue left this honor vnto *Alexander* & the MACEDONIANS, fondly losing so many famous Captains of GREECE, at the battels of LEVCTRES, of CORONEA, of CORINTH and of ARCADIA. Neuertheless, *Agesilaus* neuer did better act in his life, nor euer shewed better example of obedience and iustice due to his countrie, then he did in his returne home. For sith *Hannibal* that began to haue ill successe in his warres, being in manner driuen out of ITALIE, thought neuer (but compelled) to returne againe into his countrey, to obey his countreymen, which called him home to defend the warre the ROMAINES had made at their owne doores: and that *Alexander* the Great also being sent for home vpon the like occasion did not onely refuse to returne into MACEDON, but made a iest at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenant *Antipater* had fought with king *Agis*, saying: Me thinkes when I heare these newes, whilest we are ouercomming of king *Darius* here, there hath bene a battell of Rattes fought in ARCADIA. Sith then (I say) these two famous Captaines haue made so litle account of their countrey, may we not thinke the citie of SPARTA blessed to haue had such a king, that so much reuerenced his countrey and obeyed the lawe, as receiuing onely a litle scrole of parchment commaunding him to returne, he forsooke a world of goods and wealth that he quietly enioyed (with assured hope and certaintie of more) and imbarked foorthwith, leauing all the allies and confederates of his countrey very sorrowfull, for that he had giuen ouer so noble an enterprise, which he had so happily begun? Yes sure. Nay furthermore, he passed not for the saying of *Demostratus* PHÆACIAN, who said, that the LACEDÆMONIANS in publike matters were the worthiest men, and the ATHENIANS in priuate causes. For as he had shewed himselfe a good king and an excellent Captaine to the Commonwealth: so was he alwayes courteous priuately to his familiar friends. And because the PERSIAN coyne was stamped on the one side, with the print of an Archer: *Agesilaus* being readie to depart, said, that ten thousand Archers draue him out of ASIA. For so much was brought vnto THEBES and ATHENS, and distributed among the Orators and Gouernors there, who through their

Agesilaus obedience to his countrey.

Agesilaus darke speeches.

Orations

Orations made both those great cities to rise, and make warre against the SPARTANS. In his returne, *Agesilaus* hauing passed the straight of HELLESPONT, tooke his way through the country of THRACIA, and neuer intreated barbarous king nor people to suffer him to passe, but onely sent vnto them to know whether they would he should passe through their countrys as a friend, or an enemy. All countries and nations else receiued him very honorably to their power, saue the people called the THOCHALIANS, vnto whom king *Xerxes* himselfe gaue presents that he might passe friendly through their countrey: who sent vnto *Agesilaus* to demaund a hundred siluer talents, and a hundred women to suffer him to passe through their country. But *Agesilaus* laughing them to scorne, aunswered againe: Why, how chanceth it that they came not themselues to receiue them? So therewithall he marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell ray to stop his passage: howbeit he ouerthrew them, and slue a great number of them in the field. The like demand he made vnto the king of MACEDON, whether he should passe through his country as a friend, or an enemy. The king made him aunswer, he would consider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quoth *Agesilaus*: we will go on in the meane time. The king then wondering at his great boldnesse, and fearing least he would do him some hurt as he went: sent to pray him that he would passe through his country as a friend. Now it chanced so that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACEDÆMONIANS: therefore as he passed through their country, he did spoile and forrage it as his enemies countrey, and sent *Xenocles* and *Scytha* to the city of LARISSE, hoping to perswade them to take part with the LACEDÆMONIANS. These two Ambassadours were retained there as prisoners. The SPARTANS were maruellously offended withall: and thought good that *Agesilaus* should besiege LARISSE with his armie. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all THESSALIE: and therefore found meanes that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peraduenture this is not to be maruelled at in *Agesilaus*, that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the citie of CORINTH, where were many worthy and valiant Captaines slaine of the enemies, and but few of the SPARTANES: he seemed not to reioyce at it, but rather to fetch a grieuous sigh, saying: O poore GREECE, how vnfortunate art thou, to haue slaine with thine owne hands so many valiant Captaines of thine owne people, as ioyning together, might at one field haue ouercome all the barbarous people? The PHARSALIANS harrying and troubling the rereward of *Agesilaus* army, he put forth fiue hundred horsemen which gaue them so lusty a charge, that he ouerthrew them by force. For this victorie, he set vp tokens of triumph vpon the mountaine called Narthacium, and this victorie pleased him aboue all the rest, because with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of himselfe, he had ouerthrowne the glorie and pride of the enemies horsemen in battell, whereof they had vaunted many yeares before. Thither came *Diphridas* one of the *Ephores* vnto him, sent of purpose from SPARTA, to commaund him immediatly to inuade BOEOTIA with his armie. Now though *Agesilaus* intended some other time with a greater power to enter BOEOTIA, yet because he would not disobey the counsels commaundement of SPARTA: he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of ASIA was at hand, and therefore he sent for two companies of them which lay in campe by CORINTH. The LACEDÆMONIANS that were at SPARTA, to honour *Agesilaus* for that he had obeyed their commaundement so readily, proclaimed in the city, that as many young men as were desirous to go aide the king, should come to enter their names. Notwithstanding, they onely chose but fiftie of the valiantest among them, and sent them vnto him. In the meane time, *Agesilaus* passed through the countrey of THERMOPYLES, and coasting ouer the land of PHOCIDE, confederates to the LACÆDÆMONIANS, he entred into BOEOTIA, and camped by the citie of CHÆRONEA: where immediatly after his arriuall, he suddenly saw the Sunne eclipsed, and darkned in the fashion of a new Moone. Euen withall, came the newes of the death of *Pisander* vnto him, who was slaine in a battell which he lost by sea, fighting against *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, hard by the Ile of GNIDOS. These newes were verie heauie vnto him, both for respect of the person his kinsman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the commonwealth. Neuertheless, fearing his souldiers would be discouraged with the newes, and become faint-harted, being ready to ioyne battell, he commaunded them that came from the sea, to brute abroad a contrary tale to that they told him, and he himselfe to make good their speech, came out among them, with a garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to

Agesilaus despising & deceiuing the barbarous people, returned home through their countries.

Agesilaus ouercame the Pharsalians.

Narthacium mons.

The eclipse of the Sunne.

Pisander, Generall of the nauy slaine in battell.

The Iland of Gnidos.

the gods, as thanking them for the good newes, ſending to euery one of his friends a peece of
Ageſilaus battell with the Thebans. flesh ſacrificed, as he comonly vſed to do, in any publike cauſe of ioy. Then marching forward, he ſtraight diſcouered his enemies farre off, and they likewiſe him: and thereupon put his men in battell ray, and gaue the left wing vnto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading himſelfe the right wing. The THEBANS on the other ſide, placed themſelues in the right wing of their army, and gaue the left vnto the ARGIVES. *Xenophon* being at that battell on *Ageſilaus* ſide, writeth that he neuer knew of the like field fought. At the firſt onſet, the conflict was not great betweene both, neither held long, becauſe the THEBANS brake the ORCHOMENIANS ſtraight, and *Ageſilaus* the ARGIVES. But when either ſide vnderſtood that the left wings of their battels were in great diſtreſſe, and that they turned their backes, they returned ſuddenly againe. And where *Ageſilaus* might eaſily haue had the victorie without any daunger, if he had ſuffered the ſquadron of the enemies to paſſe by him, and afterwards to haue charged thē in the rereward: of a noble courage to ſhew his valiantneſſe, he gaue charge vpon the voward, to haue honor in ouercomming them: The THEBANS on the other ſide no leſſe valiantly receiued him, & fought luſtily on all hands: but the cruelleſt fight was about *Ageſilaus* perſon, with the fiftie young men that were ſent to gard him, who ſhewed themſelues very valiant. *Ageſilaus* was ſore hurt, notwithſtanding their valiant reſiſtance, his armour being paſſed through with their pikes and ſwords in ſundry places: whereupon they enuironed him round amongſt them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of them, and many of themſelues alſo being killed. In fine, finding the THEBANS too ſtrong in the voward, they were forced to do that which they refuſed at the firſt: and opening themſelues, gaue them paſſage through them. So when they were paſſed them, the SPARTANS perceiuing how looſely & diſorderly they marched, as thinking themſelues out of all danger, followed them, and gaue charge vpon their flancke. But all this could not make the THEBANS flie:
Helicon mons. for they reioycing for their victorie at this battell, retired faire and ſoftly vnto the mountaine
The vvorthineſſe of Ageſilaus. Helicon. But *Ageſilaus*, notwithſtanding he was very ſore hurt, with many a grieuous wound, would not go into his pauillion to be dreſſed before he had bene firſt at the place where the battell was fought, and had ſeene his men that were ſlaine brought away in their armors. As many
The temple of Minerua Itonian of his enemies as were fled into the temple of *Minerua Itonian*, which was not farre from thence (where alſo were ſet vp tokens of triumph offered vnto her long time before by the THEBANS, when they had ouercome the army of the ATHENIANS, vnder the conduct of *Sparton* their Captaine, and had ſlaine alſo *Tolmides* their Captaine in the field) he commanded his men they ſhould let them go where they would. The next morning by breake of day, *Ageſilaus* deſirous to ſee if the THEBANS had any courage to come downe to fight againe: commaunded his ſouldiers to put garlands vpon their heads, and his muſitions to ſound their ſhalmes or pipes, whileſt he did ſet vp a token of triumph as victorious. Moreouer, his enemies ſending to him to aske leaue to take away their dead men, he graunted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victorie. After that, being caried to the city of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were playd, he made a ſolemne proceſſion and common ſacrifice vnto *Apollo*, and offered him the tenth part of all his ſpoiles which he had brought out of ASIA, which amounted to the ſumme of an hundred talents. This thing done, he returned into his country, where he was greatly honoured and eſteemed of all his citizens and countrimen, for his orderly life and noble behauior:
The conſtancy of Ageſilaus. for he was no changeling, but the ſelfe ſame man in ſtate and condition that he was before he tooke his iourny. He transformed not himſelfe into ſtrangers maners, as commonly other Captaines do, that returne out of a farre country where they haue made warres: neither did he ſcorne his countrey faſhions, or ſhewed himſelfe diſobedient to the lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and obſerued them, without any manner of alteration in his meate or drinke, in waſhing or bathing, in his wiues apparell, in his armorie, or any way elſe in his houſhold ſtuffe, as if he had neuer paſſed ouer the riuer of Eurotas. Yet further, he left his old gates ſtanding that were of ſo great continuance, that they were thought to be thoſe which *Ariſtodemus* had ſet vp. *Xenophon*
Canathrum, vvhat it is. alſo ſaith, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more ſumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACEDÆMON, is a kind of coach or charret after the likeneſſe of Griffins, Harts, or Goats: vpon the which they caried young wenches in ſolemne proceſſions in the city. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of *Ageſilaus*: and *Dicaarchus* alſo was much offended, that they neither knew *Ageſilaus* daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Epaminondas*. Yet we find in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that *Ageſilaus* wiues name was

Cleora,

Cleora, one of his daughters called *Apolia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreouer, *Ageſilaus* ſpeare is ſeene to this day in the citie of SPARTA, euen like vnto others, and no manner of difference. Now *Ageſilaus* perceiuing certaine citizens of SPARTA to ſtand vpon their reputation, and eſteeming themſelues aboue others, becauſe they kept horſe in their ſtable: perſwaded his ſiſter *Cyniſca* to ſend her coach and coach horſes to the Olympian games to runne for the beſt priſe, onely to let the GRECIANS ſee that it was no act of any vertue, but ſimply of riches and coſt. Furthermore hauing *Xenophon* the Philoſopher about him, whom he loued and made great account of, he perſwaded him to ſend for his ſonnes to LACEDÆMON, that they might be brought vp there, where they ſhould learne the nobleſt ſcience that men could poſſibly learne, to wit, to obey, and to commaund. When *Lyſander* was dead, *Ageſilaus* at his returne out of ASIA, found a great faction and conſpiracy raiſed by his meanes againſt him in SPARTA: and becauſe it might appeare what manner of citizen *Lyſander* was when he liued, he was likely to haue openly ſhewed and declared an Oration which he found among his writings (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnaſſeus* had written for him, and *Lyſander* ſhould haue cunned without booke, to haue ſpoken in open aſſembly) that was to ſtirre innouation, and in manner haue made a change of the whole gouernement of the common wealth of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit there was a graue councellor that hauing read the Oration, and doubting the apparant reaſons and perſwaſions alleadged, told him, that he would wiſh him not to plucke vp the dead againe out of his graue, but rather to burie this Oration together with his bodie. *Ageſilaus* liked the counſell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had bene his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make ſome of them to be ſent as Lieutenant of armie, or otherwiſe to haue charge in the warres. In fine, he made it openly knowne, what couetous and wicked men they had bene in their charges: ſo that when they were accuſed of it before the councell, he would then helpe and intreate for them. By this meanes he made them againe his friends, where they had bene his enemies: in ſo much as in the end, he had not one enemy at all. For the other king *Ageſipolis* his colleague, whoſe father had bene baniſhed, he being a very young man, and of gentle nature, medled not greatly with gouernement of the common wealth. Neuertheleſſe, he ſo behaued himſelfe vnto *Ageſilaus*, that he made him his very good friend: for both the kings when they were in the city, did eate together in one hall. Then *Ageſilaus* knowing that *Ageſipolis* (as himſelfe) was giuen to loue, would euer miniſter talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the city, entiſing him to loue ſome one of them, which he himſelfe did loue: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in theſe LACONIAN loues there was no manner of diſhoneſty offered, but a true affection and honeſt regard to frame the boy beloued vnto vertue and honeſt conditions: as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*. *Ageſilaus* by this meanes, hauing the whole authority (aboue all men in the city) in his hands: made his halfe brother *Teleutias* Generall by ſea, and himſelfe with the army by land went to beſiege the citie of CORINTH, where with his brothers helpe by ſea he tooke the long wals of the ſame. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTH at that time, at *Ageſilaus'* arriuall there were ſolemnizing the feaſt of the Iſthmian games: who made them flie, euen as they came from ſacrificing vnto the god *Neptune*, driuing them to leaue all their preparation and ſolemnitie. Then diuerſe baniſhed men of CORINTH that were in his armie, beſought him that he would keepe theſe Iſthmian games: but he denied them, yet was contented they ſhould themſelues ſolemnize them, and ſo himſelfe remained there, during the time of the feaſt, for their ſafety. Afterwards when *Ageſilaus* was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Iſthmian games, and there were ſome of them which hauing wonne the game at the firſt, did alſo winne it at the ſecond time: and others that were victours before, were this ſecond time ouercome. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* ſayd, that the ARGIVES ſhewed themſelues rancke cowards, that eſteeming ſo much (as they did) theſe playes and ſacrifices, they durſt not once offer to fight with him for defence of the ſame. For himſelfe, touching ſuch like ſports and games, he euer thought it good to keepe a meane, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour ſuch ſolemne aſſemblies and common feaſts with his preſence, as were commonly vſed in SPARTA, and tooke great pleaſure to ſee the ſports betweene the young boyes and girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he ſeemed not to be acquainted with ſome of them, wherein others had great delight. As we reade, that *Callipides* an excellent ſtage player (wonderfully eſteemed of among the

Cleora, the wife of king Ageſilaus. Apolia, and Prolyta Ageſilaus daughters.

Xinophon, great about Ageſilaus.

The practiſe of Lyſander about alteration of gouernment.

The wiſe counſell of a Senator at Sparta.

The pollicy of Ageſilaus to vvin his enemies.

Ageſilaus, & Ageſipolis, kings of Lacedæmon.

Teleutias, Ageſilaus halfe brother, made Generall of the army by ſea.

GRECIANS for a ſingular man in that art) meeting *Ageſilaus* on a time, at the firſt did his dutie to him, and then arrogantly thruſt himſelfe among them that walked with him, thinking the king would haue made much of him: but perceiuing he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him: O king *Ageſilaus*, do you not know me? *Ageſilaus* looking vpon him, aunſwered: what, art not thou *Callipides* the ſtage player? and ſo made no further account of him. Another time being deſired to heare a man that naturally counterfeited the nightingales voyce: he would not heare him, ſaying, I haue oftentimes heard the nightingale it ſelfe. Another time alſo when *Menecrates* the Phiſitian (hauing by good fortune cured a deſperate diſeaſe) called himſelfe *Iupiter*, and arrogantly vſurped that name, preſuming in a letter he wrote vnto *Ageſilaus*, to ſubſcribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Iupiter*, vnto king *Ageſilaus*, greeting: *Ageſilaus* wrote againe vnto him, *Ageſilaus* vnto *Menecrates** health. So, whileſt *Ageſilaus* was in the territorie of CORINTH (where he had taken the temple of *Iuno*) beholding his ſouldiers forraging and ſpoiling the countrey round about: Ambaſſadours came to him from THEBES, to pray him to make peace with the THEBANS. But he that alwayes hated the THEBANS, and beſides that thought it then very requiſite for the good ſucceſſe of his doings, to make light of it: ſeemed as he neither heard nor ſaw them that ſpake vnto him. But euen at that very inſtant, as by diuine reuenge to cry quittance, there fell a great miſhap vpon him: for before the Ambaſſadours were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bands called the Mothers, were ſlaine euery man by *Iphicrates*: which was the greateſt loſſe that they in long time before had ſuſtained. For they loſt a great number of valiant ſouldiers, all naturall LACEDÆMONIANS: who being well armed euery man, were ſlaine by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon *Ageſilaus* went ſtraight into the field with hope to ſaue them, or at the leaſt to be reuenged: but receiuing certaine intelligence by the way that they were all ſlaine, he returned againe to the temple of *Iuno* from whence he came, and then ſent for the Ambaſſadours of the BOEOTIANS, to giue them audience. But they, to requite his former diſdaine vnto them, made no manner of ſpeech of peace, but onely requeſted him to ſuffer them to enter into CORINTH. *Ageſilaus* being offended, aunſwered them: If it be to ſee your friends triumph of their victorie, ye may ſafely do it to morow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambaſſadours with him, he deſtroyed the CORINTHIANS countrey, euen to the wals of their citie. And when he had made the Ambaſſadors ſee, that the citizens of CORINTH durſt not come out into the field to defend their countrey, he gaue them leaue to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was ouerthrowne, which by flight had eſcaped, he brought them into LACEDÆMON againe, alwayes remouing his campe before day, and neuer encamped till darke night, becauſe the ARCADIANS (their mortall enemies) ſhould not reioyce at their loſſe. After this voyage, to gratifie the ACHAIANS, he entred with them into the countrey of ACARNANIA, and brought great ſpoiles from thence, after he had ouercome them in battell. Moreouer, when the ACHAIANS beſought him to remaine with them all the winter, to keepe their enemies from ſowing of their ground: he made them anſwer he would not. For, ſayd he, they will be afraid of warre the next yeare, when all their fields ſhall be ſowne with corne: and ſo indeed it came to paſſe. For the army returning againe they made peace incontinently with the ACHAIANS. About that time, *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, with the king of PERSIANS armie, being Lords of the ſea, without let of any deſtroyed and ſpoyled all the coaſt of LACONIA. Moreouer, the city of ATHENS did reare vp her wals againe by helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furniſhed them. Thereupon the LACÆDÆMONIANS thought good to make peace with the king of PERSIA, and to that end ſent *Antalcidas* Ambaſſador vnto *Tiribazus*, moſt ſhamefully and cruelly betraying to the king, the GRECIANS inhabiting in ASIA, for whoſe libertie *Ageſilaus* had made warres with him before. So, it was *Ageſilaus* hap not to be foiled with any part of this ſhame: for *Antalcidas* that was his enemy, ſought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he ſaw warre did daily increaſe the authoritie, honour, and fame of *Ageſilaus*. Notwithſtanding, he aunſwered one then, that reproued him for that the LACEDÆMONIANS did fauour the MEDES: No, ſayd he, they do not ſo, but the MEDES do play the LACEDÆMONIANS. Neuertheleſſe, threatning warre to all the GRECIANS, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace: he compelled them to yeeld vnto that the king of PERSIA liked. But ſurely he did this chiefly for reſpect of the THEBANS, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to ſet the countrey of BOEOTIA at libertie againe, ſhould be ſo much the weaker. This

plainely

Certaine Apothegmes of Ageſilaus.

** Meaning that he was not well in his wits to be ſo preſumptuous.*

Ageſilaus ouercame the Acarnanians.

Antalcidas peace.

plainely appeared soone after by that that followed. For *Phœbidas* hauing committed a foule act, in open peace to take the castell of the city of THEBES, called *Cadmea*, offending thereby all the other GRECIANS (and the SPARTANS themselues also not being very well pleased withall, and those specially which were *Agesilaus* enemies) *Phœbidas* being asked in great anger, at whose commaundement he had done that sudden enterprise, to lay all the suspition of the fact vpon him: *Agesilaus* for *Phœbidas* discharge, letted not openly to say, that the quality of the fact was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for the common wealth, or not: and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his country to do it of his owne head without commaundement. All this notwithstanding he was wont to say in priuate talke, that iustice was the chiefest of all vertues, and therefore that valiantnesse without iustice was of no validitie, and that if all men were iust, valiantnesse were of no estimation. And to them that told him, the great king will haue it so: Why, sayd he, and wherein is he better then my selfe, if he be not iuster? iudging very wisely therein, that they should esteeme a king (whether he were of great or small power) by his iustice, as by the beame of princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the king of PERSIA hauing sent him a priuate letter desiring his friendship, *Agesilaus* refused it, saying: that common friendship was inough betwixt them, and that they should need none other, so long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the point of performance, he went from his first good opinion, and gaue place to his will and ambition, specially against the THEBANS; at that time when he did not onely saue *Phœbidas*, but also procured the city of SPARTA to take the fault vpon them which he had committed, and to iustifie it, by keeping the castell of Cadmea still, and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Gouernours of the city of THEBES, by whom *Phœbidas* came by the castell of Cadmea, and possessed it. Thereupon euery man thought straight, that *Phœbidas* was he that had put the matter in execution, but that *Agesilaus* gaue the counsell to do it: as things falling out afterwards, did manifestly proue the suspition true. For, after that the THEBANS had driuen the garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS out of the castell of Cadmea, and restored their city againe to libertie, burthening them that they had trayterously slaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who indeed were tyrants, though in name Gouernours) he made warre with them: and *Cleombrotus*, raigning then king with him after *Agesipolis* death, was sent before into BOEOTIA with an army, *Agesilaus* was dispensed with by law for going any more to the warres, by reason of his age, for that he was fortie yeares old from the first growth of haire on his face, & therfore went not that iourny: being ashamed that the THEBANS should now see him fight to reuenge the tyrants deaths, who had but a litle before taken armes for the banished men, against the PHLIASIANS. At that time there was a LACONIAN called *Sphodrias*, of the contrary faction vnto *Agesilaus*: and was then gouernor in the city of THESPIES, a valiant and stout man of his hands, but euer fuller of vaine hope, than of good iudgement. He desiring fame, and supposing that *Phœbidas* came to dignitie and great estimation through his valiant enterprise at THEBES: perswaded himselfe that he should win much more honour, if of himselfe he tooke the hauen of Piræa suddenly stealing vpon the ATHENIANS by land, cutting them off by that meanes from all trade by sea. It was thought commonly that this was a practise deuised by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Gouernours of BOEOTIA, who had allured certaine men to faine themselues very deuout and friendly to the LACEDÆMONIANS. These men praising and extolling *Sphodrias* to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worthie as himselfe alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him on to this attẽpt, which for vilenesse was nothing inferior vnto that trecherous winning of the castell Cadmea at THEBES: although it was attempted with lesse hardinesse and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plaine of THRIASIVM, where he made account to haue bene at the wals of Piræa by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him seeing certaine fires from the temples of the city of ELEVSIN, were all afraid and amazed: yea he himselfe also fainted perceiuing he was discouered, and so returned backe with shame and dishonour to the city of THESPIES, without any exploit done, sauing onely a litle spoile taken. Thereupon accusers were straight sent from ATHENS vnto SPARTA, who vpon their arriuall found that they needed not to accuse him, for that the Councell and Gouernours of the city had already sent for him to come vnto them, to condemne him of high treason. But he durst not returne to SPARTA, fearing the fury of his countrimen, thinking indeed that they would seeme as though the wrong had bene done to them, because it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This

Phœbidas possesseth the castel of Cadmea.

Agesilaus praise of iustice.

Sphodrias practise to take the hauen of Pirea at Athens.

Sphodrias accused of treason.

Sphodrias had a ſonne called *Cleonymus*, a very faire boy, with whom *Archidamus* (*Ageſilaus* ſonne) was farre in loue: who then was maruellous ſory to ſee this boy he loued, in ſo great danger to loſe his father, and yet durſt not be ſeene to helpe him, becauſe *Sphodrias* was one of *Ageſilaus* aduerſaries. Notwithſtanding, *Cleonymus* making his mone to him with the teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his father *Ageſilaus* (whom they feared aboue all men elſe) *Archidamus* followed his father three or foure dayes together, and durſt not breake the matter to him: in fine, the day of the next ſeſſion being at hand, when iudgement ſhould be giuen of *Sphodrias*, he boldly ventured to tell him, how that *Cleonymus* had prayed him to be an humble ſuter to him touching his fathers fact. *Ageſilaus* vnderſtanding that his ſonne loued *Cleonymus*, would not withdraw him from louing of him, becauſe the boy euen from his childhood gaue alwayes good hope that one day he would ſure make as honeſt a man as any other whatſoeuer: neither made he any countenance to his ſonne, as though he would do any thing at his ſute, but onely aunſwered him, for that, he would do as became him in ſuch a caſe. Whereupon *Archidamus* being baſhfull, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would ſee him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* friends deſpaire of his life more then before, vntill *Etymocles*, one of *Ageſilaus* familiars talking with them, told them that for the fact it ſelfe, *Ageſilaus* thought it a ſhamefull deed, and as much miſliked it as might be: but for *Sphodrias* ſelfe, that he tooke him for a valiant man, and ſaw that the common wealth had need of men of ſuch ſeruice. This was *Ageſilaus* common talke to pleaſe his ſonne, when any man came to ſpeake to him of *Sphodrias* accuſation. Inſomuch that *Cleonymus* found ſtraight that *Archidamus* had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be: and then *Sphodrias* friends alſo tooke heart againe vnto them, to ſolicite his cauſe, and to be earneſt ſuters for him. *Ageſilaus* among other had this ſpeciall property, that he loued his children dearly: and a tale goeth of him, that he would play with them in his houſe when they were litle ones, and ride vpon a litle cocke-horſe, or a reed, as on horſebacke: inſomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the maner, playing among his children, he prayed him to ſay nothing, till he had litle children himſelfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his Iudges. The ATHENIANS vnderſtanding it, ſent to proclaime warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Ageſilaus* was much reproued, becauſe that to pleaſe the fond affection of his ſonne, he had hindered iuſtice, and brought his city to be accuſed among the GRECIANS for ſuch grieuous crimes. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing that king *Cleombrotus* his companion went with no very good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order ſet downe for leading of the armie, which was kept before, went to the warres himſelfe in perſon, and ſo inuading BOEOTIA, he both receiued and did great hurt. Whereupon *Antalcidas* ſeeing him hurt one day, Now truly (ſayd he) the THEBANS haue payd you your deſerued hire, for teaching them againſt their wils to be ſouldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For indeed they ſay the THEBANS became better ſouldiers and warriours than they were before, being daily trained and exerciſed in armes through the continuall inuaſions of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Alſo this was the reaſon, why the old father *Lycurgus* in his lawes called Rhetra, did forbid them to make warre too oft with one ſelfe people, becauſe that by compulſion they ſhould not be made expert ſouldiers. For this cauſe did the confederates of LACEDÆMON hate *Ageſilaus*, ſaying, that it was not for any knowne offence to the ſtate, but for very ſpite and priuate malice of his owne, that he ſought to vndoe the THEBANS in this manner: and that to follow his humour, they conſumed themſelues going yearely to the warres one while this way, another while that way, without any neceſſity at all, following a few LACEDÆMONIANS, themſelues being alwayes the greater number. Then it was, that *Ageſilaus* deſiring to make them ſee what number of men of warre they were, vſed this deuiſe. On a time he commanded all the allies to ſit downe together one with another by themſelues, and the LACEDÆMONIANS alſo by themſelues. Then he made a Herauld proclaime that all pot-makers ſhould ſtand vp on their feete. When they were vp, he made him cry to the braſiers to riſe alſo. After them in like manner, the carpenters: then the maſons, and ſo conſequently all occupations one after another. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamation, were all in manner on their feete. The LACEDÆMONIANS, not one of them roſe: becauſe all baſe mechanicall crafts were forbidden them to occupie. Then *Ageſilaus* laughing at them: Loe, my friends (ſayd he) do you not ſee now that we bring moe ſouldiers to the field, than ye do? At his returne from this iourney of THEBES, paſſing by the city of MEGARA, as he went vp into the councell-houſe within the caſtell, there ſuddenly tooke him

How Sphodrias was ſaued from death.

Ageſilaus cockered his children too much.

Ageſilaus iourney into Bœotia.

Antalcidas ſaying.

Rhetra, of Lycurgus.

Ageſilaus ſubtile deuiſe to ſhew the weakneſſe of the allies.

Ageſilaus fell ſuddenly ſicke of a dangerous diſeaſe.

him a great crampe in his left legge, that ſwelled extreamly, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but bloud which had filled the veine: a Phiſitian of Syracvsa in Sicile being there, ſtraight opened a veine vnder the anckle of his foote, which made the paine to ceaſe: notwithſtanding there came ſuch abundance of bloud, that they could not ſtanch it, ſo that he ſounded oft, & was in great danger of preſent death. In fine, a way was found to ſtop it, and they caried him to Lacedæmon, where he lay ſicke a long time, ſo that he was paſt going to the warres any more. The Spartans in the meane time receiued great ouerthrowes both by ſea and land, and among other, their greateſt ouerthrow was at the battell of Levctres, where the Thebans ouercame and ſlue them in plaine battell. Then the Grecians were all of one mind to make a generall peace, and thereupon came Ambaſſadors and Deputies from all the cities of Grece, and met at Lacedæmon to that end. One of theſe Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philoſopher, but as yet vnskilfull in warres. He ſeeing how the other Ambaſſadors curried fauor with *Ageſilaus*, only he of the reſt kept his grauity to ſpeake freely, and made an Oration, not for the Thebans alone, but for all Grece in generall, declaring to them all, how warre did onely increaſe the greatneſſe and power of the city of Sparta, and contrarily did miniſh and decay all other cities and townes of Grece: and for this cauſe, that he did counſell them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all, to the end it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. *Ageſilaus* perceiuing then that all the Grecians preſent at the aſſembly gaue him good eare, and were glad to heare him ſpeake thus boldly of peace: asked him openly, if he thought it meete and reaſonable, that all Boeotia ſhould be ſet cleare at libertie againe? *Epaminondas* preſently and boldly againe asked him: if he thought it iuſt and requiſite to ſet all Laconia cleare againe at liberty? *Ageſilaus* being offended therewith, ſtood vpon his feete, and commanded him to anſwer plainly whether they would ſet all Boeotia at liberty, or not? *Epaminondas* replied vnto him with the ſelfe ſpeech againe, and asked him whether they would ſet all Laconia at liberty, or not? That netled *Ageſilaus* ſo, that (being alſo glad of ſuch a cloake, for the old grudge he euer bare vnto the Thebans) he preſently put the name of the Thebans out of the bill of thoſe, which ſhould haue bene compriſed within the league, and cried open warres vpon them in the market place. For the reſt, he licenſed the other Deputies & Ambaſſadors of the people of Grece to depart, with this concluſion: that they ſhould louingly take order among themſelues for the controuerſies betwixt them, if they could peaceably agree together: & they that could not fall to ſuch agreement, that then they ſhould try it by warres, for that it was a hard thing to take vp all quarrels among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chaunce was at that time in the country of Phocide with his army, vnto whom the *Ephori* wrote that he ſhould forthwith ſpoile the Thebans country: and therwith alſo they ſent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fanſie to the iourney, and were loth to make warre with them, but yet durſt not refuſe to go, nor diſobey the Lacedæmonians. And notwithſtanding that there were many ſignes preſaging ill lucke, as we haue written in the life of *Epaminondas*, and that *Prothous* Laconian was againſt the enterpriſe of this warre all that he could: *Ageſilaus* would needs forward, hoping he had now found opportunity to be reuenged of the Thebans, ſith all Grece beſides was in peace and at liberty, themſelues only exempted from treaty of peace. If there had bene no other thing in it but the very ſhortneſſe of time, that made it manifeſt inough that this warre was begun in a geere, without any manner of reaſon. For the generall peace amongſt the Grecians was concluded at Sparta the fourteenth of May, and the Lacedæmonians were ouercome at the battell of Levctres the fifth of Iune: ſo as there was but twentie dayes betweene them. There were ſlaine a thouſand Lacedæmonians with their king *Cleombrotus*, and the choiſeſt and valianteſt Spartans about him. Among them was alſo ſlaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* ſonne, of whom we ſpake before: who hauing bene beaten downe thrife at the kings foote, three times got vp againe, but at the length was ſlaine, valiantly fighting againſt the Thebans. This great ouerthrow chauncing to the Lacedæmonians vnlooked for, and withall ſo glorious a victorie vnto the Thebans, as Grecians fighting with Grecians had neuer the like: the vanquiſhed city of Sparta notwithſtanding deſerued no leſſe honour and commendation for her fortitude and worthineſſe, than did the victorious city of Thebes. For as *Xenophon* writeth, that as amongſt good men euen in table talke, and in their ſports and mirth there falleth out euer ſome thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: euen ſo in like caſe, no leſſe,

Epaminondas the Theban, ſent Ambaſſador vnto Lacedemon.

The ſtrife betwixt Ageſilaus and Epaminondas for the liberty of Bœotia.

The Lacedæmonians ſlaine at the battell of Leuctres.

Cleombrotus king of the Lacedæmonians ſlaine.

Cleonymus, the ſonne of Sphodrias, ſlaine at Cleombrotus foote.

Xenophons ſaying.

but rather more, ought noble mens words to be weyed, and their countenances marked as well in aduersitie as in prosperity. At that time by chance there was a common feast day in the citie of SPARTA, which was full of straungers that came to see the daunces and sports of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arriued that brought the newes of the battell lost at LEVCTRES. The *Ephori* knowing then that the rumor straight ran all about, that they were all vndone, and how they had lost the signiorie and commaundement ouer all GREECE: would not suffer them for all this to breake off their daunce in the Theater, nor the city in any thing to change the forme of their feast, but sent vnto the parents (to euerie mans house) to let them vnderstand the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they themselues remaining still in the Theater to see the daunces and sports continued, to iudge who caried the best games away. The next morning when euery man knew the number of them that were slaine, and of those also that were escaped: the parents and friends of them that were dead, met in the market place, looking chearefully of the matter, and one of them embraced another. On the other side, the parents of them that escaped, kept their houses with their wiues, as folke that mourned. If any of them also had occasion to go abroad out of their houses, for any matter of necessitie, ye should see him looke so heauily and sad, that he durst not talke with you, lift vp his head, nor looke ye in the face. Besides all this, euen amongst the women there was greater difference: for the mothers of them that were to returne from the battell, were sad and sorowfull, and spake not a word: contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went friendly to visite one another, to reioyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates began to forsake them, and did daily looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victory, would inuade PELOPONNESVS: then they began to be pricked in conscience about the Oracles of the gods, thinking that this misfortune came to their city, for that they had thrust out of the kingdome a man perfect of limmes, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the gods to beware of that aboue all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valiantnesse, and his authoritie was such thereby, that they did not onely vse him in warre, as their king and soueraigne Captaine: but in ciuill causes also wherein there rose any question, they euer vsed his counsell and aduise. As they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at SPARTA Tresantas (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses, and of greatest power within the city) least they should moue some stir or commotion among them. (For by law, they can beare no office in the common wealth: it is shame and reproch to giue them any wiues, and also to marry any of theirs: whosoeuer meeteth them may lawfully strike them, and they must abide it, and not giue them a word againe: they are compelled to weare poore tattered cloth gownes patched with cloth of diuerse colours, and worst of all, to shaue one side of their beards, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the danger great to deale with them, to execute the law according to the infamie they deserued, specially then standing in need of a great number of men of warre: they referred themselues altogether vnto *Agesilaus*, to take such order in it as he thought good. But *Agesilaus* then, without chaunging or altering any thing of the law, said in open assembly at LACEDÆMON: that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this pollicy he kept the law inuiolate, and saued also the honor of those poore men: and withall, to put these youths againe in hart, being amazed with this feare, he led the army into the countrey of ARCADIA, and would giue no battell, but only tooke a small city of the MANTINEANS, and foraged the countrey. This againe did a litle reuiue the city of SPARTA with some hope, to make that it should not vtterly despaire. But shortly after, *Epaminondas* inuaded the countrey of LACONIA, with forty thousand footmen well armed, besides an infinite number of others light armed, and naked people, that followed his campe for the spoile: so that in all, there were about three score and ten thousand fighting men that came in with him to inuade LACONIA. It was well neare six hundred yeares sith the DORIANS possessed LACEDÆMON, and in all that time till then they neuer saw enemies in their country that durst inuade them: but then they sacked and burnt all that came in their way, euen vnto the riuer of Eurotas, and hard adioyning vnto SPARTA, & no man durst come out to resist them. For *Agesilaus* (as *Theopompus* writeth) would not suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to go out to fight against such a tempest and furie of warre, but hauing fortified the middest of the city, and garded euerie end of the streetes with souldiers, he patiently bare all the bragges and threats

The constancy and fortitude of the Spartans.

The fortitude of the Spartan women.

Tresantas be cowards, or faint harted men.

Punishment at Sparta, for cowardly souldiers.

Epaminondas inuadeth Laconia with three score and ten thousand men.

for

of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bad him come into the field to defend his countrey, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, having himselfe procured this warre. If this went to *Agesilaus* heart, no lesse grieuous were these troubles to him that rose within the citie: as the cries and running too and fro of the old men, which were madde to see that they did before their eyes: and of seely women also, which no ground nor place could hold, but ranne vp and downe, as straught of their wits, to heare the noise the enemies made, and to see the fire which they raised all the fields ouer. Much more sorowfull also did this make him, when as he bethought himselfe, that entring into his kingdome at such time as the city of SPARTA was in the greatest prosperitie that euer it was, he now saw his honour eclipsed, and the glory of his kingdome ouerthrowne: and the rather, for that himselfe had often vaunted, that LACONIAN women had neuer seene the smoake of any enmies campe. And as the say of *Antalcidas* one day, that he answered an ATHENIAN that contended with him about the valiantnesse of one anothers nation, alleadging for himselfe, that the ATHENIANS had often driuen the LACEDÆMONIANS from the riuer of Cephisus. It is true, sayd the LACONIAN: but we did neuer driue you from the riuer of Eurotas. The like answer made a meane man of SPARTA, to one of the ARGIVES that cast him in the teeth, There are diuerse of your LACONIANS buried in the countrey of ARGOLIDE: So are there none of yours, sayd he, buried in LACONIA. It is reported, that *Antalcidas* being one of the *Ephori* at that time, did secretly send his children into the Ile of CITHERA, fearing least the city of SPARTA should be taken. *Agesilaus* perceiuing that the enemies forced to passe ouer the riuer, to enter the city: he stood to defend the middle part of the city, being the highest place of the same, and there had his men set in order of battell. Now at that time, by chance the riuer of Eurotas was swelled greater then of ordinary, by reason of the snow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the THEBANS with the coldnesse, then roughnesse of the same, in passing it ouer. Some shewing *Agesilaus* how *Epaminondas* marched formost before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was neuer off him, saying neuer a word but this onely: Oh, what a noble fellow is that? *Epaminondas* hauing done all that he could possible to giue the LACEDÆMONIANS battell, euen within the city selfe of SPARTA, that he might there haue set vp some tokens of triumph, he could neuer entise *Agesilaus* to come out of his fort: wherefore he was driuen in the end to depart thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the countrey. There fell out a conspiracy of two hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and tooke that quarter of the city where the temple of *Diana* stood, called Issorium, a place of strong situation, and ill to distresse. Hereupon the LACEDÆMONIANS in furie would straight haue set vpon them. But *Agesilaus* fearing great mutiny and stirre vpon it, commanded that no man should stirre: and himselfe vnarmed, in a poore gowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye haue not obeyed my commaundement: this is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place: for I willed you to disperse your selues, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the city. The traytors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not bewrayed: and so leauing that strength, went into those parts of the city that he had shewed them. *Agesilaus* then bringing others thither, possessed the fort of Issorium, and tooke fifteene of those conspiratours, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out another conspiracy farre greater then the first, of the SPARTANS themselues, which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sudden stirre and garboile: and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on the other side to neglect it, the conspiracie was ouer dangerous. *Agesilaus* hauing consulted with the *Ephori*, did put them all to death, without any iudgement of law: where neuer SPARTAN before them suffered death, without due order of law. Againe, whereas diuerse of their neighbours, and of the ILOTES themselues (whom they had billed in their bands of souldiers) stale away, and ran to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they should euerie day go to their couches where they lay, and that they should take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the number of them that were fled in this sort. Now for the departure of the THEBANS, some say that they went out of LACONIA by reason of the winter that came on, whereupon the ARCADIANS discharged their bands, and euery one departed his way in disorder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three moneths together, during which time they destroyed the most part of the

Certaine witty aunswers.

Conspiracies at Lacedæmon vnder Agesilaus.

Issorium the temple of Diana.

A fine deuise to apprehend the traytors.

The departure of the Thebans out of Laconia.

countrey. *Theopompus* writeth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the THEBANS hauing determined to depart, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN vnto them, sent from *Agesilaus*, who brought them ten talents that they should depart out of their countrey. Thus had they money giuen them to defray their charges homewards, to do that, which they themselues had done before determined to haue done. And yet do I wonder, how it is possible that all other historiographers knew nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All do acknowledge truly, that *Agesilaus* onely was the cause that the citie of SPARTA was saued: who leauing his ambition and selfe will, being passions borne with him, did wisely foresee their safety. Neuertheless, after this great ouerthrow, he could neuer raise SPARTA againe to her former greatnesse. For like as a whole body, which hauing acquainted it selfe continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfeit presently, and so putteth all in daunger: euen so *Lycurgus* hauing framed a perfect state of gouernement in the common wealth of SPARTA, to make her citizens liue in peace and amitie together: when they did enlarge it by great kingdomes and realmes, the which the good law-maker thought vnmeete to continue happie life: they were straight ouerthrowne and all went to wracke. By this time *Agesilaus* was growne old, and could no more go to the warres for very age: but his sonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionysius* the tyrant of SYRACVSA sent vnto them, wanne a battell against the ARCADIANS, called the teareless battell: for there died not one of his men, and they slue a great number of their enemies. This victorie plainely shewed the great weakenesse and decay of the citie of SPARTA. For in former times it was so common a thing vnto them to ouercome their enemies in battell, that they did sacrifice nothing else to the gods in token of thankes, within the citie, but a poore cocke: and they that had fought the battell made no boast of it: neither did they that heard the newes reioyce greatly at it. For when they had wonne that great battell at the citie of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* describeth: the *Ephori* onely sent the messenger that brought the newes for reward, a peece of powdred meate, and no other thing. But then, when newes was brought of this victorie, and that they vnderstood *Archidamus* came home victorious: neither man nor woman could keepe the citie, but the father himselfe went first of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes for ioy, and after him all the other Magistrates and officers of the city, and a swarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the riuers side, holding vp their hands to heauen, and thanking the gods, as if their citie had redeemed and recouered her shame and lost honour, and began now to rise againe, as before it did. For vntill that time, some say, that the husbands durst not boldly looke their wiues in the faces, they were so ashamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the citie of MESSINA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and replenished with people, he called home againe out of all parts, the naturall inhabitants of the same. The SPARTANS durst not fight with him (nor to hinder his purpose) though it spited them to the hearts, and were angry with *Agesilaus*, for that in his raigne they had lost all that territory, which was as great as all LACONIA selfe, & for goodnesse and fertility to be compared with the best parts of all GREECE, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why *Agesilaus* would not agree to the peace, which the THEBANS sent to offer him: and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the enemies kept in deeds. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not only without recouering the thing he looked for, but had in manner also lost the city of SPARTA by a warlike stratageme, in the which he was deceiued. For the MANTINEANS being newly reuolted againe from the alliance of the THEBANS, and hauing sent for the LACEDÆMONIANS: *Epaminondas* receiuing intelligence that *Agesilaus* was departed from SPARTA with all his power to aide the MANTINEANS, marched away secretly by night from TEGEA, without the priuity of the MANTINEANS, and went straight to SPARTA, the which he had almost surprised on the sudden, going another way then *Agesilaus* came (being in manner without men to defend it.) Howbeit a THESPIAN called *Euthynus*, as *Callisthenes* sayth (or as *Xenophon* writeth, a CRETAN) brought *Agesilaus* newes of it: who dispatched a horseman straight to aduertise them of the citie of SPARTA, and marching forward himselfe to returne, stayed not long after before he arriued. He was no sooner come, but incontinently also came the THEBANS, who passing ouer the riuer of Eurotas, gaue assault to the city. Then *Agesilaus* perceiuing that there was no more place nor time of securitie as before, but rather of desperation and courage: he valiantly defended it, more then an old mans yeares could beare.

Agesilaus saued the city of Sparta.

The teareless battell of Archidamus, ouercomming the Arcadians.

The Lacedæmonians were not wont to reioyce much at any victory.

Messina restored againe by Epaminondas.

Epaminondas second iourney vnto Sparta.

Agesilaus repulsed Epaminondas from Lacedemon.

Thus,

Thus, through courage and desperate mind, whereto he was neuer brought before, neither did euer vse it, he put by the daunger, and saued the citie of Sparta from *Epaminondas* hands, setting vp markes of triumph for repulsing of the enemies, and making the women and children of Sparta to see the Lacedæmonians how honourably they rewarded their nurse and countrey for their good education: but *Archidamus* chiefly of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into euery part of the city, with a few about him, to repulse the enemies where-soeuer the daunger was greatest. It is sayd also that at that time there was one *Isadas* the sonne of *Phœbidas*, that did maruellous straunge things to behold, both in the face of his enemies, as also in the sight of his friends. He was of goodly personage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being starke naked, and vnarmed, his bodie nointed with oyle, hauing in one hand a borestaffe, and in the other a sword, in this manner he went out of his house, and ranne amongst them that fought, killing and ouerthrowing his enemies that withstood him, and was not once hurt, either for that the gods preserued him for his manhoods sake, or else because men thought him more then a man. The *Ephori* immediatly gaue him a crowne, in honour and reward of his valiantnesse: but withall they set a fine on his head to pay a thousand siluer Drachmaes for his rash attempt, to hazard himselfe in battell, vnarmed for defence. Shorty after they fought another great battell before the city of Mantinea. There *Epaminondas* hauing ouerthrowne the first ranckes of the Lacedæmonians, and couragiously distressing the rest, valiantly following the chase, there was one *Anticrates* a Laconian, who receiuing him (as *Dioscorides* writeth) slue him with his boresspeare. The Lacedæmonians to this day notwithstanding, do call the offspring of this *Anticrates*, *Machæriones*, as much to say, as swordmen, as though he had slaine him with a sword. The Lacedæmonians did esteeme this *Anticrates* so much, for that deadly stroke he gaue (because they were afraid of *Epaminondas* while he liued) that they gaue him that slue him, great honours and dignities, and discharged all his offspring and kindred from payment of subsidy and common contributions, which priuiledge one *Callicrates*, a kinsman of this *Anticrates* enioyed euen in our time. After this battell and death of *Epaminondas*, the Grecians hauing taken peace generally amongst them, *Agesilaus* would needs exclude the Messenians from being sworne to this peace, saying: that they need not sweare, because they had no city. Now, for asmuch as all the Grecians else did receiue them as amongst the number, and tooke their oath vnto this peace, the Lacedæmonians brake off from this generall peace, and none but they onely made warre, in hope to recouer the Messenians countrey, and all through the allurement of *Agesilaus*, who for this cause was thought of the Grecians a cruell and vnsatiable man for warres, to deale so craftily, and all to breake this generall league. Againe, he brought himselfe in discredit with all men, being compelled to make his city bare of money, borrowing of them still, and raising sundry contributions amongst them: whereas indeed it had bene his best way to haue ended all those miseries, hauing so happy an occasion offered at that time, and not to haue lost so great an Empire of so many townes and cities, both by sea and land, and all to plague his countrey, to winne the land and riches of the Messenians. But yet was this most shame vnto him of all other, when he gaue himself vnto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of the Ægyptians, euery man thinking it a shamefull part of him, that such a personage as he (reputed the chiefest man of all the Grecians, & the which had filled the world with report of his fame and glorie) should for money let out his person to hire, and the glory of his name, vnto a barbarous person, a traytour and rebell to his king and maister, to become a mercenary Captaine and souldier to do him seruice. And moreouer, he being now foure score yeares of age and vpwards, his body all mangled with wounds, though he had vndertaken this honorable charge for the recouerie of the libertie of the Grecians, yet had his ambition deserued some blame: for noble acts haue their time, yea rather the good and ill do nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocritie. But *Agesilaus* had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in seruice, specially for benefit of the common wealth, but perswaded himselfe that it was a dishonour to him to liue idly in a city and do nothing, till death should come and make his summons: thereupon therefore he leauied men of warre through all Greece with the money *Tachos* sent vnto him, and with them tooke sea, hauing thirtie Spartans counsellors and assistants to him, as he had in his first iourney. Now *Agesilaus* being arriued in Ægypt, all the chiefe Captaines and gouernours of king *Tachos* came to the sea shore, and honourably receiued him: and not they onely, but infinite numbers of Ægyptians of all sorts

The fortitude of Archidamus.

The valiantnesse of Isadas a Spartan.

Isadas rewarded and amerced.

The death of Epaminondas.

Machæriones why so called.

Agesilaus greedy of warres.

(that were maruellous desirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of *Agesilaus*) came thither from all parts to see what manner of man he was. But when they saw no stately traine about him, but an old gray-beard layed on the grasse by the sea side, a litle man that looked simply of the matter, & but meanely apparelled in an ill fauored threed-bare gowne: they fell a laughing at him, remembring the merry tale, that a mountaine should bring foorth, and was deliuered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they saw men bring him presents to welcome him, that he tooke meale, calues, and geese, and such grosse things: and refused all confections, perfumes, and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to giue them to the ILOTES his slaues. *Theophrastus* writeth, that he delighted maruellously in the rush Papyrus, and liked the garlands they made of them, for their fineneſse & the handsomneſse, the which he caried home with him when he departed thence. Hauing spoken at that time with *Tachos*, who was assembling his army to go on his iourney: he was not made Captaine generall, as he looked he should haue bene, but was appointed onely Colonell of all the straungers, *Chabrias* Generall of all the army by sea, and the chiefe of all the rest was *Tachos* himselfe in person. This at the first grieued *Agesilaus* to the hart, being driuen whether he would not, to beare with the vanity and pride of this ÆGYPTIAN. So he sailed with him into PHENICE, against the PHENICIANS, imbasing himselfe against his noble disposition and mind, and gaue him place, vntill he saw time of reuenge. It chanced that one *Nectanebos* a nephew of this *Tachos*, hauing the leading of part of this army, rebelled against him, and being chosen king by the ÆGYPTIANS, he sent vnto *Agesilaus*, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also vnto *Chabrias*, & prayed him to ioyne with him, promising great rewards vnto them both. *Tachos* vnderstanding that, besought them both that they would not forsake him. *Chabrias* for his part also did likewise intreate *Agesilaus*, & perswaded him what he could, to continue friendship with *Tachos*. *Agesilaus* answered him: For thee, *Chabrias*, thou camest of thine owne goodwill, and therefore mayest do what thou thinkest good, but so is it not with me: for I am sent hither a Captaine by my countrey, to serue the ÆGYPIANS, and therefore it were no honesty for me to make warre with them, whom I am sent to serue and aide: were it not that they themselues which sent me, do now commaund me the contrarie. This answer being made, he sent certaine of his men to SPARTA to accuse *Tachos*, and to commend *Nectanebos*. Both they also for their parts sent to intreate the councell of LACEDÆMON: the one as being alwayes their friend and confederate, and the other promising to be their faithfull friend thencefoorth. The LACEDÆMONIANS hauing heard the requests of both, aunswered them openly, that *Agesilaus* should consider of this matter: and wrote secretly to him, that he should do what he thought best for the common wealth of SPARTA. So *Agesilaus* taking with him the mercenarie souldiers which he had brought out of GRECE, went vnto *Nectanebos*, cloaking his departure, that it was for the benefite of his countrey, to bewray a wicked thing: but indeed taking away the vizard to benefite his country, they might by a better name rightly haue termed it treason. Howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS placing the chiefest point of honor, to consist in the benefite of their country: did acknowledge nothing to be iustice, but that which they thought might serue for the aduancement of the glory of SPARTA. *Tachos* seeing himselfe forsaken thus by his mercenarie straungers, fled. But now on the other side, there rose another king in the citie of MENDES, against this *Nectanebos*, who hauing leauied to the number of a hundred thousand fighting men, came to fight with *Nectanebos*. But he thinking to encourage *Agesilaus*, told him, that indeed they were a great number of men of all sorts together, and specially men of handie craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, because they knew not what warre meant. But *Agesilaus* answered him againe: It is not their number that I feare, but their rudeneſse and vnskilfulneſse, which is hardest of all to deceiue. For warlike stratagems do most preuaile against men that haue greatest feare and experience: and therefore they foresee one thing rather then another. But men of no iudgement nor experience, neither feare daunger, nor haue forecast, and therefore do giue him no more aduantage that seeketh to deceiue them, then the wrastler by sleight is able to ouerthrow him, whom he cannot stirre nor remoue. Afterwards the MENDESIAN king himselfe sent vnto *Agesilaus*, to winne him if he could. *Nectanebos* then began to be afraid. For when *Agesilaus* counselled him to try it by battell as soone as he could, and not to prolong this warre against ignorant men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their ouer-multitude might intrench him round about, and preuent him in diuerse things: then he began to feare and

Agesilaus deuided of the Egyptians.

Agesilaus despised all dainty things.

Agesilaus forsaketh Tachos, and goeth vnto Nectanebos.

In whom stratagems take most effect.

and ſuſpect him more, and thereupon retired into a great citie well walled about, and of great ſtrength. *Ageſilaus* being offended that he miſtruſted him thus, tooke it inwardly: but being aſhamed to turne againe vnto the third, and alſo to depart without any exploit done, he followed him, and encloſed himſelfe within thoſe walles. The enemies purſuing him hard, came vnto the city, and began to intrench it round, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN *Nectanebos* fearing a long ſiege, determined to giue them battell. Thereto the hired GRECIANS gaue conſent, as deſiring no better match, and the rather alſo for that there was but ſmall ſtore of corne within the city. But *Ageſilaus* perſwading the contrarie, would in no wiſe conſent to it: wherupon the EGYPTIANS thought worſe of him then before, and plainly called him traitor to their king. Howbeit he did patiently beare all their accuſations, expecting time to performe an exploit he intended, which was this. The enemies had caſt a deepe trench without to compaſſe them in. When this trench drew neare to end, and that both ends lacked not much of meeting, tarying till night came on, he commanded the GRECIANS to arme, and to put themſelues in readineſſe: then he came vnto the EGYPTIAN, and ſaid vnto him: Lo here is an excellent occaſion preſented to ſaue thee, which I would not acquaint thee withall till I ſaw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing leſt otherwiſe we ſhould haue loſt it. Now ſith the enemies themſelues haue with their owne hands giuen vs the way to ſaue our ſelues by this trench they haue caſt, the which as much as is finiſhed therof doth hinder their great multitude to helpe theſelues, & that which is yet left vnfiniſhed doth giue vs oportunitie to fight with them of euen hand: determine to ſhew thy valure, and following vs, ſaue thy ſelfe and thy people. For the enemies which we ſhall aſſaile before vs, ſhall neuer be able to abide vs: and the other by meanes of the trench which defendeth vs on our ſide, can no way hurt vs. *Nectanebos* hearing his words, wondered at his great wiſedome, and ſo thruſting in among the GRECIANS, did aſſaile the enemies: the which were ſoone ouerthrowne and put to flight, as many as durſt reſiſt and make head againſt them. *Ageſilaus* hauing won *Nectabenos* againe to truſt him, he once againe deceiued his enemies with the like ſubtiltie wherewith he had firſt beguiled them, and which they knew not how to auoide. For one while he made as though he fled, and inticed them to follow him: ſodainely againe he would turne this way and that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into a ſtraight ſluce, walled about of either ſide, with great broad ditches full of running water: ſo that when they were euen in the midſt of it, he ſodainly ſtopped their paſſage with the front of his battell, which he caſt to the breadth of the ſluce, and thus made his number of fighting men equall with the multitude of his enemies, which could neither compaſſe him in behind, nor flanke him on the ſides. They hauing in this ſort made ſome ſmall reſiſtance, in the end turned their backes and fled, and left a great number ſlaine in the field: the reſidue after that laſt ouerthrow forſooke their Captains, and fled ſtragglingly here and there. Thus the affaires of this EGYPTIAN king after that time had good ſucceſſe, and was quietly ſtabliſhed in his kingdome, making much of *Ageſilaus*: and doing him all honor poſſible, prayed him to tarie with him all that winter. Howbeit he would needs haſten home to his countrey, which was in warre with others, knowing that his citie of SPARTA was without money, becauſe they were driuen to giue pay vnto ſtrangers. Thereupon *Nectanebos* in the end tooke his leaue of him very honorably, preſenting him a gift (beſides all other honors he did him) of two hundred and thirty ſiluer talents in readie money, to defray the charges of the war in his country. Howbeit the ſea being rough in the winter quarter, he died by the way, hauing notwithſtanding recouered land with his ſhips in a deſert place of the coaſt of LYBIA, which was called the hauen of *Menelaus*, after he was foure ſcore and foure yeares old: of the which he had raigned one and forty yeares king of SPARTA, and 30 yeares thereof and more, he was alwaies taken and reputed for the greateſt perſon, and in maner Chieftaine generall of all GRECE, vntill the battell of LEVCTRES. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing a cuſtome to bury the dead bodies of their citizens that died out of their country, in the ſame place where they departed: (the bodies of their kings excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that time about *Ageſilaus*, annointed his bodie with waxe for lacke of honie, and caried him home to SPARTA in this maner. His ſonne *Archidamus* ſucceeded him in the kingdom, whoſe iſſue ſucceſſiuely raigned continually after him, vnto the time of *Agis* (who was the fifth king in ſucceſſion after *Ageſilaus*) whom indeed *Leonidas* put to death, becauſe he ſought to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS auncient diſcipline and forme of life.

The ſtratageme of Ageſilaus againſt the Egyptians.

The liberality of king Nectanebos vnto Ageſilaus.

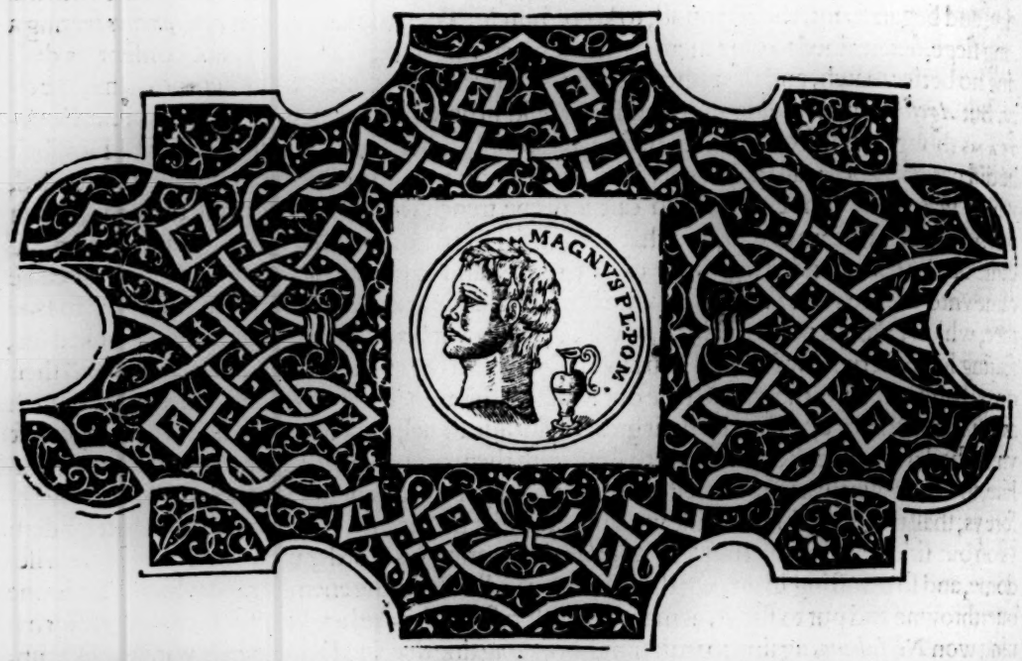
The death of Ageſilaus.

The raigne of Ageſilaus.

Ageſilaus body nointed with waxe for lack of honey.

The end of the life of Ageſilaus.

THE LIFE OF *Pompey.*



The father of Pompey hated in Rome.

THe ROMAINES ſeeme to haue loued *Pompey* from his childhood, with the ſelfe affection that *Prometheus* in the tragedy of *Æſchylus* appeareth to haue borne vnto *Hercules*, after that he was deliuered by him: when he ſaid:

So great a hate I bare not to the father,
But that I loue the ſonne of him much rather.

Strabo, the father of Pompey

For the ROMAINES neuer ſhewed more bitter hate againſt any other Captaine, then they did vnto *Strabo, Pompeys* father. Truly ſo long as he liued, they feared his greatneſſe obtained by armes, for indeed he was a noble Captaine: but being ſtriken with a thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the beare whereon his body lay as they caried him to buriall, and did thereto great villanie. Contrariwiſe, neuer any other ROMAINE (but *Pompey*) had the peoples earneſt goodwils ſo ſoone, nor that in proſperitie and aduerſity continued longer conſtant, then vnto *Pompey*. One only cauſe procured the fathers hate, and that was, an vnſatiable and greedy deſire of money. But *Pompey* his ſon, was for many occaſions beloued: as, for temperance of life, aptneſſe to armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulnes of word, and curteſie in conuerſation: ſo that there was neuer man that requeſted any thing with leſſe ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleaſure any man when he was requeſted. For he gaue without diſdaine, and tooke with great honor. Furthermore, being but a child, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wan mens goodwils before he ſpake: for his countenance was ſweet, mixed with grauitie, and being come to mans ſtate, there appeared in his geſture and behauior a graue and princely maieſty. His haire alſo ſtood a litle vpright, & the caſt and ſoft mouing of his eyes, had a certaine reſemblance (as they ſaid) of the ſtatues and images of king *Alexander*. And becauſe euery man gaue him that name, he did not refuſe it himſelfe: inſomuch as there were ſome which ſporting wiſe did openly call him *Alexander*. Whereupon *Lucius Philippus* a Conſull, was not aſhamed to ſay openly in an oration he made in *Pompeys* fauor, that it was no maruell if he being *Philip* did loue *Alexander*. It is reported alſo, that when *Flora* the curtiſan waxed old, ſhe much delighted to talke of the familiaritie which ſhe had with *Pompey* being a yong man: telling that after ſhe had lien with him, ſhe could not poſſibly riſe from him, but ſhe muſt needs giue him ſome ſweet quip or pleaſant taunt. She would tell alſo how one of *Pompeys* familiars and companions called *Geminius*, fell in loue with her and was a maruellous earneſt

The loue of the Romaines vnto Pompey.

The fauour of Pompey.

Flora the curtiſan loued Pompey.

earneſt ſuter to obtaine her goodwill: and that ſhe anſwered him flatly, ſhe would not, for the loue ſhe bare to *Pompey*. *Geminius* thereupon brake the matter to *Pompey* himſelfe. *Pompey* deſirous to pleaſure him, granted the requeſt: howbeit *Geminius* after that, would not come neare *Flora*, nor ſpeake vnto her, albeit it appeared that he yet loued her. But *Flora* tooke this not curtiſan like, for ſhe was ſicke a long time for very griefe of mind, and the thought ſhe tooke vpon it. All this notwithſtanding, it is ſaid that this *Flora* had then ſuch fame for her paſſing grace and beautie, that *Cecilius Metellus* ſetting foorth and beautifying the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, with goodly tables and pictures: among the reſt, he cauſed her picture to be liuely drawne for her excellent beautie. Furthermore, *Pompey* againſt his nature, dealt very hardly and vncourteouſly with the wife of *Demetrius*, his franchiſed bondman (who while he liued was in great credite with him, and dying, left her woorth foure thouſand talents) fearing to be taken with her beauty which was very ſingularly faire, leſt he ſhould be thought in loue with her. Now, though herein he ſeemed to be very circumſpect, and to caſt the worſt, yet could he not thus ſcape the detracting tongues of his ill-willers: for they did accuſe him, that to pleaſe and content his wiues, he would let paſſe and winke at many things, that were againſt the profite of the commonwealth. To proue his ſober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common meats: a word (they ſay) he ſpake when he was very ſicke, and could taſt no meate, is ſpecially noted. For to bring his ſtomacke to him againe, his Phiſition willed him to eate a Thruſh. So ſeeking all about to get him one, there was no Thruſh to be bought for money, for they were out of ſeaſon. Notwithſtanding, one told him that he ſhould not miſſe of them at *Lucullus* houſe, for he kept them vp all the yeare through. Why, what then, ſaid he: if *Lucullus* ryot were not, ſhould not *Pompey* liue? Therewithall, letting his Phiſitians counſell alone, he made them dreſſe ſuch meate as was euery where common. But of that we will ſpeake more hereafter. Now *Pompey* being a young man, and in the field with his father, that was in armes againſt *Cinna*: there lay with him in his tent a companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*, who being bribed with money, had promiſed *Cinna* to kill him, and other confederators alſo had promiſed to ſet their Captaines tent on fire. This conſpiracie was reuealed vnto *Pompey* as he ſate at ſupper, which nothing amated him at all, but he drank freely, and was merier with *Terentius* then of cuſtome. So when it was bed time, he ſtale out of his owne tent, & and went vnto his father to prouide for his ſafetie. *Terentius* thinking the houre come to attempt his enterpriſe, roſe with his ſword in his hand, and went to *Pompeys* bed where he was wont to lye, and gaue many a thruſt into the mattreſſe. After he had done that, all the campe ſtraight was in an vprore for the malice they bare vnto their Captaine, and the ſoldiers in all haſt would needs haue gone and yeelded to their enemie, beginning already to ouerthrow their tents, and to truſſe away bagge and baggage. The Captaine for feare of this tumult, durſt not come out of his tent: notwithſtanding *Pompey* his ſonne ranne amongſt the mutinous ſouldiers, and humbly beſought them with the teares in his eyes, not to do their Captaine this villanie, and in fine threw himſelfe flatling to the ground ouerthwart the gate of the campe, bidding them march ouer him, if they had ſuch a deſire to be gone. The ſouldiers being aſhamed of their follie, returned againe to their lodging, and chaunging mind, reconciled themſelues with their Captaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediatly after that *Strabo*, *Pompeys* father, was departed out of the world, *Pompey* being his heire, was accuſed for the father, to robbe the common treaſure. Howbeit he confeſſed and auowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his fathers infranchiſed bondmen that had ſtolen the moſt part of it, and brought him in before the Iudges. Notwithſtanding, he was accuſed himſelfe, for taking away the toyles and arming cords of hunters nets, and bookes that were taken at ASCVLVM. He confeſſed the hauing of them, and that his father gaue him them when the citie was taken: howbeit that he had loſt them ſince, when *Cinna* returned vnto ROME with his ſouldiers, who breaking into his houſe by force, ſpoiled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitiue ſentence, in which time *Pompey* ſhewed himſelfe of good ſpirit and vnderſtanding, more then was looked for in one of his yeares: inſomuch he wanne ſuch fame and fauour by it, that *Antiſtius* being Prætor at that time, and Iudge of his matter, fell into ſuch a liking with him, that ſecretly he offered him his daughter in mariage. Then that matter being by friends broken to *Pompey*, he liked of the match, and the parties were ſecretly aſſured. This was not ſo cloſely conueyed, but the people perceiued it, by the care and paines *Antiſtius* tooke to fauor his matter. Inſomuch, when the Iudges gaue iudgement, & cleared him: all the people together, as if

Flora the curtiſan, was paſſing faire.

The temperance of Pompey in diet.

The treaſon of Lucius Terentius againſt Pompey.

Pompey accuſed for robbing the common treaſure.

The cause of the crie of Talassio at mariages in Rome.

they had bene agreed, cried out with one voice, Talassio, Talassio, being the vsuall and common crie they vsed of old time at mariages in ROME. This custome by report of auncient folke came vp in this manner. At what time the chiefest Peeres and Lords of ROME did rauish the SABINES daughters, which came to ROME to see common sports played, there chaunced a few rascals (as hog-heards or neat-heards) to carie away a goodly faire woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cryed out in the streetes as they went, Talassio, as if they would haue said, she is for *Talassius*. This *Talassius* was a young Gentleman well knowne, and beloued of most men: so that such as heard him but named onely, did clappe their hands for ioy, and cryed out with them, Talassio, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that euer since they haue cryed this word Talassio vnto them that are newly maried, because the mariage of that faire young maide proued fortunate, and happie vnto *Talassius*. And this me thinkes soundeth nearest to the troth of that they report of this wedding crie of Talassio. Shortly after this iudgement giuen, *Pompey* maried *Antistia*. After that, going vnto *Cinnaes* campe, they wrongfully accused him for somewhat, whereupon he being afraide, secretly stale away. Now when they could not find him in *Cinnaes* campe, there ran straight a rumour abroad, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did set vpon him for this occasion. But he thinking to saue himselfe by flying, was straight ouertaken by a priuate Captaine that followed him with his sword drawne in his hand. *Cinna* seeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and tooke his seale from his finger wherewith he sealed his letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tush, said the Captaine, I come not to seale any couenant, but to chastise a villaine and cruell tyrant: and therewithall thrust his sword through him, and slue him presently. *Cinna* being slaine in this sort, *Carbo* succeeded him, and tooke the gouernment in hand, being a more cruell tyrant then the first. Shortly after came in *Sylla*, being wished for, and desired of the most part of the ROMAINES, for the grieuous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought themselues happie to chaunge Gouernour: for their citie was brought into such miserie, as hoping no more to see ROME recouer her lost libertie, they desired yet a more tollerable bondage. Now *Pompey* at that time was in a place of ITALIE called PICENVM (now the marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inheritance, but much more great loue and goodwill of the cities for his fathers sake. He seeing that the noblest men of ROME forsooke their houses and goods, to flie from all parts vnto *Syllaes* campe, as vnto a place of safetie: would not go to him as a fugitiue and castaway to saue himselfe, without bringing him some power to increase his armie, but would honourably go thither with an army, as he that meant first to do himselfe pleasure. So he felt the goodwill of the PICENTINES, who willingly tooke his part, and reiected them that were sent by *Carbo*. Among them there was one *Vindius*, that stepping foorth, said: that *Pompey* which came from schoole the last day, must now in hast be a Captaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time, *Pompey* being but three and twentie yeares old, tarying to receiue no authoritie from any man, tooke it vpon him of himselfe, and causing a tribunall to be set vp in the middest of the market place of AVXIMVM, a great populous citie: he commaunded the two brethren called the VENTIDIANS (being the chiefest men of the citie, and they that for *Carboes* sake withstood his doings) without delay foorthwith to auoide the citie, and so began to leauie men, and to appoint Captaines, Sergeants of bands, Centeniers, and such other officers as appertaine to martiall discipline. Then he went to all the other cities of the same marches, and did the like. They that tooke part with *Carbo*, fled euery man, and all the rest willingly yeelded vnto him: wherby in short space he had gotten three whole legions together, munition to entertaine them, carts, and all manner of beasts for cariage. In this sort he tooke his iourney towards *Sylla*, not in hast, as a man afraid to be met with by the way, but by small iourneys, staying still where he might hurt his enemie, causing the cities euery where as he came to reuolt from *Carbo*. Neuertheless, three Captaines of the contrarie part, *Carinna*, *Cælius*, and *Brutus*, all three did set vpon *Pompey* together, not all in a front, nor of one side, but in three seuerall places they compassed him with their armies, thinking to haue made him sure at the first onset. This nothing amazed *Pompey*, but putting foorth his force together in one place, he first marched against *Brutus*, hauing placed his horsemen (among the which he was himselfe in person) before the battell of his footemen. Now the men of armes of the enemie which were GAVLES, coming to giue charge vpon him, he ran one of the chiefest among them through with his

Pompey maried Antistia.

The death of Cinna.

Pompeys first Captaineship vnder Sylla.

Pompey was Chiefetaine of an army at 23 yeares of age.

The city of Anximum.

Pompey goeth vnto Sylla.

Pompeys victorie of the Marians.

his launce and slue him. The other GAVLES seeing him slaine, turned their backes, and brake their owne footmen: so that at length they all fled for life. Thereupon the Captaines fell out among themselues, and some fled one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the townes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare: came all in to *Pompey*, and yeelded themselues. Afterwards *Scipio* the Consull coming against *Pompey* to fight with him, when both battels were in maner readie to ioyne: before they came to throwing of their darts, *Scipioes* souldiers saluted *Pompeys* men, and went on their side: so was *Scipio* driuen to flie. And in fine, *Carbo* himselfe hauing sent after him diuerse troupes of horsemen by the riuer of Arsis: *Pompey* made towards them, and did so fiercely assaile them, that he draue them into such places, as was almost impossible for horsemen to come into. Whereupon, they seeing no way to scape, yeelded themselues horse and armour, all to his mercie. *Sylla* all this while heard no newes of these ouerthrowes: wherefore, as soone as he vnderstood of it, fearing lest *Pompey* should miscarie, being enuironed with so many Captaines of his enemies: he made hast to march towards him for to aide him. *Pompey* vnderstanding of his approach, commaunded his Captaines to arme their men, and to put them in battell ray, that their Generall might see them brauely appointed when he should present them vnto him: for he looked that *Sylla* would do him great honour, and indeed he did him more honour then *Pompey* looked for. For when *Sylla* saw him a farre off comming towards him, and his armie marshalled in so good order of battell, and such goodly men, that so brauely aduaunced themselues, being couragious for the victorie they had obtained of their enemies: he lighted on foote. When *Pompey* also came to do his dutie to him, and called him Imperator, (as much as Emperour, or soueraigne Prince) *Sylla* resaluted him with the selfe name, beyond all mens expectation present, litle thinking that he would haue giuen so honourable a name vnto so young a man as *Pompey*, who had not yet bene Senator: considering that he himselfe did contend for that title and dignitie, with the faction of *Marius* and *Scipio*. Furthermore, the entertainment that *Sylla* gaue him euery way, was answerable to his first kindnesse offered him. For when *Pompey* came before him, he would rise and put off his cap to him, which he did not vnto many other noblemen about him. All this notwithstanding, *Pompey* gloried nothing the more in himselfe. Wherfore when *Sylla* would straight haue sent him into GAVLE, because *Metellus* that was there, was thought to haue done no exploit worthy of so great an armie as he had with him: *Pompey* answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient Captaine that was of greater fame and experience then himselfe: yet if *Metellus* of himselfe were contented, and would intreate him, that he would willingly go and helpe him to end this war. *Metellus* was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then *Pompey* entring GAVLE, did of himselfe wonderfull exploits, and did so reuiue *Metellus* old courage and valiantnesse to fight, which now began to faint, like boyling copper that being powred vpon the cold and hard copper, doth melt and dissolue it, as fast or faster then fire it selfe. For like as of a wrestler, who hath bene counted very strong, and the chiefest in all games, hauing euer borne the prize away where he hath wrestled, they neuer record among them his childish victories and wrestlings, as things of no account: euen so I am afraid to speak of the wonderfull deeds that *Pompey* did in his childhood, because they are obscured in respect of the infinite great warres and battels which he had wonne afterwards. For I am afraid that whilest I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe ouer his chiefest acts and most notable enterprises, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when *Sylla* had ouercome all ITALIE, and was proclaimed Dictator: he did reward all his Lieutenants and Captaines that had taken his part, and did aduance them to honorable place and dignity in the commonwealth, frankly granting them all that they requested of him. But for *Pompey*, reuerencing him for his valiantnes, & thinking that he wold be a great stay to him in all his wars: he sought by some meanes to allie him to him. *Metella* his wife being of his opinion, they both perswaded *Pompey* to put away his first wife *Antistia*, and to mary *Æmylia* the daughter of *Metella*, & of her first husband, the which also was anothers mans wife, and with child by her husband. These mariages were cruell and tyrannicall, fitter for *Syllaes* time, rather then agreable to *Pompeys* nature and condition: to see *Æmylia*, this new maried wife taken from her lawfull husband, to marie her great with child; and shamefully to forsake *Antistia*, who not long before had lost her father, and for respect of her husband that did put her away. For *Antistius* was murthered within the very Senate house, being suspected to take part with *Sylla* for his sonne in law *Pompeys* sake:

Pompey ioyned with Sylla.

Pompey called Imperator of Sylla.

The honor Sylla did vnto Pompey.

Pompey went to aide Metellus in Gaule.

Wonderfull victories of Pompey.

Pompey put away his wife Antistia, and maried AEmylia, the daughter of Metella, Syllaes wife.

The death of Antistius.

and her mother voluntarily put her ſelfe to death, ſeeing her daughter receiued ſuch open wrong. By theſe apparant cauſes, theſe vnfortunate mariages fell out into a miſerable tragedie, by meanes of the death of *Æmylia*, who ſhortly after miſerably died with child in *Pompeys* houſe. Then came newes to *Sylla*, that *Perpenna* was gotten into SICILE, and that he had made all that Iland at his deuotion, as a ſafe place to receiue all *Syllaes* enemies: that *Carbo* alſo kept the ſea thereabouts with a certaine number of ſhips: that *Domitius* alſo was gone into AFRICKE: and diuerſe other noblemen that were baniſhed, that had ſcaped his proſcriptions and outlawries, were all in thoſe parts. Againſt them was *Pompey* ſent with a great armie. Howbeit he no ſooner arriued in SICILE, but *Perpenna* left him the whole Iland, and went his way. There he fauorably dealt with all the cities, which before had abidden great trouble and miſerie, and ſet them againe at libertie, the MAMERTINES onely excepted, which dwelt in the citie of MESSINA. They deſpiſing his tribunall and iuriſdiction, alleaged the auncient order and priuiledge of the ROMAINS, ſet downe in times paſt amongſt them. But *Pompey* anſwered them in choler: What do ye prattle to vs of your lawe, that haue our ſwords by our ſides? It ſeemeth alſo that *Pompey* dealt too cruelly with *Carbo* in his miſerie. For ſith he muſt needes dye, as there was no remedie but he ſhould: then it had bene better they had killed him when he was taken: for then they would haue imputed it to his malice that ſo had commaunded it. But *Pompey* after he was taken, made him to be brought before him, that had bene thriſe Conſull at ROME, to be openly examined, and he ſitting in his chaire of ſtate or tribunall, condemned him to die in preſence of them all: to the great offence and miſliking of euery one that was preſent. So *Pompey* bade them take him away and carie him to execution. When *Carbo* came to the ſcaffold where he ſhould be executed, and ſeeing the ſword drawne that ſhould ſtrike off his head: he prayed the executioners to giue him a litle reſpite and place to vntruſſe a point, for he had a paine in his belly. *Caius Oppius* alſo (one of *Iulius Cæſars* friends) writeth, that he dealt very cruelly in like maner with *Quintus Valerius*. For *Pompey*, ſaid he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and few like vnto him: when he was brought vnto him, he tooke him aſide, and walked a few turnes about: then when he had queſtioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he cõmanded his guard to cary him away, and to diſpatch him. Howbeit we may not giue too light credit to all that *Oppius* writeth, ſpeaking of *Iulius Cæſars* friends or foes. For *Pompey* indeed was cõpelled to make away the greateſt perſonages of *Syllaes* enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriouſly taken: but for the reſt, all thoſe that he could ſecretly ſuffer to ſteale away, he was cõtented to winke at it, and would not vnderſtand it: and moreouer did helpe ſome beſides to ſaue themſelues. Now *Pompey* was determined to haue taken ſharpe reuenge of the citie of the HIMERIANS, which had ſtoutly taken the enemies part. But *Sthenis* one of the Gouernours of the citie, craning audience of *Pompey*, told him he ſhould do them wrong and iniuſtice, if he ſhould pardon him that committed all the fault, & ſhould deſtroy them that had not offended. *Pompey* then asking him, what he was that durſt take vpon him to father the offence of them all. *Sthenis* anſwered ſtraight, that it was himſelf that had perſwaded his friends, and compelled his enemies to do that which they did. *Pompey* being pleaſed to heare the franke ſpeech and boldneſſe of this man, firſt forgaue him the fault he had cõmitted, and conſequently all the other HIMERIANS. *Pompey* vnderſtanding that his ſoldiers did kill diuers men in the high waies, he ſealed vp all their ſwords, and whoſe ſeale ſoeuer was broken, he was well fauouredly puniſhed. *Pompey* being buſie about theſe matters in SICILE, receiued letters and cõmiſſion from *Sylla* and the Senate, to depart thence immediatly into AFRICKE, to make war vpon *Domitius* with all his power, who had leauied already more men of war, then *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of AFRICKE into ITALIE: & had there ouerthrowne all the ROMAINES doings, being become of a fugitiue outlaw, a cruell tyrant. *Pompey* therupon hauing ſpeedily put himſelfe in readineſſe to take the ſeas, left *Memmius* his ſiſters husband gouernor of SICILE: and ſo himſelfe imbarked, and hoiſſed ſaile with ſixe ſcore gallies, and eight hundred other ſhips or bottomes, to tranſport their victuals, munition, money, engines of batterie, and all other cariage whatſoeuer. After he was landed with all his fleet, part at VTICA, and part at CARTHAGE: there ſtraight came to him ſeuẽ thouſand ſoldiers from the enemies, and yeelded themſelues, beſides ſeuen whole legions that he brought with him. They ſay moreouer, that at his arriuall, he had a pleaſant chaunce happened vnto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his ſouldiers ſtumbled on a treaſure by chaunce, and got thereby a great maſſe of money. The reſidue of the armie hearing that, thought

Pompey ſent from Sylla into Sicile.

Lawe muſt giue place to armes.

The death of Carbo.

The death of Q. Valerius.

The bold ſpeech of Sthenis.

Pompey ſealed vp his ſoldiers ſwords.

Pompeys iourney into Africke vnder Sylla againſt Domitius.

thought ſure that the field where this treaſure was found, was full of gold and ſiluer, which the CARTHAGINIANS had hidden there long before in time of their calamitie. *Pompey* hereupon, for many dayes after, could haue no rule of his ſouldiers, neither could he chooſe but laugh, to ſee ſo many thouſand men digging the ground, and turning vp the field: vntill in the end they wearied themſelues, and came and prayed him then to leade them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their folly. *Domitius* came to *Pompey* with his armie ſet in battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quagmire before him that ranne with a ſwift running ſtreame, very ill to get ouer: beſides that, from the very breake of day it had powred downe and rained ſo faſt, and was ſo great a wind withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they ſhould not fight, commaunded his people to truſſe away, and remoue. *Pompey* on the other ſide, finding this an excellent fit occaſion for him, ſodainly made his men to march, and paſſed ouer the valley. The enemies perceiuing that, being altogether out of order, were maruellouſly amazed, and in that hurly burly would haue made reſiſtance. But they were neither all together, nor yet euenly ſet in battell ray, and had beſides the wind beating the raine full in their faces. So did the ſtorme much hurt vnto the ROMAINES alſo, for they could not one ſee another: inſomuch as *Pompey* himſelfe was in great daunger of being killed by one of his owne ſouldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the battell, and was ſomewhat long before he anſwered him. In fine, when he had ouerthrowne his enemies with great ſlaughter: (for they ſay, that of twentie thouſand of them, there were but three thouſand ſaued) *Pompeys* ſouldiers ſaluted him by the name of Imperator: but he anſwered them, that he would not accept the honour of that name, ſo long as he ſaw his enemies campe yet ſtanding: and therefore, if it were ſo they thought him worthy of that name, that firſt they ſhould ouerthrow the trench and fort of the enemies, wherein they had intrenched their campe. The ſouldiers when they heard him ſay ſo, went preſently to aſſault it. There *Pompey* fought bare headed, to auoide the like daunger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the campe by force, and in it ſlue *Domitius*. After that ouerthrow, the cities in that countrey came and yeelded themſelues, ſome willingly, & others taken by force: as alſo they tooke king *Iarbas*, that had fought for *Domitius*, & his realme was giuen to *Hiempſall*. But *Pompey*, being deſirous further to employ his power, & the good fortune of his armie, went many dayes iourney into the maine land, and ſtill conquered all where he came, making the power of the ROMAINES dreadfull vnto all the barbarous people of that countrey, the which made but ſmall account of them at that time. He ſayd moreouer, that the wild beaſts of AFRICKE alſo ſhould feele the force and good ſucceſſe of the ROMAINES: and thereupon he beſtowed a few dayes in hunting of Lions and Elephants. For it is reported, that in fortie dayes ſpace at the vttermoſt, he had ouercome his enemies, ſubdued AFRICKE, and had ſtabliſhed the affaires of the kings and kingdomes of all that countrey, being then but foure and twentie yeare old. So when he returned vnto the citie of VTICA, letters were brought from *Sylla*, willing him to diſcharge all his armie, and to remaine there with one legion onely, tarying the comming of another captaine that ſhould be ſent to ſucceed him in the gouernment of that countrey. This commaundement grieued him not a litle, though he made no ſhew of it at all: but his ſouldiers ſhewed plainely that they were offended. For when *Pompey* prayed them to depart, they began to giue out broade ſpeeches againſt *Sylla*, and told directly that they were not determined (whatſoeuer became of them) to forſake him, and they would not that he ſhould truſt vnto a tyrant. *Pompey* ſeeing that he could not perſwade them, by any reaſon to be quiet, roſe out of his chaire, and retired into his tent weeping. But the ſouldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his chaire of ſtate, where he ſpent a great part of the day, they intreating him to remaine there and commaund them, and he deſiring them to obey *Sylla*, and leaue their mutinies. But in fine, ſeeing them importunate to preſſe him to it, he ſware he would kill himſelfe, rather then they ſhould compell him: yet they ſcant left him thus. Hereupon it was reported vnto *Sylla*, that *Pompey* was rebelled againſt him. *Sylla* when he heard that, ſayd to his friends: Well, then I ſee it is my deſtinie, in mine old dayes to fight with children. He meant ſo, becauſe of *Marius* the yonger, who had done him much miſchiefe, and had beſides put him in great daunger. But afterwards vnderſtanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in ROME were determined to go and meete *Pompey*, and to receiue him with all the honor they could: becauſe he would go beyond them all in ſhew of good will, he went out of his houſe to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him Magnus, to ſay

Domitius camped by Pompey with his army.

Pompeys victlory of Domitius.

Domitius ſlaine.

Pompey tooke king Iarbas.

Pompeys conqueſts at 24. yeares of age.

The loue of the ſouldiers vnto Pompey.

Pompey called Magnus, by Sylla.

great, and commanded all them that were preſent to giue him that name alſo. This notwithſtanding ſome ſay, that it was in AFRIKE this name was firſt giuen him by a common crie of all his whole armie, and that afterwards it was confirmed by *Sylla*. Indeed it is true that *Pompey* himſelf being ſent Proconſull into SPAINE, long time after that, was the laſt that ſubſcribed all his letters and commiſſions with the name of *Pompey* the great: for this name then was ſo cõmonly known and accepted, as no man did enuie it. And therefore rightly is the wiſedome of the auncient ROMAINES, to be both commended and had in admiration: which did not onely reward ſeruice in the field with ſuch honourable names and titles, but ciuill ſeruice and good gouernement alſo in peace at home. For there were two whom the people at ROME called Maximi, to ſay, very great: of the which *Valerius* was the one, for that he made peace and agreement betwixt the people and Senate. The other was *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put from the Senate certaine bondmen infranchiſed, who through their riches and fauour had obtained that place. After that, *Pompey* required the honor of triumph, but *Sylla* denied it, alleaging that none could enter in triumph into ROME, but Conſuls or Prætors. For ſith *Scipio* the firſt who in SPAINE had ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, neuer deſired this honour of triumph, being neither Conſull nor Prætor: much leſſe ſhould he ſtand vpon demaund of triumph into ROME, when that through his yong yeares he was not yet a Senator: and beſides, it would purchaſe him enuie of his honor and greatnes. Theſe reaſons did *Sylla* alleage againſt *Pompey*, and told him plainly that if he were bent to ſtand in it, he would reſiſt him. All this blanked not *Pompey*, who told him frankly againe, how men did honor the riſing, not the ſetting of the Sun: meaning therby, how his owne honor increaſed, and *Syllaes* diminiſhed. *Sylla* heard him not very perfectly what he ſaid, but perceiuing by their countenãces that ſtood by, that they wondred at it, he asked what it was he ſayd. When it was told him, he maruelled at the boldneſſe of ſo yong a man, and then cried out twiſe together, let him then triumph a gods name. Many being offended therwith, *Pompey* (as it is reported) to anger thẽ more, would needes be brought in in triumphant chariot drawne with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from thoſe Kings and Princes which he had ſubdued. Howbeit the gate of the citie being too narrow, he was driuen to leaue the Elephants, and was contented to be drawn in with horſes. Now his ſouldiers that had not al things as they looked for, and which was promiſed them, going about to trouble and hinder his triumph: he ſayd he paſſed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of triumph, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called *Seruilius*, who at the firſt was one of the chiefeſt againſt *Pompeys* triumph, who ſaid openly: now I know that *Pompey* indeed is great, and deſerueth triumph: being euident enough, that if he would, he might then haue eaſily bene made Senator: he ſued not for that, but as they ſay, ſought honor by a ſtranger meane leſſe honorable. For if he had bene made Senator ſo yong, it had not bene ſo great a matter: but to haue ſuch honor before he was Senator, that was maruellouſly to be noted. But this wan him the more fauor and good will ſtill amongſt the common people: for they were glad when after his triumph they ſaw him in companie amongſt the ROMAINE knights. On the other ſide it ſpited *Sylla* to ſee him come ſo faſt forward, and to riſe to ſo great credite: notwithſtanding, being aſhamed to hinder him, he was contented to keepe it to himſelfe, vntill that *Pompey* by force and againſt *Syllaes* will, had brought *Lepidus* to be Conſull, by the helpe and good will of the people that furthered his deſire. Thereupon *Sylla* ſeeing *Pompey* returning ouerthwart the market place from the election, with a great traine of followers to honour him, he ſayd vnto him: O yong man, I ſee thou art glad of this victorie, and ſo haſt thou cauſe, for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to haue had ſuch fauour of the people, as for thy ſake to haue made *Lepidus* Conſull (the vileſt perſon of all men) before *Catulus* the honeſteſt man of the citie. But I will tell thee one thing, ſee that thou ſleepe not, and looke well to thy buſineſſe, for thou haſt aduanced a dangerous enemie to thy ſelfe. Now the chiefeſt thing wherein *Sylla* diſcouered moſt his ill will vnto *Pompey*, was in his laſt will and teſtament: for he gaue legacies vnto euery one of his friends, and ſome of them he made tutors and ouerſeers of his ſonne, but he made no mention of *Pompey* at all. This notwithſtanding, *Pompey* tooke it well enough. And where *Lepidus* and ſome other would haue kept *Syllaes* bodie from buriall in the field of *Mars*, and that his funerals ſhould not be openly ſolemnized: he contrariwiſe brought him very honourably and ſafely to the ground. Shortly after *Syllaes* death, his words of prophecie vnto *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus*, proued true. For *Lepidus* vſurping the authoritie which *Sylla* had before, not colourably, but openly entred ſtraight in armes,

The wiſdom of the Romaines commended for rewarding forraine and home ſeruice. Valerius and Rullus called Maximi in Rome.

Pompeys ſtout anſwer vnto Sylla.

Pompey not being Senator, triumpheth againſt the law.

Marcus Lepidus created Conſull.

Sylla fallen from the loue of Pompey.

Lepidus moueth ciuill war.

ſtirring

ſtirring vp againe thoſe of *Marius* faction, whom *Sylla* could not be reuenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, ſpying for occaſion to riſe againe. True it is that his colleague, and fellow Conſull *Catulus* (whom the beſt and ſoundeſt part of the people followed) was thought a maruellous honeſt man, both iuſt and modeſt: howbeit, a better gouernor in peace, then a good man of warre, inſomuch as time required *Pompeys* skill and experience. So *Pompey* ſtood not doubtfull which way he would diſpoſe himſelfe, but tooke part ſtraight with the Nobilitie and honeſteſt men, and was preſently choſen Captaine of their armie againſt *Lepidus*: who had alreadie wonne the greateſt part of ITALY, and with an army vnder the conduct of *Brutus*, kept GAVLE on this ſide the mountaines called GALLIA CISALPINA. And for the reſt *Pompey* eaſily ouercame it: howbeit he lay a long time before MODONA, beſieging of *Brutus*. In the meane ſeaſon *Lepidus* came to ROME, and being hard at the walles damaunding the ſecond Conſulſhip, made them afraid in the citie with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all ſorts. Howbeit this feare was cooled ſtraight, by a letter which *Pompey* ſent to ROME, aduertiſing how he had ended this warre without any bloudſhed: for *Brutus*, either betraying his armie, or being betrayed of it, yeelded himſelfe vnto *Pompey*, who gaue him a certaine number of horſmen that conducted him vnto a litle towne vpon the riuer of Po: where the next day after, *Geminius* being ſent by *Pompey*, ſlue him. But hereof *Pompey* was greatly blamed, for that he had written letters to the Senate from the beginning of the change, how *Brutus* had put himſelfe into his hands: and afterwards wrote letters to the contrary, which burthened him for putting him to death. This *Brutus* was father of that *Brutus*, which afterwards by the helpe of *Caſſius* ſlue *Iulius Cæſar*: howbeit he ſhewed not himſelfe ſo like a coward, neither in warres nor in his death, as his father did: as we haue declared more at large in his life. Furthermore *Lepidus*, being driuen to forſake ITALY, fled into SARDINIA, where he died (as it is reported) of a ſickneſſe that he had, not for any ſorrow or griefe of his owne affaires, but for a letter that was brought him which went to his heart, knowing thereby that his wife had played the harlot. There remained at that time *Sertorius* in SPAINE, who was another manner of warrier then *Lepidus*, and that kept the ROMAINES in great aw: for that all the fugitiues of the late ciuill warres were fled to him, as from the laſt diſeaſe of the warres. He had alreadie ouerthrowne many inferiour Captaines, and was now wreſtling with *Metellus Pius*, that in his youth had bene a noble ſouldier, but now being old, made warres but ſlowly, and would not couragiouſly take preſent occaſions offered him, which *Sertorius* by his nimbleneſſe and dexteritie tooke out of his hands. For he would euer houer about him, when he thought leaſt of him, like a Captaine rather of theeues then of ſouldiers, and would ſtil lay ambuſhes in euery corner, and round about him: where the good old man *Metellus* had learned to fight in battell ray, his men being heauy armed. Hereupon *Pompey* keeping his armie alway together, practiſed at ROME, that he might be ſent into SPAINE to ayd *Metellus*. But *Catulus*, notwithſtanding that he commanded him to diſperſe his army, *Pompey* ſtil kept them together by colour of new deuiſes, and was continually about ROME in armes, vntil that by *Lucius Philippus* meanes he had obtained the gouernement of that country. They ſay that one of the Senators maruelling to heare *Philip* propound that matter to the Senate, asked him: how now *Philip*, doeſt thou then thinke it meete to ſend *Pompey* Proconſull (to ſay, for a Conſull) into SPAINE? No truly, ſaid *Philip*, not Proconſull onely, but *pro conſulibus*: (to ſay, for both Conſuls) meaning, that both the Conſuls for that yeare were men of no value. Now when *Pompey* was arriued in SPAINE, men began ſtraight to be caried away, (as the maner is commonly where no gouernours be) with the hope of a thing that they had not before. Thereupon *Sertorius* gaue out proud and bitter words againſt *Pompey*, ſaying in mockery, he woulld haue no other weapon but rods to whip this yong boy, if he were not afraid of this old woman, meaning *Metellus* the old man. But notwithſtanding theſe gallant brags, he ſtood better vpon his guard, and went ſtronger to fight then he did before, being afraid of *Pompey*. For *Metellus* was very diſſolute of life (which no man would haue iudged in him) and was giuen ouer too much to riot and pleaſure: howbeit they ſaw in him a maruellous ſodaine change, both of his honour and glorie which he vſed before, as alſo the cutting off of his ſuperfluous expence. That thing, beſides that he did honour *Pompey* greatly by it, wan him alſo much more the goodwill of the people, whē they ſaw that he drew himſelf downe to a ſtraighter life. And this was no great paine to him, for of his owne diſpoſition he was a graue man, and temperatly giuen for his deſires. In this war fortune changed diuerſly, as it is commonly ſeene in wars: but nothing grieued *Pompey* more then *Sertorius* winning of the citie of LAVRON.

Brutus the father, ſlaine by Pompey.

The death of Lepidus.

The valiantnes of Sertorius in Spaine.

Pompeys iourney into Spaine againſt Sertorius.

Metellus giuen to riot and pleaſure.

Sertorius wan the city of Lauron in the ſight of Pompey.

Pompey ſlue Herennius and Perpenna.

Battell betwixt Pompey and Sertorius.

Sucron fl.

For he thinking to haue ſhut him in, and had giuen out ſome glorious words of the matter, wondred when he ſaw himſelf ſtraight compaſſed in, that he could not ſtirre out of the campe where he lay, and was driuen beſides to ſee the citie burnt before his face. This notwithſtanding, afterwards at a ſet battell by the citie of VALENTIA, he ſlue *Herennius* and *Perpenna*, both notable ſouldiers and *Sertorius* Lieutenants, and with them ten thouſand men. This victorie ſo encouraged *Pompey*, that he made haſte to fight with *Sertorius* alone, becauſe *Metellus* ſhould haue no part of the honour of the victorie. So they both met by the riuer of Sucron, about ſunne ſet, both fearing *Metellus* comming: the one, that he might fight alone, and the other with one alone. In fine, the victory fell out doubtfull in the end of the battell: for either of their wings had the vpper hand. Betweene the two captaines, *Sertorius* had the greater honour: for he alone ouercame all them that ſtood before him. And as for *Pompey*, there was a great man of armes that being on foot, came and ſet vpon him, and hauing both their ſwords in their hands, they both lighted vpon their hands, but not both in one ſort: for *Pompeys* hand was but a litle hurt, and the man of armes had his hand cleane cut off. Then *Pompeys* men fell vpon him, all his owne fellowes on that ſide being fled from him: notwithſtanding, beyond all hope, he ſaued himſelfe after a ſtrange ſort, by caſting vp his horſe among his enemies, that was richly trapped with gilt harneſſe, hauing a capariſon of great value: and in the meane time while they were buſie deuiding this bootie among them, and fighting for it, he eſcaped their hands. The next morning by breake of day, both of them againe brought their bands into the field, to confirme the victorie, which either of them ſuppoſed they had gotten. But *Metellus* came to *Pompey* at that preſent time, wherupon *Sertorius* went his way, and diſperſed his armie: for his campe was eaſily broken, and ſodainly gathered againe together. For *Sertorius* would ſomtime wander the fields alone, and at another time againe he would haue a hundreth and fifty thouſand fighting men together in the field, like a vehement ſtreame that ſometime is dried vp, and that ſodainly againe is all of a floud. *Pompey* after this battel going to welcome *Metellus*, when they came neare one another, he commaunded his ſergeants and officers to put downe their bundell of rods and axes which they caried before him to honor *Metellus* withall, who was a better man then himſelfe. But *Metellus* would not ſuffer them, but ſhewed himſelfe equall with him in that, and in all things elſe, not reſpecting his ſenioritie, nor that he had bene Conſull, and *Pompey* not, ſauing when they camped together, *Metellus* gaue the watchword to all the campe. Notwithſtanding, commonly they camped aſunder, for their enemie that was ſo flitting from place to place, and was ſeene in ſo ſundry places in ſo ſhort time, cõpelled them to be aſunder to foreſee the worſt, drawing them ſodainly from one purpoſe to another: ſo that in fine, cutting them off from victuals euery way, ſpoiling their country, and keeping the ſea ſide, he draue them both out of the prouinces of their charge which they had in SPAINE, & did compel them to go ſome other where, for lacke of victuals. *Pompey* in the meane time hauing ſpent the moſt part of his goods in this war, ſent to ROME for mony to pay his ſoldiers, threatning the Senate, that if they ſent him no money, he would returne with his army into ITALY. *Lucullus* then being Conſull, though *Pompeys* enemie, procured they ſhould ſend him money: for he practiſed to be ſent Captaine againſt king *Mithridates*, and therefore was afraid to giue *Pompey* any occaſion to returne, who deſired nothing more then to leaue *Sertorius*, to bend his force againſt *Mithridates*, whoſe ouerthrow ſhould be more honorable to him and alſo leſſe dangerous. In the meane ſpace, *Sertorius* died, being betrayed by thoſe whom he thought his friends, among the which *Perpenna* was the chiefe man, that after *Sertorius* death would needs counterfeit his doings, hauing the ſame meanes, the ſame furniture, and the ſame power that he had: howbeit he lacked his wit and skill to employ them. *Pompey* therefore marching directly towards him, and finding how ignorant *Perpenna* was in his affaires: he layed a baite for him of ten cohorts which he ſent to prey in the fields, commaunding them to diſperſe themſelues abroade as farre as they could, one from another. *Perpenna* ſtraight tooke the occaſion, and gaue them charge, and had them in chaſe. But *Pompey* tarying him at the foord, was readie for him with all his armie ſet in order: he gaue him battell, obtained the victorie, and ended all this warre, becauſe the moſt of the captaines were ſlaine in the field, and *Perpenna* the chiefe of all taken priſoner, whom he preſently put to death. But herin *Pompey* was not to be condẽned of ingratitude nor obliuion (as ſome do burthen him) of *Perpennaes* friendſhip ſhewed him in SICILIA, but rather deſerued praiſe to haue determined ſo wiſely for the benefite of the commonwealth. For *Perpenna* hauing in his cuſtodie all *Sertorius* writings, he ſhewed letters of the greateſt noblemen of ROME,

The modeſtie of Pompey and Metellus.

Pompey ouercame Perpenna and ſlue him.

(which

(which were desirous of change of gouernement) willing him to returne into ITALY. *Pompey* vpon sight of these letters, fearing lest they would breed greater sedition and stirre in ROME, then that which was alreadie pacified: put *Perpenna* to death as soone as he could, and burnt all his papers and writings, not reading any letter of them. Then *Pompey* remaining in SPAINE a certaine time, 'till he had pacified all commotions and tumults maruellously out of order, he brought his armie backe againe into ITALIE, and arriued there when the warre of the bondmen and fencers led by *Spartacus*, was in greatest furie. Vpon his comming therefore, *Crassus* being sent Captaine against these bondmen, made haste to giue them battel, which he wan, and slue twelue thousand, three hundred of these fugitiue slaues. Notwithstanding, fortune meaning to giue *Pompey* some part of this honour, fiue thousand of these bondmen escaping from the battell fell into his hands. Whereupon he hauing ouercome them, wrote vnto the Senate that *Crassus* had ouercome the fencers in battell, and that he had pluckt vp this warre by the rootes. The ROMAINES receiuing *Pompeys* letters, were very glad of this newes for the loue they bare him. But as for the winning of SPAINE againe, and the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, there was no man, although it were in sport, that euer gaue any man else the honor, but vnto *Pompey* onely. For all this great honour and loue they bare vnto *Pompey*, yet they did suspect him, and were afraid of him, because he did not disperse his armie, that he would follow *Syllaes* steps, to rule alone by plaine force. Hereupon as manie went to meet him for feare, as there were that went for good will they bare him. But after he had put this suspition quite out of their heads, telling them that he would discharge his armie after he had triumphed: then his ill willers could blame him for nothing else, but that he was more enclined vnto the people then to the nobility, and that he had a desire to restore the Tribuneship of the people which *Sylla* had put downe, onely to gratifie the common people in all he could: the which indeed was true. For the common people at ROME neuer longed for thing more, then they did to see the office of the Tribune set vp againe. Yea, *Pompey* himselfe thought it the happiest turne that euer came to him, to light in such a time, to do such an act. For had any other man preuented him of that, he could neuer haue found the like occasion possibly to haue requited the peoples good wils vnto him, so much as in that. Now therefore this second triumph and first Consulship being decreed by the Senate: that made him nothing the greater, nor better man. And yet was it a shew and signification of his greatnesse, the which *Crassus* (the richest man, the eloquentest and greatest person of al them that at that time dealt in matters of state, and made more estimation of himselfe then of *Pompey* and all the rest) neuer durst once demaund: before he had craued *Pompeys* good will. *Pompey* was very glad of his request, and had sought occasion of long time to pleasure him: and thereupon made earnest sute vnto the people for him, assuring them he would as much thanke them for making *Crassus* his colleague and fellow Consull, as he would, for making himselfe Consull. All this notwithstanding, when they were created Consuls, they were in all things contrarie one to another, and neuer agreed in any one thing while they were Consuls together. *Crassus* had more authoritie with the Senate, but *Pompey* had more credite with the people. For he restored them the office of the Tribune, and passed by edict, that the Knights of ROME should haue full power againe to iudge causes ciuill and criminall. It was a pleasant sight also vnto the people, when he came vnto the Censors in person, to pray that he might be dispensed with for going to the warres. For it was an auncient custome in ROME, that the Knights of ROME hauing serued a certaine time in the warres appointed by their order, should bring their horse in the middest of the market place before the two Censors, declaring euery Captaine vnder whom they had serued, in what iourneys and countries they had bene: and hauing also deliuered account of their good behauiour and seruice, they then prayed to be dismissed from the warres. Now if it appeared that they had done good seruice, there were they honourably rewarded: or otherwise openly shamed and punished. At that time, *Gellius* and *Lentulus* the two Censors, being honorably set in their tribunall or iudgement seate, taking view of all the ROMAINE Knights that mustered before them, to be seene and examined, they maruelled when they saw *Pompey* comming at the farther end of the market place, hauing all the markes of a Consull borne before him, and himselfe leading his horse in his hand by the bridle. When *Pompey* came nearer, and that they saw it was he, he commaunded his sergeants that caried the axes before him, to make roome for him to passe by the barres with his horse, where the Censors sate. Then the people flocked about him, wondring and reioycing, being verie silent. The Censors themselues also were

Pompey burnt Sertorius letters: the like also did Iulius Cæsar when he ouercame Pompey.

Pompey ouercame the rest of the bondmen.

Pompey and Crassus first Consulship.

The custome of the Knights of Rome.

Pompey as a knight of Rome sueth to be discharged from the warres.

Pompey submitteth himselfe to the Censors.

maruellous glad to ſee him ſo obedient to the law, and did him great reuerence. In fine the elder of the Cenſors did examine him in this ſort: *Pompey* the great, I pray thee tell me if thou haſt ſerued ſo long time in the warres, as the law doth appoint? Then anſwered *Pompey* aloud: yes verily that I haue, and vnder no other Captaine then my ſelfe. The people hearing this anſwer, made an open ſhout for ioy, they were ſo glad to heare it: and the Cenſors themſelues came from their iudgement ſeate, and went to accompanie *Pompey* home to his houſe, to pleaſe the great multitude of people that followed him, clapping of their hands, with great ſignes of ioy. At the end of their Conſulſhip, when miſliking increaſed further betweene *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time neuer ſpake in open aſſembly, but then got vp into the pulpit for orations, and told the people openly: how *Iupiter* had appeared to him in the night, and had commaunded him to tell both the Conſuls from him, that they ſhould not leaue their charge and office, before they were reconciled together. For all theſe words *Pompey* ſtirred not. But *Craſſus* firſt tooke him by the hand, and ſpake openly to him before the people: My Lords, I thinke not my ſelfe diſhonoured to giue place to *Pompey*, ſith you your ſelues haue thought him worthy to be called the great, before he had any haire on his face, and vnto whom you graunted the honour of two triumphs before he came to be Senator. When he had ſaid his mind, they were made friends together, and ſo ſurrendred vp their office. Now for *Craſſus*, he held on his former manner of life which he had begun. *Pompey* as neare as he could gaue ouer to pleade men cauſes any more, and began litle and litle to withdraw himſelf from frequenting the market place, and matters of iudgement, comming ſeldome abroad, and when he did, he had alwaies a great traine following him. It was a rare thing alſo to ſee him any more come out of his houſe, or talke with any man, but he was euer accompanied with a great number, and he reioyced to himſelfe, to ſee that he had alwayes ſuch a traine after him: for that made him to be honoured the more, and gaue him greater countenance to ſee him thus courted, thinking it diſhonour to him to be familiar with meane perſons. For men that riſe by armes, are eaſily deſpiſed, when they come to liue like priuate citizens: becauſe they cannot faſhion themſelues to be companions with the common people, (who citizen-like vſe a common familiaritie together) but looke to be their betters in the citie, as they are in the field. Yea and contrarily, they that do acknowledge themſelues to be their inferiors in warres, will thinke foule ſcorne if they be not their ſuperiours in peace. And by this meanes when they haue a noble warrier among them that followeth publike cauſes (which hath triumphed for many victories and battels he hath obtained) they obſcure his glorie, and make him an vnderling vnto them: whereas they do not otherwiſe enuie any ſouldiers, that are contented equally to giue them place and authoritie, as plainely appeared ſhortly after by *Pompey* himſelfe. By ſuch an occaſion, the power of pyrats on the ſea, tooke beginning in the country of Cilicia, which was not reckoned of at the firſt, becauſe it was not perceiued, vntill they grew bold and venturous in king *Mithridates* warres, being hired to do him ſeruice. And afterwards the Romaines being troubled with ciuill warres, one fighting with another euen at Rome gates, the ſea not being looked to all this while, it ſet them a gogge, and made them go farther then euer they did before. For they did not onely robbe and ſpoile all merchant-venturers by ſea, but rifled alſo all the Ilands and townes vpon the ſea coaſt: inſomuch as then there ioyned with them men of great wealth and nobilitie, and of great wiſedome alſo, and entred into their fellowſhip, as into a commendable facultie. Now they had ſet vp arſenals or ſtore-houſes in ſundrie places, they had ſundrie hauens and beacons on the land, to giue warning by fire all alongſt the ſea coaſt, and thoſe well kept and watched: moreouer, they had great fleets of ſhips readie furniſhed with excellent good galliots of ores, skilful pilots & mariners, their ſhips of ſwift ſaile, & pinnaces for diſcouerie, but withal ſo gloriouſly ſet out, that men leſſe hated their exceſſe, then feared their force. For the poopes of their galliots were all guilt, the couerings of the ſame all of purple ſilke, delighting onely to make a glorious ſhew of their pillage. All the ſea coaſt ouer, there was no ſight of any thing but muſicke, ſinging, banqueting, and rioting, priſes of captaines, and men of great qualitie, and ranſomes of a thouſand priſoners: and all this was to the ſhame and diſhonor of the Romaines. Their ſhips were about a thouſand in number, and they had taken aboue 400. townes. They had ſpoiled and deſtroyed many holy temples that had neuer bene touched before. As the temple of the twins in the Ile of Claros, the temple of *Samothracia*, the temple of Earth in the citie of Hermion, and the temple of *Æſculapius* in Epidavrvm: the temples of *Neptune* in Isthmos, Tænaria, and Calabria: and the temples of

Pompey and Craſſus made friends.

Pompeys pride and glorie.

The beginning of the pirats warre.

The power & inſolencie of the pirats.

The pirates nauie, a thouſand ſhips.

Apollo

Apollo in ACTIVM, in the Ile of LEVCADES: the temples of *Iuno* in SAMOS, in ARGOS, and in LVCANIA. They had alſo many ſtrange ſacrifices and certaine ceremonies of religion amongſt them ſelues, in the mount Olympus, and among other, the myſterie of *Mithres*, which is the Sunne: and remaineth yet in being vnto this day, being firſt ſhewed by them. But beſides all theſe inſolent parts and iniuries they did the ROMAINES vpon the ſea, they went a land, and where they found any houſes of pleaſure vpon the ſea coaſt, they ſpoyled and deſtroyed them: and on a time they tooke two ROMAINE Prætors, *Sextilius* and *Bellinus*, being in their purple robes, with their ſergeants and officers attending on them, and caried them quite away. Another time alſo they ſtale away the daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had receiued honour of triumph) as ſhe went a walking abroade in the fields, and ſhe was redeemed for a great ſumme of money. But yet the greateſt ſpite and mockerie they vſed to the ROMAINES, was this. That when they had taken any of them, and that he cried he was a citizen of ROME, and named his name: then they made as though they had bene amazed, and afraid of that they had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighes, and fell downe on their knees before him, praying him to forgiue them. The poore priſoners thought they had done it in good earneſt, ſeeing they humbled themſelues as though they ſeemed fearefull. For ſome of them came vnto him, & put ſhooes on his feet: others clapt a gowne on the backe of him after the ROMAINE faſhion, for feare (ſayd they) leſt he ſhould be miſtaken another time. When they had played all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the laſt they caſt out one of their ſhip ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way, he ſhould haue no hurt: and if he would not go of himſelfe, then they caſt him ouer the boord by force, and ſent him packing. Theſe rouers and ſea-pyrates had all the ſea Mediterraneum at commandement: inſomuch there durſt not a merchant looke out, nor once traffick that ſea. And this was the onely cauſe that moued the ROMAINES (fearing ſcarſitie of victuals, and a great dearth) to ſend *Pompey* to recouer the ſigniorie againe of the ſea from theſe pirates. The firſt man that moued it might be decreed, that *Pompey* ſhould not be onely Admirall or Generall by ſea, but ſhould haue abſolute power to commaund all maner of perſons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge: was *Gabinius*, *Pompeys* friend. The ſumme of this decree gaue him ful power & abſolute authoritie of all the ſea from *Hercules* pillars, and of the maine land, the ſpace of foure hundred furlongs from the ſea, (for the ROMAINES dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithſtanding, within that compaſſe were many great nations and mightie kings.) Furthermore, it gaue him power to chooſe of the Senate fifteene Lieutenants, to giue vnto euery one of them ſeuerall prouinces in charge, according to his diſcretion: and alſo to take money out of the treaſure, of the Generall receiuers of the ſtate, to defray the charges of a fleete of two hundred ſaile, with full power beſides to leauie what men of warre he thought good, and as many galliots and mariners as he liſted. This law when it had bene read once ouer among them, the people confirmed it with very good will. Yet the noble men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this authoritie did not onely exceed all enuie, but alſo that it gaue them apparant cauſe of feare, to giue ſuch abſolute power vnto a priuate perſon. Whereupon they were all againſt it but *Ceſar*, who fauoured the decree, not ſo much to pleaſure *Pompey* as the people, whoſe fauor he ſought. The noble men fell maruellouſly out with *Pompey*: and at the length one of the Conſuls was very hote with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* ſteps, but peraduenture he would come ſhort of that end he made. Thereupon the people thought to haue killed him. After that, *Catulus* ſtood vp to ſpeake againſt this edict. The people at the firſt heard him quietly, becauſe he was a worthy man. Then he began without any ſhew of enuie, to ſpeake many goodly things in the praiſe of *Pompey*, and in fine, aduiſed the people to ſpare him, and not to venture in ſuch dangerous warres (one after another) a man of ſo great account, as they ought to make of him. If ye chance to looſe him, ſaid he, whom haue you then to put in his place? The people then cried out: your ſelfe. Then perceiuing that he loſt his labour, ſeeking to turne the people from their determination: he left it there, and ſayd no more. *Roſcius* roſe next after him to ſpeake, but he could haue no audience. When he ſaw that he could not be heard, he made a ſigne with his fingers, that they ſhould not giue *Pompey* alone this authoritie, but ioyne another with him. The people being offended withall made ſuch an outcrie vpon it, that a crow flying ouer the market place at that inſtant, was ſtricken blind and fell downe amongſt the people. Whereby it appeareth that foule falling out of the ayre to the ground, do not fall for that the ayre is broken or pierced with any force or furie: but becauſe the very breath

The pirates ſcorning of the Romaines, vvhen they vvere taken.

Gabinius lavv for Pompeys authoritie againſt the pirates.

At the voice of the people, a crovv flying fell dovvne.

of the voice (when it commeth with ſuch a violence, as it maketh a very tempeſt in the aire) doth ſtrike & ouercome them. Thus for that day, the aſſembly brake vp, & nothing paſt: and at the day appointed when this decree ſhould paſſe by voices of the people, *Pompey* went abroade into the countrie. There being aduertiſed that the decree was paſt for the confirmatiõ of his charge, he returned againe that night into the citie, becauſe he would auoid the enuie they would haue borne him to haue ſeene them runne out of all parts of the citie vnto him, to haue waited on him home. The next morning he came abroade, and ſacrificed to the gods: and audience being giuen him at an open aſſembly, he handled the matter ſo, that they gaue him many things beſides to enlarge his power, almoſt doubling the preparation ſet downe and appointed at the firſt decree. For he ordained that the common-wealth ſhould arme him fiue hundred ſhips, and they leauied for him ſixe ſcore thouſand footmen, and fiue thouſand horſemen, and choſe beſides foure and twentie Senators, which had euery one of them bene Generals of armies, and two generall Treaſurers alſo. While things were thus a preparing, the price of victuals fell by chance: which reioyced the people ſo much, that they ſtuck not to ſay, that the name of *Pompey* onely had alreadie ended this warre. This notwithſtanding, he deuided all the ſea betweene the lands into thirteene regions, and in euery of them he appointed a certaine number of his ſhips, and moreouer, one of his Lieutenants ouer them. Thus hauing diſperſed his power all abroade, he brought all the pirates ſhips that were in a fleete together, within his daunger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a docke. Now for them that had diſperſed themſelues betimes, or that otherwiſe could ſcape his generall chaſe: they fled all into CILICIA, as bees into the beehiue, againſt whom he would needs go himſelf in perſon with threeſcore of his beſt ſhips. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had ſcoured all the THVSCANE ſea, the coaſts of LYBIA, SARDINIA, SICILE, and of CORSICA, of all theſe theeues which are wont to keepe thereabouts: and this he did within fortie dayes ſpace, taking infinite paines, both himſelfe and his Lieutenants. Now when one of the Conſuls called *Piſo*, did all the beſt he could to hinder *Pompeys* preparation, and had diſcharged his ower-men, for that he enuied *Pompeys* proſperitie: *Pompey* ſent his ſhips before to make towards ITALIE to arriue at the citie of BRVNDVSIVM. He in the meane time went through THVSCANE to ROME, where, ſo ſoone as his comming was knowne, all the people ranne out to meete him, as if he had bene abſent a long time: and that which made the people more ioyfull to ſee him, was the ſodaine change of victuals vnlooked for, that dayly came to the towne out of all parts. But *Piſo* went neare to be depriued of his Conſulſhip: for *Gabinius* had the decree written, and readie to preſent to the people. But *Pompey* would not ſuffer it. So, hauing gently brought all to paſſe as he deſired, he went vnto the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, and there tooke ſea, and hoiſed ſayle. Now though his haſtie voyage, and ſhortneſſe of time made him paſſe by many good cities without comming into them: notwithſtanding, he would not ſo paſſe by the citie of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had ſacrificed to the gods, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the citie, he read two writings that were made in his praiſe, the one within the gate which ſaid thus:

Pompeys preparation againſt the pirats.

The courteſie of Pompey vnto Piſo.

The humblier that thou doſt thy ſelfe as man behaue,
The more thou doſt deſerue, the name of god to haue.

And the other writing was without the gate, which ſaid:

We wiſht for thee, we waite for thee,
We worſhip thee, we waite on thee.

Now becauſe *Pompey* hauing taken certaine of theſe rouers by ſea that kept together, did vſe them gently when they required pardon, and hauing their ſhips and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other companions being in good hope of his mercie, fled from his other Captaines and Lieutenants, and went and yeelded themſelues, their wiues and children into his hands. *Pompey* pardoned all them that came in of themſelues, and by that meanes he came to haue knowledge of the reſt, and to follow them where they went, whom he tooke in the end: but knowing that they deſerued no pardon, they hid themſelues. Yet the moſt part and the richeſt of them, had conueyed their wiues, children and goods, and all other their family vnmeete for warres, into ſtrong caſtles and litle townes vpon mount Taurus: and ſuch men as were able to carie weapon, imbarked, and lay before a citie of CORACESIVM, where they taried *Pompey*, and gaue him battell, firſt by ſea, and there were ouercome, and afterwards they were beſieged by land. Howbeit ſhortly after, they prayed they might be receiued to mercie,

and

and thereupon yeelded their bodies, townes, and Ilands which they had fortified, and were hard to haue taken and worse to haue approched. Thus was this warre ended, and all the pirats in lesse then three moneths driuen from the sea whereſoeuer they were. He wan also a great number of other ships, besides foure score and ten gallies armed with copper spurres. And touching the men whom they had taken (who were in number aboue twentie thousand persons) he did not only consider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise part on the other side to let them go at libertie, to gather force againe, being so great a number of them as indeed they were, and all poore men and souldiers. Therefore weying with himselfe that man by nature is not borne a wild or sauage beast, but contrarily becommeth a brute beast chaunging nature, when he falleth to vice: and againe is made tame and ciuill in time, changing place and manner of life: (as the brute beasts that being wild by nature do also become gentle and tractable, with gentler vsage by continuance) he determined to draw these pirates from the sea into the vpland, and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in townes, and manuring the ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine smal townes of the CILICIANS, that were scant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giuing them land to keep them with. The citie of the SOLIANS also, that not long before had bene destroyed by *Tigranes* the king of ARMENIA, being desirous to repleniſh that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed diuers also in the citie of DYMA in the countrey of ACHAIA, which at that time lacked inhabitants, and had great store of very good land. Now therefore his enemies reproued him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest friends misliked him. For *Metellus* that gentle person (a cousin to that *Metellus* which was his colleague, and made warres in SPAINE with him against *Sertorius*) was sent Prætor into CRETA, before *Pompey* was chosen Generall against the pyrates. This CRETA, next vnto CILICIA, was euen a second den of pirates. *Metellus* finding there a great number of these theeues, tooke many of them and put them to death, euen all that came to his hands. Then, such as had scaped from him, being straightly besieged, sent vnto *Pompey* to pray him of pardon, and to take them to mercie: declaring vnto him, that the Ile of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, because all parts of that regiõ from the sea came iust within the compasse limited him on the land. *Pompey* pardoning them vpon their submissiõ, wrote vnto *Metellus*, and commanded him to leaue off his war, & therewithall charged all the cities, that they should not obey *Metellus* commandements. After that he sent *Lucius Octauius* one of his Lieutenants, who entred into the townes *Metellus* besieged, and fought for the pirates. This made *Pompey* not only hated & enuied, but derided also: for that vnder his name he had protected such vile theeues, that had neither God nor law, and giuen them his authoritie to saue their liues, for a litle enuie and emulation he bare vnto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reproue *Achilles*, and say that he shewed not the part of a wise man, but of a yong foole besides himself, for desire of glorie making a signe to the GRECIANS, forbidding thẽ to strike at *Hector*, to the end that as *Homer* said:

Least he too late should to the battell ruune,
When others had the honour of it wonne.

But *Pompeys* fact was worse then this: for he fought for the common enemies of the world, and onely to depriue a ROMAINE Prætor of triumph, who had done great good seruice to haue destroyed them. This notwithstanding, *Metellus* left not off his warre for *Pompeys* letters, but hauing taken the pirates by assault, he put them to death: and afterwards hauing done *Octauius* open shame through his campe, he let him go. When newes came to ROME, that the pyrates warre was brought to good end, and that *Pompey* hauing no other seruice in hand, went visiting the cities vp and downe: one *Manlius* a Tribune of the people, put forth another decree vnto them of this effect: That *Pompey* taking all the armie *Lucullus* had, and the prouinces vnder his gouernement, with all BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept: should go make warre vpon the kings *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keeping in his hands notwithstanding all his iurisdiction and armie by sea, in as royall manner as he had it before. In fine, this was euen to make one man Monarch and absolute Prince of all the ROMAINE Empire. For by this second decree, he had all these countries, not named in his former commission, added to amplifie his authoritie, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all the armies and forces with the which he had ouercome those two mightie Kings. Then the Senate stucke not so much at the iniurie that was offered vnto *Lucullus*, depriuing him of the honour of his doings, to giue it to another,

The victorie of Pompey vpon the pirates.

How men are tamed.

Pompeys leud fact against Metellus.

Achilles dishonest fact.

Pompey appointed Lucullus successor.

that ſhould rather ſucceede him in honour of triumph, then in danger of warres, knowing that they did him too manifeſt iniurie, and ſhewed themſelues too vnthankfull: but that which moſt grieued them, was to ſee *Pompeys* power eſtabliſhed in a plaine tyrannie. Hereupon therfore, one of them perſwaded and encouraged an another, ſtoutly to withſtand this edict, and not to ſuffer their libertie to be loſt in this ſort. Notwithſtanding, when the day came that this decree ſhould paſſe, they were ſo afraid to anger the people, that their hearts failed them, and none durſt ſpeake againſt it but *Catulus* only: that earneſtly inueyed againſt the paſſing of it a long time together, & greatly blamed the people. At the length, perceiuing he had wonne neuer a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they ſhould looke to ſecke out ſome mountaine or high rocke to retire ſafely vnto to defend their libertie, as their aunceſtors and done in old time before them. All this preuailed not, for the decree paſſed by the voices of all the tribes, as it is reported. And thus was *Pompey* in his abſence made Lord almoſt of all that, which *Sylla* by force of armes, and with great effuſion of bloud (hauing made himſelfe Lord of ROME) had before in his power. When *Pompey* had receiued letters from ROME, aduertiſing him what the people had paſt in his behalfe: ſome ſay that at the receit of them (in the preſence of his familiar friends that were about him, and reioyced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieued him maruellouſly to haue ſuch great offices and charge laid vpon him, one in the necke of another, and burſt foorth in theſe words: O gods, ſhall I neuer ſee an end of ſuch a world of troubles as I haue! Had it not bene better for me to haue bene a meane man borne and vnknowne, then thus continually to be in warre with armour on my backe? What, ſhall I neuer ſee the time, that breaking the neckes of ſpite and enuie againſt me, I may yet once in my life liue quietly at home in my countrey with my wife and children? When *Pompey* ſpake thoſe words, his familiar friends could not abide to ſee his deepe diſſimulation, knowing that beſides his naturall ambition and couetous deſire to rule, he was glad in his heart that he had this charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*: which his deeds forthwith bewrayed. For he preſently ſent out pecepts into euery quarter, commaunding all ſorts of ſouldiers to come to him immediatly, and made all the Princes and Kings within precinct of his charge to come vnto him, and going through the countries, altered and changed all that *Lucullus* had eſtabliſhed before. Furthermore, he did releaſe the penalties enioyned them, and tooke from them alſo the giftes that *Lucullus* beſtowed of them. In fine, this was all his purpoſe and deſire: to make them that honoured *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power and authoritie to do any thing. *Lucullus* finding himſelfe hardly handled by *Pompey*, the friends of either ſide thought good they ſhould meete and talke together: which came ſo to paſſe, for they met in the countrey of GALATIA. And becauſe they both were Captaines of the ROMAINE armies, & had done many famous acts, they had their ſergeants & officers that caried the bundels of rods before them, wreathed all about with Laurell boughes. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a cloſe and woddie countrey, all couered with greene trees; and *Pompey* one other ſide had paſſed through a great ſandie plaine, where no tree was growing. Thereupon *Lucullus* ſergeants ſeeing the laurel boughs drie and withered away, which *Pompeys* ſergeants caried, they gaue them of their greene and freſh boughs to beautifie the rods and axes. This was a plaine token that *Pompey* came to take *Lucullus* honor from him. In truth *Lucullus* had bene Conſul before *Pompey*, and ſo was he alſo older man then he: yet the dignitie of *Pompey* was greater, becauſe he had triũphed twiſe. At their firſt meeting, their entertainement and diſcourſe was with great ceremonie and curteſie as might be, one highly praiſing the others deeds, reioycing at each others good ſucceſſe: but at parting, they fel to hot words together, *Pompey* vpbraiding *Lucullus* auarice, and *Lucullus Pompeys* ambition, ſo that their friends had much a do to part them. *Lucullus* departing thence, deuided the lands in GALATIA, which he had cõquered, & beſtowed them & other gifts, on ſuch as he thought good. *Pompey* on the other ſide camping hard by him, ſpecially commanded the people in euery part to obey him in nothing what he did: and beſides, he took al his ſouldiers from him, leauing him only ſixteene hundred, which he ſuppoſed were ſuch, as for diſdaine and ill will they bare him, would do him but ſmal ſeruice. Furthermore, to blemiſh the glory of his doings, he told euery body *Lucullus* had fought with the pompe and ſhadow only of theſe two kings, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, *Mithridates* being then prepared for warres, with ſhields, ſwords, and horſes. *Lucullus* for reuenge on the other ſide ſaid, that *Pompey* went to fight but with a ſhadow of war, like a cowardly buzzard that preyeth vpon dead bodies, which others haue

The boldneſſe of Catulus in diſſwading Manilius lawe.

Pompeys great diſſimulation.

Quarrell betwixt Pompey and Lucullus.

Pompey and Lucullus meeting in Galatia

haue ſlaine: and to cut aſunder the remaine of this war ended by another, as he had done before, attributing the honor of the ouerthrow of *Sertorius*, *Lepidus*, and *Spartacus*, to himſelf, where indeed *Metellus*, *Craſſus*, and *Catulus* did ouercome them. And therefore it was no maruell, that he ſought the glorie and honor to triumph for the kingdoms of PONTVS & ARMENIA: ſith that thorough his ſubtill practiſes he had obtained triumph for a few ſlaues and fugitiues. *Lucullus* being now gone his way, *Pompey* ſent good garriſons vnto all the coaſts vpon the ſea, frō the prouince of PHOENICIA, vnto the Realme of BOSPHORVS. That done, he tooke his iourney by land towards *Mithridates*, who had in his camp thirtie thouſand footmen, and two thouſand horſemen, and yet durſt not offer battell, but camped firſt vpon a mountaine of great ſtrength, and hard to get vp on: notwithſtanding ſhortly after, he forſooke it for lack of water. He was no ſooner gone thence, but forthwith *Pompey* tooke it: who, coniecturing by the nature of the plants and trees in that place which were very greene, and alſo by diuers holes he found, that by reaſon thereabouts ſhould be ſome ſprings: he commaunded them to digge Wels in euery corner, ſo that in a very ſhort time all his camp had water enough, aud he wondred at *Mithridates*, that he could not find that out in al the time he lay there. In the end, he went and camped round about *Mithridates*, and intrenched him with a wall within his owne campe: who after he had abidden the ſiege fiue and fortie dayes, fled away with all the choiſe of his armie, vnknowing to *Pompey*, hauing firſt ſlaine all the ſicke and impotent perſons within his campe. After that, *Pompey* found him another time by the riuer of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that *Mithridates* would paſſe ouer the riuer before he could preuent him in time, he raiſed his campe againe, and marched away at midnight. About that time, they ſay, that *Mithridates* ſaw that in a dreame, which did prognoſticate what ſhould happen. He thought, that hauing the wind in the poope of the ſhip, he was vnder ſaile, in the middeſt of the ſea of Mare Boſphorum, and that he was maruellous glad of it, and reioyced with them that ſailed with him, thinking himſelfe certainely paſt all daunger: yet ſodainly againe, that all this ioy left him, and that he floted vp and downe the waues of the ſea, vpon a litle peece of the ſhip that was broken, truſting to the mercie of the winds. As he was troubled with this ill fauored dreame, certaine of his familiars came to him and told him, that *Pompey* was come ſo neare, that there was no ſhift, but they muſt needs fight to defend their campe. Thereupon his Captaines ſtraight began to put his men in battell ray, readie to fight. *Pompey* vnderſtanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venter his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compaſſe them in to keepe them from flying, and then in the morning to ſet vpon them more eaſily, his men being the better ſouldiers. But *Pompeys* old captains were ſo earneſtly in hand with him to perſwade him they might fight, that in the end he was contented they ſhould giue charge. Now it was not ſo darke but they could ſomewhat ſee, for the Moone that was very low and vpon her ſetting, gaue light enough to diſcerne the bodie of a man: yet becauſe the Moone was very low, the ſhadow which gaue out further farre then their bodies, came almoſt euen to their very enemies, which did let them that they could not certainely iudge what ſpace of ground was betweene them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they caſt their darts at the ROMAINES, but they hurt neuer a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The ROMAINES perceiuing that, ran vpon them with great cries. But the barbarous people durſt not abide their charge they were ſo afraid, but turned their backs, and ran away for life, ſo that they were ſlaine downe right. Thus were there ten thouſand of the barbarous people ſlaine and more, and their campe alſo taken. As for *Mithridates* himſelfe, at the beginning of the onſet, he made a lane through the ROMAINES with eight hundred horſemen, and paſſed cleane through them. But incontinently his men diſperſed vpon it, ſome one way, ſome another way, ſo that he was left alone but with three perſons only, whereof *Hypſicratea* was one of the number, which had euer bene valiant and had a mans heart: whereupon, for that cauſe *Mithridates* called her *Hypſicrates*. She at that time being arrayed like a man of armes of PERSIA, and mounted alſo on a horſe after the PERSIAN maner, was neuer wearie with any long iourney the King made, nor neuer left to wait vpon his perſon, and to look to his horſe: vntil ſuch time as the king came to a ſtrong caſtle called Inora, where was great ſtore of gold & ſiluer, and the kings chiefeſt treaſure. Then *Mithridates* tooke off his richeſt apparel he had there, and gaue it amongſt them that were about him at that time, and a deadly poiſon beſides to euery one of his friends to cary about them, becauſe they ſhould not (vnleſſe they would themſelues) fal into their enemies hands aliue. From thence he thought to take his iourney into ARMENIA vnto King *Tigranes*.

Pompeys iorney againſt Mithridates.

Mithridates dreame.

Pompey ouerthrow Mithridates.

Hypſicratea, Mithridates concubine, otherwiſe called Hypſicrates, for her valiantnes like a man.

Howbeit *Tigranes* ſent to let him, and further proclaimed by trumpet, that he would giue a hundred talents to him that could kill him. Thereupon, paſſing by the head of the riuer of Euphrates, he fled through the country of COLCHIDE. In the meane time, *Pompey* inuaded the countrey of ARMENIA, at the requeſt of *Tigranes* the yonger, who was reuolted againſt his father, and went to meete with *Pompey* at the riuer of Araxes, which hath his beginning almoſt about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the Eaſt, and falleth into Mare Caſpium. So they both together marched on further into the country, receiuing ſuch townes as yeelded vnto them. But king *Tigranes* (that not long before had bene conſumed and deſtroyed by *Lucullus*) vnderſtanding that *Pompey* was of a mild and gentle nature, he receiued his garriſons into his ſtrongeſt fors and royall houſes, and went himſelfe with his friends and kinſmen to meete *Pompey*, and to yeeld himſelfe vnto him. When he came hard to his camp, being a horſe-back, there came out two ſergeants of *Pompeys*, & commanded him to light and go in a foote, for there was neuer man ſeene a horſe-back within the ROMAINES camp. *Tigranes* did not onely obey them, but further plucked off his ſword and gaue it them: and in fine, when he came almoſt to *Pompey*, taking off his royall hat from his head, he would haue layd it at *Pompeys* feete, and falling downe moſt ſhamefully on the ground, imbaſed himſelfe to embrace *Pompeys* knees. But *Pompey* himſelf preuented him, and taking him by the hand, made him to ſit downe by him on the one ſide of him, and his ſonne on the other. Then he ſaid vnto them both: as for the other loſſes you haue ſuſtained heretofore, you muſt thank *Lucullus* for them, who hath taken from you SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you haue left you till my comming, I wil let you enioy it, paying to the ROMAINES a fine of ſixe thouſand talents for the iniurie you had done them, prouided alſo, that your ſon haue the kingdome of SOPHENA for his part. *Tigranes* accepted the conditions of peace. The ROMAINES then ſaluted him king. He was ſo glad thereof, that he promiſed to giue euery ſouldier halfe a Mina, euery Centener ten Minas, and to euery Colonell of a thouſand men a talent. His ſonne was very angrie withall: inſomuch as *Pompey* ſending for him to come to ſupper to him, he anſwered againe, that was not the friendſhip he looked for at *Pompeys* hands, for he ſhould find many other ROMAINES that would offer him that curteſie. *Pompey* for his anſwer, clapped him vp as a priſoner, and kept him to be led in triumph, at ROME. Shortly after, *Phraates* king of PARTHIA ſent Ambaſſadors to *Pompey* to demaund this yong Prince, that was his ſonne in law, and to tell him that the riuer of Euphrates muſt be the vttermoſt confines of his conqueſts. *Pompey* anſwered againe, that *Tigranes* had more right to his ſonne, then the father in law: and as for limiting of his borders, that he would do it with iuſtice. So, leauing *Afranius* in ARMENIA, to keepe the country, *Pompey* paſſed by other nations which inhabite about mount Caucaſus, hauing *Mithridates* in chaſe: of which nations, two of the chiefeſt and of greateſt power, are the ALBANIANS and IBERIANS. The IBERIANS do ſtretch out vnto mount Moſchium, and to the realme of PONTVS. The ALBANIANS lie towards the Eaſt, and Mare Caſpium. Theſe men firſt ſuffered *Pompey* to paſſe through their countrey, vpon his ſending to them. But winter hauing ſtolen vpon the ROMAINES while they were there, and they buſily occupied about *Saturnes* feaſts: the barbarous people hauing leauied aboue fortie thouſand fighting men in one camp together, came and paſſed ouer the riuer of Cyrnus. (This riuer commeth from the mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiuing the riuer of Araxes into it, which paſſeth through ARMENIA, diſperſeth it ſelfe into twelue ſeueral mouthes, and ſo falleth into Mare Caſpium. Some notwithſtanding hold opinion, that Cyrnus receiueth not the riuer of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it ſelfe, and falleth into the ſame ſea, neare vnto the mouthes of the other.) *Pompey* might if he had would haue kept them from comming ouer the riuer, yet did he ſuffer them quietly to paſſe ouer. When they were all ouer, he went againſt them, ouercame them in battel, and ſlue a great number of them in the field. Afterwards he pardoned their King, ſubmitting himſef vnto *Pompey* by his Ambaſſadors, and made peace with him. Then from thence he went againſt the IBERIANS: who were no leſſe in number, then the ALBANIANS were at the firſt, and alſo better ſouldiers, and were reſolutely bent to do good ſeruice vnto *Mithridates*, and to driue out *Pompey*. Theſe IBERIANS, were neuer ſubiect to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and ſcaped alſo frō being ſubiect to the MACEDONIANS, for that *Alexander* neuer ſtaid in the country of HYRCANIA: whom alſo *Pompey* ouercame in a great and bloudie battell, hauing ſlaine 9. thouſand in the field, and taken ten thouſand priſoners. Frō thence he went into the country of COLCHIDA. There *Seruilius* met him by the riuer of Phaſis, with the fleete of ſhips with the which he

Tigranes yeeldeth himſelfe vnto Pompey.

Tigranes laid his diademe at Pompeys feete.

Tigranes ſonne a priſoner.

Ambaſſadors ſent from the king of Parthia vnto Pompey.

Caucaſus mōs. Albani, and Iberes: what manner of people.

Cyrnus fl.

Pompey ouerthrew the Albanians.

Pompey ouercame the Iberians.

Phaſis fl.

he kept all Mare Ponticum. Now to follow *Mithridates* further, who had hid himselfe amongst a people that were neighbours vnto the straights of BOSPHORVS, and the marishes Mæotides, he found it a hard peece of worke. Furthermore also, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him backe to be reuenged of them. Thereupon he passed againe ouer the riuer of Cyrnus, with great paine and daunger, because the barbarous people had made a strong defence a great way alongst the riuer side, with a maruellous number of great trees, feld and layed a crosse one ouer another. Furthermore, when he had with great difficultie passed through them, he fell into an euill-fauoured countrie, where he should trauell a great way before he could come to any water. Thereupon he caused ten thousand goates skinnes to be filled with water, and so went forward to meete with his enemies, whom he found by the riuer of Abas, being sixe score thousand footmen, and twelue thousand horsemen, but all (or the most of them) ill armed with wild beasts skinnes. Their Chieftaine was *Cosis* the kings owne brother. He, when the battell was begun, flew vpon *Pompey*, and threw a dart at him, and hurt him in the flancke. *Pompey* on the other side, ranne him through with his launce on both sides, and slue him starke dead. Some say also, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this battell, which fought on the barbarous peoples side, comming from the mountaines that run alongst the riuer of Thermodon. For, after the ouerthrow giuen, the ROMAINES spoyling the dead, found targets and buskins of the AMAZONES, but not a bodie of a woman among them. They also do inhabite on the side of the mountaine Caucasus, that looketh towards Mare Hyrcanium, and do not border vpon the ALBANIANS: but the GELE, and the LELEGES are betweene them, with whom they companie two moneths onely euery yeare, meeting together by the riuer of Thermodon, all the rest of the yeare, they liue a part by themselues. After this last battell, *Pompey* going to inuade the countrey of HYRCANIA, as farre as Mare Caspium, he was compelled to go backe againe for the infinit number of deadly venimous serpents which he met with, being come within three daies iourney of it. So he returned backe againe into ARMENIA the lesse, and there receiued presents which were sent vnto him from the kings of the ELYMIANS and the MEDES, & wrote very curteously vnto them againe: howbeit he sent *Afranius* with part of his armie against the king of the PARTHIANS, who had inuaded the countrie of GORDIENA, and harried and spoiled the king *Tigranes* subiects. Notwithstanding, he draue him out, and followed him vnto ARBELITIDE. Furthermore, all the lemmans and concubines of king *Mithridates* being brought vnto *Pompey*, he would touch none of them, but sent them all home againe to their parents & friends, because the most of them were either the daughters of Princes, of noblemen, or of Captaines. Notwithstanding, *Stratonice* that of all the rest of his lemmans, had most credit about *Mithridates*, vnto whom he had left all the charge of his castell, where the greatest part of his treasure of gold and siluer lay, was a singers daughter, who as they said, was not rich, but an old man. She hauing sung one night before *Mithridates*, being at supper, he fell in such fancy with her, that he would needs haue her lye with him the same night, and the old man her father went home offended, because the king would not so much as giue him one gentle word. But the next morning when he rose, he maruelled to see the tables in his house full of plate of gold and siluer, and a great company of seruingmen, groomes of chamber & pages, & that they had brought him maruellous rich apparell, and a horse ready at the gates bruely furnished, as the kings familiars did vse when they went abroad into the city: he thought it was done in mockery, to haue made sport with him, and therfore would haue run his way, had not the seruingmen kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that died of late, which the king had bestowed on him, & that all this he saw, was but a litle portion in respect of the other goods and lands he gaue him. So the old man beleeuing thē, at the length did put on this purple gown they brought him, and got vp on horseback, & riding through the streets, cried, All is this mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told thē: masters, ye may not wonder to heare me thus crie out, but rather, that I throw not stones at them I meete, I am so mad for ioy. Such was *Stratonices* birth and parentage, as we haue told you. She did then deliuer this castell into *Pompeys* hands, and offered him many goodly rich presents: but he would take none of them, other then such as serued to adorne the temples of the gods, and to beautifie his triumph, and left all the rest with *Stratonice* her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the king of the IBERIANS, hauing sent him a bed-stead, a table, and a chaire of cleane gold, praying him to take it as a remembrance from him: he deliuered it ouer vnto the Treasurers custodie, to be

The Albanians rebell against Pompey.

Abas fl.

Pompey slue Cosis, the kings brother of the Albanians.

The Amazones.

Gele and Leleges prop'e that do companie with the Amazones.

Thermodon fl.

Stratonice, Mithridates chiefe harlot.

Pompeys abstinence from taking of gifts.

accountable for it vnto the ſtate. In another caſtell called Cœnon, he found certaine ſecret letters ſent from *Mithridates*, which pleaſed him maruellouſly to reade, becauſe thereby he plainly vnderſtood the kings nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poiſoned (beſides many other) *Ariarathes* his owne ſonne, and *Alcæus* the SARDINIAN, becauſe he had won the bell, at the horſe-race before him. There was alſo interpreting of dreames, that either himſelfe or his wiues had dreamed, and alſo loue-letters betwixt *Monime* and him. *Theophanes* writeth alſo, that there was found an oration of *Rutilius*, in the which he intiſed and perſwaded *Mithridates* to put all the ROMAINES to death that were in ASIA. Howbeit in reaſon men thinke, that this was a ſhamefull lye, maliciouſly deuiſed by *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, becauſe he was but a counterfeit to him: or peraduenture to gratifie *Pompey*, whoſe father *Rutilius* in his hiſtories deſcribeth to be as wicked a man as euer liued. Thence *Pompey* departed towards the citie of AMISVS. There his ambition brought him to commit ſuch facts, as he himſelfe did condemne before in *Lucullus*: for that his enemie being yet aliue, he tooke vpon him to eſtabliſh lawes, to giue gifts, and diſtribute ſuch honours, as Captaines that had obtained victorie were wont to do, when they had ended all war and trouble. For he himſelf (*Mithridates* being yet the ſtronger in the realme of BOSPHORVS, and hauing a great puiſſant army about him) did all that which he reproued another for, appointing prouinces, and giuing out gifts to euery man according as he deſerued: to gratifie twelue barbarous kings, with diuers other Princes, Lords and Captaines that came to him thither. Writing alſo to the king of PARTHIA, he diſdained to giue him that title, which others were wont to do in the direction of their letters, calling him king of kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great deſire to winne SYRIA, and to go through the countrie of ARABIA, euen vnto the red ſea, becauſe he might enlarge his conqueſts and victories euery way, euen vnto the great ſea Oceanum, that compaſſeth all the whole earth. For in LYBIA, he was the firſt ROMAINE that conquered all to the great ſea. On the other ſide, in SPAINE he enlarged the Empire of ROME, and brought the confines therof vnto Mare Atlanticum. And thirdly, hauing lately the ALBANIANS in chaſe, he came almoſt vnto Mare Hyrcanium. Thus he put himſelfe in iourney, intending his circuit vnto the red ſea, ſpecially becauſe he ſaw *Mithridates* ſo ill to follow, and worſe to ouercome by force when he fled, then when he fought any battell: and that made him ſay, that he would leaue a ſharper enemie behind him, then himſelfe: and that he meant, famine. For he appointed ſouldiers with ſufficient number of ſhips, to lye in wait for the merchants that ſailed to the conntrey of BOSPHORVS, to carie them any victuals or other merchandizes, prohibiting them vpon paine of death that ſhould attempt it. Then he went forward with the beſt part of his armie, and in his way, found the bodies of dead ROMAINES which *Mithridates* had ouerthrowne vnder the leading of *Triarius* their Captaine, and were yet vnburied. So he cauſed them all to be taken vp, and honorably buried. *Lucullus* hauing forgotten, or otherwiſe neglected to do it, in my conſcience that was the chiefeſt cauſe why his men did hate him. *Pompey* now hauing by *Afranius* ſubdued the ARABIANS, dwelling about mount Amanus, went himſelfe in perſon into SYRIA, and made a gouernment & prouince of it, being won to the ROMAINE Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull king: & conquered all IVRIE alſo, where he tooke king *Ariſtobulus*, and builded certaine cities there, & deliuered others alſo from bondage, which by tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chaſtiſed well enough. Howbeit he ſpent the moſt part of his time there, deciding of controuerſies, pacifying of contentions and quarels by arbiterment, which fell out betwixt the free cities, princes and kings, and ſent of his friends into thoſe places where he could not come himſelfe. For on a time when he was choſen arbitrator betwixt the PARTHIANS & the ARMENIANS, touching the title of a country which both parties claimed: he ſent three Commiſſioners thither to iudge definitiuely betwixt them both. If *Pompeys* fame and renowne were great, no leſſe was his vertue, iuſtice and liberalitie, which indeed did hide many faults, his friends and familiars about him did commit. For truly he was of ſo gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet puniſh them when they had offended. Notwithſtanding, he did vſe them ſo well that complained vnto him, or that had to deale with him in any matter: that he made them contented, patiently to beare their couetouſneſſe and ſtraight dealing. One of his chiefeſt familiars about him whom he loued beſt, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman infranchiſed, who otherwiſe was very diſcreet in his doings, but being ſomewhat too bold of his good fortune: of him they make this mention. *Cato* the Philoſopher being at that time a young man, yet of good iudgement and of a noble mind, in

Mithridates remembrances.

Rutilius, an hiſtoriographer.

Pompeys fault.

Pompeys iourney into Syria.

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and gouernment of a prouince.

Pompeys vertues.

The power & inſolencie of Demetrius, Pompeys infranchiſed bondman.

Pompeys

Pompeys abience went to ſee the citie of ANTIOCH. Now for himſelfe, his maner was alwaies to go on foot and all his friends beſides that did accompany him to honor him, were on horſeback. He perceiuing a farre off, a great ſort of people comming towards him all in white, and of one ſide of the ſtreet litle children, and on the other boyes, round about them as in a ring: at the firſt he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his ſake to honour him, that they made this proceſſion, which he in no wiſe would haue had done. Thereupon he commaunded his friends to light from their horſes, and go on foot with him. But when they came neare to the gate of the citie, the maiſter of the ceremonies that led this proceſſion, hauing a garland on his head, and a rod in his hand, came vnto them, and asked them, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Catoes* friends laughed to heare this queſtion: then ſaid *Cato*: Alaſſe poore citie, and ſo paſſed by it. Notwithſtanding, *Pompey* himſelfe was cauſe that *Demetrius* had the leſſe ill will borne him, then otherwiſe he ſhould haue had: becauſe they ſaw how boldly he would vſe *Pompey*, and how well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden ſome to dinner or ſupper, while he was entertaining and welcoming of them, and would tarie till they were all come: *Demetrius* would be ſet at the boord, and preſumptuouſly haue his head couered euen to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into ITALIE out of this iourney, he had alreadie purchaſed the goodlieſt houſes of pleaſure, and faireſt walkes that were about ROME, and had ſumptuous gardens alſo, the which the people commonly called *Demetrius* gardens: though his maiſter *Pompey* was but meanely houſed till his third Conſulſhip. Howbeit afterwards, he built that famous ſtately Theater, called *Pompeys* Theater, and ioyned vnto that alſo another houſe, as a penthouſe to his Theater, farre more ſumptuous and ſtately then the firſt, and yet no more then needed. Inſomuch as he that was owner of it after him, when he came into it, he maruelled, and asked whereabouts it was, that *Pompey* dined and ſupped. Theſe things are reported thus. Now the king of the ARABIANS, that dwelt about the caſtell called Petra, hauing neuer vntill that time made any account of the ROMAINES army, was then greatly afraid of them, and wrote vnto *Pompey*, that he was at his deuotion, to do what he would command him. *Pompey* thereupon to proue him, whether he meant as he ſpake: brought his army before this caſtell of Petra. Howbeit this voyage was not liked of many men, becauſe they iudged it was an occaſion found out to leaue following of *Mithridates*, againſt whom they would haue had him rather haue bent his force, being an auncient enemie to ROME, and that began to gather ſtrength againe, and prepared (as they heard ſay) to leade a great army through SCYTHIA and PANNONIA into ITALIE. But *Pompey* thinking he ſhould ſooner miniſh his power by ſuffering him to go on with warres, then that he ſhould otherwiſe be able to take him flying: would not toile to follow him in vaine. And for theſe cauſes he would needes make wars in other places, and linger time ſo long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not far from the caſtell of Petra, and had lodged his campe for that day: as he was riding and managing his horſe vp and downe the campe, poſtes came flinging to him from the realme of PONTVS, and brought him good newes, as was eaſily to be diſcerned a farre off by the heads of their iauelins, which were wreathed about with lawrell boughs. The ſouldiers perceiuing that, flocked ſtraight about him: but *Pompey* would make an end of his riding firſt, before he read theſe letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted frō his horſe, and returned into his campe, where there was no ſtone high enough for him to ſtand vpon to ſpeake vnto thē, and againe, the ſouldiers would not tarie the making of one after the maner of their campe, which men of war do make themſelues, with great turues of earth, laying one of them vpon another: but for haſt and earneſt deſire they had to heare what newes there was in the letters, they layed together a heape of ſaddles one vpon another, and *Pompey* getting vp on them, told how *Mithridates* was dead, and had killed himſelfe with his owne hands, becauſe his ſonne *Pharnaces* did rebell againſt him, and had wonne all that which his father poſſeſſed: writing vnto him, that he kept it for himſelfe and the ROMAINES. Vpon theſe newes, all the campe ye may imagine, made wonderfull ioy, and did ſacrifice to the gods, giuing them thanks, and were as merie, as if in *Mithridates* perſon alone, there had dyed an infinite number of their enemies. *Pompey* by this occaſion, hauing brought this warre more eaſily to paſſe then he hoped for, departed preſently out of ARABIA, and hauing ſpeedily in few dayes paſſed through the countries lying by the way, he came at length to the citie of AMISVS. There he found great preſents that were brought vnto him from *Pharnaces*, and many dead bodies of the kings bloud,

Catoes exclamation againſt Demetrius, Pompeys infranchiſed bondman.

Pompeys Theater.

The king of Arabia Petrea, ſubmitted himſelfe to Pompey.

Mithridates death.

and amongst the rest, *Mithridates* corse, which could not well be discerned by his face, because they that had the carying of his body had forgotten to drie vp the braine: neuertheles, such as desired to see him, knew him by certaine skarres he had in his face. For *Pompey* would in no wise see him: but to auoid enuie, sent him away vnto the citie of SINOPE. He wondred much at the maruellous sumptuous rich apparell and weapons that he ware. The scabbard of his sword (which cost foure hundred talents) was stolen by *Publius*, and sold to *Ariarathes*. Also a hat of *Mithridates* of wonderfull workemanship, being begged of *Caius* his foster brother, was secretly giuen to *Faustus* the son of *Sylla*, without *Pompeys* priuity. But afterwards when *Pharnaces* vnderstood of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. *Pompey* hauing ordered all things, and established that prouince, went on his iourney homewards with great pompe and glorie. So comming vnto MITYLENE, he released the citie of all taxes and payments for *Theophanes* sake, and was present at a certaine play they yearely make for games, where the Poets report their works, contending one with another, hauing at that time no other matter in hand, but *Pompeys* acts and gests. *Pompey* liked exceeding well the Theater where these playes were made, and drew a modell or platforme of it to make a statelier then that in ROME. As he passed by the citie of RHODES, he would needs heare al the Rhetoricians dispute, and gaue euery one of them a talent. *Posidonius* hath written the disputation he made before *Pompey*, against *Hermagoras* the Rhetoritian, vpon the theame and proposition *Pompey* selfe did giue them, touching the generl question. *Pompey* did the like at ATHENS vnto the Philosophers there. For he gaue towards the reedifying of the city againe, fifty talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALIE, to haue bene very honorably receiued, and longed to be at home, to see his wife & children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge giuē him to mingle fortunes prosperity, with some bitter sop of aduersity, laid a block in his way at home in his owne house, to make his returne more sorrowfull. For *Mutia* his wife had in his absence played false at tables. But *Pompey* being then farre off, made no account of the reports nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew neare vnto ITALIE, and that he was more attentiue to giue eare to the ill reports he heard: then he sent vnto her to tell her, that he refused her for his wife, writing nothing to her at that time, neither euer after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Notwithstanding, in *Ciceroes* Epistles the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumours ran abroad in ROME, which troubled them sore, being giuen out that he would bring his armie straight to ROME, and make himselfe absolute Lord of all the ROMAINE Empire. *Crassus* thereupon, either for that he beleeued it indeed to be true, or (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the enuie towards *Pompey* the greater: conueyed himselfe, his family, and goods sodainly out of ROME. So *Pompey* when he came into ITALIE, called all his souldiers together, & after he had made an oration vnto them, as time and occasion required: he commanded them to seuer themselues, and euery man to repaire home to apply his businesse, remembring to meet at ROME together, at the day of his triumph. His army being thus dispersed, & straight reported abroad for newes: a maruellous thing hapned vnto him. The cities seeing *Pompey* the Great without soldiers, hauing but a small traine about him of his familiar friends only: went all of them to meet him, not as though he were returned home from his great conquests, but from some iourney taken for his pleasure. Such was the loue of the people to him, that they accompanied him to ROME, whether he wold or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALIE: so that if he had bene disposed to haue made any innouation in the commonwealth, he had not needed his army. In those daies there was a law, that no man shold enter into ROME before his triumph: wherupon *Pompey* sent to the Senate, to pray thē to defer the chusing of Consuls for a few daies, because he might be present to further *Piso*, who sued for the Consulship that yeare. They denyed him his request, by *Catoes* means that hindred it. *Pompey* maruelling to heare of his boldnes & plain speech, which he only vsed of all other to defend his iust causes, had a maruellous desire to win him, & to make him his friend. So *Cato* hauing 2. neeces, *Pompey* desired to mary the one himselfe, & the other for his son. But *Cato* mistrusting this desire of *Pompeys*, that it was a colour onely to win and corrupt him, denied him flatly. His wife & sister on the other side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with *Pompey* the great. About that time it chanced, that *Pompey* being very desirous to prefer *Afranius* to be Consul, he caused certaine mony to be giuen amongst the tribes of the people, & the same was deliuered out to some, euen in his own gardens. This thing being reported abroad in the city, euery man spake ill of *Pōpey*: that he put the Cōsulship to sale for mony

The value of Mithridates scabbard of his sword.

Pompeys returne out of Asia.

Mutia, the wife of Pompey.

Pompey forsoke his wife Mutia.

Pompey at his returne out of Asia discharged his souldiers.

Pompeys honorable returne to Rome out of Asia.

A lawe for triumph.

Cato refuseth Pompeys alliance.

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vnto those that could not deserue it by vertue, sith himselfe onely had obtained it by purchase, of many a noble and worthie deed. Then said *Cato* to his wife and sister: Loe now, we had bene partakers of this fault too, had we matched with *Pompey*. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equitie and his honour. But now to his triumph. For the *Pompeys third triumph.* statelinesse and magnificence thereof, although he had two daies space to shew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the shew, that were not seene, which would haue serued to haue set out another triumph. First there were tables caried, whereon were written the names and titles of all the people and nations for the which he triumphed, as these that follow: The kingdome of PONTVS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, MEDIA, COLCHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, and MESOPOTAMIA: and furthermore, the people that dwell about PHOENICIA and PALÆSTINE, IVDÆA, and ARABIA: and all the pyrates which he had ouercome both by sea and by land, in all parts of the world. In all these countries he tooke about a thousand castles, few lesse then nine hundred townes and cities: of pyrates ships eight hundred, and nine and thirtie desolate townes left without inhabitants, replenished againe with people by him. Moreouer, these tables declared, that the reuenue of the common- wealth of ROME before these conquests he made, amounted yearely but to fiue thousand Miriades: and that from thencefoorth with the summes he had added vnto the former reuenue, they should now receiue eight thousand and fiue hundred Miriades: and that he brought presently in readie gold and siluer, and in plate and iewels, to put into the common treasurie, the value of twentie thousand talents, besides that which had bene distributed already amongst the souldiers: of the which, he that had least for his share, had 15 hundred Drachmas. The prisoners that were led in the shew of this triumph, besides the Captaines of the pyrates, were these that follow: The sonne of *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, with his wife and daughter: the wife of king *Tigranes* him selfe, called *Zosime*: *Aristobulus* king of IVRIE: *Mithridates* sister with fiue sonnes of hers, and some Ladies of SCYTHIA. The hostages also of the IBERIANS and the ALBANIANS, and also of the kings of the COMMAGENIANS: ouer and besides a great number of other markes of triumphs which himselfe or his Lieutenants had wonne at sundrie battels in diuers places. But the greatest honour that euer he wan, and which neuer other Consull of the ROMAINES but himselfe obtained, was this: that he made his third triumph of the three parts of the world. Diuers other ROMAINES had triumphed thrise before him, howbeit he first triumphed of AFRICKE: the second time of EVROPE: the third time of ASIA. So that it appeared by these three triumphs, that he had triumphed in maner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time (as it is reported by them which compare his doings vnto *Alexander* the Great) vnder 34 yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neare fortie. O happie had it bene for him, if he had died when he had *Alexanders* fortune: for all his life afterwards, made his prosperitie hatefull, or his aduersity miserable: imploying the honour and authoritie he had gotten by his valiantnesse, fauouring mens vniust causes: the more he furthered thē, the more he lessened his honor, & vnwares brought his greatnesse to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of a citie, which receiuing their enemies into them, do giue them the benefite of their owne strength: euen so, through *Pompeys* power, *Cæsar* growing to be great, ouerthrew him in the end with the selfe same meanes he imploied to the ouerthrow of others. And thus it fortuned: *Lucullus* at his returne out of ASIA (where *Pompey* had vncourteously vsed him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when *Pompey* was also come to ROME. For the Senate did counsell and incourage him to deale in the affaires of the state, seeing him waxe very slow, & giuen too much to his ease and pleasure, by reason of his great wealth he had gottē. So when *Pompey* was come, he began to speak against him, and through the friendship and assistance of *Cato*, confirmed all his doings in ASIA, which *Pompey* had broken and reiected. *Pompey* finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driuen to haue recourse vnto the Tribunes of the people, and to fall in friendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent and vilest person was *Clodius*: who receiued him, and made him a prey vnto the people. For he had *Pompey* euer at his elbow, and against his honour caried him vp & downe the market place after him, to speake as occasion serued to confirme any matter or deuice which he preferred vnto him to flatter the common people. And further, for recōpence of his goodwill, he craued of *Pompey* (not as a thing dishonorable, but beneficiall for him) that he would forsake *Cicero*, who was his friend, and had done much for him in matters of cōmonwealth. *Pompey* granted his request. Therupon *Cicero* being brought in danger of law, and

The countries conquered by Pompey.

Captiues led in Pompeys third triumph.

Pompey conquered three parts of the world: Africke, Europe, and Asia.

Pompey triumphed thrise before the age of fortie yeares.

The change of Pompeys fortune & honor.

Lucullus beeued of the Senate at his returne out of Asia.

Lucullus incueyed against Pompey, by Catoes assistance.

Pompey ioyned with Clodius, Tribune of the people.

Pompey forsaketh his friend Cicero.

requiring *Pompeys* friendſhip to helpe him, he ſhut his doore againſt them that came to ſpeake in his behalfe, and went out himſelfe at another backe doore: *Cicero* thereupon fearing the extremitie of law, willingly forſooke ROME. At that time, *Iulius Cæſar* returning home from his Praetorſhip out of SPAINE, began to lay ſuch a plot, that preſently brought him into great fauour, and afterwards much increaſed his power, but otherwiſe vtterly vndid *Pompey* and the common wealth. Now he was to ſue for his firſt Conſulſhip, and conſidering the enmitie betwixt *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, if he ioyned with the one, he made the other his enemie: he deuiſed to make them friends, a thing ſeeming of great honeſtie at the firſt ſight, but yet a peſtilent deuice, and as ſubtilla practiſe as could be. For the power of the citie being before deuided into two parts (as a ſhip euenly balleſt of each ſide) maintained the common wealth vpright: and being now brought into one mans power, there was no poſſibilitie to withſtand it, ſo that all fell to wracke in the end. Whereupon, *Cato* wiſely told them afterwards, that ſaid the ciuill warres betwixt *Pompey* and *Cæſar* was cauſe of the deſtruction of the commonwealth: that their enmitie and diſcord was not the chiefe originall cauſe of this miſerie, but rather their friendſhip and agreement. For by their friendſhip *Cæſar* was choſen Conſull, who ſtraight fell to flatter the people and poore men, and made a law for the reſtoring of the colonies belonging to ROME, and for diſtributing of lands to them that had none, imbaſing the maieſtie and dignitie of the chiefe Magiſtrate, and making the Conſulſhip in maner no better then the Tribuneſhip of the people. *Bibulus* his colleague and fellow Conſull, did what he could to reſiſt him, and *Cato* alſo did aide him to his power: vntil *Cæſar* openly brought *Pompey* into the pulpit for orations before the people, and calling him by his name, asked him if he did giue his conſent to the decrees which he did ſet foorth. *Pompey* anſwered him, he did. Why then, ſaid *Cæſar*, if any man will by force let the paſſing of this law by voyces of the people, wilt thou then come to helpe them? Yes that I will indeed, ſaid *Pompey*: againſt them that threaten with the ſword, I will bring both ſword and target. *Pompey* in all his life neuer did nor ſpake thing that men more miſliked, then that which he ſaid at that time. His friends excuſed him, and ſaid it was a word paſſed his mouth before he was aware: but his deeds afterwards ſhewed, that he was altogether at *Cæſars* commaundement. For not many dayes after, he maried *Iulia* the daughter of *Cæſar*, which was affianced, or made ſure before vnto *Seruilius Cæpio* when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Cæpioes* anger, he gaue him his owne daughter in mariage, whom he had alſo promiſed before vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*: and *Cæſar* alſo maried *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piſo*. After this, *Pompey* filling all ROME with ſouldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Conſull *Bibulus* came into the market place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they ſodainly ſet vpon him, and brake the bundels of rods which his officers caried before him: & ſome one, whatſoeuer he was, caſt a basket of horſe dung vpon his head. Moreouer, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were alſo very ſore hurt. By this meanes, hauing cleared the market place of all their enemies, they paſſed the law for diuiſion of lands, as they would themſelues. The people being fleſhed with this baite, were contented to be ruled by thē as they would, and would neuer ſticke at any matter that they would haue paſſed. So were all *Pompeys* matters confirmed, which *Lucullus* was againſt: & they appointed vnto *Cæſar* alſo, the gouernment of the GAVLES on this ſide & beyond the Alpes: and ILLYRIA for 5. yeares ſpace, with foure whole legions. The next yeare following were appointed Cōſuls, *Piſo Cæſars* father in law, and *Gabinius* the greateſt flatterer *Pompey* had about him. But now while things ſtood in theſe tearmes, *Bibulus* though he were Conſull, kept himſelfe cloſe in his houſe for 8. moneths ſpace, and onely ſent out bils, and ſet them vp on euery poſt in open places, accuſing *Pompey* & *Cæſar*. *Cato* on the other ſide, as if he had bene inſpired with the ſpirit of propheſie, told openly in the Senate houſe, what would become of the commonwealth & *Pompey*. *Lucullus* growing old, lay ſtill and tooke his pleaſure, & would no more meddle in the common-wealth. At that time it was that *Pompey* ſaid: it was more vnſeaſonable for an old man to follow his pleaſure, then to attend matters of the cōmonwealth. Yet himſelfe ſhortly after was ſo doted of his yong wife, that he would follow her vp and downe in the country, and in his gardens, and leaue all affaires of waight aſide. Wherupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the people, deſpiſed *Pompey*, and began to enter into ſeditious attempts. For when he had driuen *Cicero* out of ROME, and had ſent away *Cato* to make warres in CYPRVS, and that *Cæſar* alſo was occupied in GAVLE, and finding that the people in like caſe were at his commaundement, becauſe to flatter them he did what they would haue him: he attempted incontinently to vndo ſome things that *Pompey* had

Cæſar reconciled Pompey and Craſſus.

Cæſars lawe for deuiding of lands. Lex Agraria.

Pompey gaue his conſent with Cæſar, for paſſing his law Agraria.

Pompey maried Iulia, the daughter of Cæſar.

Bibulus the Conſull, driuen out of the market place by Pompey.

The lawe Agraria confirmed by the people.

Gaule and Illyria appointed vnto Cæſar.

Piſo and Gabinius, Cōſuls.

Cato foreſheweth the ruine of the commōwealth, and of Pompey.

Clodius the Tribune ſetteth vpon Pompey.

had eſtabliſhed. Amongſt other things, he tooke yong *Tigranes* out of priſon, & euer caried him vp & downe with him whereſoeuer he went, and cõtinually pict quarrels vnto *Pompeys* friends, to try what credite he had. In the end *Pompey* comming abroad one day into the common aſſembly, to heare how a matter of his was handled: this *Clodius* hauing a company of vagabonds and deſperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he ſitting in a place where he might be ſeene from the reſt, began to aske theſe queſtions out aloud: Who is the licentiouſeſt Captaine in all this city? What man is he that ſeekes for a man? What is he that ſcratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a company of dauncers or ſingers, when he ſpake and clapped his hands on his gowne, aunſwered him ſtraight aloud to euery queſtion, that it was *Pompey*. This went to *Pompeys* heart, that was not wont to heare himſelfe ſo ill ſpoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any ſuch kind of fight: but yet it made him bite the lippe more, when he ſaw the Senate glad to ſee him thus ſhamed and reproued, as a iuſt reuenge and puniſhment for his vile betraying and forſaking of *Cicero*. So, great ſtirre and vprore being made vpon this in the market place, and many men ſore hurt, and one of *Clodius* bondmen being taken alſo in the preaſe of the people with a ſword in his hand, very neare vnto *Pompey*: making this his colour (but otherwiſe fearing *Clodius* inſolencie and proud words) he would neuer after come into the market place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home ſtill, conſulting with his friends what way he ſhould take to appeaſe the anger of the Senate againſt him. Thereupon, one of his friends called *Culeo*, perſwaded him to put away his wife *Iulia*, and vtterly to refuſe *Cæſars* friendſhip, and to ſticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithſtanding he was contented to harken vnto them that gaue him counſell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortall enemie, and in great fauour with the Senate. Thereupon, he brought *Ciceroes* brother into the market place, to moue the matter to the people, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and diuerſe were ſlaine of either ſide: notwithſtanding, he ouercame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by decree of the people, when he was come, he brought *Pompey* againe in fauour with the Senate, and ſtanding with the law propounded to giue *Pompey* authoritie to cauſe corne to be brought to Rome, he once againe made him haue power both by land and ſea ouer all the territories of the Romaines. For all the hauens, marts and faires, and all ſtore-houſes for corne, yea moreouer all the trade of marchandize and tillage, came vnder *Pompeys* hands. Then *Clodius* accuſing him, ſayd: that the Senate had not made this law for the dearth of victuals, but that they made a dearth of victuals, becauſe the law ſhould paſſe, to reuiue *Pompeys* power and authority againe, that was almoſt vnder foote. Other ſay, that this was a deuiſe of *Lentulus Spinther* the Conſull, who gaue *Pompey* the greater authority, becauſe he might be ſent to put king *Ptolomie* againe into his kingdome. This notwithſtanding, *Canidius* the Tribune preferred another law to ſend *Pompey* without an army, with two ſergeants onely to cary the axes before him, to bring *Ptolomy* in fauour againe with the Alexandrians. This law ſeemed not to miſlike *Pompey*: but the Senate with honeſt colour put by this law, as being affraid leaſt *Pompeys* perſon ſhould miſcary in ſo doing. Neuertheleſſe, lide papers were found throwne about the market place, and the Senate-houſe, declaring that *Ptolomy* deſired *Pompey* might come to aide him in *Spinthers* ſtead. *Timagenes* writeth notwithſtanding, that *Ptolomy* went vnto Rome, and left Ægypt without any occaſion giuen him, at the perſwaſion of *Theophanes*, who perſwaded him to do ſo, becauſe he wold giue *Pompey* occaſion to make new wars. But *Theophanes* craft and ſubtilty made not this matter ſo credible, as *Pompeys* wit and good nature made it altogether vntrue: for his ambition was nothing ſo vile nor ill, as that was. So, *Pompey* hauing now full authority to cauſe corn to be brought to Rome, he ſent then his Lieutenants and friends abroad, and himſelfe in perſon went into Sicile. Now being ready to returne againe, there aroſe ſuch a ſtorme of wind in the ſea, that the mariners were in doubt to wey their ankers. But himſelfe firſt imbarked, and commaunded them ſtraight to hoiſe ſaile, crying out aloud, It is of neceſſitie I muſt go, but not to liue. So, through his boldnes & good ſpirit, vſing the good fortune he had, he filled all the places of mart, and markets with corne, and all the ſea beſides with ſhips: in ſo much, the plenty he brought did not only furniſh the city of Rome, but all their neighbours alſo about them, and came like a liuely ſpring that diſperſed it ſelfe through all Italie. About that time, the great conqueſts that *Cæſar* wade in Gavle, did ſet him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in warres farre from Rome, with the Belgians, Svvisses, and Engliſhmen: he by ſecret practiſe,

Pompey vvas grieuouſly ſcorned of Clodius.

Commiſſion giuen to Pompey for bringing of corne into Rome.

The reſtoring againe of Ptolomy king of Ægypt to his realme.

was in the middeſt among the people at Rome, and moſt againſt *Pompey* in the waighteſt affaires of the common wealth. For he had the power of an army about his perſon, which he did harden with paines and continuall practiſe, not with intent to fight onely againſt the barbarous people: for the battels he had with them, were in maner but as a hunting ſport, by the which he made himſelfe inuincible, and dreadfull to the word. But furthermore, by the infinite gold and ſiluer, and the incredible ſpoiles & treaſure which he wan vpon the enemies whom he had ouercome: and by ſending great preſents alſo to Rome, to the Ædiles, Prætors, Conſuls, and their wiues, he purchaſed him many friends. Therefore, after he had paſſed ouer the Alpes againe, and was come to winter in the city of Lvca, a world of people (both men and women) and of the Senate themſelues almoſt two hundred perſons (and amongſt them, *Craſſus* & *Pompey* by name) went out of Rome vnto him. Furthermore, there were ſeene at *Cæſars* gate, ſixe ſcore ſergeants carying axes before Prætors, or Proconſuls. So *Cæſar* ſent euery one backe againe, either full of money, or good words: but with *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, he made a match, that they two together ſhould ſue to be Conſuls, and that he himſelfe would ſend them good aide to Rome, at the day of election, to giue their voyces. And if they were choſen, that they ſhould then practiſe by decree of the people, to haue the gouernements of ſome new prouinces and armies aſſigned them: and withall, that they ſhould adiorne the gouernement of thoſe prouinces he had, for fiue yeares more. This packe being bewrayed and ſpread abroad through Rome, the honeſteſt ſort miſliked much thereof. Whereupon *Marcellinus* at an open aſſembly of the people, did aske them both, if they would ſue for the Conſulſhip at the next election. So, they being vrged by the people to make anſwer, *Pompey* ſpake firſt, and ſayd: peraduenture he would, peraduenture not. *Craſſus* anſwered more gently, that he would do that which ſhould be beſt for the commonwealth. Then *Marcellinus* ſharply inueying againſt *Pompey*, he angrily againe caſt him in the teeth, and ſaid, that *Marcellinus* was the ranckeſt churle, and the vnthankfulleſt beaſt in the world: for that of a dum man he had made him eloquent, and being in maner ſtarued and famiſhed, many a time he had filled his belly. This notwithſtanding, diuerſe that before were determined to ſue for the Conſulſhip, went no further in it, ſauing *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* counſelled and incouraged not to giue it ouer: for, ſayd he, thou doeſt not contend for the Conſulſhip, but to defend the common liberty of thy country againſt two tyrants. *Pompey* therefore fearing *Catoes* faction, leaſt that hauing all the Senates goodwils, he ſhould draw alſo the beſt part of the people after him: thought it not good to ſuffer *Domitius* to come into the market place. To this end therefore, he ſent men armed againſt him, who at the firſt onſet, ſlue the torch-bearer that caried the torch before him, and made all the reſt to flie: amongſt whom alſo *Cato* was the laſt man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domitius*. *Pompey* & *Craſſus* being become Conſuls after this ſort, they ordered themſelues nothing the more temperatly, nor honeſtly. For firſt of all, the people being about to chuſe *Cato* Prætor, *Pompey* being at the aſſembly of the election, perceiuing that they would chuſe him, brake vp the aſſembly, falſly alleadging that he had noted certaine ill ſignes, and afterwards, the tribes of the people being bribed and corrupted with money, they choſe *Antias* and *Vatinius* Prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* Tribune of the people, they publiſhed Edicts, authoriſing *Cæſars* charge for fiue yeares longer, according to the appointment they had made with *Cæſar*. Vnto *Craſſus* alſo they had appointed Syria, and the warre againſt the Parthians. Vnto *Pompey* in like caſe, all Africke, and both Spaines, with foure Legions beſides: of the which, at *Cæſars* deſire, he lent him two Legions to helpe him in his warre in Gavle. Theſe things done, *Craſſus* departed to his Prouince, at the going out of his Conſulſhip: and *Pompey* remained at Rome about the dedicating of his Theater, where he cauſed many goodly playes to be made, both for exerciſe of perſon, as alſo for learning and muſicke, and cauſed wild beaſts alſo to be baited and hunted, and killed a fiue hundred Lyons. But of all things, there was no ſuch fearefull ſight and terrible fight, as was betweene the Elephants. This great charge and bountifull expence, defrayed by *Pompey*, to ſhew the people paſtime and pleaſure: made him againe to be very much eſteemed of, and beloued amongſt the people. But on the other ſide, he wan himſelfe as much ill will and enuy, in committing the gouernement of his Prouinces and Legions into the hands of his Lieutenants, whileſt he himſelfe romed vp and downe the pleaſant places of Italy, with his wife at his pleaſure: either becauſe he was farre in loue with her, or elſe [illegible] that ſhe loued him ſo dearly, that he could not find in his hart to leaue her company. It was reported of her (being knowne of many) that this young Lady *Iulia* loued her

Great repaire vnto Cæſar, wintering at Luca.

The violence of Pompey obtayning the ſecond Conſulſhip.

Pompey and Craſſus ſecond Conſulſhips.

Prouinces deuided vnto Pompey, Cæſar and Craſſus.

her husband more dearly, not for *Pompeys* flouriſhing age, but for his aſſured continence, knowing no other woman but her: beſides alſo, he was no ſolemne man, but pleaſant of conuerſation, which made women loue him maruellouſly, vnleſſe we will reproue the curtiſan *Floraes* teſtimony. It is certaine, that at an election of the Ædiles, men riſing ſuddenly in hurly burly, drew their ſwords, and many were ſlaine about *Pompey*: inſomuch as his cloathes being bloudied, he ſent his men home in haſt to fetch him other to change him. His yong wife that was great with child, ſeeing his cloaths bloudy, tooke ſuch a flight vpon it, that ſhe fell downe in a ſound before them, and they had much ado to recouer her, and yet ſhe fell ſtraight in labour vpon it, and was deliuered. So that they themſelues, which blamed him moſt for his good will he bare vnto *Cæſar* could not reproue the loue he bare vnto his wife. Another time after that, ſhe was great with child againe, whereof ſhe died, and the child liued not many dayes after the mother. As *Pompey* was about to cary her into the countrey to be buried, to a houſe he had there neare vnto the city of Alba, the people by force tooke her corſe, and caried it into the field of *Mars*, more for the pity they tooke of the young Lady, then to pleaſure either *Cæſar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the people did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæſars* ſake being abſent, then for *Pompey* that was preſent. But ſtraight when this alliance was broken, which rather couered, then bridled their ambitious deſire to rule: there aroſe a new ſtirre in Rome immediatly, and euery mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and ſeditious words. Not long after that alſo came newes, that *Craſſus* was ouerthrowne, and ſlaine in Parthia: who was a manifeſt ſtay and let to keepe them two from ciuill warres, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept themſelues in a reaſonable ſort together. But when fortune had taken away this third champion, who could haue withſtood the better of them both that had ouercome the other: then might haue bene ſayd of theſe two which remained, as the comicall Poet ſayd:

The death of Iulia the daughter of Cæſar.

The beginning of the diſſention betwixt Pompey and Cæſar.

See how theſe champions purpoſing each others force to try,
With nointed skin, and duſty hands, ſtand vaunting valiantly.

So litle can fortune preuaile againſt nature, hauing no power to ſtop couetouſneſſe: ſith ſo large and great an Empire, and ſuch a wide countrey beſides, could not containe the couetous deſire of theſe two men. But though they had often both heard and read:

Among the gods themſelues all things by lot deuided are,
And none of them intrudes himſelfe within his neighbours ſhare.

Yet they thought that the Empire of Rome was not inough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* ſpake openly in an oration he made vnto the people, that he euer came to office before he looked for it, and alſo left it ſooner then they thought he would haue done: and that he witneſſed by diſcharging his army ſo ſoone. Then thinking that *Cæſar* would not diſcharge his army, he ſought to make himſelf ſtrong againſt him, by procuring offices of the city, without any other alteration. Neither would he ſeeme to miſtruſt him, but he plainly ſhewed that he did deſpiſe and contemne him. But when he ſaw that he could not obtaine the offices of the city as he would, becauſe the citizens that made the elections were bribed with mony: he then left it without a magiſtrate, ſo that there was none either to commaund, or that the people ſhould obey. Hereupon there ran a brute ſtraight, that there muſt needs be a Dictator made, and the firſt man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* Tribune of the people, who perſwaded them to chuſe *Pompey*. But *Cato* ſtucke ſo ſtoutly againſt it, that the Tribune had like to haue loſt his office, euen in the market place. But then many of *Pompeys* friends ſtepped vp, and excuſed him, ſaying: that he neither ſought, nor would haue the Dictatorſhip. Then *Cato* commended him much, & prayed him to ſee good order kept in the commonwealth. *Pompey* being aſhamed to deny ſo reaſonable a requeſt, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Conſuls were choſen, *Domitius*, and *Meſſala*: but afterwards when the ſtate began to change againe, by the death of one of the Conſuls, and that diuerſe were more earneſtly bent to haue a Dictator than before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with fury, determined to giue *Pompey* ſome office of reaſonable authority, to keepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Inſomuch, as *Bibulus* himſelfe being chiefe of the Senate, & *Pompeys* enemy, was the firſt that moued, *Pompey* might be choſen Conſull alone: for, ſaid he, by this meanes, either the common wealth ſhall be rid of the preſent trouble: or elſe it ſhall be in bondage to an honeſt man. This opinion was maruelled at, in reſpect of him that ſpake it. Whereupon, *Cato* ſtanding vp, it was thought ſtraight he would haue ſpoken againſt him: but ſilence being made him, he plainely told them, that for his owne part he would not haue bene the firſt man

Variance among the Senate for Pompeys honor.

Cato ſpake in Pompeys fauour.

to haue propounded that was ſpoken: but ſithence it was ſpoken by another, that he thought it reaſonable and meete to be followed. And therefore, ſayd he, it is better to haue an Officer to command, whatſoeuer he be, rather then none: and that he ſaw no man fitter to command, then *Pompey*, in ſo troubleſome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that *Pompey* ſhould be choſen ſole Conſull: and that if he ſaw in his diſcretion he ſhould need the aſſiſtance of another companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were paſt. Thus was *Pompey* made Conſull alone by *Sulpitius*, regent for that day. Then *Pompey* made very friendly countenance vnto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honour he had done to him, praying him priuately to aſſiſt him with his counſell in the Conſulſhip. *Cato* anſwered him, that there was no cauſe why he ſhould thanke him, for he had ſpoken nothing for his ſake, but for reſpect of the comon wealth only: and for his counſell, if he would aske it, he ſhould priuatly haue it, if not, yet that he would openly ſay that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doings. Now *Pompey* returning into the city, maried *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a maiden, but late the widow of *Publius Craſſus* the ſonne, that was ſlaine in PARTHIA, to whom ſhe was maried a maiden. This Ladie had excellent gifts to be beloued beſides her beauty: for ſhe was properly learned, could play well on the harpe, was skilfull in muſicke and geometry, and tooke great pleaſure alſo in Philoſophy, and not vainly without ſome profit. For ſhe was very modeſt and ſober of behauior, without brawling and fooliſh curioſity, which commonly yong women haue, that are indued with ſuch ſingular gifts. Her father alſo, was a noble man, both in bloud and life. Notwithſtandig, theſe vnlike mariages did nothing pleaſe ſome: for *Cornelia* was young inough to haue bene his ſonnes wife. Now the beſt citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the commonwealth, being in ſuch a troubleſome time, which had choſen him onely, as her remedy to redreſſe the ſame: and that he in the meane time gaue himſelfe ouer to marying & feaſting, where rather he ſhould haue bin carefull of his Conſulſhip, which was diſpoſed vpon him againſt the law, for common calamities ſake, that otherwiſe he had not come by, if all had bene quiet. Furthermore, he ſharply proceeded againſt them, which by bribery and vnlawfull meanes came to office: and hauing made lawes and ordinances for the adminiſtration of iuſtice, otherwiſe he dealt iuſtly and vprightly in all things, giuing ſafety, order, ſilence and grauity, to matters of iudgement, with force of armes, himſelfe being preſent: ſauing that when his father in law was alſo accuſed among other, he ſent for the three hundred and three ſcore Iudges home to his houſe, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuſer ſaw *Scipio* accompanied by the Iudges themſelues, returning into the market place: he let fall his ſute. This made *Pompey* againe be condemned, and blamed alſo more then before, for that he hauing made a law, that no man ſhould praiſe the offenders, whileſt their matter was a hearing: came himſelfe and openly praiſed *Plancus* being accuſed. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Iudges, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, ſaying: that he might not heare an offender praiſed, ſeeing it was forbidden by law. But therefore he was refuſed for a Iudge, before they gaue ſentence. Notwithſtanding, *Plancus* was condemned by all the reſt of the Iudges, to *Pompeys* great ſhame and reproach. Shortly after, *Hypſeus*, one that had bene Conſull, being likewiſe accuſed, watching *Pompey* on a time as he came out of his bathe to go to ſupper: vpon his knees he beſought *Pompeys* fauour and helpe: but he ſtately paſſed by him, and gaue him no other aunſwer, but told him, he marred his ſupper, and ſayd nothing elſe to him. This inconſtancy was much reproued in *Pompey*. Howbeit otherwiſe he ſet all things in good order, and choſe his father in law *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Conſulſhip, for the fiue laſt moneths. After that, he cauſed the gouernement of his Prouinces to be appointed him for foure yeares more, with commiſſion to take yearely out of the treaſure a thouſand talents to defray the charges of this warre. *Cæſars* friends ſeeing that, ſtepped vp for him, and prayed that there might alſo be had ſome conſideration of him, that had likewiſe great warres for the Empire of ROME: ſaying, that his good ſeruice deſerued, either that they ſhould make him Conſull againe, or elſe that they ſhould prolong his charge and gouernment, ſo as he might yet peaceably enioy the honor to command that which he had conquered, to the end that no other ſucceſſour might reape the fruit of his labour. Much ſtirre and contention being about this matter at ROME, *Pompey* as though for good will he meant to excuſe the enuie they might haue borne *Cæſar*, ſaid: that he had receiued letters from him, by the which he requeſted a ſucceſſour, and to be diſcharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they ſhould graunt him priuiledge to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip,

Pompey choſen Conſull.

Pompey maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio.

The vertues of Cornelia, the daughter of Metellus Scipio.

Pompeyes prouinces aſſigned him foure yeares further.

Conſulſhip, although he were abſent. Which *Cato* ſtoutly withſtood, ſaying, that he muſt returne home as a priuate man, and leauing his army, ſhould come in perſon to craue recompence of his country. But becauſe *Pompey* made no reply nor aunſwer to the contrary, men ſuſpected ſtraight that he had no great good liking of *Cæſar*, and the rather, becauſe he had ſent vnto him for the two legions which he had lent him, vnder colour of his warre againſt the PARTHIANS. But *Cæſar* though he ſmelt him wherefore he ſent for his ſouldiers, returned them home with liberall reward. About that time, *Pompey* fell ſicke at NAPLES of a dangerous diſeaſe, whereof notwithſtanding he recouered againe. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perſwaſion of *Praxagoras*, one of the chiefeſt men of their city, did ſacrifice to the gods for his recouery. The like did alſo their neighbours round about: and in fine, it ranne ſo generally through all ITALY, that there was no city or towne (great or ſmall) but made open feaſt and reioycing for many dayes together. Beſides, the infinite number of people was ſuch, that went to meete him out of all parts: that there was not place inough for them all, but the high wayes, cities, townes and ports of the ſea, were all full of people, feaſting and ſacrificing to the gods, reioycing for his recouery. Diuerſe alſo went to meete him, crowned with garlands, and ſo did attend on him, caſting noſegayes and flowers vpon him. Thus was his iourny the nobleſt ſight that euer was, all the way as he came: howbeit men thought alſo, that this was the chiefeſt cauſe of the beginning of the ciuill warres. For he fell into ſuch a pride, and glorious conceit of himſelfe, with the exceeding ioy he tooke to ſee himſelfe thus honored: that forgetting his orderly gouernment, which made all his former doings to proſper, he grew too bold in deſpiſing of *Cæſars* power, as though he ſtood in no need of other power or care to withſtand him, but that he could ouercome him as he would, farre more eaſily, then he could haue done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon returned from GAVLE, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent vnto *Cæſar*, reproching much his doings which he had done there, and giuing out many foule words againſt *Cæſar*. For he ſayd, that *Pompey* knew not his owne ſtrength & authority, that would ſeeke to make himſelfe ſtrong, by other power againſt him: conſidering that he might ouercome him with his own legions he ſhould bring with him, ſo ſoone as they ſaw but *Pompey* in the face, ſuch illwill did *Cæſars* owne ſouldiers beare him, and were maruellous deſirous beſides to ſee himſelfe. Theſe flattering tales ſo puffed vp *Pompey*, and brought him into ſuch a ſecuritie and truſt of himſelfe, that he mocked them to ſcorne which were affraid of warres. And to thoſe alſo which ſayd, that if *Cæſar* came to ROME, they ſaw not how they could reſiſt his power: he ſmilingly anſwered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that: for as oft ſayd he as I do but ſtampe with my foote vpon the ground of ITALY, I ſhall bring men inough out of euery corner, both footmen and horſemen. In the meane time, *Cæſar* gathered force ſtill vpon him, and thenceforth drew nearer vnto ITALY, and ſent of his ſouldiers daily to ROME to be preſent at the election of the magiſtrates, and many of them that were in office, he wanne with money: amongſt whom, was *Paule*, one of the Conſuls, whom he wanne of his ſide, by meanes of a thouſand fiue hundred talents. And *Curio* the Tribune of the people, whom he diſcharged of an infinite debt he ought: and *Marke Antonie* alſo, who for *Curioes* ſake, was diſcharged likewiſe for part of the debt which *Curio* ought, being alſo bound as himſelfe. Furthermore, it was found that a Captaine or Centurion ſent from *Cæſar*, being neare vnto the Senate, vnderſtanding that the councell would not prolong *Cæſars* gouernement which he required, clapping his hand vpon the pommell of his ſword: Well ſayd he, this ſhall giue it him. So, to be ſhort, all that was done and ſayd, tended to this end. Notwithſtanding, the petitions and requeſts that *Curio* made in *Cæſars* behalfe, ſeemed ſomewhat more reaſonable for the people: for he requeſted one of the two, either to make *Pompey* to put downe his army, or elſe to licence *Cæſar* to haue his army as well as he. For, either being both made priuate men, they would fall to agreement of themſelues: or elſe being both of like ſtrength, neither of both would ſeeke any alteration, fearing one another, but would content themſelues either of them with their owne. Or otherwiſe, he that ſhould weaken the one, and ſtrengthen the other: ſhould double his power whom he feared. Thereto very hotly replied the Conſull *Marcellus*, calling *Cæſar* theefe, and ſayd that he ſhould be proclaimed an open enemy to ROME, if he did not diſperſe his army. This notwithſtanding, in fine *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Piſo*, procured that the Senate ſhould decide the matter. For, ſayd he, all thoſe that would haue *Cæſar* leaue his army, and *Pompey* to keepe his: let them ſtand on the one ſide. Thereupon the moſt part of them ſtood at one hand. Then he bad them againe come away from them

Pompey fell ſicke at Naples. Great reioycing for the recouery of Pompeys health.

Pride, and foole conceit, made Pompey deſpiſe Cæſar.

Appius ſoothed Pompey, and fed his humor.

Pompeys proud words.

Paule the Conſull bribed by Cæſar.

Curio and Antonius, Tribunes of the people, bribed by Cæſar.

that would haue them both leaue their armies. Then there remained onely but two and twenty that ſtood for *Pompey*: and all the reſt went on *Curioes* ſide. Then *Curio* looking aloft for ioy of the victory, went into the market place, and there was receiued of his Tribune faction, with ſhouts of ioy and clapping of hands, and infinite noſegayes and garlands of flowers throwne vpon him. *Pompey* was not then preſent to ſee the Senators goodwill towards him: becauſe by the law, ſuch as haue commandement ouer ſouldiers, cannot enter into Rome. Notwithſtanding *Marcellus* ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he would not ſtand trifling hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew that ten legions were already paſſed ouer the Alpes, intending to come in armes againſt them: and that he would ſend a man vnto them, that ſhould defend their country well inough. Straight they chaunged apparell at Rome, as their manner was in a common calamity. *Marcellus* then comming through the market place vnto *Pompey*, being followed of all the Senate, went vnto him, and told him openly: *Pompey*, I commaund thee helpe thy country with that army thou haſt already, & alſo to leauy more to aide thee. The like ſpeech did *Lentulus* vſe vnto him, who was appointed one of the Conſuls the yeare following. Now, when *Pompey* thought to leauy ſouldiers in Rome to bill them, ſome would not obey him, a few others went vnwillingly to him with heauy hearts, and the moſt part of them cried, peace, peace. *Antony* alſo, againſt the Senates mind, read a letter vnto the people ſent from *Cæſar* containing certaine offers and reaſonable requeſts, to draw the common peoples affection towards him. For his requeſt was, that *Pompey* and he ſhould both of them reſigne their gouernements; and ſhould diſmiſſe their armies to make all well, referring themſelues wholly to the iudgement of the people, and to deliuer vp account vnto them of their doings. *Lentulus* being now entred into his Conſulſhip, did not aſſemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of Cilicia, practiſed to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Cæſar* ſhould leaue Gavle, and all the reſt of his army, reſeruing onely two legions and the gouernement of Illyria, attending his ſecond Conſulſhip. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Cæſars* friends were contented to graunt that he ſhould haue but one of his legions. But *Lentulus* ſpake againſt it, and *Cato* cried out on the other ſide alſo, that *Pompey* was deceiued, and they both. So all treaty of peace was cut off. In the meane time, newes came to Rome, that *Cæſar* had wonne Arimınvm, a faire great city of Italy, and that he came directly to Rome with a great power. But that was not true: for he came but with three thouſand horſe, and fiue thouſand footemen, and would not tary for the reſt of his army that was yet on the other ſide of the mountaines in Gavle, but made haſte rather to ſurpriſe his enemies vpon the ſudden, being afraid and in garboile, not looking for him ſo ſoone: rather then to giue them time to be prouided, and to fight with him when they were ready. For when he was come to the riuer ſide of Rubicon (which was the vtmoſt confine of the prouince he had in charge towards Italy) he ſtayed ſuddenly, weying with himſelfe the great enterpriſe he tooke in hand. At the laſt, as men that being of a maruellous height from the ground, do headlong throw themſelues downe cloſing of their eyes, and withdrawing their minds from the thought of the daunger: crying out theſe words onely vnto them that were by, in the Greeke tongue, ἀνερρίφθω κύβος: in Engliſh, let the die be caſt (meaning hereby to put all in hazard, and according to our prouerbe, to ſet all on ſixe and ſeuen) he paſſed ouer with his army. Now, the newes of his comming being caried to Rome, they were in ſuch a maruellous feare, as the like was neuer ſeene. For all the Senate ran immediatly vnto *Pompey*, and all the other magiſtrates of the city fled vnto him alſo. *Tullus* asking *Pompey* what power he had to reſiſt them, he aunſwered him, faltring ſomewhat in his ſpeech: that he had the two legions readie which *Cæſar* ſent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leauied in haſte, he ſhould make vp the number of thirty thouſand fighting men. Then *Tullus* cried out openly: Ah, thou haſt mocked vs *Pompey*: and thereupon gaue order they ſhould ſend Ambaſſadours vnto *Cæſar*. There was one *Phaonius* in the company, who otherwiſe was no ill man, ſauing that he was ſomwhat too bold, thinking to counterfeit *Catoes* plaine maner of ſpeech: he bad *Pompey* then ſtampe his foot vpon the ground, & make thoſe ſoldiers come which he had promiſed them. *Pompey* gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But when *Cato* told him alſo, what he had prophecied before hand of *Cæſar*, he aunſwered him againe: Indeed thou haſt prophecied more truly then I, but I haue dealt more friendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they ſhould make him Lieutenant generall of Rome with full and abſolute power to commaund all, ſaying: that the ſelfe ſame men which do the greateſt miſchiefe, know beſt alſo how to remedy the

Pompey choſen to go againſt Cæſar.

Cicero moueth reconciliation betwixt Cæſar and Pompey.

Rubicon ſt. Cæſar paſſed ouer the riuer of Rubicon.

Cæſars saying: let the die be caſt.

Phaonius ouerbold words vnto Pompey.

the ſame. So he immediatly departed into SICILE, hauing the charge and gouernement of that countrey: and alſo euery one of the other Senators went vnto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALIE being in armes, no man knew what was beſt to be done. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all parts: and thoſe on the other ſide that were within ROME, went out as faſt, and forſooke the city. in this trouble and diſorder. That which might ſerue being willing to obey, was found very weake: and that on the other ſide which by diſobedience did hurt, was too ſtrong and ill to be gouerned by the magiſtrates, hauing law to command. For there was no poſſibility to pacifie their feare, neither would they ſuffer *Pompey* to order things as he would: but euery man followed his owne fancie, euen as he found himſelfe grieued, afraid, or in doubt, and in one day they were in diuerſe minds. *Pompey* could heare nothing of certainty of his enemies. For ſome, one while would bring him newes one way, & then againe another way: and thē if he would not credit thē, they were angry with him. At the length, when he ſaw the tumult and confuſion ſo great at ROME, as there was no meane to pacifie it: he commanded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behind, that he wold take thē for *Cæſars* friends, and ſo at night departed out of the city. Then the two Conſuls fled alſo, without doing any ſacrifice to the gods, as they were wont to do before they went to make any warres. So *Pompey*, euen in his greateſt trouble and moſt danger, might thinke himſelfe happie to haue euery mans goodwill as he had. For, though diuerſe miſliked the cauſe of this warre, yet no man hated the Captaine: but there were moe found that could not forſake *Pompey* for the loue they bare him, then there were that followed him to fight for their liberty. Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of ROME, *Cæſar* was come to ROME, who poſſeſſing the city, ſpake very gently vnto all them he found there, & pacified their feare: ſauing that he threatned *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, becauſe he would not ſuffer him to take any of the treaſure of the common wealth. Vnto that cruell threate, he added a more bitter ſpeech alſo, ſaying: that it was not ſo hard a thing for him to do it, as to ſpeake it. Thus hauing put downe *Metellus*, and taken that he needed to ſerue his turne, he tooke vpon him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to driue him out of ITALY, before that his army he had in SPAINE ſhould come to him. *Pompey* in the meane time, hauing taken the city of BRVNDVSIVM, and gotten ſome ſhips together: he made the two Conſuls preſently imbarke with thirty enſignes of footmen, which he ſent beyond the ſea before vnto DYRRACHIVM. And incontinently after that, he ſent his father in law *Scipio*, and *Cneus Pompey* his ſonne, into SYRIA, to prouide him ſhips. Himſelfe on the other ſide, fortified the rampers of the city, and placed the lighteſt ſouldiers he had vpon the wals, and commaunded the BRVNDVSIANS not to ſtirre out of their houſes: and further, he caſt trenches within the city, at the end of the ſtreetes in diuerſe places, and filled thoſe trenches with ſharpe pointed ſtakes, ſauing two ſtreets onely, which went vnto the hauen. Then the third day after, hauing imbarked all the reſt of his ſouldiers at his pleaſure, he ſuddenly lifting vp a ſigne into the aire, to giue them warning which he had left to gard the rampers: they ſtraight ranne to him with ſpeed, and quickly receiuing them into his ſhips, he weyed anker, and hoiſed ſaile. *Cæſar* perceiuing the wals naked without ward, he ſtraight miſtruſted that *Pompey* was fled: who haſting after him, had almoſt runne vpon the ſharpe ſtakes, and fallen into the trenches, had not the BRVNDVSIANS giuen him warning of them. So he ſtayed, and ranne not ouerthwart the city, but fetched a compaſſe about to go to the hauen: where he found that all the ſhips were vnder ſaile, two ſhips onely excepted, vpon the which were left a few ſouldiers. Some thinke that this departure of *Pompey*, was one of the beſt ſtratagemes of warre that euer he vſed. Notwithſtanding, *Cæſar* maruelled much, that he being in a ſtrong citie, and looking for his army to come out of SPAINE, and being maiſter of the ſea beſides, that he would euer forſake ITALIE. *Cicero* alſo reproued him, for that he rather followed *Themiſtocles* counſell, then *Pericles*: conſidering that the troubleſome time was rather to be likened vnto *Pericles*, then *Themiſtocles* time. Yea *Cæſar* himſelfe ſhewed, that he was affraid of the time. For when he had taken *Numerius* one of *Pompeys* friends, he ſent him vnto *Pompey* at BRVNDVSIVM, to offer him reaſonable conditions of peace: But *Numerius* followed *Pompey*, and ſailed away with him. By this meanes, *Cæſar* in threeſcore dayes being Lord of all ITALY without any bloudſhed: he was very deſirous to follow with ſpeed after *Pompey*. But becauſe he had no ſhips ready, he let him go, and haſted towards SPAINE, to ioyne *Pompeys* army there vnto his. Now *Pompey* in the meane ſpace, had gotten a maruellous great power together both by ſea and by land. His army by ſea was wonderfull. For he had fiue hundred goods ſhips of

Tumult at Rome vpon Cæſars comming

Pompey forſooke Rome.

Cæſar entred Rome when Pompey fled.

Cæſar followeth Pompey.

Pompeys ſtratagem at Brundeſium, for his flying thence from Cæſar.

Pompey forſaketh Italy.

Cicero reproued Pompey.

Cæſar leueth Pompey, and goeth to Spaine.

Pompeyes power in Greece.

warre, and of galliots, foists, and pinnaces, an infinit number. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemen of Rome, & of all Italy, to the number of seuen thousand horse, all rich men of great houses, and valiant minds. But his footmen, they were men of all sorts, and raw souldiers vntrained, whom *Pompey* continually exercised, lying at the city of Berroea, not sitting idly, but taking paines, as if he had bin in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose to incourage others seeing *Pompey* being eight and fifty yeares old, fight on foot armed at all peeces, and then on horsbacke, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full career, and easily to put it vp againe, and to throw his dart from him, not only with such agility to hit point blanke, but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that few yong mẽ could do the like. Thither came diuerse kings, princes, & great Lords of countries, and yeelded themselues vnto him: and of Romaine Captaines that had borne office, he had of thẽ about him, the nũber of a whole Senate. Amongst them came vnto him *Labienus* also, who before was *Cæsars* friend, & had alwayes bene with him in his warres in Gavle. There came vnto him also, *Brutus*, the sonne of that *Brutus* which was slaine in Gavle, a valiant man, and which had neuer spoken vnto *Pompey* vntill that day, because he tooke him for a murtherer of his father: but then willingly followed him as defender of the liberty of Rome. *Cicero* himselfe also, though he had both written and giuen counsell to the contrary, thought it a shame to him not to be amongst the number of them that would hazard their liues for defence of their countrey. There came vnto him also *Tidius Sextius* euen into Macedon, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to scorne to see him come, when *Pompey* saw him, he rose and went to meete him, iudging it a good token of their good wils vnto him, whẽ such old men as he, chose rather to be with him in daunger, then at home with safety. Hereupon they sate in councell, and following *Catoes* opinion, decreed that they should put no citizen of Rome to death but in battell, and should sacke no citie that was subiect to the Empire of Rome, the which made *Pompeys* part the better liked. For they that had nothing to do with the warres, either because they dwelt farre off, or else for that they were so poore, as otherwise they were not regarded: did yet both in deed and word fauour *Pompeys* part, thinking him an enemie both to the gods and men, that wished not *Pompey* victorie. *Cæsar* also shewed himselfe very mercifull and courteous, where he ouercame. For when he had wonne all *Pompeys* armie that was in Spaine, he suffered the Captaines that were taken to go at libertie, and onely reserued the souldiers. Then comming ouer the Alpes againe, he passed through all Italie, and came to the city of Brvndvsivm in the winter quarter: and there passing ouer the sea, he went vnto the citie of Oricvm, and landed there. Now *Cæsar* hauing *Vibius*, one of *Pompeys* familiar friends with him, whom he had taken prisoner: he sent him vnto *Pompey*, to pray againe that they might meete, and both of them disperse their armies within three dayes, and being reconciled (giuing their faith one to another) so to returne into Italie like good friends together. *Pompey* thought againe, that these were new deuises to intrap him. Thereupon he suddenly went downe to the sea, and tooke all the places of strength by the sea side, safely to lodge his campe in, and all the ports, creekes, and harbors for ships to lie in rode: so that what wind soeuer blew on the sky, it serued his turnẽ, to bring him either men, victuals, or money. *Cæsar* on the other side was so distressed both by sea and by land, that he was driuen to procure battell, and to assaile *Pompey* euen in his owne forts, to make him come out to fight with him: of whom most times he euer had the better in all skirmishes, saue once, when he was in danger to haue lost all his army. For *Pompey* had valiantly repulsed his men, and made them flie, and had slaine two thousand of them in the field: but he durst not enterpell mell with them into their campe, as they fled. Whereupon *Cæsar* sayd to his friends, that his enemie had won the victory that day, if he had knowne how to ouercome. This victory put *Pompeys* men in such courage, that they would needs hazard battell. And *Pompey* himselfe also though he wrote letters vnto strange kings, captaines, & cities of his confederacy, as if he had already won all: was yet afraid to fight another battell, thinking it better by tract of time, and distresse of victuals, to ouercome him. For *Cæsars* men being old and expert souldiers, and wont euer to haue the victory when they fought together: he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kind of way, to be driuen to often remouing of their campe from place to place, and still to fortifie and intrench themselues, and therefore that they would rather put it to aduenture out of hand, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that *Pompey* had before perswaded his men to be quiet, and not to stirre, perceiuing that after this last bickering, *Cæsar* being scanted with victuals

Pompey being at Berræa, traineth his souldiers.

Labienus forsaketh Cæsar, and goeth to Pompey.

Cicero followeth Pompey.

The clemency of Cæsar.

Cæsar comming out of Spaine, returned to Brundusium.

Pompey ouerthrew Cæsar.

victuals raiſed his campe, and departed thence to go into THESSALY, through the countrey of the ATHAMANIANS: then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cried, *Cæſar* is fled, let vs follow him. And others, let vs returne home againe into ITALY. And others alſo ſent their friends and ſeruants before to ROME, to hire them houſes neare the market plake: intending when they came thither to ſue for offices in the commonwealth. Some there were alſo that in a iollity would needs take ſhip, and ſaile into the Ile of LESBOS, vnto *Cornelia* (whom *Pompey* had ſent thither) to cary her that good newes, that the warre was ended. Thereupon aſſembling the Councell, *Africanus* thought it beſt to winne ITALIE, for that was the chiefeſt marke to be ſhot at in this warre: for whoſoeuer obtained that, had ſtraight all SICILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAINE, and GAVLE at commaundement. Furthermore, that it was a diſhonor to *Pompey* (which in reaſon ſhould touch him aboue all things) to ſuffer their countrey to be in ſuch cruell bondage and ſubiection vnto ſlaues and flatterers of tyrants, offering it ſelfe as it were into their hands. But *Pompey* neither thought it honourable for him, once againe to flie from *Cæſar*, and to make him follow him, ſith fortune had giuen him oportunity to haue *Cæſar* in chaſe: nor lawfull alſo before the gods, to forſake his father in law *Scipio*, and many other alſo that had bene Conſuls, diſperſed abroad in GREECE and THESSALIE, which ſhould immediatly fall into *Cæſars* hands, with all their riches & armies they had. Furthermore, he ſayd, that they had care inough for the city of ROME, which drew the warres farthеſt off from them: ſo as, they remaining ſafe and quiet at home (neither hearing nor feeling the miſerie of warres) might in the end peaceably receiue and welcome him home, that remained conquerour. With this determination, he marched forward to follow *Cæſar*, being determined not to giue him battell, but to beſiege him, and onely to compaſſe him in ſtill being neare vnto him, and ſo to cut him off from victuals. There was alſo another reaſon that made him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a ſpeech giuen out among the ROMAINE knights, that ſo ſoone as euer they had ouercome *Cæſar*, they muſt alſo bring *Pompey* to be a priuate man againe. Some ſay therefore, that *Pompey* would neuer afterwards imploy *Cato* in any great matters of weight in all this warre: for when he followed *Cæſar*, he left him to keepe his cariage by the ſea ſide, fearing that ſo ſoone as *Cæſar* were once ouercome, he would make him ſtraight alſo reſigne his authority. *Pompey* following *Cæſar* in this maner faire and ſoftly, they cried out vpon him, that he made no warre with *Cæſar*, but againſt his countrey and the Senate, becauſe he might be ſtill in authoritie: and that he would neuer leaue to haue them for his ſeruants and gard about him, which ſhould rule and command the world. Furthermore, *Domitius Ænobarbus*, calling him continually *Agamemnon*, and king of kings: made him much to be enuied. *Phaonius* alſo mocked him as much as the other, that ſpake moſt boldeſt: for he went crying vp and downe, My maiſters, I giue you warning, you are like to eate no THVSCVLAN figges this yeare. And *Lucius Afranius* alſo, he that had loſt the army which he had in SPAINE, and was alſo ſuſpected for a traytor, ſeeing *Pompey* then refuſed to come to battell: I maruell, ſayd he, that they which accuſe me, do not luſtily go to find him out, whom they call the marchant and common buyer of prouinces, to fight with him preſently? With theſe and many ſuch other lewd ſpeeches, they compelled *Pompey* in the end (who could not abide to be ill ſpoken of, and would not deny his friends any thing) to follow their vaine hope and deſires, and to forſake his owne wiſe determination: the which thing, no good ſhip-maiſter, and much leſſe a chiefe and ſoueraigne Captaine, ouer ſo many nations and ſo great armies, ſhould haue ſuffered and conſented vnto. Now, he that did alwayes commend the Phiſitians, that would not follow the fond deſire of the ſicke patients: was himſelfe contented to obey the worſt part of his armie, fearing their diſpleaſure, where their life or health ſtood in hazard. For who would thinke or iudge them to be wiſe men, and in their wits, who walking vp and downe their campe, did alreadie ſue to be Conſuls and Prætors? conſidering that *Spinther*, *Domitius*, and *Scipio*, were at ſtrife together, making friends to be high Biſhop (which office *Cæſar* had) as if they ſhould haue fought with *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, or with the king of the NABATHEIANS, which had camped by them, and not with *Cæſar* and his army: who had taken a thouſand townes by aſſault, had ſubdued aboue three hundred ſeuerall nations, and had wonne infinite battels of the GERMAINES and GAVLES, and was neuer ouercome: had alſo taken a million of men priſoners, and had likewiſe ſlaine ſo many at diuerſe battels. All this notwithſtanding, they of *Pompeys* ſide ſtill being importunate of him, and troubling him in this ſort: in fine, when they

Pompey followeth Cæſar into Theſſaly.

Pompey mocked of his owne ſouldiers.

Cæſars conqueſts.

were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they compelled *Pompey* to call a councell. There *Labienus*, Generall of the horſemen ſtanding vp, ſware before them all, that he would not re-
Labienus Generall of Pompeys horſemen. turne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flie. The like oath all the reſt did take.
Pompeys dreame before the battell of Pharſalia. The next night following, *Pompey* thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honour him, made a maruellous great clapping of their hands: and that he himſelfe did ſet foorth the temple of *Venus* the conquerour with many ſpoiles. This viſion partly put him in good courage, and partly againe made him doubt: for that he was afraid, becauſe *Cæſars* family was diſcended from this goddeſſe *Venus*, that his dreame did ſignifie, that he
VVonderfull noiſes heard in Pompeys camp. ſhould haue the honor of the victorie, with the ſpoiles he ſhould win of him. Beſides all this, there were ſudden and fearefull noiſes heard in his campe, without any apparant cauſe, that waked all the campe vpon it. At the fourth watch, when the watch is renewed in the morning, there was ſeene a maruellous great light ouer *Cæſars* campe, and they were all at reſt, which flamed like a burning torch, and fell into *Pompeys* campe. The which *Cæſar* himſelfe ſayd he ſaw, when he went to viſite the watch. At the breake of the day, *Cæſar* being determined to raiſe his campe, and to go to the city of SCOTVSA, as his ſouldiers were buſie about ouerthrowing of their tents, and ſending away their bagge and baggage before: there came ſcouts vnto him, that brought him word they ſaw a great deale of armour and weapon caried too and fro in their enemies campe, and heard a noiſe and buſtling beſides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After theſe came in other ſcouts, that brought word alſo that their voward was alreadie ſet in battell ray. Then *Cæſar* ſayd, that the day was now come they had longed for ſo ſore, and that they ſhould now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of victuals: and thereupon gaue order preſently that they ſhould put out the red coate of armes vpon his tent, which was the ſigne all the ROMAINES vſed to ſhew that they would fight. The ſouldiers ſeeing that out, left their cariage and tents, and with great ſhouts of ioy ranne to arme themſelues. The Captaines of euery band alſo, beſtowed euery man in ſuch place as he ſhould fight, and ſo they conueyed themſelues into battell ray, without any tumult or diſorder, as quietly, as
Pompeys army ſet in battell ray in Pharſalia. if they ſhould haue entred into a daunce. *Pompey* himſelfe led the right wing of his army againſt *Antony*. The middle of the battell he gaue vnto *Scipio* his father in law being right againſt *Domitius Caluinus*. The left wing alſo was led by *Lucius Domitius Ænobarbus*, the which was garded with men of armes, for all the horſemen were placed on that ſide, to diſtreſſe *Cæſar* if they could, that was directly againſt them: and to ouerthrow the tenth legion that was ſo much accounted of, being the valianteſt ſouldiers the enemie had in all his armie, amongſt the which
Cæſars order of fight. *Cæſar* did euer vſe to fight in perſon. *Cæſar* then ſeeing the left wing of his enemies ſo ſtrong with the gard of the horſemen, and being afraid of the brightneſſe of their armour: brought forward ſixe enſignes for ſupply, which he placed hard behind the tenth legion, commanding them that no man ſhould ſtirre, leaſt their enemies ſhould diſcouer them. And furthermore, when the horſemen of the enemies ſhould come to giue charge vpon them, that then they ſhould runne with ſpeed on the one ſide of the formoſt rancks, and not to throw their darts faire from them, as the valianteſt ſouldiers are wont to do, to come to the ſword the ſooner: but to throw them vpwards into their enemies eyes and faces. For, ſayd he, theſe braue fellowes and fine dauncers, will neuer abide to haue their faces marred. And this was *Cæſars* deuiſe at that time. *Pompey* being on horſebacke, rode vp and downe to conſider the ordinance of both battels: and perceiuing that his enemies ſhood ſtill in their ranckes, looking for the ſignall of battell, and that his owne battell on the other ſide waued vp and downe diſorderly, as men vnskilfull in warres: he was afraid they would flie before they were charged. Thereupon he ſtraightly commaunded them in the voward, that they ſhould ſteadily keepe their rankes, and ſtanding
Pompeys ordinance of his battell. cloſe together ſhold ſo defend themſelues, receiuing the charge of the enemy. But *Cæſar* diſliked
Cæſar miſliketh Pompeys ordinance. of that deuiſe, for thereby, ſayd he, the force of their blowes was leſſened, and in withholding them from giuing the charge, he not onely tooke away that courage which the aſſailant carieth with him comming with fury: but made them moreouer faint harted, in receiuing the charge
Battell betwixt Cæſar and Pompey in Pharſalia. of the enemies. In *Cæſars* army, there were about two and twentie thouſand fighting men: and in *Pompeys* army, ſomewhat aboue twiſe as many. Now, when the word of battell was giuen of either ſide, and that the trumpets did ſound the allarme: euerie man began to looke to himſelfe. But a few of the chiefeſt of the ROMAINES, and certaine GRECIANS that were there alſo out of the ſet battell, perceiuing the imminent daunger, began to bethinke them, to what paſſe

the

the ambition and wilfull contention betweene theſe two men, had brought the ſtate of Rome. For the weapons of kinſmen, the bands of brethren, the enſignes all alike, the flower of ſo many valiant men of one city, did ſerue for a notable example, do ſhew how mans nature prickt forward with couetouſneſſe, is quite blind and without reaſon. For if they could haue bene contented quietly to haue gouerned that which they had conquered: the greateſt and beſt part of the world, both by ſea & by land was ſubiect vnto them. Or otherwiſe, if they could not haue quenched their vnſatiable deſire of victory and triumph, they had occaſion of warre inough offered them againſt the Parthians and Germaines. Furthermore they had inough to do beſides to conquer Scythia, and the Indians: and withall, they had had an honeſt colour to haue cloaked their ambitious deſires, if it had bene but to haue brought the barbarous people to a ciuill life. For what horſmen of Scythia, or arrowes of Parthia, or riches of Indians, could haue abidden the power of threeſcore and ten thouſand Romaine ſouldiers, and ſpecially being led by two ſo famous Captaines, as *Pompey*, and *Cæſar*: whoſe names, theſe ſtrange and farre nations vnderſtood long before the name of the Romains: ſo great were their victories, hauing conquered ſo many wild and barbarous people. They both being then in armes the one againſt the other, not regarding their honour which made them ſo ambitious: did not ſpare their owne countrey, who had vntill that time remained vnuincible, both in fame an proweſſe. For, the alliance that was made betweene them, the loue of *Iulia*, and marying with her, was ſuſpected from the beginning to be but a deceit, and a pledge as it were of a conſpiracy made betweene them, for a priuate benefit, more then for any true friendſhip. Now when the fields of Pharsalia were couered ouer with men, with horſe and armor, and that the ſignall of battell was giuen on either ſide: the firſt man of *Cæſars* army that aduanced forward to giue charge, was *Caius Craſſinius*, Captaine of ſixſcore and fiue men, to performe a great promiſe which he had made vnto *Cæſar*. For *Cæſar*, when he came out of his tent in the morning, ſeeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the ſucceſſe of this battell? *Craſſinius* holding out his right hand vnto him, couragiouſly cried: Oh *Cæſar*, thine is the victory, and this day thou ſhalt commend me either aliue or dead. Then remembring theſe words, he brake out of the rankes, and many following after him, ran amongſt the middeſt of his enemies. Straight they came to the ſword, and made great ſlaughter. But he preſſing forward ſtill, one with a thruſt ran him through the mouth, that the ſwords point came through at his necke. Therupon *Craſſinius* being ſlaine, the battell was equall. *Pompey* did not make his left wing march ouer ſuddenly, but ſtayed, & caſt his eyes abroad to ſee what his horſemen would do, the which had already deuided their companies, meaning to compaſſe in *Cæſar*, and to make the ſmall number of horſmen which he had before him, to giue backe vpon the ſquadron of his footmen. On the other ſide, as ſoone as *Cæſar* had giuen the ſignall of battell, his horſemen retired backe a litle, and the fixe enſignes which he had placed ſecretly behind them (being three thouſand fighting men) ran ſuddenly to aſſaile the enemy vpon the flancke, and when they came neare vnto the horſemen, they threw the points of their darts vpwards according to *Cæſar* commaundement, and hit the young gentlemen full in their faces. They being vtterly vnskilfull to fight, and leaſt of all looking for ſuch manner of fight: had not the harts to defend themſelues, nor to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, and clapping their hands on their faces, ſhamefully fled. They being ouerthrowne, *Cæſars* men made no account to follow them, but went and gaue charge vpon the battell of footmen, in that place ſpecially where they had no gard of horſemen, whereby they might the eaſilier be compaſſed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flancke, and in the voward alſo by the tenth legion, perceiuing themſelues (contrary to their expectation) compaſſed about by their enemies, where they thought to haue enuironed them: they could make no longer reſiſtance. They alſo being likewiſe driuen to flie, when *Pompey* ſaw the duſt in the element, and coniectured the flying of his horſemen: what mind he was of then, it was hard to ſay. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was *Pompey* the great: for that he went ſtraight into his campe, and ſpake neuer a word to any man, rightly verifying *Homers* verſes to this effect:

Caius Craſſinius giueth the onſet of Cæſars ſide.

Craſſinius ſlaine.

Pompeys horſemen put to flight by Cæſar.

Pompeyes flying in the fields of Pharſalia.

But mighty Ioue who ſits aloft in yuorie chariot hie,
Strake Aiax with ſo great a feare, that Aiax by and by
Let fall his leatherne target, made of tough oxe hide ſeuen fold,
And ranne away, not looking backe, for all he was ſo bold.

In this estate *Pompey* entred into his tent, and sate him downe there a great while, and spake neuer a word: vntill such time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his campe. And then, he sayd no more, but, What, euen into our campe? and so rising vp, he put a gowne on his backe euen fit for his misfortune, and secretly stale out of the campe. The other legions also fled: and great slaughter was made of the tent keepers, and their seruants that garded the campe. For *Asinius Pollio* writeth (who was at that battell on *Cæsars* side) that there were slaine onely but sixe thousand souldiers. Howbeit at the taking of their campe, *Cæsars* souldiers then found plainely the madnesse and vanity of *Pompeys* men. For, all their tents and pauilions were full of nosegayes and garlands of mirtle, and their couches all couered with flowers, their tables full of bowles of wine, and men prepared ready to do sacrifice for ioy, rather then to arme themselues to fight. Thus went they to battell, caried away with this vaine and foolish hope. When *Pompey* was gone a litle way from his campe, he forsooke his horse, hauing a very few with him: and perceiuing that no man pursued him, he went on foote faire and softly, his head full of such thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might haue, who for foure and thirty yeares space together, was wont continually to cary victory away, and began then euen in his last cast, to proue what it was to flie, & to be ouercome: and who thought then with himselfe, how in one houres space he had lost the honor and riches which he had gotten in so many foughten fields and battels, whereby he was not long before followed and obeyed of so many thousand men of warre, of so many horsmen, and of such a great fleete of ships on the sea, and then to go as he did in such poore estate, and with so small a traine, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the city of Larissa, and comming to the vallie of Tempé: there being a thirst, he fell downe on his belly and dranke of the riuer. Then rising vp againe, he went his way thence and came to the sea side, and tooke a fishers cotage where he lay all night. The next morning by breake of the day, he went into a litle boat vpon the riuer, and tooke the free men with him that were about him: and as for the slaues, he sent them backe againe, and did counsell them boldly to go to *Cæsar*, and not to be affraid. Thus rowing vp and downe the shore side, in this litle boat, he spied a great ship of burden in the maine sea, riding at anker, which was ready to weigh anker, and to saile away. The maister of the ship was a Romaine, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with *Pompey*, yet knew him by sight very well. He was called *Peticius*, who had dreamed the night before, that he saw *Pompey* speake vnto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in pouerty and in misery. So, he had told this dreame vnto the mariners which sailed with him (as men commonly vse to do, specially when they dreame of such weightie matters, and being at leisure withall) and at the very instant, there was one of the mariners that told him, he saw a litle boate on the riuer rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shooke their cloakes at them, and held out their hands. Thereupon *Peticius* standing vp, knew *Pompey* straight, euen in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commaunded his mariners to let downe his boate, and gaue him his hand, calling him *Pompey* by his name, mistrusting (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he receiued him into his ship, and all those he would haue with him, and then hoised saile. With *Pompey* there were both the *Lentuli* and *Faonius*. Shortly after also, they perceiued king *Deiotarus* comming from the riuer to them, that beckened and made signes to receiue him: which they did. At supper time, the maister of the ship, made ready such meate as he had aboord. *Faonius* seeing *Pompey* for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of himselfe: ran vnto him, washed him, and annointed him, and afterwards continued still to waite vpon him, and to do such seruice about him, as seruants do to their maisters, euen to washing of his feete, and making ready of his supper. When a simple man saw him, that could no skill of seruice, he sayd:

Good gods, how euery thing becommeth noble men?

Pompey passing then by the city of Amphipolis, coasted from thence into the Ile of Lesbos, to go fetch his wife *Cornelia* and his sonne being then in the city of Mitylene. There hauing cast out his anker, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shore, and sent him into the citie to his wife: not according to her expectation, who was still put in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought vnto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the citie of Dyrrachium. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the heart so much

Asinius Pollio reporteth this battell.

The miserable state of Pompey.

Peticius dreame of Pompey.

Pompey imbarketh in Peticius ship a Romaine.

Pompey ariueth in the Isle of Lesbos, at the city of Mitylene.

much as to salute her, but letting her vnderstand rather by his teares then words, the great misfortune *Pompey* had: told her, she must dispatch quickly, if she would see *Pompey* with one ship onely, and none of his but borrowed. The young Ladie hearing these newes, fell downe in a sound before him, and neither spake nor stirred of long time: but after she was come to her selfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, she went with speed through the city vnto the sea side. There *Pompey* meeting her, tooke her in his armes, and embraced her. But she sinking vnder him, fell downe and said: Out alas, wo worth my hard fortune, not thine (good husband) that I see thee now brought to one poore ship, who before thou mariedst thy vnfortunat *Cornelia*, wert wont to saile these seas with fiue hundred shippes. Alas, why art thou come to see me, and why diddest thou not leaue me to cursed fate and my wicked destinie: sith my selfe is cause of all this thy euill? Alas, how happie a woman had I bene, if I had bene dead before I heard of the death of my first husband *Publius Crassus*, whom the wretched PARTHIANS slue? And how wise a woman had I bene, if (according to my determination) I had killed my selfe immediatly after him: where now I liue to bring yet this misfortune vnto *Pompey* the Great? It is reported that *Cornelia* spake these words, and that *Pompey* also answered her in this maner. Peraduenture, *Cornelia* mine, thou hast knowne a better fortune, which hath also deceiued thee, because she hath continued longer with me then her maner is. But since we are borne men, we must patiently beare these troubles, & proue fortune againe. For it is no impossible matter for vs again to come into prosperity out of this present misery, as to fal out of late prosperity into present calamity. When *Cornelia* heard him say so, she sent back into the city for her stuffe & family. The MITYLENIANS also came openly to salute *Pompey*, & prayed him to come into the city, & to refresh himselfe: but *Pompey* would not, & gaue them counsel to obey the conqueror, & not to feare any thing, for *Cæsar* was a iust man, and of a curteous nature. Then *Pompey* turning vnto *Cratippus* the Philosopher, who came among the citizens also to see him: made his complaint vnto him, & reasoned a litle with him about diuine prouidence. *Cratippus* curteously yeelded vnto him, putting him still in better hope, fearing lest he would haue growne too hote & troublesome, if he should haue holden him hard to it. For *Pompey* at the length might haue asked him, what prouidence of the gods there had bene in his doings? And *Cratippus* might haue answered him, that for the ill gouernment of the common wealth at ROME, it was of necessitie that it should fall into the hands of a soueraigne prince. Peraduenture *Cratippus* might then haue asked him: how & wherby *Pompey* wouldest thou make vs beleeue, if thou hadst ouercome *Cæsar*, that thou wouldest haue vsed thy good fortune better then he? But for diuine matters, refer them to the gods as it pleaseth thē. *Pompey* taking his wife and friends with him, hoisted saile, and landed no where, but compelled to take fresh acates and water. The first citie he came vnto, was ATTALIA in the country of PAMPHYLIA. Thither came to him certaine gallies out of CILICIA, and many souldiers also, insomuch he had a three score Senators of ROME againe in his company. Then vnderstanding that his army by sea was yet whole, and that *Cato* had gathered together a great number of his souldiers after the ouerthrow, whom he had transported with him into AFRICKE: he lamented, and complained vnto his friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, & not suffered him to helpe himselfe with his other force wherin he was the stronger: and that he kept not stil neare vnto his army by sea, that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently haue repaired to his power ready by sea, to haue resisted his enemy. To confesse a truth, *Pompey* committed not so great a fault in all this war, neither did *Cæsar* put foorth a better deuice, then to make his enemy fight farre from his armie by sea. Thus *Pompey* being driuen to attempt somewhat according to his small abilitie, he sent Ambassadors vnto the cities. To others, he went himselfe in person also to require mony, wherewith he manned and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the sodaine approach of his enemy, lest he should preuent him before he could put any reasonable force in readines for to resist him: he bethought himself what place he might best retire vnto for his most safetie. When he had considered of it, he thought that there was neuer a prouince of the ROMAINS that could saue and defend them. And for other strange realmes, he thought PARTHIA aboue all other, was the best place to receiue them into at that present (hauing so small power as they had) and that it was best able to helpe and aide them. Other of his counsell were of mind to go into AFRICKE, vnto king *Iuba*. But *Theophanes* LESBIAN said, he thought it a great folly, to leaue ÆGYPT which was but three daies sailing from thence, and king *Ptolomie*, (being but lately come to mans state, & bound vnto *Pompey* for the late friendship

The sorrow of Cornelia for Pompeys ouerthrow.

The meeting of Pompey & his vvife Cornelia.

The vvords of Cornelia vnto Pompey.

Pompeys answer vnto Cornelia.

Pompey reasoneth vvith Cratippus the Philosopher, about diuine prouidence.

Pompey ariueth at Attalia, in the countrie of Pamphylia.

Pompeys great error, and Cæsars craftie deuice.

Theophanes Lesbian perswaded Pompey to flie into AEgypt.

and fauour his father found of him) and to go put himſelfe into the hands of the PARTHIANS, the vileſt and vnfaithfulleſt nation in the world, and not to proue the modeſty of a ROMAINE, that had bene his father in law, whoſe proſperitie if he could haue indured, he might haue bene the chiefeſt man: and now to put himſelfe to *Arſaces* goodwill, who could not away with *Craſſus* when he liued. Further, he thought it an ill part alſo, for him to go carie his young wife of the noble houſe of *Scipio*, amongſt the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for them to vſe what villany and inſolencie they liſt to any. For, admit ſhe haue no villanie offered her by them: yet is it an vndecent thing, to thinke ſhe might haue bene diſhonoured, they hauing her in their power to do it. There was no perſwaſion (as they ſay) but this only that turned *Pompey* vnto Euphrates: for it ſeemeth that *Pompeys* counſell, and not his fortune, made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into ÆGYPT, he departed out of CYPRVS in a gally of SELEVCIA with his wife *Cornelia*. The reſidue of his traine imbarked alſo, ſome into gallies, and others into merchants ſhips of great burden, and ſo ſafely paſſed the ſea without daunger. When *Pompey* heard newes that king *Ptolomie* was in the city of PELVSIVM with his army, making warre againſt his ſiſter: he went thither, and ſent a meſſenger before vnto the king, to aduertiſe him of his arriuall, and to intreat him to receiue him. King *Ptolomie* was then but a young man, inſomuch as one *Pothinus* gouerned all the whole realme vnder him. He aſſembled a councell of the chiefeſt and wiſeſt men of the court, who had ſuch credit and authoritie as it pleaſed him to giue them. They being aſſembled, he cõmanded euery man in the kings name to ſay his mind touching the receiuing of *Pompey*, whether the king ſhould receiue him or not. It was a miſerable thing to ſee *Pothinus* an Eunuch of the kings, and *Theodotus* of CHIO, an hired ſchoolemaiſter to teach the young king Rhetoricke, and *Achillas* ÆGYPTIAN to conſult among themſelues what they ſhould do with *Pompey* the Great. Theſe were the chiefeſt counſellers of all his Eunuchs, and of thoſe that had brought him vp. Now did *Pompey* ride at anker vpon the ſhore ſide, expecting the reſolution of this councell: in the which the opinions of other were diuers, for ſome would not haue receiued him: other would that he ſhould be receiued. But the Rhetoritian *Theodotus* to ſhew his eloquence, perſwaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, ſaid he, if we receiue him, we ſhall haue *Cæſar* our enemie, and *Pompey* our Lord: and if we do deny him on the other ſide, *Pompey* will blame vs for refuſing of him, and *Cæſar* for not keeping of him. Therefore this ſhould be the beſt reſolution, to ſend to kill him: for thereby we ſhould win the goodwill of the one, and not feare the diſpleaſure of the other: and ſome ſay moreouer, that he added this mocke withall: A dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themſelues,, gaue *Achillas* commiſſion to do it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge aforetime vnder *Pompey*) and *Saluius* another Centurion alſo, with three or foure ſouldiers beſides, they made towards *Pompeys* gallie, about whom were at that time the chiefeſt of his traine, to ſee what would become of this matter. But when they ſaw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in princely ſhew and maner, nor nothing anſwerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, ſeeing ſo few men come to them in a fiſher boate: they began then to miſtruſt the ſmall account that was made of them, and counſelled *Pompey* to returne backe, and to launch againe into the ſea, being out of the daunger of the hurling of a dart. In the meane time, the fiſher boate drew neare, and *Septimius* roſe and ſaluted *Pompey* in the ROMAINE toung, by the name of Imperator, as much as ſoueraigne Captaine: and *Achillas* alſo ſpake to him in the Greeke tong, and bade him come into his boate, becauſe that by the ſhore ſide, there was a great deale of mud and ſand bankes, ſo that his gallie ſhould haue no water to bring him in. At the very ſame time, they ſaw a farre off diuers of the kings gallies, which were arming with all ſpeed poſſible, and all the ſhore beſides full of ſouldiers. Thus, though *Pompey* and his company wold haue altered their minds, they could not haue told how to haue eſcaped: and furthermore, ſhewing that they had miſtruſted them, then they had giuen the murtherer occaſion to haue executed his crueltie. So taking his leaue of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before his end: he commanded two Centurions to go downe before him into the ÆGYPTIANS boate, and *Philip* one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, with another ſlaue called *Scynes*. When *Achillas* reached out his hand to receiue him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and ſonne, and ſaid theſe verſes of *Sophocles* vnto them:

Pompey arriueth in Egypt and goeth to Peluſium.

Pothinus an Eunuch, and groome of the chamber to king Ptolomy, ruleth all AEgypt.

The deliberation of the AEgiptians, for the receiuing of Pompey.

Theodotus perſwaded them to kill Pompey.

A dead man biteth not.

Achillas appointed to kill Pompey.

How Pompey was receiued into AEgypt.

The man that into Court comes free,
Muſt there in ſtate of bondage be.

Theſe

These were the last words he spake vnto his people, when he left his owne gallie and went into the Æ GYPTIANS boate. The land being a great way off from his gally, when he saw neuer a man in the boate speake friendly vnto him, beholding *Septimius*, he said vnto him: Me thinks my friend I should know thee, for that thou hast serued with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head that it was true, but gaue him no answer, nor shewed him any curtesie. *Pompey* seeing that no man spake to him, tooke a litle booke he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration that he meant to make vnto king *Ptolomie*, and began to reade it. When they came neare the shore, *Cornelia* with her seruants and friends about her, stood vp in her ship in great feare, to see what should become of *Pompey*. So she hoped well, when she saw many of the kings people on the shore, comming towards *Pompey* at his landing, as it were to receiue and honour him. But euen as *Pompey* tooke *Philip* his hand to arise more easily, *Septimius* came first behind him and thrust him through with his sword. Next vnto him also, *Saluius* and *Achillas* drew out their swords in like manner. *Pompey* then did no more but tooke vp his gowne with his hands and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gaue him, only sighing a litle. Thus being nine and fiftie yeares old, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at anker in their ships, when they saw him murthered, gaue such a fearefull crie, that it was heard to the shore: then weying vp their ankers with speed, they hoisted saile, and departed their way, hauing wind at will that blew a lustie gale, as soone as they had gotten the maine sea. The Æ GYPTIANS which prepared to row after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and vnpossible to be ouertaken, they let them go. Then hauing striken off *Pompeys* head, they threw his body ouer boord, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. *Philip* his infranchised bondman remained euer by it, vntill such time as the Æ GYPTIANS had seene it their bellies full. Then hauing washed his body with salt water, and wrapped it vp in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in: he sought vpon the sands, and found at the length a peece of an old fisher boate, enough to serue to burne his naked bodie with, but not all fully out. As he was busie gathering the broken peeces of this boate together, thither came vnto him an old R OMAINE, who in his youth had serued vnder *Pompey*, and said vnto him: O friend, what art thou that preparest the funerals of *Pompey* the Great? *Philip* answered, that he was a bondman of his infranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not haue all this honor alone, I pray thee let me accompany thee in so deuout a deed, that I may not altogether repent me to haue dwelt so long in a strange countrie, where I haue abidden such miserie and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may haue this good hap, with mine hands to touch *Pompeys* bodie, and to helpe to burie the only and most famous Captaine of the R OMAINES. The next day after, *Lucius Lentulus* not knowing what had passed, comming out of C YPRVS, sailed by the shore side, and perceiued a fire made for funerals, and *Philip* standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But straight fetching a great sigh, alas, said he, perhaps it is *Pompey* the Great. Then he landed a litle, and was straight taken and slaine. This was the end of *Pompey* the Great. Not long after, *Cæsar* also came into Æ GYPT that was in great warres, where *Pompeys* head was presented vnto him: but he turned his head aside and would not see it, and abhorred him that brought it as a detestable murtherer. Then taking his ring wherewith he sealed his letters, whereupon was grauen a Lion holding a sword: he burst out a weeping. *Achillas* and *Pothinus* he put to death. King *Ptolomie* himselfe also, being ouerthrowne in battell by the riuer of Nilus, vanished away, and was neuer heard of after. *Theodotus* the Rhetoritian escaped *Cæsars* hands, and wandred vp and downe Æ GYPT in great miserie, despised of euery man. Afterwards *Marcus Brutus* (who slue *Cæsar*) conquering A SIA, met with him by chaunce, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly deuise, at the length slue him. The ashes of *Pompeys* bodie were afterwards brought vnto his wife *Cornelia*, who buried them in a towne of hers by the citie of A LBA.

Pompey the Great cruelly slaine as he landed.

The manlinesse and patience of Pompey at his death.

The funerals of Pompey.

Lucius Lentulus slaine.

Cæsar arriueth in AEgypt.

Pompeys ring.

The murtherers of Pompey put to death.

THE COMPARISON OF *Pompey with Ageſilaus.*

Howe Pompey and Ageſilaus came to their greatneſſe.

NOw that we haue declared vnto you the liues of *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*, let vs compare their manners and conditions together, which are theſe. Firſt, *Pompey* came to his honour and greatneſſe by his integritie, and ſo aduaunced himſelfe, and was a great aide vnto *Sylla*, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid thoſe tyrants out of ITALY, who held it in bondage. But *Ageſilaus* vſurped the kingdome of LACEDÆMON, againſt the law of gods and men, condemning *Leotychides* for a baſtard, whom his brother auowed to be his lawfull ſonne: and contemned beſides the oracle of the gods, which gaue warning of a lame king. Furthermore, *Pompey* did honour *Sylla* while he liued, and when he was dead, gaue his bodie honourable buriall in deſpite of *Lepidus*: and maried his daughter vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*. *Ageſilaus* contrarily did diſhonour *Lyſander* vpon light occaſion: but *Pompey* had done no leſſe for *Sylla*, then *Sylla* had done for him. *Lyſander* on the other ſide, had made *Ageſilaus* king of LACEDÆMON, and Lieutenant generall of all GREECE. Thirdly, the iniuries that *Pompey* did vnto the common weale, were done of neceſſitie to pleaſe *Cæſar* and *Scipio*, both of them his fathers in law. *Ageſilaus* alſo, to ſatisfie his ſonnes loue, ſaued *Sphodrias* life that had deſerued death, for the miſchiefe he had done the ATHENIANS: and he willingly alſo tooke part with *Phœbidas*, not ſecretly, but openly, becauſe he had broken the peace made with the THEBEANS. To conclude, what hurt *Pompey* did vnto the ROMAINES, either through ignorance, or to pleaſure his friends: the ſame did *Ageſilaus* vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, through anger and ſelfe-will, in renewing warre with the BOEOTIANS, vpon a full peace concluded. If we ſhall recken of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed: *Pompeys* fortune vnto the ROMAINES was vnlooked for. But *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to auoid the lame kingdome, though they knew it before. For though *Leotychides* had beene proued a baſtard ten thouſand times, yet had not the race of the *Eurityontides* failed, but they could haue found another lawfull king among them, that ſhould haue gone vpright: had not *Lyſander*, fauouring *Ageſilaus*, kept the true meaning of the oracle from the LACEDÆMONIANS. On the other ſide againe for matters of gouernment, there was neuer ſuch an excellent deuice found out, as was done by *Ageſilaus*, to helpe the feare and daunger the LACEDÆMONIANS were in, for thoſe that fled at the battell of LEVCTRES, when he counſelled them to let the law ſleepe for that day. Neither can any man match *Pompeys* with the like: who, to ſhew his friends what power he was of, did breake the lawes which himſelf had made. For *Ageſilaus* being driuen of neceſſitie to aboliſh the law, to ſaue the life of his citizens, found ſuch a deuice that the law was not hurtfull to the commonwealth, neither yet was put downe for feare it ſhould do hurt. I muſt needs commend this for a great vertue and ciuilitie in *Ageſilaus*, who ſo ſoone as he receiued the Scytala, (or ſcrole of parchment from the Ephori) returned into his countrie, and left the warre of ASIA. He did not

The faults of Ageſilaus and Pompey.

as

as *Pompey*, who made himselfe great to the benefite of the commonwealth, and for the commonwealths sake, did forsake such honour and so great authoritie, as neuer Captaine before him, but *Alexander* the Great, had the like in those parts. But now to other matter. Touching their battels and exploits in warres, the multitude of victories and triumphes that *Pompey* obtained, and the great armies that he led: *Xenophon* himselfe if he were aliue, could not compare *Agesilaus* victories vnto his: although for the singular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had liberty graunted him, to write and speake of *Agesilaus* what he thought good. Me thinkes also, there was great difference betwixt *Pompey* and *Agesilaus*, in their equitie and clemencie towards their enemies. For, whilest *Agesilaus* went about to conquer THEBES, and vtterly to race and destroy the citie of MESSINA, the one being an auncient citie of his countrey, and the other the capitall citie of BOEOTIA: he had almost lost his owne citie of SPARTA, for at the least he lost the commaundement and rule he had ouer the rest of GREECE. The other contrarily gaue cities vnto pyrates to dwell in, which were willing to chaunge their trade and manner of life: and when it was in his choice to leade *Tigranes* king of ARMENIA, in triumph at ROME, he chose rather to make him a confederate of the ROMAINES, saying, that he preferred perpetuall honour before one dayes glorie. But since it is reason we should giue the first place and honour of the discipline of warres, vnto a Captaine of the greatest skill and experience in warres: the LACEDÆMONIAN then leaueth the ROMAINE farre behind. For first of all *Agesilaus* neuer forsooke his citie, though it was besieged with three score and ten thousand men, and that there were very few within the same to defend it, the which also a litle before had bene ouerthrowne at the battell of LEVCTRES. And *Pompey* on the other side, hearing that *Cæsar* with fiue thousand footmen only had taken a town in ITALIE, fled from ROME in very great feare. And therin he cannot be excused of one of these two: either that he fled cowardly for so few men, or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conueyed his wife and children away, but he left all the rest without defence, and fled: where indeed he should either haue ouercome, valiantly fighting for defence of his countrey, or else haue receiued the conditions of peace which the conquerours should haue offered him. For he was a citizen and allied vnto him. And he that thought it an vntollerable thing, to prolong the tearme of his gouernment, or to graunt him a second Consulship: did now giue him oportunitie, suffering him to take the city of ROME, to say vnto *Metellus* the Tribune and the rest, that they were all his prisoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefest point of an excellent Captaine, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth himselfe the stronger, and also to keepe himselfe from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: *Agesilaus* excelling in that, did euer keepe himselfe inuincible. *Cæsar* also had great skill therein, to keepe himselfe from daunger being the weaker, and againe could tell how to compell *Pompey* to hazard battell, to his vtter destruction by land, where he was the weaker: and by this meanes he made himselfe Lord of the treasure, victuals, and also of the sea, which his enemies had in their hands, without fighting. That which they alledge in his excuse, is that which most doth condemne him, specially for so great and skilfull a Captaine. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of an armie may easily be brought from his wise and safe counsell, with rumour and tumult of a few fearefull men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonour for him if he did otherwise: yet were this no straunge matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for *Pompey* the Great, whose campe the ROMAINES called their countrey, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prætors and Consuls that gouerned at ROME, rebels and traitours to the commonwealth of ROME: who could excuse him (who was neuer seene commaunded by other then himselfe, but had bene alwaies chiefe Captaine and Generall in any war he made, and euer had the vpper hand) but that he was drawne on by the scoffes of *Faonius* & *Domitius*, to hazard battell, to endanger the whole Empire & liberty of ROME, only for feare they should call him king *Agamemnon*? Who, if he had so much regarded present infamie, he should haue fought from the beginning for the defence of the citie of ROME, and not to haue taken example of *Themistocles* pollicie by flying, & afterwards to thinke it a shame as he did, to lye in THESSALIE a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint thē the fields of Pharsalia for a Theater,, or close campe, of necessitie to fight which of them should haue the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Herauld to summon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must answer to his name, and come and fight, or else to loose the honour of the crowne vnto another. But there

Things done by Agesilaus and Pompey in warres.

Agesilaus lost the seigniorie of the Lacedæmonians.

Pompeys fault to forsake Rome.

A speciall point of a skilfull Captaine.

were infinite other fields and townes (and as a man would say the whole earth) which the commoditie of his armie by sea gaue him choice to conquer, if he would rather haue followed the steppes of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Marius*, of *Lucullus*, or of *Agesilaus* himselfe: who did patiently abide no lesse tumults within the citie selfe of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to summon him to come out to fight for all the rest of his countrey. And in ÆGYPT also, he did abide many false accusations against him, wherewith the king himselfe did burthen him, praying him alwaies to haue a litle patience. In fine, hauing followed the best counsell which he had determined with himselfe from the beginning, he saued the ÆGYPTIANS against their wils: and furthermore, he did not onely keepe the citie of SPARTA from so great a daunger, but did also set vp tokens of triumph in the same against the THEBANS, whereby he was not compelled at that time to leade them out to the slaughter, and besides that, gaue his citizens occasion to obtaine victorie afterwards. Hereupon *Agesilaus* was highly praised of them, whose liues he had saued against their wils. And *Pompey* contrarily was blamed by themselues through whom he had offended: yet some say, that he was deceiued by his father in law *Scipio*. For he meaning to keepe the most part of the money to himselfe which he had brought out of ASIA, did hasten and perswade *Pompey* to giue battell, telling him that there was no mony left. The which though it had bene true, a worthie Captaine should not so lightly haue bene brought into errour, vpon a false account, to hazard himselfe to loose all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore, for their iourneys into ÆGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with small honour, for moneys sake to serue the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make warre with the GRECIANS. Lastly, in that which we accuse the ÆGYPTIANS for *Pompeys* sake: for the like matter do they againe accuse *Agesilaus*. For the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he trusted: and *Agesilaus* forsooke them which trusted him, and went to the enemies, hauing brought aide to fight against them.

Agesilaus constanter then Pompey.

Pompey flying into AEgypt is excused.

The end of Pompeys life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Alexander the Great.

HAuing determined in this volume to write the life of king *Alexander*, and of *Iulius Cæsar*, that ouercame *Pompey*: hauing to speake of many things, I will vse none other preface, but onely desire the readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch diuers, chiefly in those their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remēber, that my intent is not to write histories, but only liues. For the noblest deeds do not alwaies shew mens vertues & vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport makes mens naturall dispositions and maners appeare more plaine, then the famous battels won, wherein are slaine ten thousand men, or the great armies, or cities won by siege or assault. For like as painters or drawers of pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and fauor of the countenance, in the which consisteth the iudgement of their maners and disposition: euen so they must giue vs leaue to seeke out the signes and tokens of the mind onely, and thereby shew the life of either of them, referring you vnto others to write the wars, battels, and other great things they did. It is certaine that *Alexander* was descended from *Hercules* by *Caranus*, and that of his mothers side, he came of the bloud of the *Æacides* by *Neoptolemus*. They say also, that king *Philip* his father when he was a young man, fell in fancie with his mother *Olympias*, which at that time also was a young maiden, and an orphan without father or mother, in the Isle of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both receiued into the mysterie and fraternity of the house of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in mariage of her brother *Arymbas*, with whose consent they were maried together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, & that withall, there was a great light fire that dispersed it selfe all about into diuers flames. King *Philip* her husband also, shortly after he was maried, dreamed that he did seale his wiues belly, and that the seale wherwith he sealed, left behind the print of a Lion. Certaine wisards and soothsayers, told *Philip* that this dreame gaue him warning to loooke straightly to his wife. But *Aristander* TELMESIAN answered againe, that it signified his wife was conceiued with child, for that they do not seale a vessell that hath nothing in it: and that she was with child with a boy, which should haue a Lions heart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay asleepe in her bed, there was seene a serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefest cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew *Philips* loue & kindnes from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he

The face sheweth mens maners and conditions.

The parentage of Alexander.

Olympias the wife of Philip king of Macedon.

Olympias dreame.

King Philips dreame.

Olympias serpent.

was wont to do: either for that he feared ſome charm or enchantment, or elſe for that he thought himſelfe vnmeete for her company, ſuppoſing her to be beloued of ſome god. Some do alſo report this after another ſort: as in this manner. That the women in thoſe parts of long time, haue bene cõmonly poſſeſt with the ſpirit of *Orpheus*, and the diuine fury of *Bacchus*, wherupon they are called Cleodones, & Mimallones (as much as warlike and fierce) & do many things like vnto the women of EDONIA & THRACIA, dwelling about the mountaine Æmus. Hereby it apppeareth, that this word Threskeuin (ſignifying in the Greek tong, too ſuperſtitiouſly giuen to the ceremonies of the gods) came from them. For *Olympias* aboue other women, louing to be inſpired with ſuch diuine madnes & furie, did celebrate her ſolemne ſacrifices with a certaine horrible and barbarous maner. For in theſe dances to *Bacchus*, ſhe caried a great number of tame ſnakes about her, the which gliding vpon the Iuie wherwith the women were dreſſed in thoſe ceremonies, & winding themſelues about the litle iauelins they had in their hands, and the garlands about their heads: thereby they made men the more afraid of them. Wherupon *Philip* after this dreame, ſent *Chæro* MEGALOPOLITAN vnto the oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, to inquire what it ſignified. Anſwer was giuen him, that he ſhould do ſacrifice vnto *Iupiter Hammõ*, & honor him aboue al gods: and that he had loſt one of his eyes, with the which he peeping in at a crany of his chamber dore, ſaw the god in forme of a ſnake lye by his wife. Furthermore, *Olympias* (as *Eratoſthenes* writeth) bidding her ſon farewel when he went to conquer ASIA, after ſhe had ſecretly told him alone, by whome he was begotten: ſhe prayed him to be valiant, and to ſhew himſelfe worthy his ſonne that begate him. Others tell alſo, that ſhe was angry with this report, ſaying: will *Alexander* neuer leaue to make me ſuſpected of *Iuno*? So it is, that *Alexander* was borne on the ſixth day of the moneth of Hecatombæon, (in Engliſh, Iune) which the MACEDONIANS call Lous. On the very ſame day, the temple of *Diana* in the city of EPHESVS was burnt, as *Hegeſias* MAGNESIAN doth witnes, whoſe cry and exclamation was ſo terrible & cold, that it was enough to haue quenched that fire. It is not to be wondred at, that *Diana* ſuffered her temple to be burnt, being like a midwife, buſie about *Alexanders* birth. But this is true, that all the Prieſts, Magitians and ſoothſayers, which were at that time in EPHESVS, iudging that this did prognoſticate ſome maruellous great misfortune to come, like men beſtraught of their wits, they ran vp and downe the city, ſmiting of their faces, and crying that ſome great plague and miſchiefe was borne that day vnto ASIA. Shortly after that king *Philip* had won the city of POTIDÆA, three meſſengers came to him the ſame day that brought him great newes. The firſt, that *Parmenio* had won a notable battell of the ILLYRIANS: the ſecond, that his horſe onely wan the bell and prize at the Olympian games: and the third, that his wife had brought him a ſonne called *Alexander*. *Philip* being maruellous glad to heare theſe newes, the Soothſayers did make his ioy yet greater: aſſuring him that his ſonne which was borne with three victories all together, ſhould be inuincible. Now for his ſtature and perſonage, the ſtatues and images made of him by *Lyſippus* do beſt declare it, for that he would be drawne of no man but him onely. Diuerſe of his ſucceſſours and friends did afterwards counterfeit his image, but that excellent workeman *Lyſippus* onely, of all other the chiefeſt, hath perfectly drawne and reſembled *Alexanders* manner of holding his necke, ſomewhat hanging downe towards the left ſide, and alſo the ſweet looke and caſt of his eyes. But when *Apelles* painted *Alexander*, holding lightning in his hand, he did not ſhew his freſh colour, but made him ſomewhat blacke, and ſwarter then his face indeede was: for naturally he had a very faire white colour mingled alſo with red, which chiefly appeared in his face and in his breaſt. I remember I read alſo in the commentaries of *Ariſtoxenus*, that his skin had a maruellous good ſauour, and that his breath was very ſweet: inſomuch that his body had ſo ſweet a ſmell of it ſelfe, that all the apparell he wore next vnto his body, tooke thereof a paſſing delightfull ſauour, as if it had bene perfumed. And the cauſe hereof peraduenture might be the very temperature and conſtitution of his body, which was hote and burning like fire. For *Theophraſtus* is of opinion, that the ſweet ſauor cometh by meanes of the heat that drieth vp the moiſture of the body. By which reaſon alſo it appeareth, that the drie and hote countries parched with heat of the Sun, are thoſe that deliuer vnto vs the beſt ſpices: becauſe that the Sunne drieth vp the moiſture of the outward parts, as a matter of corruption. This naturall heate that *Alexander* had, made him (as it appeareth) to be giuen to drinke, & to be haſtie. Euen from his childhood they ſaw that he was giuen to be chaſt. For though otherwiſe he was very hot & haſtie, yet was he hardly moued with luſt or pleaſure of the body, & wold moderatly vſe it. But on the other ſide, the ambitiõ & deſire he

The birth of Alexander. The temple of Diana burnt at Epheſus. VVonderfull things ſeene at the birth of Alexander.

Alexanders ſtature and perſonage.

Alexanders body had a maruellous ſweet ſauour.

Alexander coueted honor.

he had of honor, ſhewed a certaine greatneſſe of mind and noble courage, paſſing his yeares. For he was not (as his father *Philip*) deſirous of all kind of glorie: who like a Rhetoritian had a delight to vtter his eloquence, and ſtamped in his coines, the victories he had wonne at the Olympian games, by the ſwift running of his horſe and coaches. For when he was asked one day (becauſe he was ſwift of foot) whether he would aſſay to run for victorie at the Olympian games: I could be content, ſaid he, ſo I might run with kings. And yet to ſpeak generally, he miſliked all ſuch cõtention for games. For it ſeemeth that he vtterly miſliked all wreſtling & other exerciſe for priſe, where men did vſe all their ſtrength: but otherwiſe he himſelfe made certaine feſtiuall daies and games of priſe for common ſtage-players, muſitians and ſingers, and for the very Poets alſo. He delighted alſo in hunting of diuers kinds of beaſts, & playing at the ſtaffe. Ambaſſadors being ſent on a time from the king of PERSIA, whileſt his father was in ſome iourney out of his realme: *Alexander* familiarly entertaining of them, ſo wan them with his curteous entertainment, (for that he vſed no childiſh queſtions vnto them, nor asked thẽ trifling matters, but what diſtance it was from one place to another, and which way they went into the high countries of ASIA, and of the king of PERSIA himſelfe, how he was towards his enemies, and what power he had) that he did rauiſh them with delight to heare him, inſomuch that they made no more account of *Philips* eloquence and ſharpe wit, in reſpect of his ſons courage and noble mind, to attempt great enterpriſes. For when they brought him newes that his father had taken ſome famous citie, or had won ſome great battell, he was nothing glad to heare it, but would ſay to his play-fellowes: ſirs, my father will haue all, I ſhall haue nothing left me to conquer with you, that ſhall be ought worth. For he delighting neither in pleaſure nor riches, but only in valiantnes and honour, thought that the greater conqueſts and realmes his father ſhould leaue him, the leſſe he ſhould haue to do for himſelfe. And therfore, ſeeing that his fathers dominions and Empire increaſed daily more & more, perceiuing all occaſion taken from him to do any great attempt: he deſired no riches nor pleaſure, but wars & battels, and aſpired to a ſigniorie where he might win honor. He had diuers men appointed him (as it is to be ſuppoſed) to bring him vp: as ſchoolemaſters, gouernors, & grooms of his chamber to attend vpon him: and among thoſe, *Leonidas* was the chiefeſt man that had the gouernment and charge of him, a man of a ſeuere diſpoſition, and a kinſman alſo vnto the queene *Olympias*. He miſliked to be called a maiſter or tutor, though it be an office of good charge, whereupon the others called him *Alexanders* gouernour, becauſe he was a noble man, and allied to the Prince. But he that bare the name of his ſchoolemaſter, was *Lyſimachus* an ACARNANIAN borne, who had no other manner of ciuility in him, ſauing that he called himſelfe *Phœnix*, *Alexander Achilles*, and *Philip Peleus*: and therefore he was well thought of, and was the ſecond perſon next vnto *Leonidas*. At what time *Philonicus* THESSALIAN had brought *Bucephall* the horſe to ſell vnto king *Philip*, asking thirteene talents, they went into the field to ride him. The horſe was found ſo rough and churliſh, that the riders ſaid he would neuer do ſeruice, for he would let no man get vp on his backe, nor abide any of the Gentlemens voices about king *Philip*, but would yerke out at them. Therupon, *Philip* being afraid, commanded them to cary him away as a wild beaſt, and altogether vnprofitable: the which they had done, had not *Alexander* that ſtood by ſaid: O gods, what a horſe do they turne away, for lacke of skill and heart to handle him! *Philip* heard what he ſaid, but held his peace. *Alexander* oft repeating his words, ſeeming to be ſory that they ſhould ſend backe the horſe againe: why, ſaid *Philip*, doſt thou controll them that haue more experience then thou, & that know better then thou how to handle a horſe? *Alexander* anſwered, and yet me thinkes I ſhould handle him better then all they haue done. But if thou canſt not, no more then they, replied *Philip*, what wilt thou forfeit for thy folly? I am content (quoth *Alexander*) to ieopard the price of the horſe. Euery man laughed to heare his anſwer; and the wager was laid between them. Then ran *Alexander* to the horſe, & tooke him by the bridle: and turned him towards the Sun. It ſeemed that he had marked (as I ſuppoſe) how mad the horſe was to ſee his owne ſhadow, which was euer before him in his eye, as he ſtirred too and fro. Then *Alexander* ſpeaking gently to the horſe, and clapping him on the backe with his hand, till he had left his furie and ſnorting: ſoftly let fall his cloke from him, and lightly leaping on his backe, got vp without any danger, and holding the reines of the bridle hard, without ſtriking or ſtirring the horſe, made him to be gentle enough. Then when he ſaw that the furie of the horſe was paſt, and that he began to gallop, he put him to his full career, and laid on ſpurs and voice a good. *Philip* at the firſt with feare beholding his ſons agilitie, leſt he ſhould take ſome hurt, ſaid neuer a word: but

The noble mind of Alexander.

Leonidas the gouernor of Alexander.

Bucephall Alexanders horſe.

The agilitie of Alexander in taming the vvildneſſe of Bucephall the horſe.

when he ſaw him readily turne the horſe at the end of his career, in a brauery for that he had done, all the lookers on gaue a ſhout for ioy. The father on the other ſide (as they ſay) fell a weeping for ioy. And when *Alexander* was lighted from the horſe, he ſaid vnto him kiſſing his head: O ſonne, thou muſt needs haue a realme that is meet for thee, for MACEDON will not hold thee. Furthermore, conſidering that of nature he was not to be won by extremitie, and that by gentle meanes and perſwaſion he could make him do what he would: he euer ſought rather to perſwade then commaund him in any thing he had to do. Now *Philip* putting no great affiance in his ſchoolemaiſters of muſicke and humanitie, for the inſtruction and education of his ſonne, whom he had appointed to teach him, but thinking rather that he needed men of greater learning then their capacities would reach vnto: and that as *Sophocles* ſaith,

Philip propheciеth of his ſon Alexander.

He needed many reines, and many bits at once:

He ſent for *Ariſtotle* (the greateſt Philoſopher in his time, and beſt learned) to teach his ſon, vnto whom he gaue honorable ſtipend. For *Philip* hauing won & taken before, the city of STAGIRA, where *Ariſtotle* was borne: for his ſake he built it againe, and repleniſhed it with inhabitants which fled away, or otherwiſe were in bondage. He appointed thē for a ſchoolehouſe and dwelling place, the pleaſant houſe that is by the city of MIEZA. In that place are yet ſeene ſeats of ſtone which *Ariſtotle* cauſed to be made, and cloſe walks to walke in the ſhadow. It is thought alſo, that *Alexander* did not only learne of *Ariſtotle*, morall Philoſophie & humanitie, but alſo he heard of him, other more ſecret, hard and graue doctrine, which *Ariſtotles* ſcholers do properly call Acroamata, or Epoptica, meaning things ſpeculatiue, which requireth the maiſters teaching to vnderſtand them, or elſe are kept frō cōmon knowledge: which ſciences, they did not cōmonly teach. *Alexander* being paſſed into ASIA, and hearing that *Ariſtotle* had put out certaine bookes of that matter: for the honors ſake of Philoſophy, he wrote a letter vnto him, ſomewhat too plaine, and of this effect. *Alexander* vnto *Ariſtotle* greeting. Thou haſt not done well to put foorth the Acroamaticall ſciences. For wherein ſhall we excell other, if thoſe things which thou haſt ſecretly taught vs, be made common to all? I do thee to vnderſtand, that I had rather excell others in excellencie of knowledge, then in greatnes of power. Farewell. Whereunto *Ariſtotle* to pacifie this his ambitious humor, wrote vnto him againe, that theſe bookes were publiſhed, and not publiſhed. For to ſay truly, in all his treatiſes which he called μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ, there is no plain inſtruction profitable for any man, neither to picke out by himſelfe, nor yet to be taught by any other, then *Ariſtotle* himſelfe, or his ſcholers. So that it is written as a memoriall for thē that haue bene entred and brought vp in the Peripatеticke ſect & doctrine. It ſeemeth alſo, that it was *Ariſtotle* aboue all other, that made *Alexander* take delight to ſtudy Phiſicke. For *Alexander* did not onely like the knowledge of ſpeculation, but would exerciſe practiſe alſo, & helpe his friends when they were ſicke: & made beſides certaine remedies, & rules to liue by: as appeareth by his letters he wrote, that of his owne nature he was much giuen to his booke, & deſired to reade much. He learned alſo the Iliades of *Homer* of *Ariſtotles* correctiō, which they call τὴν ἐκ τοῦ νάρθηκος the corrected, as hauing paſſed vnder the rule: & laid it euery night vnder his beds head with his dagger, calling it (as *Oneſicrates* writeth) the inſtitution of martiall diſcipline. And when he was in the high countries of ASIA, where he could not readily come by other bookes, he wrote vnto *Harpalus* to ſend them to him. *Harpalus* ſent him the hiſtories of *Philiſtus*, with diuers tragedies of *Eurypides*, *Sophocles*, and *Æſchylus*: & certaine hymnes of *Teleſtus* & *Philoxenus*. *Alexander* did reuerence *Ariſtotle* at the firſt, as his father, & ſo he tearmed him: becauſe from his naturall father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to liue. But afterwards he ſuſpected him ſomewhat, yet he did him no hurt, neither was he ſo friendly to him as he had bene: whereby men perceiued that he did not beare him the goodwill he was wont to do. This notwithſtanding, he left not that zeale and deſire he had to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, which he had learned from his youth, and ſtill continued with him. For he ſhewed diuerſe teſtimonies thereof. As the honour he did vnto *Anaxarchus* the Philoſopher. The fiftie talents which he ſent vnto *Xenocrates*, *Dandamis*, and *Calanus*: of whom he made great account. When king *Philip* made warre with the BIZANTINES, *Alexander* being but ſixteene yeares old, was left his Lieutenant in MACEDON, with the cuſtodie and charge of his great ſeale: at what time he alſo ſubdued the MEDARIANS which had rebelled againſt him, and hauing won their citie by aſſault, he draue out the barbarous people, and made a Colonie of it of ſundrie nations, and called it ALEXANDROPOLIS, to ſay, the citie of *Alexander*. He was with his father at the battell of CHÆRONEA againſt the GRECIANS, where it was reported,

Ariſtotle vvas Alexanders ſchoolemaiſter. Ariſtotle borne in the citie of Stagira.

An Epiſtle of Alexander vnto Ariſtotle.

Alexander the Great practiſed Phiſicke. Some thinke that this place ſhold be meant of the rich coffer, that vvas found among king Darius iewels, in the vvhich Alexander vvould haue all Homers vvorks kept.

Alexanders firſt ſouldierfare.

The city of Alexandropolis.

reported, that it was he that gaue charge firſt of all vpon the holy band of the THEBANS. Furthermore, there was an old oke ſeene in my time, which the countrimen commonly call *Alexanders* oke, becauſe his tent or pauilion was faſtened to it: and not farre from thence is the charnell houſe, where thoſe MACEDONIANS were buried that were ſlaine at the battell. For theſe cauſes, his father *Philip* loued him very dearely, and was glad to heare the MACEDONIANS call *Alexander* king, and himſelfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fel out in his court afterwards by reaſon of *Philips* new mariages and loues, bred great quarrell and ſtrife amongſt the women: for the miſchiefe of diſſention and iealouſie of women, doth ſeparate the harts of kings one from another, whereof was chiefeſt cauſe, the ſharpeneſſe of *Olympias*, who being a iealous woman, fretting, and of a reuenging mind, did incenſe *Alexander* againſt his father. But the chiefeſt cauſe that prouoked *Alexander*, was *Attalus* at the mariage of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* maried a maiden, falling in fancie with her when himſelfe was paſt mariage. This was the matter: *Attalus* being vncle vnto this *Cleopatra*, fell drunke at the mariage, and hauing in his cups, he perſwaded the MACEDONIANS that were at the feaſt, to pray to the gods, that they might haue a lawfull heire of *Philip* and *Cleopatra*, to ſucceed him in the kingdome of MACEDON. *Alexander* being in a rage therwith threw a cup at his head, and ſaid vnto him: Why, traitor, what am I: doſt thou take me for a baſtard? *Philip* ſeeing that, roſe from the boord, and drew out his ſword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and wine, he fell downe on the ground. Then *Alexander* mocking him, Lo, ſaid he to the MACEDONIANS, here is the man that prepared to go out of EVROPE into ASIA, and ſtepping onely from one bed to another, ye ſee him laid along on the ground. After this great inſolencie, he tooke his mother *Olympias* away with him, and carying her into his country of EPIRVS, he left her there, and himſelfe afterwards went into ILLYRIA. In the meane time, *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN, a friend of king *Philips*, and very familiar with him, came to ſee him. *Philip* when he had curteouſly welcommed him, asked him how the GRECIANS did agree together. Truly, O king, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the GRECIANS, when your owne court is ſo full of quarrell and contention. Theſe words nipped *Philip* in ſuch ſort, and cauſed him to know his fault, that through *Demaratus* meanes, whom he ſent to perſwade *Alexander* to returne, *Alexander* was made to come backe againe. Now when *Pexodorus*, a Prince of CARIA (deſiring for neceſſities ſake, to enter in league and friendſhip with *Philip*) offered his eldeſt daughter in mariage vnto *Aridæus* king *Philips* ſon, and had ſent *Ariſtocritus* ambaſſador into MACEDON for that purpoſe: the friends of *Alexander* and his mother, began againe to inueigle him with new reports and ſuſpitions, how *Philip* by this great mariage would aduaunce *Aridæus* to his vtter vndoing, and leaue him his heire in the kingdome. *Alexander* being netled therewith, ſent one *Theſſalus* a player of tragedies into CARIA to *Pexodorus*: to perſwade him to leaue *Aridæus*, that was a baſtard and a foole, and rather to make alliance with *Alexander*. This offer pleaſed *Pexodorus* far better, to haue *Alexander* his ſon in law, then *Aridæus*. *Philip* vnderſtanding this, went himſelf into *Alexanders* chamber, taking *Philotas* with him (the ſon of *Parmenio*) one of his familiars, and bitterly tooke vp *Alexander*, telling him that he had a baſe mind, and was vnworthy to be left his heire after his death, if he would caſt himſelfe away, marying the daughter of a CARIAN, that was a ſlaue and ſubiect of a barbarous king. Thereupon he wrote letters vnto CORINTH, that they ſhould ſend *Theſſalus* bound vnto him. And furthermore, he baniſhed out of MACEDON, *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius* and *Ptolomie*, his ſonnes companions: whom *Alexander* afterwards called home againe and placed thē in great authoritie about him. Shortly after, *Pauſanias* ſuſtaining villanie by the counſell and commandement of *Attalus* and *Cleopatra*, crauing iuſtice of *Philip*, & finding no amends he conuerted all his anger againſt him, and for ſpite ſlue him himſelfe. Of this murther, moſt men accuſed Queene *Olympias*, who (as it is reported) allured this yong man, hauing iuſt cauſe of anger to kill him. And *Alexander* alſo went not cleare from ſuſpition of this murther. For ſome ſay, that *Pauſanias* after this villanie was done him, complained vnto *Alexander*, and told him how he had bene abuſed: who recited theſe verſes to him of *Eurypides*, in the tragedie of *Medea*, where ſhe ſaid in anger, that ſhe would be reuenged:

Both of the bridegroome and the bride,
And of the father in law.

Notwithſtanding, afterwards he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made, and all them to be ſeuerely puniſhed that were of the conſpiracie: and was angrie alſo that his mother *Olympias* had cruelly

The quarels of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.

Alexander mocketh Philip his father.

Aridæus king Philips baſtard, begotten of a common ſtrumpet, Philima.

Philip king of Macedon, ſlaine by Pauſanias.

The beginning of Alexanders raigne.

slaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be king of MACEDON at twentie yeares of age, and found his realme greatly enuied and hated of dangerons enemies, and euery way full of danger. For the barbarous nations that were neare neighbours vnto MACEDON, could not abide the bondage of strangers, but desired to haue their naturall kings. Neither had *Philip* time enough to bridle and pacifie GREECE, which he had conquered by force of armes: but hauing a litle altered the gouernments, had through his insolencie left them all in great trouble and ready to rebell, for that they had not long bene acquainted to obey. Therupon *Alexanders* councell of MACEDON, being afraid of the troublesom time, were of opinion, that *Alexander* should vtterly forsake the affaires of GREECE, and not to follow them with extremitie, but that he should seeke to win the barbarous people by gentle meanes, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedie these new stirs. But he far otherwise determined to stablish his safetie by courage and magnanimitie: perswading himselfe, that if they saw him stoope and yeeld at the beginning, how litle so euer it were, euery one would be vpon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous people, inuading them sodainly with his armie, by the riuer of DANVBY, where in a great battell he ouerthrew *Syrmus*, king of the TRIBALLIANS. Furthermore, hauing intelligence that the THEBANS were reuolted, and that the ATHENIANS also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his armie towards the streight of Thermopiles, saying that he would make *Demosthenes* the Orator see (who in his orations, whilst he was in ILLYRIA, and in the country of the TRIBALLIANS, called him child) that he was growne a stripling passing through THESSALIE, and should find him a man before the walles of ATHENS. When he came with his armie vnto the gates of THEBES, he was willing to giue them of the citie occasion to repent them: and therefore only demaunded *Phœnix* and *Prothytes*, authors of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by trumpet, pardon and safetie vnto all them that would yeeld vnto him. The THEBANS on the other side, demanded of him *Philotas* and *Antipater*, two of his chiefest seruants, & made the crier proclaime in the city, that all such as would defend the liberty of GREECE should ioyne with them. Then did *Alexander* leaue the MACEDONIANS at liberty to make war with all crueltie. The THEBANS also fought with greater courage & desire then they were able, considering that their enemies were many against one. And on the other side also, when the garrison of the MACEDONIANS which were within the castell of CADMÆA, made a sallie vpon them, and gaue them charge in the rereward: then they being enuironed of all sides, were slaine in maner euery one of them, their citie taken, destroyed, and razed euen to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the people of GREECE afraid by example of this great calamitie & miserie of the THEBANS, to the end none of thē should dare from thencefoorth once to rise against him. He would cloke this crueltie of his vnder the complaints of his confederates, the PHOCIANS & PLATEIANS: who complaining to him of the iniuries the THEBANS had offred, could not deny them iustice. Notwithstanding, excepting the priests, and the religious, and all such as were friends vnto any of the Lords of MACEDON, all the friends and kinsmen of the Poet *Pindarus*, & all those that had disswaded them which were the rebels: he sold all the rest of the city of THEBES for slaues, which amounted to the number of thirtie thousand persons, besides thē that were slaine at the battell, which were sixe thousand mo. Now amongst the other miseries & calamities of the poore city of THEBES, there were certain THRACIAN souldiers, who hauing spoiled and defaced the house of *Timoclea*, a vertuous lady and of noble parentage, they deuided her goods among them: and their Captaine hauing rauished her by force, asked her, whether she had any where hidden any gold or siluer. The lady told him she had. Then leading him into her garden, she brought him vnto a wel: where she said she had cast al her iewels and precious things, when she heard the city was taken. The barbarous THRACIAN stooped to looke into the well: she standing behind him, thrust him in, & then threw stones enough on him, and so killed him. The souldiers when they knew it, tooke & and bound her, and so caried her vnto *Alexander*. When *Alexander* saw her countenance, & marked her gate: he supposed her at the first to be some great lady, shē followed the souldiers with such a maiestie and boldnesse. *Alexander* then asking her what she was: she answered, that she was the sister of *Theagenes*, who fought a battell with king *Philip* before the citie of CHÆRONEA, where being generall he was slaine, valiantly fighting for the defence of the libertie of GREECE. *Alexander* wondering at her noble answer and couragious deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely let her go whither she wold. He made league also with the ATHENIANS, though they were very

Alexander ouercame Syrmus king of the Triballians

Thebes vvonne and razed by Alexander.

A noble act of Timoclea, a noble vvomā of Thebes.

sone

sory for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemne feast of their mysteries being come, they left it off, mourning for the THEBANS: courteously entertaining all those, that flying from THEBES came to them for succour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of Lyons: or because that after so great an example of cruelty, he would shew a singular clemency againe: he did not only pardon the ATHENIANS of all faults committed, but did also counsell them to looke wisely to their doings, for their city one day should command all GREECE, if he chanced to dye. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt so cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke vpon it was cause that he afterwards shewed himselfe more mercifull vnto diuerse others. Afterwards also he did blame the fury of *Bacchus*, who to be reuenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the table being drunke; and the MACEDONIANS also to refuse him to go any further to conquer the INDIANS, which was an imperfection of his enterprise, and a minishing also of his honour. Besides, there was neuer THEBAN afterwards, that had escaped the furie of his victory, and did make any petition to him, but he had his sute. Thus was the state of THEBES as you haue heard. Then the GRECIANS hauing assembled a generall councell of all the states of GREECE within the straights of PELOPONNESVS: there it was determined that they would make warre with the PERSIANS. Whereupon they chose *Alexander* Generall for all GREECE. Then diuerse men comming to visite *Alexander*, as well philosophers, as gouernours of states, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that *Diogenes Sinopian* (who dwelt at CORINTH) would likewise come as the rest had done: but when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the suburbes of CORINTH, at a place called CRANINM, he went himselfe vnto him, and found him layd all along in the Sunne. When *Diogenes* saw so many comming towards him, he sate vp a litle, and looked full vpon *Alexander*. *Alexander* courteously spake vnto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thing. Yea sayd he, that I do: that thou stand out of my Sunne a litle. *Alexander* was so well pleased with this aunswer, and maruelled so much at the great boldnesse of this man, to see how small account he made of him: that when he went his way from him, *Alexanders* familiars laughing at *Diogenes*, and mocking him, he told them: Maisters say what you list, truly if I were not *Alexander*, I would be *Diogenes*. *Alexander* being desirous to heare what the Oracle of *Apollo* DELPHIAN would say vnto him touching the successe of his iourney into ASIA: he went vnto the city of DELPHES. It chanced so, that he came thither in the dayes which they call vnfortunate, on which dayes no man vsed to aske *Apollo* any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first vnto the Nunne which pronounced the Oracles to pray her to come to him. But she refused to come, alledging the custome which forbad her to go. Thereupon, *Alexander* went thither himselfe in person, and brought her out by force into the temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs haue his will: told him, My sonne, for that I see thou art inuincible. *Alexander* hearing that, sayd he desired no other Oracle, and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was euen ready to go on with his voyage, he had diuerse signes and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an image of the Poet *Orpheus* made of cypres, in the city of LEBETHRES, in those dayes did sweate marueilously. Many men fearing that signe, *Aristander* the soothsayer bad *Alexander* be of good cheare, and hope well, for he should obtaine noble victories that should neuer be forgotten, the which should make the poets and musitians sweate to write and sing them. Then, for his army which he led with him, they that do set downe the least number, say that they were thirty thousand footmen, and fiue thousand horsmen: & they that say more, do write, foure and thirty thousand footmen, and foure thousand horsemen. *Aristobulus* writeth, that *Alexander* had no more but three score and ten talents to pay his souldiers with: and *Duris* writeth, that he had no more prouision of victuals, then for thirty dayes onely. And *Onesicritus* sayth moreouer, that he did owe two hundred talents. Now, notwithstanding that he began this warre with so small ability to maintaine it, he would neuer take ship before he vnderstood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with him, and before he had giuen vnto some, lands, and vnto other a towne, and to others againe, the custome of some hauen. Thus by his bounty, hauing in maner spent almost the reuenues of the crowne of MACEDON, *Perdiccas* asked him: My Lord, what will you keepe for your selfe? Hope, sayd he. Then, quoth *Perdiccas* againe, we will also haue some part, since we go with you: and so refused the reuenew which the king had giuen him for his pension. Many others did also the like. But such as were contented to take his liberalitie, or would aske him any thing, he

Alexander chosen Generall of all Greece.

Alexanders talke with Diogenes.

Wonderfull signes appearing vnto Alexander before his iourney into Asia.

Alexanders army in Asia.

The liberality of Alexander.

gaue them very franckly, and in ſuch liberality ſpent all the reuenew he had. With this deſire and determination, he went on to the ſtraight of HELLESPONT, and going to the city of ILIVM he did ſacrifice vnto *Diana*, and made funerall effuſions vnto the demy gods (to wit, vnto the princes which died in the warre of TROIA, whoſe bodies were buried there) and ſpecially vnto *Achilles*, whoſe graue he annointed with oile, and ranne naked round about it with his familiars, according to the ancient cuſtome of funerals. Then he couered it with noſegayes and flowers, ſaying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while he liued had a faithfull friend, and after his death an excellent herauld to ſing his praiſe. When he had done, and went vp and downe the city to ſee all the monuments and notable things there: one asked him, if he would ſee *Paris* harpe. He anſwered againe, he would very faine ſee *Achilles* harpe, who played and ſung vpon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meane time, *Darius* king of PERSIA, hauing leauied a great army, ſent his Captaines and Lieutenants to tary *Alexander* at the riuer of GRANICVS. There was *Alexander* to fight of neceſſity, being the onely barre to ſtop his entry into ASIA. Moreouer, the Captaines of the councell about him, were afraid of the depth of this riuer, and of the height of the banke on the other ſide, which was very high and ſteepe, and could not be won without fighting. And ſome ſayd alſo, that he ſhould haue ſpeciall care of the ancient regard of the moneth: becauſe the kings of MACEDON did neuer vſe to put their armie into the field in the moneth of Daſon, which is Iune. For that, ſayd *Alexander*, we will remedy ſoone: let them call it the ſecond moneth, Artemiſium, which is May. Furthermore *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he ſhould not meddle the firſt day, becauſe it was very late. *Alexander* made anſwer againe, that HELLESPONT would bluſh for ſhame, if he were now afraid to paſſe ouer the riuer, ſince he had already come ouer an arme of the ſea. Thereupon he himſelfe firſt entred the riuer with thirteene guidons of horſemen, and marched forwards againſt an infinite number of arrowes which the enemies ſhot at him, as he was comming vp the other banke, which was very high and ſteepe, and worſt of all, full of armed men and horſemen of the enemies: which ſtaied to receiue him in battell ray, thruſting his men downe into the riuer, which was very deepe, and ranne ſo ſwift, that it almoſt caried them downe the ſtreame: inſomuch that men thought him more raſh than wiſe, to leade his men with ſuch daunger. This notwithſtanding, he was ſo wilfully bent that he would needs ouer, and in the end with great ado recouered the other ſide, ſpecially becauſe the earth ſlidde away, by reaſon of the mudde. So when he was ouer, he was driuen to fight pell mell man to man, becauſe his enemie did ſet vpon the firſt that were paſſed ouer, before they could put themſelues into battell ray, with great cries, keeping their horſes very cloſe together, and fought firſt with their darts, and afterwards came to the ſword when their darts were broken. Then many of them ſet vpon him alone, for he was eaſily to be knowne aboue the reſt by his ſhield, and the hinder part of his helmet, about the which, there hung from the one ſide to the other, a maruellous faire white plume. *Alexander* had a blow with a dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon *Roeſaces* and *Spithridates*, both two chiefe Captaines of the PERSIANS, ſetting vpon *Alexander* at once, he left the one, and riding ſtraight to *Roeſaces*, who was excellently armed, he gaue him ſuch a blow with his launce, that he brake it in his hand, and ſtraight drew out his ſword. But ſo ſoone as they two had cloſed together, *Spithridates* comming at the one ſide of him, raiſed himſelfe vpon his ſtirrops, and gaue *Alexander* with all his might ſuch a blow on his head with a battell axe, that he cut the creaſt off his helmet, and one of the ſides of his plume, and made ſuch a gaſh, that the edge of his battell axe touched the very haire of his head. And as he was lifting vp his hand to ſtrike *Alexander* againe, great *Clitus* preuenting him, thruſt him through with a partiſan, and at the very ſame inſtant, *Roeſaces* alſo fell dead from his horſe with a wound which *Alexander* gaue him with his ſword. Now whileſt the horſemen fought with ſuch furie, the ſquadron of the battell of footmen of the MACEDONIANS had paſſed the riuer, and both the battels began to march one againſt the other. The PERSIANS ſtucke not manfully to it any long time, but ſtraight turned their backes and fled, ſauing the GRECIANS which tooke pay of king *Darius*: they drew together vpon a hill, and craued mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* ſetting vpon them, more of will then diſcretion, had his horſe killed vnder him, being thruſt through the flanke with a ſword. This was not Bucephall, but another horſe he had. All his men that were ſlaine or hurt at this battell, were hurt amongſt them valiantly fighting againſt deſperate men. It is reported that there were ſlaine at this firſt battell, twenty thouſand footmen of theſe barbarous people, and

Alexanders ſaying of Achilles.

Battel betwixt Alexander and Darius at the riuer of Granicus.

Clitus ſaued Alexander.

Alexanders victory of the Perſians at Granicus.

and two thousand fiue hundred horsemen. Of *Alexanders* side, *Aristobulus* writeth, that there were slaine foure and thirty men in all, of the which, twelue of them were footmen. *Alexander* to honour their valiantnesse, caused euery one of their images to be made in brasse by *Lysippus*. And because he would make the GRECIANS partakers of this victorie, he sent vnto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their targets, which he had won at the battell, and generally vpon all the other spoiles, he put this honorable inscription: *Alexander the sonne of Philip, and the Gretians, excepting the Lacedæmonians, haue wonne this spoile vpon the barbarous Asians.* As for plate of gold or siluer, also purple silkes, or other such precious things which he got among the PERSIANS: he sent them all vnto his mother, a few except. This first victory of *Alexander*, brought such a sudden change amongst the barbarous people in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the city selfe of SARDIS, the chiefe city of the Empire of the barbarous people, or at the least through all the low countries and coasts vpon the sea, yeelded straight vnto him, and the rest also, sauing HALICARNASSVS and MILETVM, which did still resist him: howbeit at length he tooke them by force. When he had also conquered all thereabouts, he stood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometime he had a maruellous desire, hotly to follow *Darius* whersoeuer he were, and to venture all at a battell. Another time againe, he thought it better first to occupy himselfe in conquering of these low countries, and to make himselfe strong with the money and riches he should find among them, that he might afterwards be the better able to follow him. In the country of LYDIA neare vnto the city XANTHVM, they say there is a spring that brake of it selfe, and ouerflowing the bankes about it, cast out a litle table of copper from the bottome, vpon the which were graued certaine caracters in old letters, which sayd: that the kingdome of the PERSIANS should be destroyed by the GRECIANS. This did further so encourage *Alexander*, that he made hast to cleare all the sea coast, euen as farre as CILICIA & PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good successe he had, running alongst all the coast of PAMPHILIA, gaue diuerse historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admiration, saying that it was one of the wonders of the world, that the fury of the sea, which vnto all other was extreme rough, and many times would swell ouer the tops of the high rockes vpon the cliffes, fell calme vnto him. And it appeareth that *Menander* himselfe in a comedy of his doth witnesse this wonderfull happinesse of *Alexander*, when merily he sayth:

O great Alexander, how great is thy state?
For thou with thy selfe maist thus iustly debate:
If any man liuing I list for to call,
He commeth, and humbly before me doth fall.
And if through the sourges my iourney do ly,
The waues giue me way, and the sea becomes dry.

Yet *Alexander* himselfe simply writeth in his Epistles (without any great wonder) that by sea he passed a place called the ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke ship in the city of PHASELIDES. There he remained many dayes, and when he saw the image of *Theodectes* PHASELITAN, standing in the market place: he went in a daunce thither one euening after supper, and cast flowers and garlands vpon his image, honoring the memory of the dead, though it seemed but in sport, for that he was his companion when he liued, by meanes of *Aristotle* and his philosophy. *The memory of Theodectes honored by Alexander.*

After that he ouercame also the PISIDIANS, who thought to haue resisted him, and conquered all PHRYGIA besides. There in the city of GORDIVS, which is sayd to be the ancient seate of king *Midas*: he saw the charret that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the barke of a cornell tree, and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous people, that they beleeued it as a prophecy: that whosoeuer could vndoe the band of that barke, was certainly ordained to be king of all the world. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* prouing to vndoe the band, and finding no ends to vndoe it by, they were so many fold wreathed one within the other, he drew out his sword, and cut the knot in the middest: so that then many ends appeared. But *Aristobulus* writeth, that he had quickly vndone the knot by taking the bolt out of the axtree, which holdeth the beame and bodie of the charret, and so seuered them asunder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, and vnderstood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* Generall of his army by sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand *Alexander*; whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination to leade *The citie of Gordius in Phrygia where king Midas kept.*

his army into the high countries of Asia. Then did king *Darius* himselfe come against *Alexander*, hauing leauied a great power at Svsa, of sixe hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his wisards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he saw all the armie of the Macedonians on a fire, and *Alexander* seruing of him in the selfe same attire that he himselfe wore when he was one of the chamber vnto the late king his predecessor: and that when he came into the temple of *Belus*, he suddenly vanished from him. By this dreame it plainely appeared, that the gods did signifie vnto him, that the Macedonians should haue noble successe in their doings, and that *Alexander* should conquer all Asia, euen as king *Darius* had done, when he was but Asgandes vnto the king: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that *Alexander* remained a good while in Cilicia, supposing it had bene for that he was affraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sickenesse he had, the which some say he got by extreme paines and trauell, and others also, because he washed himselfe in the riuer Cydnus, which was cold as Ise. Howsoeuer it came, there was none of the other phisitians that durst vndertake to cure him, thinking his disease vncurable, and no medicines to preuaile that they could giue him, and fearing also that the Macedonians would lay it to their charge, if *Alexander* miscaried. But *Philip* Acarnanian, considering his maister was very ill, and bearing himselfe of his loue and goodwill towards him, thought he should not do that became him, if he did not proue (seeing him in extremity and danger of life) the vtmost remedies of phisicke, what danger soeuer he put himselfe into: and therefore tooke vpon him to minister vnto *Alexander*, and perswaded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the warres. In the meane time, *Parmenio* wrote him a letter from the campe, aduertising him, that he should beware of *Philip* his phisitian, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promises of great riches, that he would giue him with his daughter in mariage, to kill his maister. *Alexander* when he had red this letter, layd it vnder his beds head, and made none of his neareſt familiars acquainted therewith. When the houre came that he should take his medicine, *Philip* came into his chamber with other of the kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the potion he should drinke. *Alexander* then gaue him the letter, and withall, chearfully tooke the cup of him, shewing no manner of feare or mistrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing and worth the sight, how one reading the letter, and the other drinking the medicine both at one instant, they looked one vpon another, howbeit not both with like chearfull countenance. For *Alexander* looked merily vpon him, plainely shewing the trust he had in his phisitian *Philip*, and how much he loued him: and the phisitian also beheld *Alexander* like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so falsely accused, and straight lift vp his hands to heauen, calling the gods to witnesse, that he was innocent, and then came to *Alexanders* bed side, and prayed him to be of good cheare, and boldly do as he would aduise him. The medicine beginning to worke, ouercame the disease, and draue for the time, to the lowest parts of his body, all his naturall strength and powers: in so much as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weakenesse, and almost swouning, that his pulse did scant beate, and his sences were wel-neare taken from him. But that being past, *Philip* in few dayes recouered him againe. Now, when *Alexander* had gotten some strength, he shewed himselfe openly vnto the Macedonians: for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health vntill they had seene him. In king *Darius* campe, there was one *Amyntas* a Macedonian: and banisht out of his countrey, who knew *Alexanders* disposition very well. He finding that *Darius* meant to meete with *Alexander* within the straights and vallies of the mountaines: besought him to tary rather where he was, being a plaine open countrey round about him, considering that he had a great hoast of men to fight with a few enemies, and that it was most for his aduantage to meete with him in the open field. *Darius* answered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntas* replied: For that, ô king, I pray you feare not: for I warrant you vpon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way comming towards you. All those perswasions of *Amyntas* could not turne *Darius* from making his campe to march towards Cilicia. At the selfe same time also, *Alexander* went towards Syria to meet with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them missed the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this hap, and making hast to meete with his enemy within the straights. *Darius* also seeking to winne *Alexanders* lodging from whence he came, and to bring his army

Darius army and dreame.

Alexanders sickenesse in Cilicia. Cydnus fl.

The wonderfull trust of Alexander in his phisitian.

Darius contemneth Amyntas profitable counsell.

out

out of the ſtraights: began then to find the fault and error committed, for that he had ſhut himſelfe vp in the ſtraights (holden in on the one ſide with the mountaine, and on the other with the ſea, and the riuer of Pindarus that ranne betweene both) and that he was driuen to diſperſe his army into diuerſe companies, in a ſtony and ill fauored country, ill for horſemen to trauell, being on the contrary ſide a great aduantage for his enemies, which were excellent good footmen, and but few in number. But now, as fortune gaue *Alexander* the field as he would wiſh it to fight for his aduantage: ſo could he tell excellently well how to ſet his men in battell ray to winne the victorie. For albeit that *Alexander* had the leſſe number by many then his enemy, yet he had ſuch pollicy and caſt with him, that he foreſaw all, and would not be enuironed: For he did put out the right wing of his battell a great deale further, then he did his left wing, and fighting himſelfe in the left wing in the formoſt rankes, he made all the barbarous people flie that ſtood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a ſword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* ſelfe did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithſtanding *Alexander* ſelfe writing of this battell vnto *Antipater*, ſayth, that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a ſword, howbeit it did put him in no danger: but he writeth not that *Darius* did hurt him. Thus hauing won a famous victory, and ſlaine aboue a hundred and ten thouſand of his enemies, he could not yet take *Darius* becauſe he fled, hauing ſtill foure or fiue furlongs vantage before him: howbeit he tooke his charret of battell wherein he fought, and his bow alſo. Then he returned from the chaſe, and found the MACEDONIANS ſacking and ſpoiling all the reſt of the campe of the barbarous people, where there was infinite riches (although they had left the moſt part of their cariage behind them in the city of DAMAS, to come lighter to the battell) but yet reſerued for himſelfe all king *Darius* tent, which was full of a great number of officers, of rich moueables, and of gold and ſiluer. So, when he was come to the campe, putting off his armour, he entred into the bath and ſayd: Come on, let vs go and waſh off the ſweate of the battell in *Darius* owne bath. Nay, replied one of his familiars againe, in *Alexanders* bath: for the goods of the vanquiſhed are rightly the vanquiſhers. When he came into the bath, and ſaw the baſons and ewers, the boxes, and violles for perfumes, all of cleane gold, excellently wrought, all the chamber perfumed paſſing ſweetly, that it was like a paradiſe: then going out of his bath, and comming into his tent, ſeeing it ſo ſtately and large, his bed, the table, and ſupper, and all ready in ſuch ſumptuous ſort, that it was wonderfull, he turned him vnto his familiars and ſayd: This was a king indeed, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to go to his ſupper, word was brought him, that they were bringing vnto him amongſt other Ladies taken priſoners, king *Darius* mother and his wife, and two of his daughters vnmaried: who hauing ſeene his charret and bow, burſt out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themſelues, thinking *Darius* had bene ſlaine. *Alexander* pawſed a good while and gaue no aunſwer, pittying more their misfortune, then reioycing at is owne good hap. Then he preſently ſent one *Leonatus* vnto them, to let them vnderſtand, that *Darius* was aliue, and that they ſhould not need to be afraid of *Alexander*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his kingdome onely: and as for them, that they ſhould haue at his hands all that they had of *Darius* before, when he had his whole kingdome in his hands. As theſe words pleaſed the captiue Ladies, ſo the deeds that followed, made them find his clemency to be no leſſe. For firſt he ſuffered them to bury as many of the PERSIAN Lords as they would, euen of them that had bene ſlaine in the battell, and to take as much ſilkes of the ſpoiles, iewels, and ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with: and alſo did leſſen no part of their honour, nor of the number of their officers and ſeruants, nor of any iot of their eſtate which they had before, but did allow them alſo greater penſions, then they had before. But aboue all, the princelieſt grace, and moſt noble fauour that *Alexander* ſhewed vnto theſe captiue princeſſes, which had alwayes liued in honourable fame and chaſtitie, was this: That they neuer heard word, or ſo much as any ſuſpition that ſhould make them afraid to be diſhonoured or deflowred: but were priuately among themſelues vnuiſited or repayred vnto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had bene in a campe of their enemies, but as if they had bene kept in ſome cloſe monaſtery: although *Darius* wife (as it is written) was paſſing faire, as *Darius* alſo was a goodly prince, and that his daughters likewiſe did reſemble their father and mother. *Alexander* thinking it more princely for a king, as I ſuppoſe, to conquer himſelfe, then to ouercome his enemies: did neither touch them, nor any other maid or wife, before he maried them, *Barſine* onely excepted, who being left *Memnons* widow (Generall of king

Battell betwixt Darius and Alexander in Cilicia.

Alexanders victory of Darius in Cilicia.

Darius mother wife, and two daughters, taken by Alexander.

The clemency of Alexander vnto the captiue Ladies.

The chaſtity of Alexander.

Darius by ſea) was taken by the city of DAMAS. She being excellently well learned in the Greeke tongue, and of good entertainement (being the daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a kings daughter) *Alexander* was bold with her by *Parmenioes* procurement (as *Ariſtobulus* writeth) who intiſed him to imbrace the company of ſo excellent a woman, and paſſing faire beſides. Furthermore, beholding the other PERSIAN Ladies beſides which were priſoners, what goodly faire women they were: he ſpake it pleaſantly, that the Ladies of PERSIA made mens eyes ſore to behold them. Notwithſtanding, preferring the beauty of his continency, before their ſweete faire faces, he paſſed by without any ſparke of affection towards them, more then if they had bene images of ſtone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his Lieutenant in the low countries vpon the ſea coaſt, wrote vnto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a marchant of TARENTVM, had to ſell two goodly yong boyes, maruellous faire: and therefore that he ſent vnto him to know his pleaſure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was ſo offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O, my friends, what villany hath euer *Philoxenus* ſeene in me, that he ſhould deuiſe (hauing nothing to do there) to purchaſe me ſuch infamy? whereupon he wrote vnto him from the campe, with reprochfull words, that he ſhould ſend that vile TARENTINE marchant *Theodorus* and his marchandiſe to the Diuell. He ſharply puniſhed alſo one *Agnon*, that wrote vnto him he would buy a young boy called *Crobylus* (who for beauty bare the onely name in CORINTH) and bring him to him. Another time alſo, when he heard that *Damon* and *Timotheus* MACEDONIANS, vnder *Parmenioes* charge, had deflowred two of the ſouldiers wiues that were ſtrangers, and waged of him: he wrote vnto *Parmenio* to looke vnto it, and to examine the matter. And if he found them guilty of the rape, that then he ſhould put them both to death, as brute beaſts borne to deſtroy mankind. And in that letter he wrote thus of himſelfe: For my ſelfe, ſayd he, I haue neither ſeene, nor deſired to ſee *Darius* wife: neither haue I ſuffered any ſpeech of her beauty before me. Moreouer he ſayd, that he did vnderſtand that he was mortall by theſe two things: to wit, ſleepe, and luſt: for, from the weakneſſe of our nature proceedeth ſleepe and ſenſuality. He was alſo no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he ſhewed by many proofes: but chiefly in that he ſayd vnto the princeſſe *Ada*, whom he adopted for his mother, and made her Queene of CARIA. For when (for the loue ſhe bare him) ſhe daily ſent him ſundrie delicate diſhes of meate, tarts, and marchpaines, and beſides the meate it ſelfe, the paſtlers and cookes to make them, which were excellent workemen: he anſwered that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better cookes then thoſe appointed him by his gouernour *Leonydas*, to wit: for his dinner, to riſe before day, and to march by night: and for his ſupper, to eate litle at dinner. And my gouernour, ſayd he, would oftentimes open the cheſts where my bedding and apparell lay, to ſee if my mother had put any fine knackes or conceipts among them. Furthermore, he was leſſe giuen to wine, then men would haue iudged. For he was thought to be a greater bibber then he was, becauſe he ſate long at the boord, rather to talke then drinke. For euer when he dranke, he would propound ſome tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leiſure. For hauing matters to do, there was neither feaſt, banket, play, mariage, nor any paſtime that could ſtay him: as they had done other Captaines. The which appeareth plainely by the ſhortneſſe of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deeds he did, in that litle time he liued. When he had leyſure, after he was vp in the morning, firſt of all he would do ſacrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, paſſing away all the reſt of the day, in hunting, writing ſome thing, taking vp ſome quarrell betweene ſouldiers, or elſe in ſtudying. If he went any iourney of no haſtie buſineſſe, he would exerciſe himſelfe by the way as he went, ſhooting in his bow, or learning to get vp or out of his charret ſuddenly as it ranne. Oftentimes alſo for his paſtime he would hunt the foxe, or catch birds, as appeareth in his booke of remembrances of euerie day. Then when he came to his lodging, he would enter into his bath, and rubbe and noint himſelfe: and would aske his pantelers and caruers if his ſupper were readie. He would euer ſuppe late, and was very curious to ſee, that euerie man at his boord were alike ſerued, and would ſit long at the table, becauſe he euer loued to talke, as we haue told you before. Otherwiſe he was as noble a prince and gracious to waite vpon, and as pleaſant, as any king that euer was. For he lacked no grace nor comelineſſe to adorne a prince, ſauing that he would be ſome thing ouer buſie in glorying in his owne deedes, much like vnto a bragging ſouldier: neither was he contented himſelfe to pleaſe his owne humour that way, but would alſo ſuffer his familiars to ſooth him euen

Alexanders pleaſant ſpeech of womens beauty.

Alexander temperate in eating.

How Leonidas brought vp Alexander.

Alexanders life when he was at leiſure.

Alexander a pleaſant prince as any could be.

to

to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would neither praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst say lesse of the praises which they gaue him. For of the first they were ashamed, and by the second they fell in danger. After supper, he would wash himselfe againe, and sleepe vntill noone the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For himselfe, he was nothing curious of daintie dishes: for when any did send him rare fruites, or fish, from the countries neare the sea side, he would send them abroad vnto his friends, and seldome keepe any thing for himself. His table notwithstanding was alwayes very honourably serued, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his conquests, till it came to the summe of ten thousand drachmaes a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceede that summe: and moreouer, commaunded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend aboue that summe. After this battell of Issvs, he sent vnto the citie of Damas, to take all the gold and siluer, the cariage, and all the women and children of the Persians which were left there, where the men of armes of the Thessalians sped them full well: for therefore did he send them thither, because he saw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the battell: and so were the rest of his armie also well stored with money. There the Macedonians hauing tasted first of the gold, siluer, women, and barbarous life: as dogges by sent do follow the tracke of beasts, euen so were they greedie to follow after the goods of the Persians. First *Alexander* thought it best to winne all the sea coast. Thither came the Kings of Cyprvs and Phoenicia, and deliuered vp to him the whole Iland and all Phoenicia, sauing onely the citie of Tyre. That citie he besieged seuen moneths together by land, with great bulwarkes, and diuers engines of batterie, and by sea, with two hundred gallies. During this siege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand vnto him ouer the walles of the citie, and called him by his name: and there were diuers Tyrians also that dreamed in likewise, that *Apollo* told them that he would go vnto *Alexander*, because he was not pleased with their doings in the citie. Thereupon they bound his image, (which was of a wonderfull bignesse) with great chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the base, as if he had bene a traitor that would haue yeelded himselfe vnto their enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as fauouring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there also another dreame: for he dreamed he saw a *Satyre* a farre off sporting with him, and when he thought to haue come neare to haue taken him, he still escaped from him: vntill at the length, after he had runne a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his hands. The Soothsayers being asked what this dreame should signifie, answered probably, by deuiding *Satyros* into two, and then it is Σὰ τύρος: which signifieth the citie of Tyre shall be thine. And they do yet shew vnto this day, the fountaine where *Alexander* thought he saw the *Satyre*. Continuing this siege, he went to make warre with the Arabians, that dwell vpon the mountaine Antiliban, where he was in great danger of being cast away, onely because he heard his tutor *Lysimachus* that followed him, say boastingly, that he was not inferiour, nor older then the Phoenix. For when they came at the foote of the mountaine, they left their horses, and went vp a foote: and *Alexander* was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leaue his tutor *Lysimachus* behind him (who was so wearie that he could go no further) but because it was darke night, and for that the enemies were not farre from them, he came behind to encourage his tutor, and in manner to carie him. By this meanes, vnwares, he was farre from his armie with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreouer, it was verie cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiuing diuerse fires which the enemies had made, some in one place, and some in another, trusting to his valiantnesse, hauing alwayes prouided remedie in extremitie, when the Macedonians were distressed, himselfe euer putting too his owne hand: he ranne vnto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous people that lay by the fire side, he snatched away a fire-brand, and ranne with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous people were so affrayd, that they ranne their way as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and set vpon him, he slue them euery man, and so lay there that night, himselfe and his men without daunger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the siege of Tyre, that fell out thus. *Alexander* caused the most part of his armie to take rest, being ouerharried and wearied with so many battels as they had fought: and sent a few of his men onely to giue assault vnto the citie, to keepe the Tyrians occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the Soothsayer *Aristander* sacrificing vnto the gods, hauing considered of the signes of the intrailes of the beasts:

Alexander besiegeth the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders dreame at the citie of Tyre.

Alexanders second dreame againe at Tyre.

Alexanders iourney against the Arabians. Antiliban mons.

The courage and agilitie of Alexander.

did assure them that were present, that the citie should be taken by the latter end of the moneth. Euery bodie laughed to heare him: for that day was the very last day of the moneth. *Alexander* seeing him amated, as one that could not tell what to say to it, seeking euer to bring those tokens to effect, which the Soothsayers did prognosticate: commaunded them that they should not reckon that day the thirtith day, but the seuen and twentith, and immediatly vpon it made the trumpet sound the allarme, and giue a hotter assault to the wall, then he had thought to haue done before. They fought valiantly on both sides, insomuch as they that were left in the campe, could not keepe in, but must needes runne to the assault to helpe their companions. The TYRIANS seeing the assault so hote on euery side, their hearts began to faile them, and by this meanes was the citie taken the selfe same day. Another time also, when *Alexander* was before GAZA, the chiefe citie of SYRIA, there fell a clod of earth vpon his shoulder, out of the which there flew a bird into the ayre. The bird lighting vpon one of the engines of his batterie, was caught with the nets made of sinewes which couered ouer the ropes of the engines. *Aristander* did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding, that he should yet take the towne. And indeed it came so to passe. When he sent great presents of spoyles which he wanne at the sacke of this citie, vnto his mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and diuers others of his friends: among other things, he sent vnto *Leonidas* his Gouernour, fiue hundred talents waight of frankensence, and a hundred talents waight of myrrhe: remembring the hope he put him into when he was a child. For, as *Alexander* was vpon a day sacrificing vnto the gods, he tooke both his hands full of frankensence to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his Gouernour *Leonidas* saw him, he sayd thus vnto him: When thou hast conquered the countrey where these sweete things grow, then be liberall of thy perfume: but now, spare that litle thou hast at this present. *Alexander* calling to mind at that time his admonition, wrote vnto him in this sort: We do send thee plentie of frankensence and myrrhe, because thou shouldst no more be a niggard vnto the gods. There was brought vnto him a litle coffer also, which was thought to be the preciousest thing and the richest, that was gotten of all the spoyles and riches, taken at the ouerthrow of *Darius*. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some sayd one thing, some sayd another thing: but he sayd, he would put the Iliades of *Homer* into it, as the worthiest thing. This is confirmed by the best Historiographers. Now if that which the ALEXANDRIANS report vpon *Heraclides* words, be true: then it appeareth that he did profite himselfe much by *Homer* in this iourney. For it is reported that when he had conquered ÆGYPT, he determined to build a great citie, and to repleniſh it with a great number of GRECIANS, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certaine ground, which he had chosen by the aduise of his enginers and worke-maisters, the night before he had a maruellous dreame, that he saw an old man standing before him, full of white haires, with an honourable presence, and comming towards him said these verses:

Within the foming sea there lies a certaine Iland, right
Against the shore of Ægypt, which of auncient Pharos hight.

As soone as he rose the next morning, he went to see this Ile of PHAROS, the which at that time was a litle aboue the mouth of the riuer of Nylus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now ioyned vnto firme land, being forced by mans hand. This, he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the citie which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great barre of earth, broade inough, that separateth a great lake on the one side, and the sea on the other, the which doth ioyne hard to a great hauen. Then he said that *Homer* was wonderfull in all his things, but that amongst others, he was an excellent Architector: and commaunded, that straight they should cast the platforme of the citie, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to mark withal, wherfore they were driuen to take meale, & with that did marke out vpon the earth being blacke, the compasse of the towne that was round and circular, and being deuided into two equall parts, either of them resembled the skirts and fashion of the MACEDONIAN cloake. *Alexander* liked this draught passingly well. But there rose vpon the sodaine out of the riuer or lake, such an infinite multitude of great foule of all sortes, that they couered the element as it had bene a cloud, and lighting within this circuite, did eate vp all the meale, and left not a crumme. *Alexander* liked not these signes. Notwithstanding, his Soothsayers bad him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should build a citie there,

so

The citie of Tyre besieged, and taken by Alexander.

Alexander tooke the citie of Gaza.

X

The building of the citie of Alexandria.

Alexanders dreame in AEgypt.

The Ile of Pharos.

Y

A vvonder.

so plentifull of all things, that he should maintaine all sorts of people. Then he commaunded them, vnto whom he had giuen the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their worke, and he himselfe in the meane time, tooke his iourney to go visit the temple of *Iupiter Hammon*. The ioutney was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two daungers aboue all the rest most speciall: the first, lacke of water, because they had to trauell many dayes iourney through a great desert: the second was, the danger of the rising of the South wind by the way, to blow the sand abroade, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that desert, that blew vp whole hils of sand, which slue fiftie thousand men of *Cambyses* armie. Euery man in *Alexanders* traine did know these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to disswade *Alexander* from any thing which he had a desire vnto. For, fortune fauouring him in all his attempts, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble courage besides, made him inuincible in all things he tooke in hand; insomuch as he did not onely compell his enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that voyage, in stead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certaine sort they haue beleeued the oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the element did keepe him from feare of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moisted the dryenesse of the sand in such sort, that there came a sweete fresh ayre from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the guides to shew them the way, and that they wandred vp and downe they could not tell where: there came crowes vnto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they saw them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behind. But *Callisthenes* writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the crowes, they brought them againe into the right way which had lost their way. Thus *Alexander* in the end, hauing passed through this wildernesse, he came vnto the temple he sought for: where the prophet or chiefe priest saluted him from the god *Hammon*, as from his father. Then *Alexander* asked him, if any of the murtherers that had killed his father, were left aliue. The priest answered him, and bad him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his father was no mortall man. Then *Alexander* againe rehearsing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murtherers that had conspired the death of *Philip* his father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his kingdome, if he would graunt him to be King ouer all the world. The god answered him by the mouth of his prophet, he should: and that the death of *Philip* was fully reuenged. Then did *Alexander* offer great presents vnto the god, and gaue money large to the priests, and ministers of the temple. This is that the most part of writers do declare, touching *Alexanders* demaund, and the oracles giuen him. Yet did *Alexander* himselfe write vnto his mother, that he had secret oracles from the god, which he would onely impart vnto her, at his returne into MACEDON. Others say also, that the prophet meaning to salute him in the Greeke tongue to welcome him the better, would haue sayd vnto him, O *Paidion*, as much as deare sonne: but that he tripped a litle in his tongue, because the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter end, saying, O *Paidios*, to wit, O sonne of *Iupiter*: and that *Alexander* was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ranne a rumour straight among his men, that *Iupiter* had called him his son. It is sayd also, that he heard *Psammon* the Philosopher in ÆGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, when he sayd that god was king of all mortall men. For (quoth he) he that commaundeth all things, must needes be god. But *Alexander* selfe spake better, and like a Philosopher, when he sayd: that god generally was father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best sort for himselfe. To conclude, he shewed himselfe more arrogant vnto the barbarous people, and made as though he certainly beleeued that he had bene begotten of some god: but vnto the GRECIANS he spake more modestly of diuine generation. For in a letter he wrote vnto the ATHENIANS touching the citie of SAMOS, he said: I gaue ye not that noble free citie but it was giuen you, at that time by him whom they called my Lord and father: meaning *Philip*. Afterwards also being striken with an arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My friends, said he, This bloud which is spilt, is mans bloud, and not as *Homer* said,

No such as from th'immortall gods doth flow.

And one day also in a maruellous great thunder, when euery man was afraid, *Anaxarchus* the Rhetoritian being present, said vnto him: O thou sonne of *Iupiter*, wilt thou do as much? No, said

Alexanders iourney vnto the oracle of Hammon.

Cambyses army slaine by sandhils.

Crowes guided Alexander in his iourney.

The saying of Psammon the Philosopher of the prouidence of God.

Alexander ascribeth godhead to himselfe.

he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my friends, as thou wouldst haue me: disdaining the seruice of fish to my boord, because thou seest not princes heads serued in. And the report goeth also, that *Alexander* vpon a time sending a litle fish vnto *Hephæstion*, *Anaxarchus* should say as it were in mockerie, that they which aboue others seeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, haue either small pleasure in the world, or else as litle as others haue. By these proofes and reasons alleaged, we may thinke that *Alexander* had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of him selfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policie to keep other men vnder obedience, by the opinion conceiued of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA into ÆGYPT, he made many sacrifices, feasts, and precessions in honour of the gods, sundrie daunces, tragedies, and such like pastimes goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the setters forth of them, which strined euery one to exceed the other. For the kings of the CYPRIANS were the setters of them forth, as at ATHENS they draw by lot a citizen of euery tribe of the people, to defray the charges of these pastimes. These kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially *Nicocreon*, king of SALAMINA, in CYPRVS: and *Pasicrates*, Lord of the citie of SOLES. For it fell out to their lot to furnish two of the excellentest players, *Pasicrates* furnished *Athenodorus*, and *Nicocreon Thessalus*: whom *Alexander* loued singularly well, though he made no shew of it, vntill that *Athenodorus* was declared victour, by the Iudges deputed to giue sentence. For when he went from the playes, he told them he did like the Iudges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would haue bene contented to haue giuen the one halfe of his Realme, not to haue seene *Thessalus* ouercome. *Athenodorus* being condemned vpon a time by the ATHENIANS, because he was not in ATHENS at the feasts of *Bacchus*, when the Comedies and Tragedies were plaied, and a fine set on his head for his absence: he besought *Alexander* to write vnto them in his behalfe, that they would release his penaltie. *Alexander* would not so do, but sent thither his money whereof he was condemned, and payed it for him of his owne purse. Also when *Lycon* SCARPHIAN, an excellent stage-player had pleased *Alexander* well, and did foist in a verse in his Comedie, containing a petition of ten talents: *Alexander* laughing at it, gaue it him. *Darius* at that time wrote vnto *Alexander*, and vnto certaine of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thousand talents for the ransome of all those prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the countries, lands and signiories on this side the riuer of Euphrates, and one of his daughters also in mariage, that from thenceforth he might be his kinseman and friend. *Alexander* imparted this to his councell. Amongst them *Parmenio* said vnto him: If I were *Alexander*, quoth he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, quoth *Alexander* againe, if I were *Parmenio*. In fine, he wrote againe vnto *Darius*, that if he would submit himselfe, he would vse him curteously: if not, that then he would presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards, when king *Darius* wife was dead with child: for without dissimulation it grieued him much, that he had lost so noble an occasion to shew his curtesie and clemencie. This notwithstanding, he gaue her bodie honourable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongst the eunuches of the Queenes chamber, there was one *Tireus* taken prisoner, among the women: who stealing out of *Alexanders* camp, taking his horse-backe, rode vnto *Darius* to bring him newes of the death of his wife. Then *Darius* beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: O gods, what wretched hap haue the PERSIANS! that haue not only had the wife and sister of their king taken prisoners euen in his life time, but now that she is dead in trauell of child, she hath bene depriued of princely buriall. Then spake the eunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious king, and for all due honor that might be wished her, PERSIA hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queene *Statira* your wife whilst she liued prisoner, nor your mother, nor daughters, want any part or iot of their honor they were wont to haue before, sauing onely to see the light of your honour, the which, god *Oromasides* graunt to restore againe (if it be his will) vnto your Maiestie: neither was there any honor wanting at her death (to set forth her stately funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your enemies. For *Alexander* is as mercifull in victorie, as he is valiant in battell. *Darius* hearing the Eunuches wordes, being vexed in mind for very griefe: tooke the Eunuch aside into the secretest place of his tent, and said vnto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the PERSIANS, become a MACEDONIAN, but doest in thy heart acknowledge *Darius* for thy soueraigne Lord and maister: I pray they, and do also coniure thee, by the reuerence thou beareſt vnto this bright light of the Sunne, and to the right hand of the King, that thou do tell me truly.

Alexander made feasts and playes.

Darius sent Ambassadors vnto Alexander.

Statira, king Darius wife, died in trauell of child.

Tireus report to Darius of Statiraes buriall.

Darius talke with Tireus a Eunuch.

And

Are these the least euils which I lament in *Statira*, her imprisonment and death? And did she not in her life make vs more miserable by her dishonour, then if we had dishonourably fallen into the hands of a cruell enemie? For, what honest communication I pray thee, can a yong victorious Prince haue with his enemies wife a prisoner: hauing done her so much honour as he hath done? *Darius* going on with these speeches, *Tireus* the eunuch fell downe on his knees, and besought him not to say so, neither to blemish the vertue of *Alexander* in that sort, nor yet so to dishonour his sister and wife deceased, and thereby also to depriue himselfe of the greatest comfort he could wish to haue in his calamitie, which was, to be ouercome by an enemie that had greater vertues then a man could possibly haue: but rather that he should wonder at *Alexanders* vertue, who had shewed himselfe chaster to the Ladies, then valiant against the PERSIANS. And therewithall, the eunuch confirmed the great honestie, chastitie, and noble mind of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe othes. Then *Darius* comming out among his friends againe, holding vp his hands vnto the heauens, made this prayer vnto the gods: O heauenly gods, creators of men, and protectors of Kings and Realmes: first, I beseech you graunt me, that restoring the PERSIANS againe to their former good state, I may leaue the Realme vnto my successors, with that glorie and fame I receiued it of my predecessors: that obtaining victorie, I may vse *Alexander* with that great honor and courtesie, which he hath in my miserie shewed vnto those I loued best in the world. Or otherwise if the time appointed be come, that the kingdome of PERSIA must needes haue end, either thorough diuine reuenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: then good gods yet graunt, that none but *Alexander* after me, may sit in *Cyrus* throne. Diuers writers do agree, that these things came euen thus to passe. Now *Alexander* hauing conquered all ASIA on this side of the riuer of Euphrates, he went to meete with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thousand fighting men. It was told him by some of his friends to make him laugh, that the slaues of his armie had deuided themselues in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall of either part, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the first, they began to skirmish onely with clods of earth, and afterwards with fistes, but at the last, they grew so hote, that they came to plaine stones and staues, so that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would needes haue the two Generals fight hand to hand one with the other: and *Alexander* selfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, and *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the armie thereupon was gathered together to see this combat betweene them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was sharpe betweene them, but in the end, he that was called *Alexander* ouercame the other: and *Alexander* to reward him, gaue him twelue villages, with priuiledge to go after the PERSIAN manner. Thus it is written by *Eratosthenes*. The great battell that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gaugameles, which signifieth in the PERSIAN tongue, the house of the cammell. For some one of the auncient kings of PERSIA that had escaped from the hands of his enemies, flying vpon a dromedarie cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the reuenues of certaine villages to keepe the cammell there. There fell out at that time an eclipse of the Moone, in the moneth called Bœdromion (now August) about the time that the feasts of the mysteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleuenth night after that, both the armies being in sight each of other, *Darius* kept his men in battell ray, and went himselfe by torch-light viewing his bands and companies. *Alexander* on the other side whilest his MACEDONIAN souldiers slept, was before his tent with *Aristander* the Soothsayer, and made certaine secret ceremonies and sacrifices vnto *Apollo*. The auncient Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, specially *Parmenio*, seeing all the valley betwixt the riuer of Niphates, and the mountaines of the GORDIEIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous people, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of people that filled their campe with the sound thereof: they were amazed, and consulted, that in one day it was in maner vnpossible to fight a battell with such an incredible multitude of people. Thereupon they went vnto *Alexander* after he had ended his ceremonies, and did counsell him to giue battell by night, because the darkenesse thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their enemies would bring them into. But then he gaue them this notable answer: I will not steale victorie, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being neare so great daunger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a present noble courage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to giue *Darius* no manner of occasion (if he were ouercome) to take heart againe, and to proue

The commendation of Alexanders chastity.

Darius prayer vnto the gods.

Darius armie of ten hundred thousand fighting men against Alexander at the riuer of Euphrates.

The magnanimitie of Alexander.

another battell, accuſing the darkneſſe of the night as cauſe of his ouerthrow: as he had done at the firſt conflict, imputing his ouerthrow to the mountaines, the ſtraights, and the ſea. For, ſayd he, *Darius* wil neuer leaue to make warres with vs for lacke of men, nor munition, hauing ſo large a realme as he hath, and ſuch a world of people beſides: but then he will no more hazard battell, when his heart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he ſeeth his armie at noone dayes ouerthrowne by plaine battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his tent, and layd him downe to ſleepe, and ſlept all that night more ſoundly then he was wont to do before: inſomuch as the Lords and Princes of his campe coming to waite vpon him at his vprising, maruelled when they found him ſo ſound aſleepe, and therefore of themſelues they commanded the ſouldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiuing that time came faſt vpon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexanders* chamber, and comming to his beds ſide, called him twiſe or thriſe by name, till at the laſt he awaked him, and asked him how it chanced that he ſlept ſo long, like one that had alreadie ouercome, and that did not thinke he ſhould fight as great and dangerous a battell as euer he did in his life. Why, ſayd *Alexander*, laughing on him: doeſt thou not thinke we haue alreadie ouercome, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* vp and downe a countrey vtterly deſtroyed, as we ſhould otherwiſe haue bene compelled to haue done, if he would not haue come to battell, and deſtroyed the countrey before vs? Now *Alexander* did not only ſhew himſelfe before the battell, but euen at the very inſtant of the battell, a noble man of courage, and of great iudgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left wing of his battell, the men of armes of the BACTRIANS gaue ſuch a fierce onſet vpon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them giue backe: and *Mazeus* alſo, king *Darius* Lieutenant, ſent certaine troupes of horſmen out of their battell, to giue charge vpon them that were left in the campe to guard the cariage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either of both attempts, ſent immediatly to aduertiſe *Alexander*, that all their campe and cariage would be loſt, if he did not ſend preſently to aide the rereward. When theſe newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had alreadie giuen the ſignall of battell vnto his men for to giue charge. Whereupon he anſwered the meſſenger that brought him theſe newes, that he ſhould tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembring that if they wan the battell, they ſhould not onely ſaue their owne cariage, but alſo win the cariage of their enemies: and if it were their chance to loſe it, then that they ſhould not neede to care for their cariage, nor for their ſlaues, but onely to thinke to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Hauing ſent this meſſage vnto *Parmenio*, he put on his helmet. The reſt of his armour for his bodie, he had put it on before in his tent, which was, a CICILIAN caſſocke, and vpon that a brigandine made of many folds of canuas with oylet-holes, which was gotten among the ſpoiles at the battell of ISSVS. His head-peece was as bright as ſiluer, made by *Theophilus* the armourer: his coller ſute-like to the ſame, all ſet full of precious ſtones, and he had a ſword by his ſide maruellous light, and of excellent temper, which the King of the CITIEIANS had giuen him, vſing commonly to fight with his ſword at any ſet battell. His coate-armour was maruellous rich, and of ſumptuous workmanſhip, farre aboue all the reſt he wore. It was of the workmanſhip of *Hellicon*, the which the RHODIANS gaue him for a preſent, and this he commonly wore when he went to battell. Now when he did ſet his men in battell ray, or made any oration vnto them, or did ride alongſt the bands to take view of them: he alwayes vſed to ride vpon another horſe to ſpare *Bucephal*, becauſe he was then ſomewhat old: notwithſtanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then *Bucephal* was brought vnto him, and as ſoone as he was gotten vp on his back, the trumpet ſounded, and he gaue charge. Then, after he had made long exhortations to encourage the men of armes of the THESSALIANS and the other GRECIANS alſo, and when they had all promiſed him they would ſticke to him like men, and prayed him to leade them, and giue charge vpon the enemies: he tooke his launce in his left hand, and holding vp his right hand vnto heauen, beſought the gods (as *Calliſthenes* writeth) that if it were true he was begotten of *Iupiter*, that it would pleaſe them that day to helpe him, and to encourage the GRECIANS. The Soothſayer *Ariſtander* was then on horſe-backe hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, and a crowne of gold on his head, who ſhewed *Alexander* when he made his prayer, an Eagle flying ouer his head, and pointing directly towards his enemies. This maruellouſly encouraged all the armie that ſaw it, and with this ioy, the men of armes of *Alexanders* ſide, encouraging one another, did ſet ſpurres to their horſe to charge vpon the enemies. The battell of the footmen of the PERSIANS, began a litle to giue way, and before the foremoſt could come to giue them charge, the barbarous people turned their

Alexanders third battell with Darius.

The armour of Alexander.

An Eagle flew ouer Alexanders head when he went to fight with Darius.

their backes, and fled. The chase was great: *Alexander* driuing them that fled vpon the middest of their owne battell, where *Darius* selfe was in person, he spied him a farre off ouer the foremost rankes in the middest of his battell, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a chariot of warre, compassed in round with great troupes of horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receiue the enemie. But when they saw *Alexander* at hand with so grimme a looke, chasing them that fled, through those that yet kept their rankes: there fell such a feare among them, that the most part dispersed themselues. Notwithstanding, the best and most valianteſt men fought it out to the death before their King, and falling dead one vpon another, they did let them that the enemies could not so well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and horses by the legges to hinder them. *Darius* then seeing nothing but terrour and destruction before his eyes, and that the bands which he had set before him for safegard, came backe vpon him, so as he could not deuise how to turne his chariot forward nor backward, the wheeles were so hindered and stayed with the heapes of dead bodies, and that the horse also being set vpon and hid in manner in this conflict, fell to leaping and plunging for feare, so that the charretiers could no longer guide nor driue them: he got vp vpon a mare that lately had fole, and so saued himselfe flying vpon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe sent vnto *Alexander* to pray him to come and aide him: because there was yet a great squadron whole together that made no countenance to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused *Parmenio* that day to haue dealt but slackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him, or else for that he enuied *Alexanders* greatnesse and prosperitie, who against his will became ouer great, as *Callisthenes* said. In fine, *Alexander* was angrie with the second message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but fayning that he would haue them leaue killing, and because also night came on: he caused the trumpet sound retraite, and so went towards his armie, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, newes came to him by the way, that in that place also, they had giuen the enemies the ouerthrow, and that they fled euery way for life. The battell hauing this successe, euery man thought that the kingdome of the PERSIANS was vtterly ouerthrowne, and that *Alexander* likewise was become onely King of all ASIA: whereupon he made sumptuous sacrifices vnto the gods, and gaue great riches, houses, lands and possessions vnto his friends and familiars. Furthermore, to shew his liberalitie also vnto the GRECIANS, he wrote vnto them, that he would haue all tyrannies suppressed throughout all GRECE, and that all the GRECIANS should liue at libertie vnder their owne lawes. Particularly also he wrote vnto the PLATÆIANS, that he would reedifie their citie againe, because their predecessors in time past, had giuen their countrey vnto the GRECIANS, to fight against the barbarous people for the defence of the common libertie of all GRECE. He sent also into ITALY vnto the GROTONIANS, part of the spoile, to honour the memorie of the valiantnesse, and good will of *Phayllus* their citizen, who in the time of the warres with the MEDES (when all the GRECIANS that dwelt in ITALY had forsaken their naturall countrimen of GRECE it selfe, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a ship of his vnto SALAMINA, which he armed and set forth at his owne charges, because he would be at the battell, and partake also of the common danger with the GRECIANS: such honour did *Aelxander* beare vnto prowesse, that he loued to reward and remember the worthy deedes of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his armie into the countrey of BABYLON, they all yeelded straight vnto him. When he came into the countrey of the ECBATANIANS, he maruelled when he saw an opening of the earth, out of the which there came continuall sparkes of fire as out of a well: and that hard by also the earth spued out continually a kind of * maund or chalkie clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance, as it seemed like a lake. This maund or chalke is like vnto a kind of lime or clay, but it is so easie to be set a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnesse onely of the light that commeth out of the fire, it is set a fire, and doth also set the ayre a fire which is betweene both. The barbarous people of that countrey, being desirous to shew *Alexander* the nature of that Naptha, scattered the streete that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops taking fire, in the twinckling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the streete to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. *Alexander* being in bathe at that time, and waited vpon by a page called *Steuen*: (a hard fauoured boy, but yet that had an excellent sweete voice to sing)

The flying of Darius.

Alexanders third victorie of Darius, and liberalitie to all men.

* *The strength and power of Naptha, in the countrey of Ecbatania.*

one *Athenophanes* an ATHENIAN, that alwayes nointed and bathed the King, and much delighted him with his pleasant conceits, asked him if he would see the triall of this Naptha vpon Steeres: for if the fire took and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderful force, and was vnquenchable. The page was contented to haue it proued vpon him. But so soone as they had laid it on him, and did but touch it only, it tooke straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that *Alexander* himself was in a maruellous perplexitie withall. And sure had it not bene by good hap, that there were many by, ready with vessels full of water to put into the bath, it had bene vnpossible to haue saued the boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he scaped narrowly, and besides was sicke long after. Now some apply this Naptha vnto the fable of *Medea*, saying, that therewith she rubbed the crowne and lawne she gaue vnto the daughter of *Creon* at her mariage, so much spoken of in the tragedies. For neither the crowne nor the lawne could cast fire of themselues, neither did the fire light by chance. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine aptnesse to receiue more forcibly the operation of the fire, which was in place where the bride sate. For the beames which the fire casteth out, haue ouer some bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them. But such as haue an oily drie humour, and thereby a simpathy and proportionable conformitie with the nature of the fire: it easily enflameth & setteth a fire, by the forcible impression of his beames. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this naturall force of Naptha, * or whether this liquid substance and moist humour that taketh fire so easily, doth come of the earth that is fattie & apt to conceiue fire. For the country about BABYLON is very hot, insomuch as oftē times barley being put into the ground, it bloweth it vp again, as if the earth by vehement inflammation had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extreamest heate of the sommer, do sleepe there, vpon great leather budgets filled ful of fresh water. *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* left there his Lieutenant and Gouernor of that countrey, desiring to set forth and beautifie the gardens of the Kings palace and walkes of the same, with all maner of plants of GREECE: he brought all the rest to good passe, sauing iuie only, which the earth could neuer abide, but it euer died, because the heat and temper of the earth killed it, and the iuy of it selfe liketh fresh aire and a cold ground. This digression is somewhat from the matter, but peraduenture the Reader wil not think it troublesome, how hard soeuer he find it, so it be not ouer tedious. *Alexander* hauing won the citie of SVSA, he found within the castle foure thousand talents in ready coine, gold and siluer, besides other infinite treasure and inestimable, amongst the which (it is said) he found to the value of fiue thousand talents weight of * purple HERMIONA silk, which they had safe locked vp and kept the space of two hundred yeares saue ten, & yet the colour kept as fresh as if it had bene newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it with honie, in silkes, which before had bene died red, and with white oile in white silkes. For, there are silkes seene of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. *Dino* writeth furthermore, that the kings of PERSIA made water to be brought from the riuers of Nylus and Ister (otherwise called Danubie) which they did lock vp with their other treasure for a confirmation of the greatnes of their Empire, & to shew that they were Lords of the world. The waies to enter into PERSIA being very hard of passage, and in maner vnpassable, (both for the ilnesse of the waies, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the choisest men of PERSIA) *Darius* also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greek and PERSIAN tongue (whose father was borne in the countrey of LYCIA, and his mother a PERSIAN) that guided *Alexander* into PERSIA, by some compasse fetched about not very long, according to the oracles answer of *Alexander* giuen by the mouth of the Nun *Pythias*, when he was a child: that a LYCIAN should guide and leade him against the PERSIANS. There was then great slaughter made in PERSIA of the prisoners that were taken. For *Alexander* himselfe writeth, that he commaunded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serue his turne. It is said also, that there he found a maruellous treasure of gold and siluer in readie money, as he had done before in the citie of SVSA: the which he caried away with all the rest of the Kings rich wardrobe, and with it laded ten thousand moyles, and fiue thousand camels. *Alexander* entring into the castle of the chiefe citie of PERSIA, saw by chaunce a great image of *Xerxes* lie on the ground, the which vnwares was throwne downe by the multitude of the souldiers that came in thronging one vpon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spake vnto it as if it had bene aliue, saying: I cannot tell whether I should passe by thee, and let thee lie, for the warre thou madest sometime against the GRECIANS: or whether I should lift thee vp, respecting the noble mind and vertues thou haddest.

What Medaes enchauntment vvas.

** In this place there lacke certaine lines in the Greeke originall.*

No iuie in the countrey of Babylon.

Treasure found by Alexander at the citie of Susa.

** It seemeth that he meaneth of silke died in purple, whereof the best that vvas in Europe was made in the citie of Hermiona, in Laconia.*

Alexanders iourney into Persia.

Alexander found a maruellous treasure in Persia.

In

In the end, when he had ſtood mute a long time, conſidering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refreſh his wearie armie, becauſe it was the winter quarter, he remained there 4. moneths together. The report goeth that the firſt time that *Alexander* ſate vnder the cloth of ſtate of king *Darius*, all of rich gold: *Demarathus* CORINTHIAN (who firſt began to loue him, euen in his father *Philips* time) burſt out in teares for ioy (good old man) ſaying, that the GRECIANS long time dead before, were depriued of this bleſſed hap, to ſee *Alexander* ſit in king *Xerxes* princely chaire. After that, preparing againe to go againſt *Darius*, he would needs make merry one day, and refreſh him ſelfe with ſome banquet. It chanced ſo, that he with his companions was bidden to a priuate feaſt priuatly, where was aſſembled ſome fine curtiſans of his familiars, who with their friends tarried at the banquet. Amongſt them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the countrey of ATTICA, and then concubine to *Ptolomy*, king of ÆGYPT after *Alexanders* death. She finely praiſed *Alexander*, and partly in ſporting wiſe, began to vtter matter in affection of her countrey, but yet of greater importance then became her mouth: ſaying, that that day ſhe found her ſelfe fully recompenced to her great good liking, for all the paines ſhe had taken, trauelling through all the countries of ASIA, following of his armie, now that ſhe had this fauor and good hap to be merrie and pleaſant, in the proud and ſtately pallace of the great kings of PERSIA. But yet it would do her more good for a recreation to burne *Xerxes* houſe with the fire of ioy, who had burnt the citie of ATHENS: and her ſelfe to giue the fire to it, before ſo noble a Prince as *Alexander*. Becauſe euer after it might be ſayd, that the women following his campe had taken more noble reuenge of the PERSIANS, for the wrongs and iniuries they had done vnto GRECE: then all the Captaines of GRECE that euer were had done, either by land or ſea. When ſhe had ſaid, *Alexanders* familiars about him, clapped their hands and made great noiſe for ioy, ſaying: that it were as good a deed as could be poſſible, and perſwaded *Alexander* vnto it. *Alexander* yeelding to their perſwaſions, roſe vp, and putting a garland of flowers vpon his head, went foremoſt himſelfe: and all his familiars followed after him, crying and dauncing all about the caſtle. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it alſo, came thither immediatly with torches light and great ioy, hoping that this was a good ſigne that *Alexander* meant to returne againe into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the countrey of the barbarous people, ſith he did burne and deſtroy the kings caſtle. Thus, and in this ſort it was thought to be burnt. Some writers thinke otherwiſe: that it was not burnt with ſuch ſport, but by determination of the counſell. But howſoeuer it was, all they graunt, that *Alexander* did preſently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched ſtraight. For his liberalitie, that good will and readineſſe to giue, increaſed with his conqueſts: and when he did beſtow gifts of any, he would beſides his gift, euer giue them good countenance, on whom he beſtowed his grace and fauour. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Ariſto* being Colonell of the PÆONIANS, hauing ſlaine one of his enemies, he brought him his head, and ſaid: ſuch a preſent, O king, by vs, is euer rewarded with a cup of gold. Yea, quoth *Alexander*, ſmiling vpon him with an emptie cup. But I drinke to thee this cup full of good wine, and do giue thee cup and all. Another time, he met with a poore MACEDONIAN that led a moyle loden with gold of the Kings: and when the poore moyle was ſo wearie that ſhe could no longer carie her burden, the moyletter put it vpon his owne back, and loded himſelf withall, carying it ſo a good pretie way: howbeit in the end being ouerloden, was about to throw it downe on the ground. *Alexander* perceiuing it, asked him what burden he caried. When it was told him: well, quoth he to the moyletter, be not wearie yet but carie it into the tent, for I giue it thee. To be ſhort, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with thoſe that would aske him ſomewhat. He wrote alſo vnto *Phocion*, that he would take him no more for his friend, if he would refuſe his gifts. It ſeemed that he had giuen nothing vnto a yong boy called *Serapion* (who euer did ſerue them the ball that plaid at tennis) becauſe he asked him nothing. Wherefore the King playing on a time, this yong boy threw the ball to others that played with him, and not to himſelfe. The King maruelling at it, at the length ſaid vnto him: Why, my boy, doeſt thou not giue me the ball? Becauſe your Maieſtie doth not aske it me, quoth he. *Alexander* then vnderſtanding his meaning, laughed at the boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him alſo one *Proteas*, a pleaſant conceited man, and that could ieaſt finely. It chanced vpon ſome occaſion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereupon ſome of his friends were interceſſors vnto the King for him, and beſought him to pardon him: & *Proteas* himſelf alſo being preſent, craued pardon with teares in his eies. *Alexander* therupon forgaue him. Then preſently replied *Proteas*, I deſire it may pleaſe your Grace,

The inſolent boldneſſe of Thais the baſe.

Perſepolis ſet a fire by Alexander.

that I may receiue ſome teſtimonie to aſſure me I am in your fauor. Thereupon the king ſtraight commaunded one to giue him fiue talents. The goods and riches he gaue vnto his familiars and guard about him, were very great, as it appeared plainely by a letter which his mother *Olympias* wrote vnto him, to this effect: I know thou ſpareſt not to giue thy friends large gifts, and that thou makeſt much of them: but thereby thou makeſt them kings fellowes, they get many friends, and leaue thee poſt alone without any. His mother did many times write ſuch like matters vnto him, the which *Alexander* kept very ſecret, ſauing one day when he opened one of them, *Hephæſtion* being preſent drew neare, & read the letter with him, as he was wont to do. *Alexander* did let him alone, but when he had read it, he pluckt the ſeale of armes from his finger, wherewith he did vſe to ſeale his letters, and put it to *Hephæſtions* mouth. He gaue alſo vnto the ſon of *Mazeus* (that was the chiefeſt man about *Darius*) a ſecond gouernment, beſides that which he had before, and greater then the firſt. This young nobleman refuſed it, ſaying: why, and it pleaſe your Grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now make many *Alexanders*. He gaue vnto *Parmenio* alſo, *Bagoas* houſe, where (as it is reported) he found a thouſand talents worth of the ſpoiles and goods of the SVSIANS. He wrote alſo vnto *Antipater*, that he ſhould keepe a guard about his perſon, for he had many enemies that lay in wait for him. He did ſend alſo many goodly preſents vnto his mother, but withal he wrote vnto her, that ſhe would meddle no more with his matters nor gifts, taking vpon her the office of a captain. She ſtorming at it, he patiētly did brook her anger. *Antipater* another time, writing a long letter vnto him againſt his mother *Olympias*: when he had read it ouer, Loe, ſaid he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the mothers eye wil wipe out ten thouſand ſuch letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiuing on a time, that his friends became very diſſolute and licencious in diet and life, and that *Agnon* TEIAN had his corked ſhooes nailed with ſiluer nailes, that *Leonatus* alſo cauſed diuers camels to be loden amongſt his cariage with powder of ÆGYPT, to put vpon him when he wreſtled or vſed any other exerciſe of bodie, and that alſo they caried after *Philotus*, toiles for chaſe and hunting, of a hundreth furlong long, and that there were alſo that vſed precious perfumes and ſweet ſauors when they bathed themſelues, more then there were that rubbed themſelues with plaine oyle, and that they had fine chamberlaines to rub them in the bath, and to make their beds ſoft and delicate: he wiſely and curteouſly rebuked them and ſaid: I maruell, ſaid he, that you which haue fought in ſo often and great battels, do not remember that they which trauell, do ſleepe more ſweet and ſoundly, then they that take their eaſe and do nothing: and that you do not mark, that comparing your life, with the maner of the life of the PERSIANS, to liue at pleaſure is a vile thing, and to trauel is princely. And how I pray you, can a man take paine to dreſſe his own horſe, or to make cleane his launce or helmet, that for ſlothfull curioſities ſake, diſdaineth to rub his owne bodie with his fingers? Are you ignorant that the tipe of honour in all our victorie conſiſteth, in ſcorning to do that which we ſee them do, whom we haue vanquiſhed and ouercome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themſelues with hardneſſe: he tooke more paines in warres and in hunting, and did hazard himſelfe more dangerouſly, then euer he had done before. Whereupon an Ambaſſador of LACEDÆMON being preſent to ſee him fight with a Lion, and to kill him, ſayd vnto him: truly your Grace hath fought well with this Lion, and tried which of you two ſhould be King. *Craterus* after that, cauſed this hunting to be ſet vp in the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES: where are the images of the Lion, of the dogges, and of the King fighting with the Lion, and of himſelfe alſo that came to helpe him, all thoſe images being of copper, ſome made by *Lyſippus*, the reſt by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put himſelfe vnto all ieopardies, as well to exerciſe his ſtrength and courage, as alſo to allure his men to do the like. This notwithſtanding his friends and familiars hauing wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needes liue delicately and at eaſe, and would take no more paines, miſliking vtterly to go vp and downe the countries to make warre here and there, and thereupon began a litle to find fault with *Alexander*, and to ſpeake euill of him. Which at the firſt *Alexander* tooke quietly, ſaying, that it was honour for a King to ſuffer himſelfe to be ſlaundered and ill ſpoken of, for doing of good. And yet the leaſt good turnes he did vnto his friends, did ſhew his heartie loue and honour he bare them, as ſhall appeare vnto you by ſome examples that follow. *Peuceſtas* being bitten by a beare, did let his friends vnderſtand by letters, but he wrote nothing thereof vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote vnto him thus: Send me word at the leaſt yet how thou doſt, & whether any of thy fellowes did forſake thee at the hunting, to the end they may be puniſhed.

Alexanders prodigalitie reproued by his mother Olympias.

Alexander reproueth the finenſſe and curioſitie of his friends.

Alexander an enemie vnto idlneſſe.

Alexanders care of his friends, and wonderfull courteſie towards them.

Hephæſtion

Hephæſtion being abſent about certaine buſineſſe he had, *Alexander* wrote vnto him, that as they were hunting a beaſt called Ichnewmon, *Craterus* vnfortunately croſſing *Perdiccas* dart, was ſtricken through both his thighes. *Peuceſtas* being cured of a great diſeaſe, *Alexander* wrote vnto *Alexippus* his Phiſition that had cured him, and gaue him thankes. *Craterus* alſo being ſicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine ſacrifices for the recouerie of his health, and ſent vnto him, willing him to do the like. And when the Phiſition *Pauſanias* meant to giue him a drinke of Elleborus, he wrote letters vnto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be carefull how he receiued that medicine. He did alſo put *Ephialtes* and *Ciſſus* in priſon, who brought him the firſt newes of *Harpalus* flying, becauſe they did wrongfully accuſe and ſlaunder him. When he had commaunded there ſhould be a bill made of all the old mens names, and diſeaſed perſons that were in his campe, to ſend them home againe into their countrey: there was one *Eurylochus* Ægeian, that made his name be billed among the ſicke perſons, and it was found afterwards that he was not ſicke, and confeſſed that he did it onely to follow a young woman called *Teleſippa*, with whom he was in loue, who was returning homewards towards the ſea ſide. *Alexander* asked him, whether this woman were free or bond: he anſwered him, that ſhe was a curtizan free borne. Then ſayd *Alexander* vnto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy loue, yet I cannot force her to tarie: but ſeeke to win her by giftes and faire words to be contented to tarie, ſithence ſhe is a free woman. It is a wonderfull thing to ſee what paines he would take, to write for his friends, euen in ſuch trifles as he did. As when he wrote into Cilicia for a ſeruant of *Seleucus* that was fled from his maiſter, ſending ſtraight commaundement, that they ſhould carefully lay for him. And by another letter he commendeth *Peuceſtas*, for that he had ſtayed and taken one *Nicon*, a ſlaue of *Craterus*. And by one other letter alſo vnto *Megabizus*, touching another bondman that had taken ſanctuarie in a temple, he commaunded him alſo to ſeeke to entiſe him out of the ſanctuarie, to lay hold on him if he could, but otherwiſe not to meddle with him in any caſe. It is ſaid alſo, that at the firſt when he vſed to ſit in iudgement to heare criminall cauſes, whilſt the accuſer went on with his complaint and accuſation: he alwayes vſed to lay his hand vpon one of his eares, to keepe that cleane from the matter of accuſation, thereby reſeruing it to heare the purgation and iuſtification of the perſon condemned. But afterwards, the number of accuſations that were brought before him, did ſo prouoke and alter him, that he did beleeue the falſe accuſations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothing put him more in rage, then when he vnderſtood they had ſpoken ill of him: and then he was ſo fierce, as no pardon would be graunted, for that he loued his honour more then his kingdome or life. Then at that time he went againſt *Darius*, thinking that he meant to fight againe: but vnderſtanding that *Beſſus* had taken him, then he gaue the Theſſalians leaue to depart home into their countrey, and gaue them two thouſand talents ouer and aboue their ordinarie pay. *Alexander* had then a maruellous long, hard, and painefull iourney in following of *Darius*: for in eleuen dayes, he rode three thouſand and three hundreth furlongs, inſomuch as the moſt part of his men were euen wearie, and done for lacke of water. It chaunced him one day to meete with certaine Macedonians that caried (vpon moyles) goate skinnes full of water, which they had fetched from a riuer. They ſeeing *Alexander* in manner dead for thirſt, being about noone, ranne quickly to him, and in a head-peece brought him water. *Alexander* asked them, to whom they caried this water. They anſwered him againe, that they caried it to their children, but yet would haue your Grace to liue: for though we loſe them, we may get more children. When they had ſaid ſo, *Alexander* tooke the helmet with water, and perceiuing that the men of armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thruſt out their neckes to looke vpon this water, he gaue the water backe againe vnto them that had giuen it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it: for, ſaid he, if I drinke alone, all theſe men here will faint. Then they ſeeing the noble courage and curteſie of *Alexander*, cried out that he ſhould leade them: and therewithall beganne to ſpurre their horſes, ſaying, that they were not wearie nor a thirſt, nor did thinke themſelues mortall, ſo long as they had ſuch a King. Euerie man was alike willing to follow *Alexander*, yet had he but threeſcore onely that entred with him into the enemies campe. There, paſſing ouer much gold and ſiluer, which was ſcattered abroade in the place, and going alſo by many chariots full of women and children, which they found in the fields, flying away at all aduenture: they ranne vpon the ſpurre, vntill they had ouertaken the foremoſt that fled, thinking to haue found *Darius* amongſt them.

Alexander kept one eare for the condemned perſon.

Alexander would not pardon ill wordes ſpoken of him.

Alexanders painfull iorney in following of Darius.

The loue of Alexander to his ſouldiers, and abſtinence.

Alexander regarded not the ſpoile of golde and ſiluer, in reſpect of purſuing his flying enemie.

But at the length, with much ado, they found him layed along in a coach, hauing many wounds vpon his bodie, ſome of darts and ſome of ſpeares. So he being almoſt at the laſt caſt, called for ſome drinke, and dranke cold water, which *Polyſtratus* gaue him. To whom when he had drunk, he ſaid: this is my laſt miſhap my friend, that hauing receiued this pleaſure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the gods *Alexander*, for the liberalitie and curteſie which he hath ſhewed vnto my wife and children, whom I pray thee embrace for my ſake. At theſe laſt words, he tooke *Polyſtratus* by the hand, and ſo gaue vp the ghoſt. *Alexander* came immediatly after, and plainely ſhewed that he was ſorie for his death and misfortune: and vndoing his owne cloke, he caſt it vpon the body of *Darius*. After that, hauing by good hap gotten *Beſſus* into his hands, he tare him in peeces with two high ſtraight trees which he bowed downewards, and tied his legges to each of them: ſo that when the trees were let go, they gaue a ſodaine cruell ierke vp, and caried either tree a peece of his bodie with it. Then *Alexander* hauing giuen *Darius* corſe princely buriall, and embalmed him: he ſent it vnto his mother, and receiued his brother *Exathres* for one of his friends. From thence he went into the country of HYRCANIA with all the flower of his armie, where he ſaw the gulfe of the ſea Caſpium, which he thought of no leſſe greatneſſe, then the ſea of PONTVS, howbeit calmer then the other ſeas be. He could not then certainely find out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelyhood he thought it was ſome breaking out of the lake or marriſh of Meotin. Yet ſome ancient naturall Philoſophers ſeemed to know truly what it was. For many yeares before *Alexanders* voyage and conqueſt, they wrote, that of the foure chiefeſt gulfes of the ſea, that commeth from the Ocean, and do enter within maine land, that which is more Northerly, is the ſea Caſpium, which they call alſo Hyrcanium. As *Alexander* went through the country, certaine barbarous people ſodainly ſet vpon them that led *Bucephal* his horſe, and tooke him: but with that he was in ſuch a rage, that he ſent a Herauld into their countrey to proclaime open warres vpon them, and that he would put man, woman, and child to the ſword, if they brought him not his horſe againe. Whereupon, when his horſe was returned home, and that they yeelded vp their cities and forts into his hands, he did vſe them all very curteouſly, and moreouer did giue them money for the ranſome of his horſe, which they reſtored. Departing thence, he entred into the countrey of PARTHIA. There hauing leyſure enough, he began to apparel himſelf after the faſhion of the barbarous people, becauſe he thought thereby the better to win the hearts of the countrimen, framing himſelf vnto their own faſhions: or elſe to trie the hearts of the MACEDONIANS, to ſee how they would like the manner of the PERSIANS (which he meant to bring them vnto) in reuerencing of him as they did their King, by litle and litle acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithſtanding, he would not at the firſt take vp the apparell of the MEDES, which was very ſtrange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without breeches, nor did weare a long gowne trayling on the ground, nor a high coptanct hat, but tooke a meane apparell, betwixt the MEDES and the PERSIANS, more modeſt then the one, and more coſtly then the other: and yet at the firſt he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous people, or elſe priuately amongſt his friends and familiars. Afterwards notwithſtanding, he ſhewed himſelf openly to the people in that apparell, when he gaue them audience. This ſight grieued the MACEDONIANS much: but they had his vertues in ſuch admiration, that they thought it meete in ſome things he ſhould take his owne pleaſure, ſithence he had bene often hurt in the warres, and not long before had his legge broken with an arrow, and another time, had ſuch a blow with a ſtone full in his necke, that it made him ſpurre-blind a great while after, and yet neuertheleſſe, he neuer eſchewed any bodily danger: for he paſſed ouer the riuer of Orexartes, which he tooke to be Tanais, and hauing in battell ouerthrowne the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chaſe aboue an hundreth furlongs, notwithſtanding that at that inſtant he had a looſeneſſe of bodie. Thither came vnto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the AMAZONES, as many writers do teſtifie: among the which are theſe, *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Oneſicritus*, *Antigenes* and *Hiſter*. But *Chares*, *Ptolomie*, *Anticlides*, and *Philon* THEBAN, *Philip* the Hiſtoriographer, *Hecateus* ERETRIAN, *Philip* CHALCIDIAN, and *Duris* SAMIAN, all theſe do write that it was not true: and it ſeemeth alſo that *Alexander* ſelfe doth confirme it. For, writing all things particularly vnto *Antipater* as they happened vnto him, he wrote vnto him that the King of SCYTHIA offered him his daughter in mariage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any AMAZON. It is alſo ſayd, that *Oneſicritus* long time after that did reade vnto King *Lyſimachus*, the fourth booke of his hiſtorie, where

The death of Darius.

The puniſhmẽt and execution of Beſſus.

The ſea Hyrcanium or Caſpium.

Alexander goeth after the maner of the Perſians.

† *Some faults are to be borne with, in a man of great vertue*

Orexartes fl.

where he did ſpeake of the AMAZON. *Lyſimachus* ſmiling, ſayd vnto him: Why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit it or not credit it, *Alexanders* eſtimation thereby is neither impaired nor aduanced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the MACEDONIANS, being weary with this long warre, would go no further: he left all the reſt of his army behind, and tooke only twenty thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſemen of the choiſeſt men of his army, and with them inuaded the countrey of HYRCANIA. There he made an oration vnto them, and told them, that the barbarous people of ASIA had but ſeene them as it were in a dreame, and if they ſhould now returne backe into MACEDON, hauing but onely ſtirred them, and not altogether ſubdued ASIA: the people offended with them, would ſet vpon them as they went home, as if they were no better than women. Neuertheleſſe, he gaue any man leaue to returne that would, proteſting therewith againſt them that would go, how they did forſake him, his friends, and thoſe who had ſo good hearts towards him, as to follow him in ſo noble a iourney, to conquer the whole earth vnto the MACEDONIANS. This ſelfe matter is reported thus in a letter which *Alexander* wrote vnto *Antipater*: and there he writeth furthermore, that hauing made this oration vnto them, they all cried out, and bad him leade them into what part of the world he would. When they had granted their goodwils, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the reſt of the common ſort, who followed the example of the chiefeſt. Thereupon he did frame himſelfe the more to liue after the faſhion of the countrey there, and enterchangeably alſo to bring the men of that countrey vnto the maner of the MACEDONIANS: being perſwaded that by this mixture and enterchange of maners one with another, he ſhould by friendſhip more then force, make them agree louingly together, when that he ſhould be ſo farre from the countrey of PERSIA. For this purpoſe therefore, he choſe thirty thouſand of their children of that country, and ſet them to learne the Greeke toung, and to be brought vp in the diſcipline of wars, after the MACEDONIANS maner: and gaue them ſchoolemaiſters and Captaines to traine them in each faculty. And for the marying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, ſeeing her at a feaſt where he was: which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better aduiſe and counſell loued her. For the barbarous people were very proud of this match, when as they ſaw him make alliance with them in this ſort, inſomuch as they loued him better then they did before, becauſe they ſaw in thoſe things he was alwayes ſo chaſt and continent, that notwithſtanding he was maruellouſly in loue with her, yet he would not diſhonorably touch this yong Lady, before he was maried vnto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* conſidering that of the two men which he loued beſt, *Hephæſtion* liked well of his match, and went apparelled as himſelfe did, and that *Craterus* contrarily did ſtill vſe the MACEDONIAN maner: he dealt in all affaires with the barbarous people, by *Hephæſtion*, and with the GRECIANS and MACEDONIANS, by *Craterus*. To be ſhort, he loued the one, and honored the other: ſaying that *Hephæſtion* loued *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loued the king. Hereupon theſe two perſons bare one another grudge in their harts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inſomuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drew their ſwords and fought together, and diuerſe of their friends ranne to take part with either ſide. Thither came *Alexander* ſelfe alſo, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke vp *Hephæſtion*, and called him foole and bedlem, ſaying, doſt thou not know, that whatſoeuer he be that ſhould take *Alexander* from me, he ſhould neuer liue? Priuatly alſo, he ſharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them friends together, ſwearing by *Iupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loued them two of all men liuing, neuertheleſſe if euer he found that they fell out together againe, they ſhould both die for it, or him at the leaſt that firſt began to quarrell. So euer after that, they ſay there was neuer foule word nor deed betweene them, not ſo much as in ſport onely. There was alſo one *Philotas*, the ſonne of *Parmenio*, a man of great authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next vnto *Alexander* was the moſt valiant man, the patienteſt to abide paine, the liberalleſt, and one that loued his men and friends better then any noble man in the campe whatſoeuer. Of him it is reported, that a friend of his came to him on a time to borow money: and he commaunded ſtraight one of his men to let him haue it. His purſe-bearer anſwered him, that he had none. Why, ſayd his maiſter, doeſt thou tell me ſo? Haſt thou not plate, and apparell to ſell or gage to helpe him to ſome? Howbeit otherwiſe, he had ſuch pride and glory to ſhew his riches, to apparell himſelfe ſo ſumptuouſly, and to be more fine and princked then became a priuate man, that this made him to be hated: becauſe he tooke vpon him to be a great man, and to looke bigge on the matter, which became him ſo ill fauoredly, and therefore euerie man through his owne folly, fell

Alexander with one word of his mouth brought the Macedonians to obedience.

Alexander maried Roxane a Perſian.

Quarrell betwixt Hephæſtion and Craterus.

Why Philotas was ſuſpected and enuied of Alexander.

in misliking with him. Insomuch as his owne father sayd one day vnto him: Son I pray thee be more humble and lowly. This *Philotas* had long before bene complained vpon vnto *Alexander*, because that when the cariage of king *Darius* army (which was in the city of DAMAS) was taken after the battell of CILICIA, among many prisoners that were taken & brought vnto *Alexanders* campe, there was one *Antigona*, a passing faire yong curtisan, borne in the city of PIDNA. *Philotas* found meanes to get her, and like a yong man that was in loue with her, making merry with her at the table, fondly let fall braue words and boasts of a souldier, saying that what notable things were done, they were done by himselfe and his father: and called *Alexander* at euery word, young man, and sayd that by their meanes he held his name and kingdome. This curtisan told one of her friends what he sayd, and that friend told another friend, and so went from man to man (as commonly it doth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* eares. He tooke the curtisan, and brought her vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom she told as much as she had sayd before. *Alexander* bad her still make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him euery word what he sayd of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circumuented, did euer frequent her company, and would be bold commonly to speake many fooliſh and vndiscreet words against the king, sometime in anger, and sometime againe in a brauery. *Alexander* this notwithstanding, though he had manifest proofe and cause to accuse *Philotas*, yet he dissembled it for that time, and would not be knowne of it: either for that he knew *Parmenio* loued him, or else for that he was affraid of their great power and authority. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalæstrian* a MACEDONIAN, that layd great and secret wait to kill *Alexander*: and being in loue with a yong man called *Nicomachus*, intised him to helpe him to do this deed. The young man wisely denied it, and told the same to his brother called *Balinus*. He went vnto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexander*, for they had a matter of great importãce to impart vnto him. *Philotas* would not let him speake with the king (but why no man could tell) telling them that the king had greater matters in hand, and was not at leisure. Then they went vnto another, and he brought them vnto *Alexander*, vnto whom first they opened the treason of *Limnus* conspired against him: & by the way they told also, how they had bin twise before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor speake with them. That angred *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended also when *Limnus* was slaine by him, whom he sent to apprehẽd him, resisting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death he had lost a great meanes to come to the light of this treason and conspiracy. Then *Alexander* frowning vpon *Philotas*, brought all his enemies vpon his backe, that of long time had hated him. For they began to speake boldly, that it was time for the king to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this *Limnus Chalæstrian* of himselfe durst haue entred into that treason, but rather that he was a minister, and a chiefe instrument, set on by a greater personage then he: and therefore that it stood *Alexander* vpon to examine them straightly, which had cause to keepe this treason secret. After *Alexander* once gaue eare vnto such words and vehement presumptions, there was straight brought a thousand accusations against *Philotas*. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of diuerse Lords and familiars of the king put to the torture, *Alexander* selfe being behind a hanging, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he heard how faintly and pitifully he besought *Hephæstion* to take pity vpon him, he sayd vnto himselfe: Alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that hast so faint a heart, how durst thou take vpon thee so great matters? In fine, *Philotas* was put to death, and immediatly after he was executed, *Alexander* sent also with speed vnto the Realme of MEDIA to kill *Parmenio*, who was his Lieutenant there, and one that had serued king *Philip* his father, in his greatest affaires, and he onely of all other the old seruants of his father had procured *Alexander* to take in hand the conquest of ASIA: and who also of three sons which he brought out with him, had seene two of them dye before him, and afterwards was slaine himselfe with the third. This crueltie of *Alexander* made his friends affraid of him, and specially *Antipater*: who secretly sent Ambassadours vnto the ÆTOLIANS, to make league with them, because they themselues also were affraid of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Oeniades* to death. *Alexander* hearing that, sayd, that he himselfe, and not the sonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be reuenged on the ÆTOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murther of *Clitus*, the which to heare it simply told, would seeme much more cruell than the death of *Philotas*. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chaunced: it will be found that it was not of set purpose, but by chaunce and vnfortunately, that *Alexander* being ouercome with

Limnus traiterously seeketh to kill Alexander.

Philotas and his father Parmenio put to death.

Antipater was affraid of Alexander.

with wine, did vnluckily wreake his anger vpon *Clitus*. The manner of his misfortune was this. There came certaine men of the low countries from the sea side, that brought apples of GRECE vnto *Alexander*. *Alexander* wondering to see them so greene and faire, sent for *Clitus* to shew him them, and to giue him some of them. *Clitus* by chance did sacrifice at that time vnto the gods, and left his sacrifice to go vnto *Alexander*: howbeit, there were three weathers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprincklings had bene done already to haue sacrificed them. *Alexander* vnderstanding that, told it to his Soothsayers, *Aristander*, and *Cleomantis* LACONIAN, both did aunswer him, that it was an ill signe. *Alexander* thereupon gaue order straight, that they should do sacrifice for the health of *Clitus*, and specially for that three dayes before he dreamed one night that he saw *Clitus* in a mourning gowne, sitting amongst the sonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, *Clitus* did not make an end of his sacrifice, but came straight to supper to the king, who had that day sacrificed vnto *Castor* and *Pollux*. At this feast there was old drinking, and all the supper time there were certaine verses sung and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus* (or as others say, of one *Pierion*) against certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before bene ouercome by the barbarous people, and onely to shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these verses, ancient men that were at this feast, became much offended, and grew angry with the Poet that made them, and the minstrell that sung them. *Alexander* on the other side, and his familiars, liked them verie well, and commanded the minstrell to sing still. *Clitus* therewithall being ouertaken with wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, fell into greater choler, and sayd: that it was neither well nor honestly done in that sort to speake ill of those poore MACEDONIAN Captaines, (and specially amongst the barbarous people their enemies) which were farre better men then they that laughed them to scorne, although their fortune were worse then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and sayd, that saying so, he pleaded for himselfe, calling cowardlinesse, misfortune. Then *Clitus* standing vp, sayd againe: But yet this my cowardlinesse saued thy life, that callest thy selfe the sonne of the gods, when thou turnedst thy backe from *Spithridates* sword: and the bloud which these poore MACEDONIANS did shed for thee, and the wounds which they receiued on their bodies fighting for thee, haue made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to haue king *Philip* for thy father, and wilt needs make thy selfe the sonne of *Iupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moued with these words, straight replied: O, villen, thinkest thou to scape vnpunished for these proud words of thine, which thou vsest continually against me, making the MACEDONIANS to rebell against me? *Clitus* answered againe, Too much are we punished, *Alexander*, for our paines and seruice to receiue such reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the MACEDONIANS scourged with rods of the MEDES, & compelled to curry fauour with the PERSIANS, to haue accesse vnto their king. Thus *Clitus* boldly speaking against *Alexander*, and *Alexander* againe answering and reuiling him: the grauest men sought to pacifie this stirre and tumult. *Alexander* then turning himselfe vnto *Xenodochus* CARDIAN, and *Artemius* COLOPHONIAN: Do you not thinke (sayd he) that the GRECIANS are amongst the MACEDONIANS, as demy gods that walke among brute beasts? *Clitus* for all this would not giue ouer his impudency and malapertnesse, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* speake openly what he had to say, or else not to bid free men come to sup with him that were wont to speake franckly: if not, to keepe with the barbarous slaues that honored his PERSIAN girdle, and long white garment. Then could *Alexander* no longer hold his choler, but tooke an apple that was vpon his table, & threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his sword, the which *Aristophanes*, one of his gard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when euery man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented: he immediatly rose from the boord, and called his gard vnto him in the MACEDONIAN tongue (which was a signe of great trouble to follow after it) and commanded a trumpeter to sound the allarme. But he drawing backe, would not sound: whereupon *Alexander* strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he onely kept the campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, whereupon his friends with much ado thrust him out of the hall: but he came in againe at another doore, and arrogantly and vnreuerently rehearsed this verse of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* tragedy:

Alas for sorow, euill wayes
Are into Greece crept now a dayes.

Why Alexander slue Clitus.

Alexanders dreame of Clitus.

The malapertnesse of Clitus against Alexander.

Alexander slue Clitus, and grieuously repented him.

Then *Alexander* taking a partisan from one of his gard, as *Clitus* was comming towards him, and had lift vp the hanging before the doore, he ranne him through the body, so that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one grone, died presently. *Alexanders* choler had left him straight, and he became maruellous sorowfull: and when he saw his friends round about him say neuer a word, he pluckt the partisan out of his body, and would haue thrust it into his owne throte. Howbeit his gard about him caught him by the hands, and caried him perforce into his chamber: and there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, and the next day following, vntill such time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, only lay sighing. His friends hearing his voyce no more, were afraid, and came into his chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would heare none of them, sauing *Aristander* the Soothsayer, who remembred him of his dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was a prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his destiny before he was borne. This seemed to comfort *Alexander*. Afterwards they brought in *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, a kinsman of *Aristotles*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in ABDERA. Of these two, *Callisthenes* sought by gentle talke, not mouing any matter offensiue to comfort *Alexanders* sorow. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by himselfe in the study of Philosophy, being accounted a braine-sicke man, and one that despised his companions: he comming into *Alexanders* chamber also with him, cried out at the doore as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the great whom all the world lookes vpon, and is afraid of. See where he lyes, weeping like a slaue on the ground, that is afraid of the law, and of the reproch of men: as if he himselfe should not giue them law, and stablish the bounds of iustice or iniustice, sithence he hath ouercome to be Lord and maister, and not to be subiect and slaue to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the Poets say, that *Iupiter* hath Themis, to wit, right and iustice placed on either hand of him? what signifieth that, but all that the prince doth, is holy, right, and iust? These words of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the sorowfull heart of king *Alexander* at that time, but therewithall, they made *Alexanders* manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did maruellously grow in fauour with the king, euen so did he make the company of *Callisthenes* (who of himselfe was not very pleasant, because of his grauity and sowrenesse) much more hatefull and misliked then before. It is written also that there was certaine talke one night at king *Alexanders* boord touching the seasons of the yeare, and temperatnesse of the aire, and that *Callisthenes* was of their opinion which maintained, that the country they were in at that time was much colder, and the winter also sharper then in GREECE. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and stifly maintained it, in so much as *Callisthenes* sayd vnto him: and yet must thou graunt, that it is colder here then there. For there all the winter time thou couldest go with a single cloake on thy backe onely, and here thou must haue three or foure garments vpon thee when thou art at thy boord. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quicke, and made him more angry then before: and for the other Rhetoritians and flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of young men for his eloquence, and beloued also of old men for his honest life, the which was very graue, modest, & contented with his owne, desiring no mans else. Whereby men found, that the reason he alledged for following of *Alexander* in this voyage, was true: for he sayd that he came to be an humble suter to the king to restore his banished citizens into their countrey againe, and to repleniish their city with inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be enuied, yet did he himselfe giue his enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being inuited by the king to supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, shewing by his grauity and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either sayd or done. Whereupon *Alexander* selfe sayd on a time vnto him:

Callisthenes, & Anaxarchus, do comfort Alexander.

The cause vvhy Callisthenes vvas enuied.

I cannot thinke that person wise,
That in his owne case hath no eyes.

It is reported of him also, that being at supper on a time with the king, diuerse requesting him to make an Oration on the sudden in commendation of the MACEDONIANS: he made such an eloquent Oration vpon that matter, that all they that heard him, rose from the boord, and clapping their hands for ioy, cast nosegayes and flowers vpon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time sayd vnto him that, which the Poet *Euripides* sayd:

It is no maistery to be eloquent,
In handling of a plenteous argument.

Nay,

Nay, but vtter then thy eloquence in reprouing of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faults, they may learne to amend. Then *Calliſthenes* changing copy, ſpake boldly many things againſt the MACEDONIANS: declaring, that the diſſention amongſt the GRECIANS did increaſe king *Philips* power, alledging theſe verſes:

Where diſcord reignes in realme or towne,
Euen wicked folke do winne renowne.

But by this occaſion, he purchaſed himſelfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: in ſo much, as *Alexander* ſelfe ſayd at that time, that he had not ſo much ſhewed his eloquence, as the malice he bare vnto the MACEDONIANS. *Hermippus* the hiſtoriographer writeth that one *Strœbus* a clearke of *Calliſthenes* did afterwards tell it vnto *Ariſtotle* in this ſort: and that *Calliſthenes* ſeeing king *Alexander* offended with him, did recite theſe verſes of *Homer* three or foure times as he went:

Patroclus who farre paſſed thee,
Was ſlaine, as thou art like to bee.

Ariſtotle thought Calliſthenes eloquent, but not wiſe.

And therefore very wiſely ſayd *Ariſtotle*, that *Calliſthenes* was eloquent, but not wiſe. For like a philoſopher, he ſtoutly ſtood againſt kneeling to the king, and ſayd that openly, which the nobleſt and ancienteſt men among the MACEDONIANS durſt but whiſper one in anothers eare, though they did all vtterly miſlike it: wherby he did yet deliuer GRECE from a great ſhame, and *Alexander* from a greater, bringing him from that maner of adoration of his perſon. This notwithſtanding, he vndid himſelfe becauſe he would ſeeme rather by preſumption to bring him to it, then by reaſon to perſwade him. *Chares* MITYLENIAN hath written, that *Alexander* hauing drunke at a certaine feaſt where he hapned to be, reached his cup vnto one of his friends, who after he had taken it of him, roſe vp firſt on his feete, and dranke alſo, turning him towards the gods, and firſt making ſolemne reuerence, he went and kiſſed *Alexander*, and then ſate him downe againe. All the reſt that were at the feaſt, did the like one after another, and *Calliſthenes* alſo, who tooke the cup when it came to his turne (the king not looking on him, but talking with *Hephæſtion*) after he had drunke, came to the king to kiſſe him, as others had done. Howbeit one *Demetrius* called *Phidon*, ſayd vnto the king: kiſſe him not, I pray your grace, for he of all men hath done you no reuerence. *Alexander* turned his head aſide, and would not kiſſe him. Then cried *Calliſthenes* out aloud: Well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with leſſe then others, by a kiſſe. And thus began *Alexanders* grudge firſt againſt *Calliſthenes*, by meanes whereof *Hephæſtion* was credited the better, when he ſayd that *Calliſthenes* had promiſed him to reuerence *Alexander*, although that he had broken promiſe. After him alſo *Lyſimachus*, *Agnon*, and diuerſe others began to play their parts againſt him, ſaying, that this Sophiſter went bragging vp and downe, as if he had deſtroyed a whole tyranny, and that all the yong men followed him to honour him, as if among ſo many thouſand ſouldiers, neuer a man of them had ſo noble a hart as he. And therefore, when the treaſon of *Hermolaus* againſt *Alexanders* perſon was diſcouered, they found the accuſation probable, the which ſome falſe detracters had informed againſt *Calliſthenes*: who had aunſwered *Hermolaus* that asked him, how he could come to be famous aboue all men, Thus: in killing the famouſeſt perſon. And to animate him to go forward with this treaſon, he had told him further, that he ſhould not be affraid of a golden bed, but remember he had to do with a man, which was ſometime ſicke and hurt as other men were. This notwithſtanding, there was neuer a one of *Hermolaus* confederates, that would once name *Calliſthenes*, what torments ſoeuer they abid, to bewray who were their companions. And *Alexander* ſelfe alſo writing of this treaſon immediatly after, vnto *Craterus*, *Attalus*, and *Alcetas*, ſayd, that their ſeruants which had bene racked and put to the torture, did conſtantly affirme that they onely had conſpired his death, and no man elſe was priuie vnto it. But afterwards, he ſent another letter vnto *Antipater*, wherein he directly accuſed *Calliſthenes*, and ſayd, that his ſeruants had already bene ſtoned to death by the MACEDONIANS, howbeit that he himſelfe would afterwards alſo puniſh the maiſter, and thoſe that had ſent vnto him, and that had receiued the murtherers into their cities, who came of purpoſe to kill him. And therein he plainely ſhewed the ill will he bare vnto *Ariſtotle*, for that *Calliſthenes* had bene brought vp with him, being his kinſman, and the ſonne of *Hero*, *Ariſtotles* neece. Some ſay, that *Alexander* truſſed *Calliſthenes* vp. Others againe report, that he died of ſickneſſe in priſon. Neuertheleſſe *Chares* writeth, that *Calliſthenes* was kept priſoner ſeuen moneths together, becauſe he ſhould haue had his iudgement

Calliſthenes ſuſpected of treaſon againſt Alexander.

Alexander offended with Ariſtotle.

The death of Calliſthenes the rhetoritian.

in open councell euen in the preſence of *Ariſtotle* himſelfe: howbeit, being very fat, he was eaten in the end by lyce, and ſo died, about the time that *Alexander* was hurt, fighting againſt the MALLIANS OXYDRACIANS, in the conqueſt of INDIA, but theſe things chanced a good while after. *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN being very old, had a great deſire to go ſee *Alexander*: and when he had ſeene him, he ſayd that the GRECIANS which were dead long before, were depriued of that bliſſe and happineſſe, that they could not ſee *Alexander* ſit in the royall ſeate of king *Darius*. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the kings good will vnto him, for he died of a ſickneſſe ſoone after he came vnto his campe, and *Alexander* did honour his funerals: for all the army in their armour did caſt vp a mount of earth faſhioned like a tombe, which was a great compaſſe about, and foure ſcore cubits high. His aſhes afterwards were brought with an honorable conuoy, vnto the ſea ſide, in a charret with foure horſes richly ſet out. *Alexander* being ready to take his iourney to go conquer INDIA, perceiuing that his army was very heauy and vnweildſome to remoue, for the wonderfull cariage and ſpoiles they had with them: the carts one morning being loden, he firſt burnt his owne cariage, & next his friends, and then commanded that they ſhould alſo ſet the cariage of the MACEDONIANS on fire, which counſell ſeemed more dangerous to be reſolued of, then the proofe of the execution fell out difficult. For there were very few of them that were angry therwith, and the moſt part of them (as if they had bene ſecretly moued by ſome god) with loud cries of ioy, one of them gaue vnto another ſuch neceſſary things as they had need of, & afterwards of themſelues did burne and ſpoile all the reſt. This made *Alexander* much more rigorous thē he was before, who beſides that he was already become cruel inough, & without mercy or pardon, did ſharply puniſh euery man that offended. For hauing commanded *Menander* one of his friends, to keepe him a ſtrong hold: he put him to death, becauſe he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he himſelfe ſlue *Orſodates* (a Captaine of the barbarous people) with a dart, for that he rebelled againſt him. About that time, there was an eaw that had eaned a lambe, which had vpon her head, the forme and purple colour of the kings hat, after the PERSIAN maner called Tiara, hauing two ſtones hanging on each ſide of it. *Alexander* abhorred this monſtrous ſigne, inſomuch as he purged himſelfe by certaine BABYLONIAN prieſts, which he alwayes caried about with him for that purpoſe, and ſayd vnto his friends: that this monſter did not ſo much moue him for reſpect of himſelfe, as it did for them, fearing that the gods after his death had predeſtined the force and power of his kingdome to fall into the hands of ſome baſe cowardly perſon. This notwithſtanding, another ſigne and token which chanced in the necke of that, did take away this feare and diſcouragement he had. For a MACEDONIAN called *Proxenus*, that had charge of the kings cariage, as he digged in a certaine place by the riuer of Oxus, to ſet vp the kings tent and his lodging, he found a certaine fat and oily veine, which after they had drawne out the firſt, there came out alſo another clearer, which differed nothing, neither in ſmell, taſt, nor ſauour, from naturall oile, hauing the gloſſe and fatneſſe ſo like, as there could be diſcerned no difference betweene them: the which was ſo much more to be wondred at, becauſe that in all that country there were no oliues. They ſay alſo, that the water of the riuer ſelfe of Oxus is very ſoft, and maketh their skins fat, which waſh or bath themſelues therein. And yet it appeareth by that which *Alexander* ſelfe wrote vnto *Antipater*, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongſt the greateſt ſignes which the gods had ſent vnto him. The ſoothſayers did interprete this wonder, that it was a ſigne, that he ſhould haue a noble, but yet a painfull voyage: for the gods, ſayd they, haue giuen oyle vnto men to refreſh their wearineſſe. And truly ſo did he ſuſtaine many dangers in thoſe wrrres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greateſt loſſe he had of his men, was for lacke of victuals, and by the infection of the aire. For he, ſtriuing to ouercome fortune by valiantneſſe, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impoſſible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withſtand a noble hart. It is reported, that when he went to beſiege a ſtrong hold which *Siſimethres* kept, being thought vnſaltable, and that his ſouldiers were in diſpaire of it: he asked one *Oxyathres*, what hart *Siſimethres* had. *Oxyathres* anſwered him, that he was the verieſt coward in the world. O, that is well, quoth *Alexander*: then it is to be wonne, if that be true thou ſayeſt, ſithence the Captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it on a ſudden, by putting *Siſimethres* in a great feare. After that alſo, he did beſiege another peece of as great ſtrength and difficultie to aſſault as the other, and making the young ſouldiers of the MACEDONIANS to go to the aſſault, he called one of them vnto him, whoſe name alſo was *Alexander*, vnto whom he ſayd thus: *Alexander*, this day thou muſt fight like a man, and it be but for thy names ſake. The young

The iourney of Demaratus Corinthian vnto Alexander, and his death.

Alexanders iourney into India.

Alexander burnt his cariages.

The cruelty of Alexander towards his men.

A monſtrous lambe appeared vnto Alexander.

A ſpring of oyle found, by the riuer of Oxus.

Oyle refreſheth wearineſſe.

young man did not forget his words, for he fought ſo valiantly, that he was ſlaine, for whom *Alexander* was very ſorie. Another time when his men were afraid, and durſt not come neare vnto the city of NISA to aſſault it, becauſe there ran a very deepe riuer hard by the walles: he came to the riuers ſide, & ſaid: Oh, what a coward am I, that neuer learned to ſwim? and ſo prepared himſelfe to ſwim ouer vpon his ſhield. After he had cauſed them to retire from the aſſault, there came ambaſſadours vnto him from the cities beſieged, to craue pardon of him. They wondred at him at the firſt, when they ſaw him armed, without any pompe or other ceremonie about him: but much more, when a chaire was brought him to ſit downe on, that he commaunded the oldeſt man amongſt them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him, and ſit him downe. *Acuphis* maruelling at *Alexanders* great curteſie, asked him: what they ſhould do for him, thencefoorth to be his good friends. I will, ſaid *Alexander*, that they from whom thou commeſt as Ambaſſadour vnto vs, do make thee their king: and withall that they do ſend me a hundred of their beſt men for hoſtages. *Acuphis* ſmiling, anſwered him againe: But I ſhall rule them better, ô king, if I ſend you the worſt and not the beſt. There was a king called *Taxiles* a very wiſe man, who had a great countrie in INDIA, no leſſe in bigneſſe and circuit then all ÆGYPT, and as full of good paſture and fruites as any country in the world could be: who came on a time to ſalute *Alexander*, and ſaid vnto him: What ſhould we need, *Alexander*, to fight, and make wars one with another, if thou comeſt not to take away our water, & our neceſſarie commoditie to liue by: for which things, men of iudgment muſt needs fight? As for other goods, if I be richer then thou, I am readie to giue thee of mine: & if I haue leſſe, I will not thinke ſcorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt giue me ſome of thine. *Alexander* being pleaſed to heare him ſpeake thus wiſely, imbraced him, and ſaid vnto him: Thinkeſt thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all theſe goodly faire words? no, no, thou haſt won nothing by that: for I will fight & contend with thee in honeſtie and courteſie, becauſe thou ſhalt not exceede me in bountie and liberalitie. So *Alexander* taking diuers giftes of him, but giuing more vnto *Taxiles*: he dranke to him one night at ſupper, and ſaid: I drinke to thee a thouſand talents in gold. This gift miſliked *Alexanders* friends: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hearts of many of thoſe barbarous Lords and Princes of that countrie. There was a certaine number of ſouldiers of the INDIANS, the warlikeſt men of all that countrie: who being mercenarie ſouldiers, were euer entertained in ſeruice of the great free cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt vnto *Alexander* in diuers places. *Alexander* hauing made peace with them in a citie where they were kept in: when they came abroad vpon ſuretie of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the ſword. There was but this onely fault, to blemiſh the honour of his noble deeds in all his warres: for in all things elſe, he ſhewed mercie and equitie. Furthermore, the graue Philoſophers and wiſe men of INDIA did greatly trouble him alſo. For they reproued the kings and princes of the INDIANS, for that they yeelded vnto *Alexander*, and procured the free cities to take armes againſt him. But by their occaſion, he tooke diuerſe of their cities. For king *Porus*, *Alexander* ſelfe writeth in his Epiſtles, all his actes at large which he did againſt him. For he ſaith, that both their campes lying on either ſide of the riuer of Hydaſpes, king *Porus* ſet his Elephants vpon the banke of the riuer with their heades towards their enemies, to keepe them from paſſing ouer: and that he himſelfe did continually make a noiſe and tumult in his campe, to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no Moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, and the choice of his horſemen, and went farre from his enemies to get ouer into a litle Iland. When he was come into the Iland, there fell a wonderfull ſhower of raine, great winds, lightnings and thunders vpon his campe, inſomuch as he ſaw many of his men burnt by lightning in this litle Iland. This notwithſtanding, he did not leaue to get ouer to the other ſide of the riuer. The riuer being ſwollen with the great floud of raine that fell the night before, ouerflowing the bankes, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: ſo that *Alexander* when he had paſſed ouer the riuer, and was come to the other ſide, found himſelfe in very ill caſe, for that he could hardly keepe his feete, becauſe the earth was very ſlippery vnder him, and the rage of the water had eaten into it, and broke it downe on euery ſide. It is written of him, that then he ſaid vnto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could ye thinke that I could take ſuch paines, and put my ſelfe into ſo many dangers, onely to be praiſed of you? Thus *Oneſicritus* reporteth it. But *Alexander* ſelfe writeth, that they left their rafters or great peeces of timber pinned together, whereupon they had paſſed ouer the ſtreame of the maine riuer: and that

The city of Nyſa.

Acuphis wiſe anſwer vnto Alexander.

King Taxiles talke with Alexander.

Alexanders anſwer to Taxiles.

Alexander diſhonorably brake the peace he had made.

Alexanders acts againſt king Porus. Hydaſpes fl.

they waded through the other arme or gut of the water which had broken the earth, vp to their breasts with their harnesse on their backes. Furthermore, when he had passed ouer both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlongs before the battell of his footemen: thinking that if his enemies came to giue him charge with their men of armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also aduaunce their footmen forward, that his footmen also should come time enough. One of the twaine fell out as he had guessed: for a thousand horsemen and threescore charrets armed with his enemies, gaue him charge before their great company, whom he ouerthrew, and tooke all their charrets, and slue foure hundred of the men at armes in the field. King *Porus* then knowing by those signes that *Alexander* was there in person, and had passed ouer the riuer: he marched towards him with all his armie in battell ray, sauing a few which he left behind to resist the MACEDONIANS, if they shewed force to passe ouer the riuer. *Alexander* being afraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terrour of the Elephants, did not giue charge vpon the middest of the battell, but being himselfe in the left wing, gaue charge vpon the corner of the enemies left wing, and also commaunded them that were in the right wing to do the like. So both the ends of the enemies armie were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ran vnto the Elephants, and gathered themselues together about them. Thus the battell being begun, the conflict continued long, insomuch as the enemies were scantly all ouerthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Most writers agree, that *Porus* was foure cubites and a shaft-length high, and that being vpon an Elephants backe, he wanted nothing in height and bignesse to be proportionable for his mounture: albeit it were a very great Elephant, and besides that the Elephant did shew great wit and care to saue the king his maister. For whilest he perceiued his maister was strong enough, he lustily repulsed those which came to assaile him: but when he found that he began to faint, hauing many wounds vpon his body, and arrowes sticking in it: then being afraid lest his maister should fall downe from his backe, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his darts and arrowes with his trunke, which he had in his bodie, he pluckt them all from him one after another. *Porus* being taken, *Alexander* asked him, how he should handle him. Princely, answered *Porus*. *Alexander* asked him againe, if he would say any thing else. I comprehend all, said he, in this word, Princely. Thereupon *Alexander* did not onely leaue him his prouinces and realmes, whereof before he was king, by the name of his Lieutenant: but gaue him many other countries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteene seuerall nations, fiue thousand of no small cities, besides an infinit number of villages, and thrice as many other countries: he made *Philip* one of his friends, his Lieutenant of all those countries. His horse *Bucephall* died at this battell, not in the field, but afterwards whilest he was in cure for the wounds he had on his bodie: but as *Onesicritus* saith, he died euen worne for very age. *Alexander* was as sorie for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friends: and for proofe thereof, he built a great citie in the place where his horse was buried, vpon the riuer of Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, BVCEPHALIA. It is reported also, that hauing lost a dogge of his called *Peritas*, which he had brought vp of a whelpe, and loued very dearely: he built also a citie, and called it after his name. *Sotion* writeth, that he heard it reported thus of *Potamon* LESBIAN. This last battell against king *Porus*, killed the MACEDONIANS hearts, and made them that they had no desire to go any further to conquer INDIA. For finding that they had such ado to ouercome them, though they were but twenty thousand footemen, and two thousand horse, they spake ill of *Alexander* when he went about to compell them to passe ouer the riuer of Ganges, vnderstanding by the countrimen that it was two and thirtie furlongs ouer, and a hundred fadom deepe: and how that the banke of the riuer was full of souldiers, horsemen and Elephants. For it was reported, that the kings of the GANGARIDES, and the PRÆSIANS were on the other side with foure score thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand charrets or carts of warre well armed, and sixe thousand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor friuolous tale: for a king called *Androcottus* (who raigned not long after) gaue vnto *Seleucus*, fiue hundred Elephants at one time, and conquered all INDIA with sixe hundred thousand fighting men. *Alexander* then offended with his mens refusall, kept close in his tent for certaine daies, and lay vpon the ground, saying, that he did not thanke them for all that they had done thitherunto, vnlesse they passed ouer the riuer of Ganges also, and that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confesse that he had bene ouercome. At the length, when he saw and considered that there was great reason in his friends perswasions which laboured to comfort him,

The stature of king Porus.

The quicke wit and care of the Elephant to saue the king his maister.

Alexanders conquests in the Indiaes.

The death of Bucephall, Alexanders horse

Bucephalia, a great city built by Alexander vpon the riuer of Hydaspes: & why so named.

Peritas, Alexanders dogge.

Ganges fl.

Gangaridæ, and Præsij, people of India.

him, and that his ſouldiers came to the doore of his tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beſeeching him to leade them backe againe: in the end he tooke pitie of them, and was contented to returne. This notwithſtanding, before he departed from thoſe partes, he put foorth many vaine and falſe deuices to make his name immortall among that people. He made armours of greater proportion then his owne, and mangers for horſes, higher then the common ſort: moreouer, he made bits alſo farre heauier then the common ſort, and made them to be throwne and ſcattered abroad in euery place. He built great altars alſo in honour of the gods, the which the kings of the PRÆSIANS haue in great veneration at this day, and paſſing ouer the riuer, do make ſacrifices there, after the manner of the GRECIANS. *Androcottus* at that time was a very yong man, and ſaw *Alexander* himſelfe, and ſaid afterwards, that *Alexander* had wel-neare taken and won all the countrey, the king which then raigned, was ſo hated of all his ſubiects for his wicked life, and baſe parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to ſee the great ſea Oceanum, and made diuerſe boates with oares, in the which he eaſily went downe the riuers at his pleaſure. Howbeit, this his pleaſant going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentimes and did aſſaile cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in aſſailing the citie of the MALLIANS, (which they ſay are the warlikeſt men of all the INDIANS) he was almoſt ſlaine there. For hauing with darts repulſed the enemies from the wall, he himſelfe was the firſt man that ſet foote on a ladder to get vp, the which brake aſſoone as euer he was gotten vpon the ramper. Then the barbarous people comming together againſt the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted vpon him. *Alexander* hauing few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped downe from the wall in the middeſt of his enemies, and by good happe lighted on his feete. His harneſſe making a great noiſe with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had ſeene ſome light or ſpirite go before them: ſo that at the firſt they all betooke them to their legges, and rannne ſcatteringly here and there. But after that, when they came againe to themſelues, and ſaw that he had but two Gentlemen onely about him, they came and ſet vpon him of all handes, and fought with him at the ſword or puſh of the pike, and ſo hurt him very ſore through his armour: but one among the reſt, being ſomewhat farther off, gaue him ſuch a terrible blow with an arrow, that he ſtrake him through his curaces, and ſhot him in at the ſide vnder his breaſt. The blow entred ſo into his bodie, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had ſtriken him with his arrow, ranne ſodainly to him with a çimiter drawne in his hand: howbeit as *Peuceſtas* and *Limnæus* ſtepped before him, and were both hurt, *Limnæus* was ſlaine preſently, and *Peuceſtas* fought it out, till at the length *Alexander* ſelfe ſlue the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many grieuous wounds vpon his bodie. At the length he had a blow with a dart on his necke, that ſo aſtonied him, that he leaned againſt the wall looking vpon his enemies. In the meane time the MACEDONIANS compaſſing him round about, tooke him, and caried him into his tent halfe in a ſwound, and was paſt knowledge: whereupon there ranne a rumour ſtraight in the campe, that *Alexander* was dead. They had much a do to cut the arrow aſunder that was of wood: ſo his curaces being plucked off with great paine, yet were they to plucke the arrowe head out of his bodie, which ſtucke in one of his bones: the which (as it is reported) was foure fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he ſwounded ſo oft, that he was almoſt dead. This notwithſtanding, he ouercame the danger, and eſcaped. Being very weake, he kept diet a long time to recouer himſelfe, and neuer came out of his tent: vntill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and made great noiſe about his tent, deſirous to ſee him. Then he put on a night-gowne, and came out amongſt them all: and after he had done ſacrifice vnto the gods for recouery of his health, he went on his iourney againe, and in the ſame did conquer many great countries, and tooke diuerſe goodly cities. He did alſo take ten of the wiſe men of the countrey, which men do all go naked, and therefore are called GYMNOSOPHISTÆ, (to wit, Philoſophers of INDIA) who had procured *Sabbas* to rebell againſt him, and had done great hurt vnto the MACEDONIANS. And becauſe they were taken to be the ſharpeſt and readieſt of anſwer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard queſtions, and told them he would put the firſt man to death, that anſwered him worſt, and ſo the reſt in order: and made the eldeſt among them Iudge of their anſwers. The queſtion he asked the firſt man, was this:

1 Whether the dead or the liuing were the greater number? He anſwered, The liuing: for the dead, ſaid he, are no more men.

Alexanders returne out of India.

Alexanders vaine deuices to make himſelf immortal.

King Androcottus.

Alexander in daunger at the citie of the Mallians.

The wiſe men of India.

Alexanders queſtions propounded to the ten Philoſophers of India.

2 The secõd man he asked: Whether the earth or the sea brought forth most creatures? He answered, The earth. For the sea, said he, is but a part of the earth.

3 To the third man: Which of all beasts was the subtilest? That (said he) which man hitherto neuer knew.

4 To the fourth: Why he did make *Sabbas* rebel? Because, said he, he should liue honourably, or die vilely.

5 To the fift, Which he thought was first, the day, or the night? He answered, the day, by a day. The king finding his answer straunge, added too this speech: Strange questions must needs haue straunge answers.

6 Comming to the sixt man, he asked him: How a man should come to be beloued? If he be a good man, said he, not terrible.

7 To the seuenth, How a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.

8 To the eight: Which was the stronger, life, or death? Life, said he, that suffereth so many troubles.

9 And vnto the ninth and last man: how long a man should liue? Vntill, said he, he thinke it better to die then to liue.

When *Alexander* had heard these answers, he turned vnto the Iudge, and bade him giue his iudgement vpon them. The Iudge said, they had all answered one worse then another, Then shalt thou die first, said *Alexander*, because thou hast giuen such sentence: Not so, ô king, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lyer: because thou saidest, that thou wouldest kill him first, that had answered worst. In fine, *Alexander* did let them go with rewards. He sent *Onesicritus* also vnto the other wise men of the INDIANS, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a solitarie and quiet life, to pray them to come vnto him. This *Onesicritus* the Philosopher, was *Diogenes* the Cinikes scholer. It is reported, that *Calanus* one of these wise men, very sharply and proudly bade him put off his clothes to heare his words naked: or otherwise that he would not speake to him, though he came from *Iupiter* himselfe. Yet *Dandamis* answered him more gently. For he hauing learned what manner of men *Socrates*, *Pythagoras*, and *Diogenes* were, said: that they seemed to haue bene wise men, and well borne, notwithstanding that they had reuerenced the law too much in their life time. Others write notwithstanding, that *Dandamis* said nothing else, but asked why *Alexander* had taken so painefull a iourney in hand, as to come into INDIA. For *Calanus*, (whose right name otherwise was *Sphines*) king *Taxiles* perswaded him to go vnto *Alexander*: who because he saluted those he met in the INDIAN toung, saying, *Cale*, as much to say, as God saue ye: the GRECIANS named him *Calanus*. It is reported, that this *Calanus* did shew *Alexander* a figure and similitude of his kingdome, which was this. He threw downe before him a dry seare peece of leather, and then put his foot vpon one of the ends of it. The leather being troden downe on that side, rose vp in all parts else, and going vp and downe withall, still treading vpon the sides of the leather: he made *Alexander* see, that the leather being troden downe on the one side, did rise vp of all sides else, vntill such time as he put his foot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plaine alike. His meaning thereby, was to let *Alexander* vnderstand, that the most part of his time he should keepe in the middest of his countrie, and not to go farre from it. *Alexander* continued seuen moneths trauelling vpon the riuers, to go see the great sea Oceanum. Then he tooke ship and sailed into a litle Iland called SCYLLVSTIS, howbeit others call it PSITVLCIS. There he landed, made sacrifices vnto the gods, & viewed the greatnesse and nature of the sea Oceanum, and all the situation of the coast vpon that sea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers vnto the gods, that no conquerour liuing after him should go beyond the bounds of his iourney and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commaunded his ships should fetch a compasse about, and leaue INDIA on the right hand: and made *Nearchus* Admirall of all his fleet, and *Onesicritus* chiefe Pilote. He himselfe in the meane time went by land through the countrie of the ORITES, and there he found great scarcitie of victuals, and lost many of his men: so that he caried not out of INDIA the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all, sixe score thousand footmen, and fifteene thousand horsemen. Some of them died of grieuous diseases: others, by ill diet: others, by extreame heate and drought, and the most of them by hunger, trauelling through this barren country, where the poore men liued hardly, and had only a few sheepe which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh sauour very ill fauouredly. At the length, when in threescore dayes iourney he had painefully

Alexander rewarded the ten wise men, and did let the go.
Onesicritus a Philosopher.
Calanus, otherwise called Sphines.
Dandamis.
Calanus, a wise man of India.
The similitude of a kingdome, shewed by a peece of lether.
Psitu'cis an Iland.
Alexanders naule in the sea Oceanum.
Alexanders armie going into India.
Sheepe fed with fish.

fully trauelled through this country, he then entred into the countrie called GEDROSIA, where he found great plentie of all kind of victuals, which the gouernors, kings and princes, neighbours vnto the ſame, did ſend vnto him. After he had refreſhed his armie there a litle, he went through the country of CARMANIA, where he continued ſeuen daies together banquetting, going ſtill through the country. For night and day he was feaſting continually with his friends vpon a ſcaffold longer then broad, riſing vp of height, and drawne with 8. goodly horſe. After that ſcaffold followed diuers other charrets couered ouer, ſome with goodly rich arras, and purple ſilke, others with trim freſh boughs which they renewed at euery fields end: and in thoſe were *Alexanders* other friends and Captaines with garlands of flowers vpon their heads, which dranke and made mery together. In all this army, there was neither helmet, pike, dart, nor target ſeene: but gold & ſiluer bowles, cups, and flagons in the ſoldiers hands, all the way as they went, drawing wine out of great pipes & veſſels which they caried with thē, one drinking to another, ſom marching in the fields going forward, and others alſo ſet at the table. About them were the minſtrels playing and piping on their flutes and ſhalmes, and women ſinging and dancing, and fooling by the way as they went. In all this diſſolute marching through the country, and in the midſt of their drunkenneſſe, they mingled with it ſport: that euery man did ſtriue to counterfeit all the inſolencies of *Bacchus*, as if god *Bacchus* himſelf had bene there in perſon, & had led the mummery. When he came vnto the kings caſtle of GEDROSIA, he ſtaid therealſo certain daies to refreſh his army with feaſting & banquetting. It is ſaid, that one day when he had drunk hard, he went to ſee the games for dancing, and amongſt them, the games which a young man called *Bagoas* had ſet forth, (with whom *Alexander* fell in liking) and bare the bell. This *Bagoas* being in his dauncing garments, came through the Theater, and ſate him down by *Alexander*. The MACEDONIANS were ſo glad of it, that they ſhouted & clapped their hands for ioy, crying out aloud to kiſſe him: ſo that in fine he tooke him in his armes and kiſſed him before them all. Thither came *Nearchus* his Admirall vnto him: who made report what he had ſeene and done in his nauigation. *Alexander* was ſo glad of that, as he was deſirous to ſaile by ſea himſelfe: and ſo entring into the ſea Oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great fleete of ſhips, to compaſſe in all the coaſts of ARABIA and AFRICKE, and thence into Mare Mediterraneū, by the ſtreights of the pillars of *Hercules*. To this intent he built a great number of ſhips in the city of THAPSACVS, & ſent for mariners, ſhipmaſters and Pilots out of all parts. But now the difficulty of the iourny which he tooke vpon him for the conqueſt of INDIA, the danger he was in when he fought with the MALLIANS, and the number of his men which he loſt beſides which was very great, all theſe things conſidered together, making men beleeue that he ſhould neuer returne with ſafetie: they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to riſe againſt him, and gaue his Gouernors & Lieutenants of prouinces occaſion to commit great inſolencies, robberies and exactions of people. To be ſhort, it put all his kingdome in broile & ſedition. Inſomuch as *Olympias* and *Cleopatra* riſing againſt *Antipater*, they deuided his gouernment betweene thē: *Olympias* chuſing for her the kingdome of EPIRVS: and *Cleopatra* the kingdome of MACEDON. Which when *Alexander* had heard, he ſaid his mother was the wiſeſt: for the realme of MACEDON would neuer haue ſuffered a woman to raigne ouer them. Therupon he ſent *Nearchus* back againe to the ſea, determining to fill all the ſea coaſts with war. As he trauelled through the countries far from the ſea, he put his captains and gouernors to death, which had reuolted againſt him: and of thoſe he ſlue *Oxiathres*, one of *Abulites* ſons, by his owne hand, running him through with a pike. And when *Abulites* ſelfe alſo had brought *Alexander* 3000. talents only, without any other prouiſion made for victuals for his army: he made him put the mony before his horſe, which wold not once touch it. Then ſaid he vnto him, I pray thee to what purpoſe ſerueth this prouiſion? & therwithall immediatly committed him to priſon. As he came through the country of PERSIA, he firſt renewed the old cuſtome there, which was: that as oftentimes as the kings did returne home from any far iourny, they gaue vnto euery woman a crowne a peece. It is ſaid therfore that for this cauſe, ſome of their naturall kings many times did not returne again into their country: and that *Ochus* amongſt others did not ſo much as once returne backe againe, willingly baniſhing himſelf out of his country, of niggardlineſſe, becauſe he would not be at this charge. After that, *Cyrus* tomb (king of PERSIA) being found & broken vp, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the city of PELLA, (and none of the meaneſt) called *Polymachus*. When he had read the inſcription written vpon it in the PERSIAN tong, he would needs haue it alſo written in the Greeke toung: and this it was: *O man,*

The country of Gedroſia.

The country of Carmania.

The riot of + Alexanders ſouldiers.

The citie of Thapſacus.

The prouinces conquered by Alexander, rebelled againſt him.

The death of Polymachus Pellean.

† Cyrus Epitaph ouer his tombe.

what so thou art, and whence soeuer thou commest, for I know thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia: I pray thee enuie me not for this litle earth that couereth my body. These words pierced *Alexanders* heart, when he considered the vncertaintie of worldly things. There also *Calanus* the INDIAN Philosopher, hauing had a fluxe a litle while, prayed that they would make him a stacke of wood, such as they vse to burne dead bodies on, and then rode thither on horsebacke: and after he had made his prayer vnto the gods, he cast those sprinklings vpon him, which were vsed to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead. Then cutting off a locke of his haire before he went vp on the woodstacke, he bad all the MACEDONIANS that were there farewell, and shooke them by the hands, praying them that day to be merrie, and drinke freely with the king, whom he would see shortly after in the citie of BABYLON. When he had said these words, he laid him downe vpon the woodstacke, couered his face, and neuer stirred hand nor foot, nor quitched when the fire tooke him, but did sacrifice himselfe in this sort, as the maner of his countrie was, that the wise men should so sacrifice themselues. Another INDIAN also, who followed *Iulius Cæsar*, did the like many yeares after in the citie of ATHENS: and there is his tombe yet to be seene, commonly called the INDIANS tombe. When *Alexander* came from seeing this sacrifice of *Calanus*, he did bid diuerse of his friends and Captaines to supper to him, and there did bring foorth a crowne for a reward vnto him that dranke best. He that dranke most of all other, was one *Promachus*, that dranke foure gallons of wine, and wan the crowne worth a talent: but he liued not aboue three daies after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drinke most, there died of them (as *Chares* writeth) one and fortie persons: of an extreame cold that tooke them in their drunkennesse and wine. When they were in the citie of SVSA, he maried certaine of his friends, and himself also maried *Statira*, one of king *Darius* daughters, disposing also of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according to their estate and birth) vnto his best friends. He made also a solemne feast of common mariages amongst the MACEDONIANS, of them that had bene maried before. At which feast, it is written, that nine thousand persons sitting at the boords, he gaue vnto euery one of them a cup of gold to offer wine in honour of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderfull gifts, he did pay all the debts the MACEDONIANS ought vnto their creditours, the which amounted vnto the summe of ten thousand talents, sauing a hundred and thirtie lesse. Whereupon *Antigenes* with one eye, falsly putting in his name amongst the number of the debters, and bringing in one that said he had lent him money, *Alexander* caused him to be payed: but afterwards when it was proued to his face, that there was no such matter, *Alexander* then was so offended with him, that he banished him his court, and depriued him of his Captaineship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed himselfe a valiant man in the warres. For when he was but a young man, he was shot into the eye, before the citie of PERINTHE, which king *Philip* did besiege, and at that present time they would haue pluckt the arrow out of his eye, but he neuer fainted for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out, before he had first driuen his enemies within the walles of their citie. He tooke this infamie very inwardly, and he was so sorie for it, that euery man might see he was like to die for sorrow. Then *Alexander* fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bade him besides keepe the money which was giuen him. Now the 30000. young boyes which *Alexander* had left to the gouernment of Captaines, to traine and exercise them in the discipline of warre: they being growne strong men, and lustie youths, excellently well trained and readie in armes: *Alexander* reioyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the MACEDONIANS, and made them greatly afraid, because they thought that from thencefoorth the king would make lesse account of them. For when *Alexander* would haue sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low country to the sea side: they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to send these poore men from him in that sort, (after they had done him all the seruice they could) home to their country & friends, in worse case then he took thē from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men vnseruiceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly young dauncers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. *Alexander* was maruellously offended with their proud words, insomuch that in his anger he reuiled them all, put away his ordinarie guard, and tooke other PERSIANS in their place, making some the guard about his owne person, others, his vshers, heraulds, and ministers to execute his will and commaundement. The poore MACEDONIANS seeing *Alexander* thus waited on, and themselues so shamefully reiected: they let fall their stoutnesse, and

Calanus the Indian did sacrifice himselfe aliue.

† *Alexander made men drinke to win a game and prize.*

The Macedonians maried vnto the Persians.

The wonderful gifts of Alexander.

Alexander payed the souldiers debts.

Antigenes with one eye, a valiant Captaine, banished the court for making a lye.

Thirty thousand boyes of the Persians, taught the discipline of wars by Alexanders commaundement.

after

after they had commoned of the matter together, they were ready to teare themselues for spite and malice. In fine, when they had laid their heads together, they consented to go vnto his tent and without weapons, naked in their shirts to yeeld themselues vnto him weeping and howling, beseeching him to do with them what pleased him, and to vse them like wretched vnthankefull creatures. But *Alexander*, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receiue them the first time, neither did they also go their waies, but remained there two daies and nights together in this pitifull state, before the dore of his tent, lamenting vnto him, and calling him their soueraigne and king, vntill that he came himselfe out of his tent the third day, and seeing the poore wretches in this grieuous and pitifull state, he himselfe fell a weeping a long time. So, after he had a litle rebuked them, he called them curteously, and gaue the impotent and sicke persons leaue to depart home, rewarding them very honorably. Furthermore he wrote vnto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he shold alwaies giue them the highest place in all common sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with garlands of flowers. Moreouer, he commaunded that the orphans whose parents were slaine in the wars, should receiue the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come vnto the citie of Ecbatana, in the kingdome of Medea, and that he had dispatched his waightiest causes: he gaue himselfe againe vnto publike sports, feasts, & pastimes, for that there were newly come vnto him out of Greece, 3000. excellent maisters and deuisers of such sports. About that time it chaunced, that *Hephæstion* fell sicke of an ague. But he being a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should haue done, but hauing spied oportunitie that his Phisitian *Glaucus* was gone vnto the Theater, to see the sports and pastimes: he went to dinner, and eate a rosted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of wine, which he had caused to be set in water: wherupon his feauer took him so sorely, that he liued not long after. *Alexander* vnwisely tooke the chaunce of his death, and commaunded all the haires of his horse and mules to be presently shorne, in token of mourning, and that all the battlements of the walles of cities also should be outerthrown, and hung vp poore *Glaucus* his Phisitian vpon a crosse, & commaunded that no minstrell should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his campe: vntill that there was brought him an oracle from *Iupiter Hammon*, commaunding that *Hephæstion* should be worshipped and sacrificed vnto, as a demy god. In the end, to passe ouer his mourning and sorrow, he went vnto the warres, as vnto a hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the Cossæians, whom he pluckt vp by the rootes, and slue man, woman, and child. And this was called the sacrifice of *Hephæstions* funerals. *Alexander* furthermore being desirous to bestow tenne thousand talents cost vpon his obsequies and funerals, and also to exceede the charge by the rareneſſe and excellencie of workemanship: amongest all other excellent workemaisters, he desired one *Stasicrates*, for he had euer passing inuention, and his worke was alwaies stately and sumptuous in any new things he tooke in hand. For he talking one day with *Alexander*, told him, that of all the mountaines he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the statue or image of a man, then was mount Atho in Thracia: and that if it were his pleasure, he would make him the noblest and most durable image, that should be in the world, which in his left hand should hold a citie to containe ten thousand persons, and out of his right hand, there should run a great riuer into the sea. Yet *Alexander* would not hearken to him, but then was talking with other workemen of more straunge inuentions, and farre greater cost. Now as he was ready to take his iourney to go vnto Babylon: *Nearchus* his Admirall came againe vnto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the riuer of Euphrates, and told him, how certaine Chaldean Soothsayers came vnto him, who did warne him that he should not go into Babylon. Howbeit *Alexander* made no reckening of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the wals of Babylon, he saw a great number of crowes fighting and killing one of another, and some of them fell downe dead hard by him. Afterwards being told him that *Apollodorus* the gouernor of the city of Babylon, hauing sacrificed vnto the gods, to know what should happen to him, he sent for the soothsayer *Pythagoras*, to know of him if it were true. The soothsayer denyed it not. Then *Alexander* asked him, what signes he had in the sacrifice. He answered, that the liuer of the beast had no head. O gods, said *Alexander* then, this is an ill signe: notwithstanding he did *Pythagoras* no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not beleeue *Nearchus* words. For this respect therefore *Alexander* lay much abroad in the country frō Babylon, and did take his pleasure rowing vp and down the riuer of Euphrates. Yet had he many other ill signes and tokens one vpon another, that made him affraid. For there was a tame

The clemencie and liberalitie of Alexander vnto his souldiers.

The death of Hephæstion. Alexanders sorow for the death of Hephæstion.

Stasicrates an excellent image maker.

Diuers signes before Alexanders death.

asse that killed one of the greatest and goodliest Lions in all BABYLON, with one of his feet. An other time when *Alexander* had put off his clothes, to be nointed to play at tennis: when he should put on his apparell againe, the yong gentlemen that played with him, found a man set in his chaire of estate, hauing the kings diademe on his head, and his gowne on his back, and said neuer a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but at the length comming to himselfe, he said his name was *Dionysius*, borne in MESSINA: and being accused for certain crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had bene a long time prisoner, and also that the god *Serapis* had appeared vnto him, and vndone his irons, & that he commanded him to take the kings gowne, and his diademe, and to sit him downe in his chaire of estate, and say neuer a word. When *Alexander* heard it, he put him to death according to the counsell of his Soothsayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, *Alexander* feared *Antipater* and his sons, aboue all other. For one of them called *Iolas*, was his first cup-bearer: and his brother called *Cassander*, was newly come out of GREECE vnto him. The first time that *Cassander* saw some of the barbarous people reuerencing *Alexander*, he hauing bene brought vp with the liberte of GREECE, and had neuer seene the like before: fell into a loude laughing very vnreuerently. Therwith king *Alexander* was so offended, that he tooke him by the haire of his head with both his hands, and knocked his head & the wall together. Another time also when *Cassander* did answer some that accused his father *Antipater*: king *Alexander* tooke him vp sharpely, and said vnto him: What sayest thou, said he? Doest thou thinke that these men would haue gone so long a iourney as this, falsly to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? *Cassander* againe replyed vnto *Alexander* and said, that that was a manifest proofe of their false accusation, for that they did now accuse him being so farre off, because they thought they could not so dainly be disproued. *Alexander* thereat fell a laughing a good, and said, lo, these are *Aristotles* quiddities to argue *pro & contra*: but this will not saue you from punishment, if I find that you haue done these men wrong. In fine, they report that *Cassander* tooke such an inward feare and conceit vpon it, that long time after when he was king of MACEDON, and had all GREECE at his commandement: going vp and downe the city of DELPHES, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of *Alexander*, which put him into such a sodaine feare, that the haires of his head stood vpright, and his body quaked in such sort, that it was a great time before he could come to himselfe againe. Now after that *Alexander* had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and affraid, that no straunge thing happened vnto him, (how litle soeuer it was) but he tooke it straight for a signe and prediction from the gods: so that his tent was alwaies full of Priests and Soothsayers that did nothing but sacrifice and purifie, and tend vnto diuinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men, and superstition also so dreadfull, that it filleth the guiltie consciences and fearefull hearts like water distilling from aboue: as at that time it filled *Alexander* with all follie, after that feare had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after that he had receiued some aunswers touching *Hephæstion* from the Oracle of *Iupiter Hammon*, he left his sorrow, and returned againe to his banquets and feasting. For he did sumptuously feast *Nearchus*, and one day when he came out of his bath according to his manner, being readie to go to bed, *Medius* one of his Captaines besought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. *Alexander* went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, so that he got an ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking vp *Hercules* cup all at a draught: neither for the sodaine paine he felt betweene his shoulders, as if he had bene thrust into the backe with a speare: for all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would haue made the end of this great tragedy lamentable and pitiful. But *Aristobulus* writeth, that he had such an extreame feuer and thirst withall, that he dranke wine, and after that fell a rauing, and at the length died the thirtieth day of the moneth of Iune. In his household booke of things passed daily, it is written, that his feuer being vpon him, he slept at his hote house on the eighteenth day of Iune. The next morning after he was come out of his hote house, he went into his chamber, and passed away all that day with *Medius*, playing at dice: and at night very late, after he had bathed himselfe and sacrificed vnto the gods, he fell to meate, and had his feuer that night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himselfe againe, and making his ordinarie sacrifice to the gods, he did sit downe to eate within his stoue, hearkening vnto *Nearchus* that told him straunge things he had seene in the

Alexander feared Antipater.

Alexander fell sicke of an ague.

Aristobulus report of the sicknes and death of Alexander.

the great sea Oceanum. The one and twentieth day also hauing done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt himselfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great feauer: and on that day he made his bed to be remoued, and to be set vp by the fish ponds, where he commoned with his captaines touching certaine roomes that were void in his army, and commanded them not to place any men that were not of good experience. The three and twentieth day hauing an extreame feauer vpon him, he was caried vnto the sacrifices, and commaunded that his chiefest Captaines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as Centeniers or Lieutenants of bands, that they should watch and ward without. The foure and twentieth day, he was caried vnto the other pallace of the kings, which is on the other side of the lake, where he slept a litle, but the feuer neuer left him: and when his Captaines and Noblemen came to do him humble reuerence, and to see him, he lay speechlesse. So did he the fiue and twentieth day also: insomuch as the MACEDONIANS thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out vnto his friends and familiars, and threatned them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they comming in their gownes went vnto his bed side to see him. That selfe day *Pithon* and *Seleucus* were appointed by the kings friends to go to the temple of the god *Serapis*, to know if they should bring king *Alexander* thither. The god answered them, that they should not remoue him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night *Alexander* died. Thus it is written word for word in maner, in the houshold booke of remembrance. At that present time, there was no suspisition that he was poisoned. Yet they say, that sixe yeares after, there appeared some proofe that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death, and cast the ashes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before, for that it was said he gaue him poison in his drinke. They that thinke it was *Aristotle* that counselled *Antipater* to do it, by whose meane the poison was brought, they say, that *Agnothemis* reported it, hauing heard it of king *Antigonus* owne mouth. The poison (as some say) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rocke in the territorie of the city of NONACRIS, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the horne of the foot of an asse, for there is no other kind of thing that will keepe it, it is so extreame cold and piercing. Others maintaine, and say, that the report of his poysoning is vntrue: and for proofe thereof they alleadge this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefest Captaines fell at great variance after his death, so that the corps of *Alexander* remained many daies naked without buriall, in a hote drie countrie, and yet there neuer appeared any signe or token vpon his body, that he was poisoned, but was still a cleane and faire corps as could be. *Alexander* left *Roxane* great with child, for the which the MACEDONIANS did her great honour: but she did malice *Statira* extreamely, and did finely deceiue her by a counterfeit letter she sent, as if it had come from *Alexander*, willing her to come vnto him. But when she was come, *Roxane* killed her and her sister, and then threw their bodies into a wel, and filled it vp with earth, by *Perdiccas* helpe and consent. *Perdiccas* came to be king, immediatly after *Alexanders* death, by means of *Aridæus*, whom he kept about him for his guard and safetie. This *Aridæus*, being borne of a strumpet and common woman, called *Philinna*, was halfe lunatike, not by nature nor by chance: but as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young towardly boy, by drinkes which *Olympias* caused to be giuen him, and thereby continued franticke.

The death of Alexander the Great.

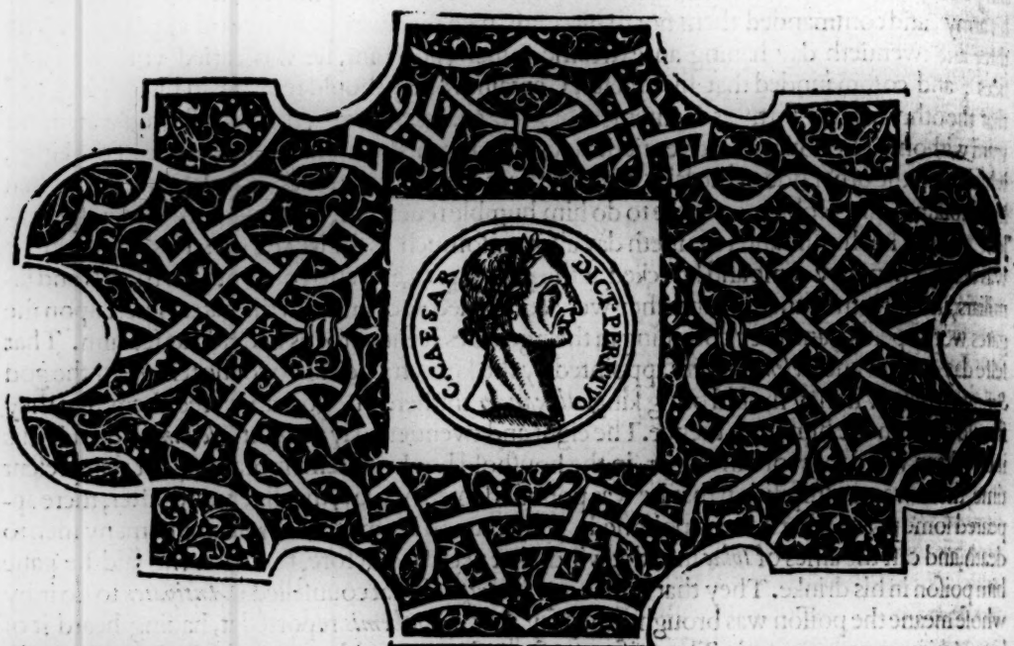
Aristotle suspected for the poysoning of Alexander.

Statira slaine by Roxane.

Aridæus, Alexanders bastard brother.

The end of Alexanders life.

THE LIFE OF
Julius Cæsar.



Cæsar ioyned with Cinna & Marius.

AT what time *Sylla* was made Lord of all, he would haue had *Cæsar* put away his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator: but whē he saw he could neither with any promiſe nor threat bring him to it, he tooke her ioynter away from him. The cauſe of *Cæſars* ill will vnto *Sylla*, was by meanes of mariage: for *Marius* the elder, maried his fathers owne ſiſter, by whome he had *Marius* the younger, whereby *Cæſar* and he were couſin germaines. *Sylla* being troubled in waightie matters, putting to death ſo many of his enemies, when he came to be conquerour, he made no reckening of *Cæſar*: and he was not contented to be hidden in ſafetie, but came and made ſute vnto the people for the Prieſthoodſhip that was voide, when he had ſcant any haire on his face. Howbeit he was repulſed by *Syllaes* meanes, that ſecretly was againſt him. Who, when he was determined to haue killed him, ſome of his friends told him, that it was to no purpoſe to put ſo young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* told them againe, that they did not conſider that there were many *Marians* in that yong boy. *Cæſar* vnderſtāding that, ſtale out of ROME, and hid himſelfe a long time in the country of the SABINES, wandring ſtill from place to place. But one day being caried frō houſe to houſe, he fell into the hands of *Syllaes* ſouldiers, who ſearched all thoſe places, & tooke them whom they found hidden. *Cæſar* bribed the Captaine, whoſe name was *Cornelius*, with two talents which he gaue him. After he had eſcaped thē thus, he went vnto the ſea ſide & took ſhip, and ſailed into BITHYNIA to go vnto king *Nicomedes*. When he had bin with him a while, he tooke ſea againe, & was taken by pyrats about the Ile of PHARMACVSA: for thoſe pyrates kept all vpon that ſea coaſt, with a great fleet of ſhips and boates. They asking him at the firſt 20. talents for his ranſome, *Cæſar* laughed them to ſcorne, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, & of himſelfe promiſed them 50. talents. Thē he ſent his men vp & down to get him this mony, ſo that he was left in maner alone among theſe theeues of the CILICIANS, (which are the cruelleſt butchers in the world) with one of his friends, and two of his ſlaues only: and yet he made ſo litle reckening of thē, that when he was deſirous to ſleepe, he ſent vnto them to command them to make no noiſe. Thus was he 38. daies among them, not kept as priſoner, but rather waited vpon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exerciſe himſelfe in any ſport or paſtime they would go to. And otherwhile alſo he would write verſes, and make orations, and call them together to ſay them before them: and if any of them ſeemed as though they had not vnderſtood him, or paſſed not for them, he called them

Cæſar tooke ſea and went vnto Nicomedes, king of Bithynia.

Cæſar taken of pyrates.

them blockheads and brute beasts, and laughing, threatened them that he would hang them vp. But they were as merry with the matter as could be, and tooke all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech, came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransome was come from the city of MILETVM, they being paid their mony, and he againe set at liberty: he then presently armed and manned certaine shippes out of the hauen of MILETVM, to follow those theeues whom he found yet riding at anker in the same Iland. So he tooke the most of them, and had the spoile of their goods, but for their bodies, he brought them into the city of PERGAMVS, & there committed them to prison, whilst he himselfe went to speake with *Iunius*, who had the gouernment of ASIA, as vnto whom the execution of these pirats did belong, for that he was Prætor of that countrey. But this Prætor hauing a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it: answered, that he would consider of these prisoners at better leysure. *Cæsar* leauing *Iunius* there, returned againe vnto PERGAMVS, and there hung vp all these theeues openly vpon a crosse, as he had oftentimes promised them in the Ile he would do, when they thought he did but ieast. Afterwards when *Syllaes* power began to decay, *Cæsars* friends wrote vnto him, to pray him to come home againe. But he sailed first vnto RHODES, to study there a time vnder *Apollonius* the son of *Molon*, whose scholer also *Cicero* was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good Rhetoritian. It is reported that *Cæsar* had an excellent naturall gift to speake wel before the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtlesse he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, & gaue place to the first, because he wold be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speake wel, which his nature could haue performed in him, because he was giuen rather to follow wars and to mannage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all ROME. And therefore in a booke he wrote against that which *Cicero* made in the praise of *Cato*, he prayeth the readers not to compare the style of a souldier, with the eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned againe vnto ROME, he accused *Dolabella* for his ill behauiour in the gouernment of his Prouince, and he had diuerse cities of GREECE that gaue in euidence against him. Notwithstanding, *Dolabella* at the length was dismissed. *Cæsar* to requite the goodwill of the GRECIANS, which they had shewed him in his accusation of *Dolabella*, tooke their cause in hand, when they did accuse *Publius Antonius* before *Marcus Lucullus*, Prætor of MACEDON: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that *Antonius* was driuen to appeale before the Tribunes at ROME, alleaging, to colour his appeale withall, that he could haue no iustice in GREECE against the GRECIANS. Now *Cæsar* immediatly wanne many mens good wils at ROME, through his eloquence, in pleading of their causes: and the people loued him maruellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speake to euery man, and to vse them gently, being more ceremonious therein then was looked for in one of his yeares. Furthermore, he euer kept a good boord, and fared well at his table, and was very liberall besides: the which indeede did aduaunce him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies iudging that this fauour of the common people would soone quaile, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence: suffered him to runne on, till by litle and litle he was growne to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus giuen him the bridle to grow to this greatnes, and that they could not then pull him backe, though indeede in sight it would turne one day to the destruction of the whole state and commonwealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not so litle a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will soone make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnesse. Thereupon, *Cicero* like a wise shipmaister that feareth the calmenesse of the sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked vnder the habite of outward curtesie and familiaritie. And yet, said he, when I consider how finely he combeth his faire bush of haire, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger only: my mind giues me then, that such a kind of man should not haue so wicked a thought in his head, as to ouerthrow the state of the commonwealth. But this was long time after that. The first shew and proofe of the loue and goodwill which the people did beare vnto *Cæsar*, was: whē he sued to be Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand footmen) standing against *Caius Pompilius*, at what time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proofe then the first, was at the death of his aunt *Iulia*, the wife of *Marius* the elder.

Iunius Prætor of Asia.

Cæsars eloquence.

Cæsar loued populatitie.

Cæsar a follower of the people.

Ciceroes iudgement of Cæsar.

The loue of the people in Rome vnto Cæsar.

Cæsar chosen Tribunus militum.

Cæſar made the funerall oration, at the death of his aunt Iulia.

For being her nephew, he made a ſolemne oration in the market place in cõmendation of her, & at her burial did boldly venture to ſhew forth the images of *Marius*: the which was the firſt time that they were ſeene after *Syllaes* victorie, becauſe that *Marius* and all his confederates had bene proclaimed traitors and enemies to the commonwealth. For when there were ſome that cried out vpon *Cæſar* for doing of it: the people on the other ſide kept a ſtirre, and reioyced at it, clapping of their handes and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of *Marius* honour againe into Rome, which had ſo long time bene obſcured and buried. And where it had bene an auncient cuſtome of long time that the Romaines vſed to make funerall orations in praiſe of old Ladies and matrons when they died, but not of young women: *Cæſar* was the firſt that praiſed his own wife with funerall oration when ſhe was dead, the which alſo did increaſe the peoples goodwilles the more, ſeeing him of ſo kind and gentle nature. After the buriall of his wife, he was made Treaſurer vnder *Antiſtius Vetus* Prætor, whome he honoured euer after: ſo that when himſelfe came to be Prætor, he made his ſonne to be choſen Treaſurer. Afterwards, when he was come out of that office, he maried his third wife *Pompeia*, hauing a daughter by his firſt wife, *Cornelia*, which was maried vnto *Pompey* the Great. Now for that he was very liberall in expences, buying (as ſome thought) but a vaine and ſhort glorie of the fauour of the people: (where indeede he bought good cheape the greateſt things that could be.) Some ſay, that before he bare any office in the commonwealth, he was growne in debt, to the ſumme of thirteene hundred talents. Furthermore, becauſe he was made ouerſeer of the worke, for the high way called *Appius* way, he diſburſed a great ſumme of his owne money towards the charges of the ſame. And on the other ſide, when he was made Ædilis, for that he did ſhew the people the paſtime of three hundred and twentie couple of ſword players, and did beſides exceede all other in ſumptuouſneſſe in the ſports and common feaſts which he made to delight them withall, (and did as it were drowne all the ſtately ſhewes of others in the like, that had gone before him) he ſo pleaſed the people, and wan their loue therewith, that they deuiſed daily to giue him new offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in Rome, to wit, the faction of *Sylla*, which was very ſtrong and of great power, and the other of *Marius*, which then was vndeer foote and durſt not ſhew it ſelfe. But *Cæſar* becauſe he would renew it againe, euen at that time when he being Ædilis, all the feaſts and common ſports were in their greateſt ruffe: he ſecretly cauſed images of *Marius* to be made, and of victories that caried triumphs, & thoſe he ſet vp one night within the Capitoll. The next morning when euery man ſaw the gliſtering of theſe golden images excellently well wrought, ſhewing by the inſcriptions, that they were the victories which *Marius* had won vpon the Cimbres: euery one maruelled much at the boldneſſe of him that durſt ſet them vp there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ran ſtraight through all the citie, & euery man came thither to ſee them. Then ſome cried out vpon *Cæſar*, and ſaid it was a tyranny which he meant to ſet vp, by renewing of ſuch honors as before had bene troden vnder foot and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gage the peoples good wils, which he had ſet out in the ſtately ſhewes of his cõmon playes, to ſee if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide ſuch parts to be plaid, & a new alteration of things to be made. They of *Marius* faction on the other ſide, incouraging one another, ſhewed thẽſelues ſtraight a great number gathered together, & made the mount of the Capitoll ring againe with their cries and clapping of hands: inſomuch as the teares ran down many of their cheeks for very ioy, when they ſaw the images of *Marius*, & they extolled *Cæſar* to the skies, iudging him the worthieſt man of all the kinred of *Marius*. The Senat being aſſembled therupon, *Catulus Luctatius* one of the greateſt authority at that time in Rome, roſe, & vehemẽtly inueighed againſt *Cæſar*, & ſpake that then which euer ſince hath bin noted much: that *Cæſar* did not now couertly go to worke, but by plaine force ſought to alter the ſtate of the cõmonwealth. Neuertheles, *Cæſar* at that time anſwered him ſo, that the Senate was ſatisfied. Thereupon they that had him in eſtimation did grow in better hope then before; and perſwaded him, that hardily he ſhould giue place to no man, and that through the goodwill of the people, he ſhould be better then all they, and come to be the chiefeſt man of the city. At that time, the chiefe Biſhop *Metellus* died, and two of the notableſt men of the citie, and of greateſt authoritie (*Iſauricus* and *Catulus*) contended for his roome: *Cæſar* notwithſtanding their contention, would giue neither of them both place, but preſented himſelfe to the people, and made ſute for it as they did. The ſute being equall betwixt either of them, *Catulus*, becauſe he was a man

Cæſar the firſt that praiſed his wife in funerall oration.

Cæſar made Queſtor.

Pompeia, Cæſars third wife.

Cæſars prodigilitie.

Cæſar accuſed to make a rebellion in the ſtate.

The death of Metellus chiefe Biſhop of Rome.

man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the vncertainty of the election: ſent vnto *Cæſar* a good ſumme of money, to make him leaue off his ſute. But *Cæſar* ſent him word againe, that he would lend a greater ſumme then that, to maintaine the ſute againſt him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the doore of his houſe, *Cæſar* weeping, kiſſed her, and ſayd: Mother, this day thou ſhalt ſee thy ſonne chiefe Biſhop of ROME, or baniſhed from ROME. In fine, when the voyces of the people were gathered together, and the ſtrife well debated: *Cæſar* wanne the victory, and made the Senate and Noble men all affraid of him, for that they thought that thencefoorth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then *Catulus* and *Piſo* fell flatly out with *Cicero*, and condemned him for that he did not bewray *Cæſar*, when he knew that he was of conſpiracy with *Catiline*, and had oportunity to haue done it. For when *Catiline* was bent and determined, not onely to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth, but vtterly to deſtroy the Empire of ROME, he ſcaped out of the hands of iuſtice for lacke of ſufficient proofe, before his full treaſon and determination was knowne. Notwithſtanding he left *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* in the city, companions of his conſpiracy: vnto whom, whether *Cæſar* did giue any ſecret helpe or comfort, it is not well knowne. Yet this is manifeſt, that when they were conuinced in open Senate, *Cicero* being at that time Conſull, asking euery mans opinion in the Senate, what puniſhment they ſhould haue, and euery one of them till it came to *Cæſar*, gaue ſentence they ſhould die: *Cæſar* then riſing vp to ſpeake, made an oration (penned and premeditated before) and ſayd, that it was neither lawfull, nor yet their cuſtome did beare it, to put men of ſuch Nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawfull inditement and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in priſon in ſome city of ITALIE, where *Cicero* thought beſt, vntill that *Catiline* were ouerthrowne: the Senate then might at their pleaſure quietly take ſuch order therein, as might appeare beſt vnto their wiſedomes. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was vttered with ſuch a paſſing good grace and eloquence, that not onely they which were to ſpeake after him did approue it: but ſuch alſo as had ſpoken to the contrary before, reuoked their opinion and ſtucke to his, vntill it came to *Cato* and *Catulus* to ſpeake. They both did ſharply inueigh againſt him, but *Cato* chiefly: who in his oration made *Cæſar* ſuſpected to be of the conſpiracy, and ſtoutly ſpake againſt him, inſomuch that the offenders were put into the hands of the officers to be put to death. *Cæſar* comming out of the Senate, a company of yong men which garded *Cicero* for the ſafety of his perſon, did ſet vpon him with their ſwords drawne. But ſome ſay, that *Curio* couered *Cæſar* with his gowne, and tooke him out of their hands. And *Cicero* ſelfe, when the yong men looked vpon him, beckened with his head that they ſhold not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or elſe that he thought it too ſhameſull and wicked a part. But if that were true, I maruell why *Cicero* did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Conſulſhip. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he tooke not the oportunity offered him againſt *Cæſar*, onely for ouermuch feare of the people, that loued him very dearely. For ſhortly after, when *Cæſar* went into the Senate, to cleare himſelfe of certaine preſumptions and falſe accuſations obiected againſt him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer than they were wont: the people came about the councell-houſe, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. *Cato* then fearing the inſurrection of the poore needy perſons, which were they that put all their hope in *Cæſar*, and did alſo moue the people to ſtirre: did perſwade the Senate to make a franke diſtribution of corne vnto them, for a moneth. This diſtribution did put the commonwealth to a new charge of fiue hundred and fifty Myriades. This counſell quenched a preſent great feare, and did in happy time ſcatter and diſperſe abroad the beſt part of *Cæſars* force and power, at ſuch time as he was made Prætor, and that for reſpect of his office he was moſt to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he neuer ſought any alteration in the common-wealth, but contrarily he himſelf had a great misfortune fel on his houſe, which was this. There was a yong Noble man of the order of the PATRICIANS, called *Publius Clodius*, who lacked neither wealth nor eloquence, but otherwiſe as inſolent and impudent a perſon, as any was elſe in ROME. He became in loue with *Pompeia Cæſars* wife, who miſliked not withall: notwithſtanding ſhe was ſo ſtraightly looked to, and *Aurelia* (*Cæſars* mother) an honeſt Gentlewoman had ſuch an eye of her, that theſe two louers could not meete as they would, without great perill and difficulty. The ROMAINES do vſe to honor a goddeſſe which they call the good goddeſſe, as the GRECIANS, haue her whom they call *Gynæcia*, to wit, the goddeſſe of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS do

Cæſar made chiefe Biſhop of Rome.

Cæſar ſuſpected to be confederate with Catiline in his conſpiracy.

Cæſar went about to deliuer the conſpirators.

Catoes oration againſt Cæſar.

The loue of P. Clodius vnto Pompeia, Cæſars wife.

The good goddeſſe what ſhe was, and her ſacrifices.

claime to be peculiar vnto them, saying: that she is king *Midas* mother. Howbeit the Romaines hold opinion, that it is a nimph of the woods maried vnto the god *Faunus*. The Grecians, they say also, that she was one of the mothers of the god *Bacchus*, whom they dare not name. And for proofe hereof, on her feast day, the women make certaine tabernacles of vine twigges, and leaues of vine branches, and also they make as the tale goeth, a holy dragon for this goddesse, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawfull for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it selfe where they are made. Furthermore, they say that the women in these sacrifices do many things amongst themselues, much like vnto the ceremonies of *Orpheus*. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Prætor or Consull) and all his men and the boyes in the house, do come out of it, and leaue it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides passe the night away in songs and musicke. *Pompeia*, *Cæsars* wife, being that yeare to celebrate this feast, *Clodius* who had yet no haire on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed: disguised himselfe in a singing wenches apparell, because his face was very like vnto a yong wench. He finding the gates open, being secretly brought in by her chamber-maid that was made priuy vnto it: she left him, and ranne to *Pompeia* her mistresse, to tell her that he was come. The chamber-maid taried long before she came againe, insomuch as *Clodius* being weary waiting for her where she left him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still shunning the light, and was by chance met withall by one of *Aureliaes* maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. *Clodius* refusing to play, the maid pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: *Clodius* then aunswered her, that he taried for *Abra* one of *Pompeiaes* women. So *Aureliaes* maid knowing him by his voice, ranne straight where the lights and Ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women therewith were so amazed, that *Aurelia* caused them presently to leaue off the ceremonies of the sacrifice, and to hide their secret things, and hauing seene the gates fast locked, went immediatly vp and downe the house with torch-light to seeke out this man: who at the last was found out in the chamber of *Pompeiaes* maid, with whom he hid himselfe. Thus *Clodius* being found out, and knowne of the women, they thrust him out of the doores by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chaunce as soone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumour through the city, how *Clodius* had attempted a great villany; and that he deserued, not onely to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the commonwealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, and accuse him of high treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chiefest of the Nobilitie and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne sister, which was maried vnto *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended *Clodius* against their accusations: and this did helpe him much against the Iudges, which were amazed, and afraid to stirre the people. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by *Clodius* accuser to be a witnesse against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they obiected against *Clodius*. This aunswer being cleane contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked *Cæsar*, why then he had put away his wife: Because I will not, sayd he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that *Cæsar* spake truly as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to saue *Clodius*. So *Clodius* was discharged of this accusation, because the most part of the Iudges gaue a confused iudgement, for the feare they stood one way of the daunger of the common people if they condemned him: and for the ill opinion on the other side of the Nobility, if they did quit him. The gouernement of the prouince of Spaine being fallen vnto *Cæsar* for that he was Prætor: his creditors came and cried out vpon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. *Cæsar* being vnable to satisfie them, was compelled to go vnto *Crassius*, who was the richest man of all Rome, and that stood in need of *Cæsars* boldnesse and courage to withstand *Pompeys* greatnesse in the commonwealth. *Crassus* became his surety vnto his greediest creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirty talents: whereupon they suffered *Cæsar* to depart to the gouernment of his prouince. In this iourney it is reported, that passing ouer the mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a litle poore village that had not many housholds, and yet poore cottages. There, his friends that did accompany him,

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Clodius accused for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius quit by the Iudges for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddesse.

Cæsar Prætor of Spaine.

Crassus surety for Cæsar to his creditors.

him, asked him merily, if there were any contending for offices in that towne, and whether there were any ſtrife there amongſt the noble men for honor. *Cæſar* ſpeaking in good earneſt, aunſwered: I cannot tell that ſayd he, but for my part, I had rather be the chiefeſt man here, then the ſecond perſon in ROME. Another time alſo when he was in SPAINE, reading the hiſtory of *Alexanders* acts, when he had read it, he was ſorowfull a good while after, and then burſt out in weeping. His friends ſeeing that, maruelled what ſhould be the cauſe of his ſorow. He anſwered them, Do ye not thinke ſayd he, that I haue good cauſe to be heauy, when king *Alexander* being no older then my ſelfe is now, had in old time wonne ſo many nations and countries: and that I hitherunto haue done nothing worthy of my ſelfe? Therefore when he was come into SPAINE, he was very carefull of his buſineſſe, and had in few dayes ioyned ten new enſignes more of footmen, vnto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward againſt the CALLÆCIANS and LVSITANIANS, he conquered all, and went as farre as the great ſea Oceanum, ſubduing all the people which before knew not the ROMAINES for their Lords. There he tooke order for pacifying of the warre, and did as wiſely take order for the eſtabliſhing of peace. For he did reconcile the cities together, and made them friends one with another, but ſpecially he pacified all ſutes of law, and ſtrife, betwixt the debtors and creditors, which grew by reaſon of vſury. For he ordained that the creditors ſhould take yearely two parts of the reuenew of their debtors, vntill ſuch time as they had payed themſelues: and that the debtors ſhould haue the third part themſelues to liue withall. He hauing won great eſtimation by this good order taken, returned from his gouernement very rich, and his ſouldiers alſo full of rich ſpoiles, who called him Imperator, to ſay ſoueraigne Captaine. Now the ROMAINES hauing a cuſtome, that ſuch as demanded honour of triumph, ſhould remaine a while without the city, and that they on the other ſide which ſued for the Conſulſhip, ſhould of neceſſity be there in perſon: *Cæſar* comming vnhappily at that very time when the Conſuls were choſen, he ſent to pray the Senate to do him that fauour, that being abſent he might by his friends ſue for the Conſulſhip. *Cato* at the firſt did vehemently inuey againſt it, vowching an expreſſe law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiuing that notwithſtanding the reaſons he alleaged, many of the Senators (being wonne by *Cæſar*) fauored his requeſt: yet he cunningly ſought all he could to preuent them, prolonging time, in dilating his oration vntill night. *Cæſar* thereupon determined rather to giue ouer the ſute of his triumph, and to make ſute for the Conſulſhip: and ſo came into the city, and had ſuch a deuice with him, as went beyond them all, but *Cato* onely. His deuiſe was this, *Pompey* and *Craſſus*, two of the greateſt perſonages of the city of ROME being at iarre together, *Cæſar* made them friends, and by that meanes got vnto himſelfe the power of them both: for, by colour of that gentle act & friendſhip of his, he ſubtilly (vnwares to them all) did greatly alter & change the ſtate of the comonwealth. For it was not the priuate diſcord betweene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, as many men thought, that cauſed the ciuill warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who ioyned all their powers firſt to ouerthrow the ſtate of the Senate and Nobility, and afterwards they fell at iarre one with another. But *Cato*, that then foreſaw and prophecied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwards they found him a wiſer man, then happy in his counſell. Thus *Cæſar* being brought vnto the aſſembly of the election, in the middeſt of theſe two noble perſons, whom he had before reconciled together: he was there choſen Conſull, with *Calphurnius Bibulus*, without gaine-ſaying, or contradiction of any man. Now when he was entred into his office, he began to put foorth lawes meeter for a ſeditious Tribune of the people, then for a Conſull: becauſe by them he preferred the deuiſion of lands, and diſtributing of corne to euery citizen gratis, to pleaſe them withall. But when the Noblemen of the Senate were againſt his deuice, he deſiring no better occaſion, began to cry out, and to proteſt, that by the ouerhardneſſe and auſterity of the Senate, they draue him againſt his will to leane vnto the people: and thereupon hauing *Craſſus* on the one ſide of him, and *Pompey* on the other, he aſked them openly in the aſſembly, if they did giue their conſent vnto the lawes which he had put foorth. They both anſwered, they did. Then he prayed them to ſtand by him againſt thoſe that threatned him with force of ſword to let him. *Craſſus* gaue him his word, he would. *Pompey* alſo did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his ſword and target both, againſt them that would withſtand him with their ſwords. Theſe words offended much the Senate, being farre vnmeete for his grauity, and vndecent for the maieſty and honor he caried, and moſt of all vncomely for the preſence of the Senate whom he ſhould haue reuerenced: and were

Cæſars acts in Spaine.

Cæſars order betwixt the creditor and debtor.

Cæſars ſouldiers called him Imperator.

Cæſar reconcileth Pompey and Craſſus together.

Catoes foreſight and prophecy.

Cæſars firſt Conſulſhip, with Calphurnius Bibulus.

Cæſars lawes. Lex agraria.

ſpeeches fitter for a raſh light headed youth, then for his perſon. Howbeit the common people on the other ſide, they reioyced. Then *Cæſar* becauſe he would be more aſſured of *Pompeys* power and friendſhip, he gaue him his daughter *Iulia* in mariage, which was made ſure before vnto *Seruilius Cæpio*, & promiſed him in exchange *Pompeys* daughter, the which was ſure alſo vnto *Fauſtus* the ſonne of *Sylla*. And ſhortly after alſo, *Cæſar* ſelfe did mary *Calphurnia*, the daughter of *Piſo*, whom he cauſed to be made Conſull, to ſucceed him the next yeare following. *Cato* then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witneſſe, that it was a ſhamefull matter, and not to be ſuffered, that they ſhould in that ſort make hauocke of the Empire of Rome, by ſuch horrible bawdy matches, diſtributing among themſelues through thoſe wicked mariages, the gouernements of the prouinces, and of great armies. *Calphurnius Bibulus*, fellow Conſull with *Cæſar*, perceiuing that he did contend in vaine, making all the reſiſtance he could to withſtand this law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be ſlaine with *Cato*, in the market place, and aſſembly: he kept cloſe in his houſe all the reſt of his Conſulſhip. When *Pompey* had maried *Iulia*, he filled all the market place with ſouldiers, and by open force authoriſed the lawes which *Cæſar* made in the behalfe of the people. Furthermore, he procured that *Cæſar* had Gavle on this ſide and beyond the Alpes, and all Illyria, with foure legions graunted him for fiue yeares. Then *Cato* ſtanding vp to ſpeake againſt it: *Cæſar* bad his officers lay hold on him, and cary him to priſon, thinking he would haue appealed vnto the Tribunes. But *Cato* ſayd neuer a word, when he went his way. *Cæſar* perceiuing then, that not onely the Senators and Nobility were offended, but that the common people alſo for the reuerence they bare vnto *Catoes* vertues, were aſhamed, and went away with ſilence: he himſelfe ſecretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take *Cato* from the officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be Preſident of the Senate vnder him, but left the city, becauſe they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called *Conſidius*, that on a time boldly told him, the reſt durſt not come to councell, becauſe they were afraid of his ſouldiers. *Cæſar* aunſwered him again: and why then, doeſt not thou keepe thee at home, for the ſame feare? *Conſidius* replied, becauſe my age taketh away feare from me: for hauing ſo ſhort a time to liue, I haue no care to prolong it further. The ſhamefulleſt part that *Cæſar* played while he was Conſull, ſeemeth to be this: when he choſe *P. Clodius* Tribune of the people, that had offered his wife ſuch diſhonor, and prophaned the holy ancient myſteries of the women, which were celebrated in his owne houſe. *Clodius* ſued to be Tribune to no other end, but to deſtroy *Cicero*: and *Cæſar* ſelfe alſo departed not from Rome to his army before he had ſet them together by the eares, and driuen *Cicero* out of Italy. All theſe things they ſay he did, before the warres with the Gavles. But the time of the great armies and conqueſts he made afterwards, and of the warre in the which he ſubdued all the Gavles (entring into another courſe of life farre contrary vnto the firſt) made him to be knowne, for as valiant a ſouldier and as excellent a Captaine to leade men, as thoſe that afore him had bene counted the wiſeſt and moſt valianteſt Generals that euer were, and that by their valiant deeds had atchieued great honour. For whoſoeuer would compare the houſe of the *Fabians*, of the *Scipioes*, of the *Metellians*, yea thoſe alſo of his owne time, or long before him, as *Sylla*, *Marius*, the two *Lucullians*, and *Pompey* ſelfe:

Whoſe fame aſcendeth vp vnto the heauens:

It will appeare that *Cæſars* proweſſe and deeds of armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard countries where he made warres: another, in enlarging the realmes and countries which he ioyned vnto the Empire of Rome: another, in the multitude and power of his enemies whom he ouercame: another, in the rudeneſſe and auſtere nature of men with whom he had to do, whoſe maners afterwards he ſoftned and made ciuill: another, in courteſie and clemency which he vſed vnto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality beſtowed vpon them that ſerued vnder him in thoſe warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of battels he had fought, and in the multitude of his enemies he had ſlaine in battell. For in leſſe then ten yeares warre in Gavle he tooke by force and aſſault aboue eight hundred townes, he conquered three hundred ſeuerall nations: and hauing before him in battell thirtie hundred thouſand ſouldiers, at ſundry times, he ſlue ten hundred thouſand of them, and tooke as many more priſoners. Furthermore, he was ſo entirely beloued of his ſouldiers, that to do him ſeruice (where otherwiſe they were no more then other men in any priuate quarrell) if *Cæſars* honour were touched, they were inuincible, and would ſo deſperately venture themſelues, and with ſuch

Cæſar maried his daughter Iulia vnto Pompey.
Cæſar maried Calphurnia the daughter of Piſo.
Pompey by force of armes authoriſed Cæſars lawes.
Cæſar ſent Cato to priſon.
Cæſar by Clodius, draue Cicero out of Italy.
Cæſar, a valiant ſouldier, and a skilfull Captaine.
Cæſars conqueſts in Gaule.
The loue and reſpect of Cæſars ſouldiers vnto him.

such fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainely by the example of *Acilius*: who in a battell by sea before the city of MARSEILLES, bording one of his enemies ships, one cut off his right hand with a sword, but yet he forsooke not his target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his enemies faces, and made them flie, so that he wanne their ship from them. And *Casius Scæua* also, in a conflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, hauing one of his eyes put out with an arrow, his shoulder striken through with a dart, and his thigh with another, and hauing receiued thirty arrowes vpon his shield, he called to his enemies, and made as though he would yeeld vnto them. But when two of them came running to him, he claue one of their shoulders from his body with his sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turne his backe, and at the length saued himselfe, by meanes of his companions that came to helpe him. And in BRITAINE also, when the Captaines of the bands were driuen into a marrish or bogge, full of mire and dirt, and that the enemie did fiercely assaile them there: *Cæsar* then standing to view the battell, he saw a priuate souldier of his thrust in among the Captaines, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he draue the barbarous people to flye, and by his meanes saued the Captaines, which otherwise were in great daunger to haue bene cast away. Then this souldier being the hindmost man of all the Captaines, marching with great paine through the mire and dirt, halfe swimming, and halfe on foote: in the end got to the other side, but left his shield behind him. *Cæsar* wondring at his noble courage, ranne to him with ioy to imbrace him. But the poore souldier hanging downe his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell downe at *Cæsars* feete, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his target behind him. And in AFRICKE also, *Scipio* hauing taken one of *Cæsars* ships, and *Granius Petronius* abord on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer: he put all the rest to the sword but him, and sayd he would giue him his life. But *Petronius* aunswered him againe: that *Cæsars* souldiers did not vse to haue their liues giuen them, but to giue others their liues: and with those words he drew his sword, and thrust himselfe through. Now *Cæsars* selfe did breed this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gaue them bountifully, and hid honor them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heape vp riches in the warres to maintaine his life afterwards in wantonnesse and pleasure, but that he did keepe it in store, honourably to reward their valiant seruice: and that by so much he thought himselfe rich, by how much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deserued it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantnesse in putting himselfe at euery instant in such manifest daunger, and in taking so extreme paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he alwayes continued all labour and hardnesse, more then his body could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was leane, white, and soft skinned, and often subiect to headach, and otherwhile to the falling sickenesse (the which tooke him the first time, as it is reported, in CORDVBA, a city of SPAINE) but yet therefore yeelded not to the disease of his body, to make it a cloake to cherish him withall, but contrarily, tooke the paines of warre, as a medicine to cure his sicke body fighting alwayes with his disease, trauelling continually, liuing soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the field. For the most nights he slept in his coach or litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him alwayes able to do something: and in the day time, he would trauell vp and downe the countrey to see townes, castles, and strong places. He had alwayes a secretary with him in his coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a souldier behind him that caried his sword. He made such speed the first time the came from ROME, when he had his office, that in eight dayes he came to the riuer of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of horse from his youth, that holding his hands behind him, he would gallop his horse vpon the spurre. In his warres in GAVLE, he did further exercise himselfe to indite letters as he rode by the way, and did occupy two secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and as *Oppius* writeth, more then two at a time. As it is reported, that *Cæsar* was the first that deuised friends might talke together by writing ciphers in letters, when he had no leisure to speake with them for his vrgent businesse, & for the great distance besides from ROME. How litle account *Cæsar* made of his diet, this example doth proue it. *Cæsar* supping one night in MILLANE with his friend *Valerius Leo*, there was serued sperage to his boord, and oyle of perfume put into it in stead of sallet oyle. He simply eate it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had bene inough for them to haue abstained to eate of that they

The wonderfull valiantnesse of Acilius, Cassius Scæua, and diuerse others of Cæsars souldiers.

Granius Petronius.

Cæsar had the falling sickenesse

The temperance of Cæsar in his diet.

Cæsars ciuility not to blame his friend.

misliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manner that found fault with his friend. Another time as he trauelled through the countrey, he was driuen by fowle weather on the sudden to take a poore mans cottage, that had but one litle cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lye in it. Then he sayd to his friends that were about him: Greatest roomes are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary roomes for the sickest persons. And thereupon he caused *Oppius* that was sicke to lye there all night: and he himselfe with the rest of his friends, lay without doores, vnder the easing of the house. The first warre that *Cæsar* made with the GAVLES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGVRINIANS, who hauing set fire of all their good cities, to the number of twelue, and foure hundred villages besides, came to inuade that part of GAVLE which was subiect to the ROMAINES, as the CIMBRI and TEVTONS had done before: vnto whom for valiantnesse they gaue no place, and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand soules in all) whereof there were a hundred, foure score, and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not *Cæsar* himselfe that ouercame the TIGVRINIANS, but *Labienus* his Lieutenant, that ouerthrew them by the riuer of Arax. But the HELVETIANS themselues came suddenly with their army to set vpon him, as he was going towards a city of his confederates. *Cæsar* perceiuing that, made hast to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in battell ray. When one brought him his horse to get vp on which he vsed in battell, he sayd vnto them: When I haue ouercome mine enemies, I will then get vp on him to follow the chase, but now let vs giue them charge. Therewith he marched forward on foote, and gaue charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them flie that were in battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their campe, and to breake their strength which they had made with their carts. For there, they that before had fled from the battell, did not onely put themselues in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their wiues and children also fighting for their liues to the death, were all slaine, and the battell was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this victory was famous, vnto that he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous people that had escaped from this battell, he gathered together againe aboue a hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to returne home into their countrey which they had forsaken, and vnto their townes also which they had burnt: because he feared the GERMAINES would come ouer the riuer of Rheyne, and occupy that countrey lying voide. The second warre he made, was in defence of the GAVLES against the GERMAINES: although before, he himselfe had caused *Arioüistus* their king, to be receiued for a confederate of the ROMAINES. Notwithstanding, they were growne very vnquiet neighbours, and it appeared plainely, that hauing any occasion offered them to enlarge their territories, they would not content them with their owne, but meant to inuade and possesse the rest of GAVLE. *Cæsar* perceiuing that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young Gentlemen of noble houses of ROME, who thought to haue gone to the warres with him, as onely for their pleasure and gaine: he called them to councell, and commanded them that were afraid, that they should depart home, and not put themselues in danger against their wils, sith they had such womanish faint-harts to shrinke when he had need of them. And for himselfe, he sayd, he would set vpon the barbarous people, though he had left him but the tenth legion onely, saying, that the enemies were no valianter then the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferiour vnto *Marius*. This oration being made, the souldiers of the tenth legion sent their Lieutenants vnto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other legions also fell out with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many dayes iourney with good will to serue him, vntill they came within two hundred furlongs of the campe of the enemies. *Arioüistus* courage was well cooled, when he saw *Cæsar* was come, and that the ROMAINES came to seeke out the GERMAINES, where they thought, and made account, that they durst not haue abidden them: and therefore nothing mistrusting it would haue come so to passe, he wondred much at *Cæsars* courage, and the more when he saw his owne army in a maze withall. But much more did their courage fall, by reason of the foolish women propheciers they had among them, which did foretell things to come: who, considering the waues and trouble of the riuers, and the terrible noise they made running downe the streame, did forewarne them not to fight, vntill the new Moone. *Cæsar* hauing intelligence thereof, and perceiuing that the barbarous people thereupon stirred not: thought it best then to set vpon them, being discouraged with this superstitious feare, rather

The Tigurinians slaine by Labienus.
Arax fl.
Cæsar refused his horse, when he fought a battell.
The Heluetians slaine by Cæsar.
Rheynus fl.
Cæsar made war with king Arioüistus.
The wise vvomen of Germany howv they did foretell things to come.

rather then loosing time, he should tary their leisure. So he did skirmish with them euen to their forts, and litle hils where they lay, and by this meanes prouoked them so, that with great fury they came downe to fight. There he ouercame them in battell, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlong, euen vnto the riuer of Rheyn: and he filled all the fields thitherto with dead bodies and spoyles. Howbeit *Ariouistus* flying with speed, got ouer the riuer of Rheyn, and escaped with a few of his men. It is sayd that there were slaine foure score thousand persons at this battell. After this exploit, *Cæsar* left his army amongst the SEQVANES to winter there: and he himselfe in the meane time, thinking of the affaires at ROME, went ouer the mountaines into GAVLE about the riuer of Po, being part of his prouince which he had in charge. For there, the riuer called Rubico, deuideth the rest of ITALIE from GAVLE on this side the Alpes. *Cæsar* lying there, did practise to make friends in ROME, because many came thither to see him: vnto whom he graunted their sutes they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberall rewards, and partly with large promises and hope. Now during all this conquest of the GAVLES, *Pompey* did not consider how *Cæsar* enterchangeably did conquer the GAVLES with the weapons of the ROMAINES, and wanne the ROMAINES againe with the money of the GAVLES. *Cæsar* being aduertised that the BELGÆ (which were the warlikest men of all the GAVLES, and that occupied the third part of GAVLE) were all vp in armes, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speed, and found them spoyling and ouerrunning the countrey of the GAVLES, their neighbours, and confederates of the ROMAINES. So he gaue them battell, and they fighting cowardly, he ouerthrew the most part of them which were in a troupe together, and slue such a number of them, that the ROMAINES passed ouer deepe riuers and lakes on foot, vpon their dead bodies, the riuers were so full of them. After this ouerthrow, they that dwelt neareſt vnto the sea side, and were next neighbors vnto the Ocean, did yeeld themselues without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his army against the NERVIANS, the stoutest warriers of all the BELGÆ. They dwelling in the wood countrey, had conueyed their wiues, children and goods, into a maruellous great forrest, as farre from their enemies as they could: and being about the number of sixscore thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set vpon *Cæsar*, when his army was out of order, and fortifying of his campe, litle looking to haue fought that day. At the first charge, they brake the horsemen of the ROMAINES, and compassing in the twelfth and seuenth legion, they slue all the Centurions and Captaines of the bands. And had not *Cæsar* selfe taken his shield on his arme, and flying in amongst the barbarous people, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth legion also seeing him in danger, run vnto him from the top of the hill where they stood in battell, and broken the rankes of their enemies: there had not a ROMAINE escaped aliue that day. But taking example of *Cæsars* valiantnesse, they fought desperatly beyond their power, and yet could not make the NERVIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in maner slaine in the field. It is written that of threescore thousand fighting men, there escaped onely but fiue hundred: & of foure hundred Gentlemen and counsellers of the ROMAINES, but three saued. The Senate vnderstanding it at ROME, ordained that they should do sacrifice vnto the gods, and keepe feasts and solemne processions fifteene dayes together without intermission, hauing neuer made the like ordinance at ROME, for any victory that euer was obtained. Because they saw the danger had bene maruellous great, so many nations rising as they did in armes together against him: and further, the loue of the people vnto him made his victory much more famous. For when *Cæsar* had set his affaires at a stay in GAVLE, on the other side of the Alpes: he alwayes vsed to lye about the riuer of Po in the winter time, to giue direction for the establishing of things at ROME, at his pleasure. For, not onely they that made sute for offices at ROME were chosen Magistrates, by meanes of *Cæsars* money which he gaue them, with the which, bribing the people, they bought their voices, and when they were in office, did all that they could to increase *Cæsars* power and greatnesse: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the Nobility, went vnto LVKE vnto him. As *Pompey*, *Crassus*, *Appius* Prætor of SARDINIA, and *Nepos*, Proconsull in SPAINE. Insomuch that there were at one time, sixscore sergeants carying rods and axes before the Magistrates: and aboue two hundred Senators besides. There they fell in consultation, and determined that *Pompey* and *Crassus* should againe be chosen Consuls the next yeare following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that *Cæsar* should haue money againe deliuered him to pay his army, and besides, did

King Ariouistus ouerthrowne by Cæsar.

The Belgæ ouercome by Cæsar.

Nerui the stoutest warriers of all the Belgæ.

The Nerui slaine by Cæsar.

The great Lords of Rome came to Luca to Cæsar.

proroge the time of his gouernment fiue yeares further. This was thought a very strange and vnreasonable matter vnto wise men. For they themselues that had taken so much mony of *Cæsar*, perswaded the Senate to let him haue money of the common treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speake more plainly, they compelled the Senate vnto it, sighing and lamenting to see the decrees they passed. *Cato* was not there thē, for they had purposely sent him before into CYPRVS. Howbeit *Faonius* that followed *Catoes* steps, when he saw that he could not preuaile, nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the people, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did harken to him: some for the reuerence they bare vnto *Pompey*, and *Crassus*, and others fauoring *Cæsars* proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselues, and stirred not. Then *Cæsar* returning into GAVLE beyond the Alpes vnto his army, found there a great warre in the country. For two great nations of GERMANY had not long before passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn, to conquer new lands: and the one of these people were called IPES, and the other TENTERIDES. Now touching the battell which *Cæsar* fought with them, he himselfe doth describe it in his Cōmentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous people hauing sent Ambassadours vnto him, to require peace for a certaine time, they notwithstanding, against law of armes, came and set vpon him as he trauelled by the way, insomuch as eight hundred of their men of armes ouerthrew fiue thousand of his horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their comming. Againe, that they sent him other Ambassadours to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole army to march against them, thinking it a folly, and madnesse, to keepe faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of leagues. *Cæsar* writeth, that the Senate appointing againe to do new sacrifices, processions, and feasts, to giue thankes to the gods for this victory: *Cato* was of contrary opinion, that *Cæsar* should be deliuered into the hands of the barbarous people, for to purge their city and commonwealth of this breach of faith, and to turne the curse vpon him, that was the author of it. Of these barbarous people, which came ouer the Rheyn (being about the number of foure hundred thousand persons) they were all in maner slaine, saiuing a very few of them, that flying from the battell got ouer the riuer of Rheyn againe, who were receiued by the SICAMBRIANI, another people of the GERMAINES. *Cæsar* taking this occasion against them, lacking no good will of himself besides, to haue the honor to be counted the first ROMAINE that euer passed ouer the riuer of Rheyn with an army: he built a bridge ouer it. This riuer is maruellous broad, and runneth with great fury. And in that place specially where he built his bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other, and it hath so strong and swift a streame besides: that men casting downe great bodies of trees into the riuer (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blowes and force thereof maruellously shake the posts of the bridge he had set vp. But to preuent the blowes of those trees, and also to breake the furie of the streame: he made a pile of great wood aboue the bridge a good way, and did forcibly ramme them in to the bottome of the riuer, so that in ten dayes space, he had set vp and finisht his bridge of the goodliest carpenters worke, and most excellent inuention to see to, that could be possibly thought or deuised. Then passing ouer his army vpon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the SVVEVIANS, which were the warlikest people of all GERMANY, had gone themselues with their goods into wonderfull great valleys and bogges, full of woods and forrests. Now when he had burnt all the countrey of his enemies, and confirmed the league with the confederates of the ROMAINES: he returned backe againe into GAVLE after he had tarried eighteene dayes at the most in GERMANIE, on the other side of the Rheyn. The iourney he made also into ENGLAND was a noble enterprise, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an army by sea, and that passed through the sea Atlanticum with his army, to make warre in that so great and famous Iland (which many ancient writers would not beleeue that it was so indeed, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lye) and was the first that enlarged the ROMAINE Empire, beyond the earth inhabitable. For twise he passed ouer the narow sea against the firme land of GAVLE, and fighting many battels there, did hurt his enemies more, then enrich his owne men: because, of men hardly brought vp, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon his warre had not such successe as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges onely of the king, and imposing a yearely tribute vpon him, to be payed vnto the people of ROME, he returned againe into GAVLE. There he was no sooner landed, but he found letters ready to be sent ouer the sea vnto him,

Ipes, and Tenterides, people of Germany.

Cæsars horsemen put to flight.

The Ipes and Tenterides slaine by Cæsar.

Sicambri, a people of the Germaines.

Cæsar made a bridge ouer the riuer of Rheyn.

Cæsars iourney into England.

in

in the which he was aduertiſed from ROME, of the death of his daughter, that ſhe was dead with child by *Pompey*. For the which, *Pompey* and *Cæſar* both, were maruellous ſorowfull: and their friends mourned alſo, thinking that this alliance which maintained the common wealth (that otherwiſe was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now ſeuered, and broken a ſunder, and the rather likely, becauſe the child liued not long after the mother. So the common people at ROME tooke the corps of *Iulia*, in deſpite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the field of *Mars*. Now *Cæſar* being driuen to deuide his armie (that was very great) into ſundry garriſons for the winter time, and returning againe into ITALIE as he was wont: all GAVLE rebelled againe, and had raiſed great armies in euery quarter to ſet vpon the ROMAINES, and to aſſay if they could diſtreſſe their forts where they lay in garriſon. The greateſt number and moſt warlike men of theſe GAVLES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one *Ambiorix*: and firſt did ſet vpon the garriſons of *Cotta*, and *Titurius*, whom they ſlue, and all the ſouldiers they had about them. Then they went with three ſcore thouſand fighting men to beſiege the garriſon which *Quintus Cicero* had in his charge, and had almoſt taken them by force, becauſe all the ſouldiers were euery man of them hurt: but they were ſo valiant and couragious, that they did more then men (as they ſay) in defending of themſelues. Theſe newes being come to *Cæſar*, who was farre from thence at that time, he returned with all poſſible ſpeed, and leauying ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers, made haſt to helpe *Cicero* that was in ſuch diſtreſſe. The GAVLES that did beſiege *Cicero*, vnderſtanding of *Cæſars* comming, raiſed their ſiege incontinently, to go and meete him: making account that he was but a handfull in their hands, they were ſo few. *Cæſar* to deceiue them, ſtill drew backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his enemies, and commaunded his men in no wiſe to ſtirre out to skirmiſh with them, but compelled them to raiſe vp the rampers of his campe, and to fortifie the gates, as men that were afraid, becauſe the enemies ſhould the leſſe eſteeme of them: vntill that at length he tooke oportunity, by their diſorderly comming to aſſaile the trenches of his campe (they were growne to ſuch a preſumptuous boldneſſe and brauery) and then ſallying out vpon them, he put them all to flight with ſlaughter of a great number of them. This did ſuppreſſe all the rebellions of the GAVLES in thoſe partes, and furthermore, he himſelfe in perſon went in the middeſt of winter thither, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a new ſupply out of ITALIE of three whole legions in their roome, which he had loſt: of the which, two of them *Pompey* lent him, and the other legion he himſelfe had leauied in GAVLE about the riuer of Po. During theſe ſtirres, brake foorth the beginning of the greateſt and moſt daungerous warre that he had in all GAVLE, the which had bene ſecretly practiſed of long time by the chiefeſt and moſt warlike people of that country, who had leauied a wonderfull great power. For euery where they leauied multitudes of men, and great riches beſides, to fortifie their ſtrong holds. Furthermore the countrey where they roſe, was very ill to come vnto, and ſpecially at that time being winter, when the riuers were froſen, the woods and forreſts couered with ſnow, the medowes drowned with flouds, and the fields ſo deepe of ſnow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the marriſhes nor riuers to be diſcerned, all was ſo ouerflowne and drowned with water: all which troubles together were inough (as they thought) to keepe *Cæſar* from ſetting vpon the rebels. Many nations of the GAVLES were of this conſpiracy, but two of the chiefeſt were the AVERNIANS and CARNVTES: who had choſen *Vercingentorix* for their Lieutenant Generall, whoſe father the GAVLES before had put to death, becauſe they thought he aſpired to make himſelfe king. This *Vercingentorix* deuiding his army into diuerſe parts, and appointing diuerſe Captaines ouer them, had gotten to take his part, all the people and countries there abouts, euen as farre as they that dwell towards the ſea* Adriaticke, hauing further determined (vnderſtanding that ROME did conſpire againſt *Cæſar*) to make all GAVLE riſe in armes againſt him. So that if he had but taried a litle longer, vntill *Cæſar* had entred in his ciuill warres: he had put all ITALY in as great feare and danger, as it was when the CIMBRI did come and inuade it. But *Cæſar*, that was valiant in all aſſayes and dangers of warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and oportunity: ſo ſoone as he vnderſtood the newes of the rebellion, he departed with ſpeed, and returned backe the ſelfe ſame way which he had gone, making the barbarous people know, that they ſhould deale with an army inuincible, and which they could not poſſibly withſtand, conſidering the great ſpeed he had made with the ſame, in ſo ſharpe and hard a winter. For where they would not poſſibly haue

The death of Iulia Cæſars daughter.

The rebellion of the Gaules.

Cotta, and Titurius, with their army ſlaine.

Cæſar ſlue the Gaules led by Ambiorix.

The ſecond rebellion of the Gaules againſt Cæſar.

Vercingentorix Captaine of the rebels againſt Cæſar.

** Some ſay, that in this place is to be read in the Greeke ἀρὸς τὸν Ῥοδανὸν, which is, to the riuer of Saone.*

beleeued, that a poſt or currer could haue come in ſo ſhort a time from the place where he was vnto them: they wondred when they ſaw him burning and deſtroying the countrey, the townes and ſtrong forts where he came with his army, taking all to mercy that yeelded vnto him: vntill ſuch times as the HEDVI tooke armes againſt him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the ROMAINES, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore *Cæſars* men when they vnderſtood that they had ioyned with the rebels, they were maruellous ſory, and halfe diſcouraged. Thereupon, *Cæſar* departing from thoſe partes, went through the country of the LINGONES, to enter the countrey of the * BVRGONIANS, who were confederates of the ROMAINES, and the neareſt vnto ITALY on that ſide, in reſpect of all the reſt of GAVLE. Thither the enemies came to ſet vpon him, and to enuiron him of all ſides, with an infinite number of thouſands of fighting men. *Cæſar* on the other ſide taried their comming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them ſo afraid of him, that at length he ouercame the barbarous people. But at the firſt, it ſeemeth notwithſtanding, that he had receiued ſome ouerthrow: for the ARVERNIANS ſhewed a ſword hanged vp in one of their temples, which they ſayd they had won from *Cæſar*. Inſomuch as *Cæſar* ſelfe comming that way by occaſion, ſaw it, and fell a laughing at it. But ſome of his friends going about to take it away, he would not ſuffer them, but bad them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was a holy thing. Notwithſtanding, ſuch as at the firſt had ſaued themſelues by flying, the moſt of them were gotten with their king into the city of ALEXIA, the which *Cæſar* went and beſieged, although it ſeemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the wals, as alſo for the multitude of ſouldiers they had to defend it. But now during this ſiege, he fell into a maruellous great daunger without, almoſt incredible. For an army of three hundred thouſand fighting men of the beſt men that were among all the nations of the GAVLES, came againſt him, being at the ſiege of ALEXIA, beſides them that were within the city, which amounted to the number of threeſcore and ten thouſand fighting men at the leaſt: ſo that perceiuing he was ſhut in betwixt two ſo great armies, he was driuen to fortifie himſelfe with two wals, the one againſt them of the city, and the other againſt them without. For if thoſe two armies had ioyned together, *Cæſar* had bene vtterly vndone. And therefore, this ſiege of ALEXIA, and the battell he wan before it, did deſeruedly winne him more honour and fame, then any other. For there, in that inſtant and extreme danger, he ſhewed more valiantneſſe and wiſedome, then he did in any battell he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this? that they of the city neuer heard any thing of them that came to aide them, vntill *Cæſar* had ouercome them: and furthermore, that the ROMAINES themſelues which kept watch vpon the wall that was built againſt the city, knew alſo no more of it, then they, vntill it was done, and that they heard the cryes and lamentations of men and women in ALEXIA, when they perceiued on the other ſide of the city ſuch a number of gliſtering ſhields of gold and ſiluer, ſuch ſtore of bloudy corſlets and armors, ſuch a deale of plate and moueables, and ſuch a number of tents and pauilions after the faſhion of the GAVLES, which the ROMAINES had gotten of their ſpoiles in their campe. Thus ſuddenly was this great army vaniſhed, as a dreame or viſion: where the moſt part of them were ſlaine that day in battell. Furthermore, after that they within the city of ALEXIA had done great hurt to *Cæſar*, and themſues alſo: in the end, they all yeelded themſelues. And *Vercingentorix* (he that was their king and Captaine in all this warre) went out of the gates excellently well armed, and his horſe furniſhed with rich capariſon accordingly, and rode round about *Cæſar*, who ſate in his chaire of eſtate. Then lighting from his horſe, he tooke off his capariſon and furniture, and vnarmed himſelfe, and layd all on the ground, and went and ſate downe at *Cæſars* feete, and ſayd neuer a word. So *Cæſar* at length committed him as a priſoner taken in the warres, to leade him afterwards in his triumph at ROME. Now *Cæſar* had of long time determined to deſtroy *Pompey*, and *Pompey* him alſo. For *Craſſus* being killed amongſt the PARTHIANS, who onely did ſee, that one of them two muſt needs fall: nothing kept *Cæſar* from being the greateſt perſon; but becauſe he deſtroyed not *Pompey*, that was the greater: neither did any thing let *Pompey* to withſtand that it ſhould not come to paſſe, but becauſe he did not firſt ouercome *Cæſar*, whom only he feared. For till then, *Pompey* had not long feared him, but alwayes before ſet light by him, thinking it an eaſie matter for him to put him downe when he would, ſith he had brought him to that greatneſſe he was come vnto. But *Cæſar* contrarily, hauing had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a wreſtler that ſtudieth for trickes to ouerthrow his aduerſary: he went farre from ROME, to exerciſe himſelfe in the warres of GAVLE, where he did traine his army

The Hedui rebell againſt the Romaines.

** Sequani.*

Vercingentorix ouerthrowne by Cæſar.

The ſiege of Alexia.

Cæſars danger, and wiſe policy.

Cæſars great victory at Alexia.

Alexia yeelded vp to Cæſar.

The diſcord betwixt Cæſar and Pompey, and the cauſe of the ciuill warres.

Cæſars craftineſſe.

away, and presently by his valiant deeds did increase his fame and honour. By these meanes became *Cæsar* as famous as *Pompey* in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour, which *Pompey* partly gaue him, and partly also the time deliuered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill gouernement at that time of the commonwealth at Rome. For they that made sute for honour and offices, bought the voyces of the people with ready money, which they gaue out openly to vsury, without shame or feare. Thereupon, the common people that had sold their voyces for money, came to the market place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voyces, but with their bowes, slings, and swords. So that the assembly seldome time brake vp, but that the pulpit for orations was defiled and sprinckled with the bloud of them that were slaine in the market place, the city remaining all that time without gouernmẽt of Magistrate, like a ship left without a Pilote. Insomuch, as men of deepe iudgement and discretion seeing such fury and madnesse of the people, thought themselues happy if the commonwealth were no worse troubled, then with the absolute state of a Monarchy and soueraigne Lord to gouerne them. Furthermore, there were many that were not affraid to speake it openly, that there was no other helpe to remedy the troubles of the commonwealth, but by the authority of one man onely, that should commaund them all: and that this medicine must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the gentlest Phisition, meaning couertly *Pompey*. Now *Pompey* vsed many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and yet cunningly vnder hand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to passe, that he might be chosen Dictator. *Cato* finding the marke he shot at, and fearing least in the end the people should be compelled to make him Dictator: he perswaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that contenting himselfe with that more iust and lawfull gouernment, he should not couet the other vnlawfull. The Senate following his counsell, did not onely make him Consull, but further did proroge his gouernment of the prouinces he had. For he had two prouinces, all Spaine, and Africke, the which he gouerned by his Lieutenants: and further, he receiued yearly of the cõmon treasure to pay his souldiers a thousand talents. Hereupon *Cæsar* tooke occasion also to send his men to make sute in his name for the Consulship, and also to haue the gouernement of his prouinces proroged. *Pompey* at the first held his peace. But *Marcellus* and *Lentulus* (that otherwise hated *Cæsar*) withstood them, and to shame and dishonor him, had much needlesse speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the freedome frõ the Colonies which *Cæsar* had lately brought vnto the city of Novvmcomvm in Gavle towards Italy, where *Cæsar* not long before had lodged them. And moreouer, when *Marcellus* was Consull, he made one of the Senators in that city to be whipped with rods, who came to Rome about those matters: and sayd, he gaue him those markes, that he should know he was no Romaine citizen, and bad him go his way, and tell *Cæsar* of it. After *Marcellus* Consulship, *Cæsar* setting open his cofers of the treasure he had gotten among the Gavles, did franckly giue it out amongst the Magistrates at Rome, without restraint or spare. First, he set *Curio* the Tribune cleare out of debt: and gaue also vnto *Paule* the Consull a thousand fiue hundred talents, with which mony he built that notable pallace by the market place, called *Paules* Basilicke, in the place of *Fulvius* Basilike. Then *Pompey* being afraid of this practise, began openly to procure, both by himselfe and his friends, that they should send *Cæsar* a successor: and moreouer, he sent vnto *Cæsar* for his two legions of men of warre which he had lent him, for the conquest of Gavle. *Cæsar* sent him them againe, and gaue euery priuate souldier, two hundred and fifty siluer drachmas. Now, they that brought these two legions backe from *Cæsar*, gaue out ill and seditious words against him among the people, and did also abuse *Pompey* with false perswasions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was maruellously desired and wished for in *Cæsars* campe: and though in Rome, for the malice and secret spite which the gouernours there did beare him, he could hardly obtaine that he desired: yet in Gavle he might assure himselfe, that all the army was at his commaundement. They added further also, that if the souldiers there did once returne ouer the mountaines againe into Italie, they would all straight come to him, they did so hate *Cæsar*, because he wearied them with too much labour and continuall fight: and withall, for that they suspected he aspired to be king. These words breeding security in *Pompey*, and a vaine conceipt of himselfe, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation for warre, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart *Cæsar* in speech, & to crosse the sutes he made. Howbeit *Cæsar* passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of *Cæsars* Captaines

The peoples voyces bought at Rom. for money.

Pompey, gouerned Spaine and Africke.

Cæsar sueth the second time to be Consull, and to haue his gouernment proroged.

Cæsar bribeth the Magistrates at Rome.

Pompey abused by flatterers.

which was sent to Rome to prosecute his sute, being at the Senate doore, and hearing that they denied to proroge *Cæsars* time of gouernement which he sued for: clapping his hand vpon his sword, see said, Sith you will not grant it him, this shall giue it him. Notwithstanding, the request that *Cæsar* propounded, caried great semblance of reason with them. For he sayd, that he was contented to lay downe armes, so that *Pompey* did the like: and that both of them as priuate persons should come and make sute of their citizens to obtaine honourable recompence: declaring vnto them, that taking armes from him, and graunting them vnto *Pompey*, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himselfe a tyrant, and in the meane time to graunt the other meanes to be a tyrant. *Curio* making these offers and perswasions openly before the people, in the name of *Cæsar*, he was heard with great reioycing and clapping of hands, and there were some that cast flowers and nosegayes vpon him when he went his way, as they commonly vse to do vnto any man, when he hath obtained victory, and won any games. Then *Antonius* one of the Tribunes, brought a letter sent from *Cæsar*, & made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* father in law, made this motion: that if *Cæsar* did not dismisse his army by a certaine day appointed him, the Romains should proclaime him an enemy vnto Rome. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that *Pompey* should dismisse his army: but few agreed to that demand. After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Cæsar* should dismisse his army: thereto they all in maner answered, yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requested againe that both of them should lay downe armes: then they were all indifferently of his mind. Notwithstanding, because *Scipio* did insolently behaue himselfe, and *Marcellus* also, who cried that they must vse force of armes, and not mens opinions against a theefe: the Senate rose straight vpon it without further determination, & men changed apparell through the city because of this dissention, as they vse to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other letters from *Cæsar*, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would graunt him Gavle, that lieth betweene the mountaines of the Alpes & Italy, and Illyria, with two legions onely, and then that he would request nothing else, vntill he made sute for the second Consulship. *Cicero* the Orator, that was newly come from the gouernment of Cilicia, trauelled to reconcile them together, and pacified *Pompey* the best he could: who told him he would yeeld to any thing he would haue him, so he did let him alone with his army. So *Cicero* perswaded *Cæsars* friends to be contented, to take those two prouinces, and fiue thousand men only, that they might be friends and at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yeelded vnto it, and graunted them. But *Lentulus* the Consull would not agree to it, but shamefully draue *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Senate: whereby they themselues gaue *Cæsar* a happy occasion and colour, as could be, stirring vp his soldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two notable men & Tribunes of the people that were driuen to flie, disguised like slaues, in a carriers cart. For, they were driuē for feare to steale out of Rome, disguised in that maner. Now at that time, *Cæsar* had not in all about him, aboue fiue thousand footmen, and three thousand horsemen: for the rest of his army, he left on the other side of the mountaines to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. So, considering that for the execution of his enterprise, he should not need so many men of warre at the first, but rather suddenly stealing vpon them, to make them afraid with his valiantnesse, taking benefit of the oportunity of time, because he should more easily make his enemies afraid of him, comming so suddenly when they looked not for him, then he should otherwise distresse them, assailing them with his whole army, in giuing them leisure to prouide further for him: he commaunded his Captaines and Lieutenants to go before, without any other armour then their swords, to take the city of Ariminvm (a great city of Gavle, being the first citie men come to, when they come out of Gavle) with as litle bloudshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that force and army he had with him, vnto *Hortensius* one of his friends: he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of euery man, to see the sword players handle their weapons before him. At night he went into his lodging, and bathing his body a litle, came afterwards into the hall amongst them, and made merry with them a while, whom he had bidden to supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very darke, he rose from the table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stirre, for he would straight come to them againe: howbeit he had secretly before commaunded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not altogether, but some one way, and some another way. He himselfe in the meane time tooke a coach he had hired, and made

Cæsars requests vnto the Senate.

Antonius and Curio, Tribunes of the people, flie frō Rome to Cæsar.

made as though he would haue gone some other way at the first, but sodainly he turned backe againe towards the city of Ariminvm. When he was come vnto the litle riuer of Rubicon, which deuideth Gavle on this side the Alpes from Italie, he stayed vpon a sodaine. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to think what an enterprise he tooke in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into consideration of the desperatnesse of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himselfe, and spake neuer a word, wauing sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrarie to himself. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was *Asinius Pollio*, telling them what mischiefes the beginning of this passage ouer that riuer would breed in the world, and how much their posteritie and them that liued after them, would speake of it in time to come. But at length, casting from him with a noble courage, all those perillous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate enterprises: *A man can be but once vndone, come on*: he passed ouer the riuer, and when he was come ouer, he ran with his coach and neuer stayed, so that before day light he was within the city of Ariminvm, and tooke it. It is said, that the night before he passed ouer this riuer, he dreamed a damnable dreame, that he carnally knew his mother. The city of Ariminvm being taken, & the rumor therof dispersed through al Italy, euen as if it had bene open war both by sea and land, & as if all the lawes of Rome, together with the extreame bounds and confines of the same had bene broken vp: a man would haue said, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proued at other times, but whole cities themselues leauing their habitations, fled from one place to another through all Italie. And Rome it selfe also was immediatly filled with the flowing repaire of all the people their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droues of cattell, that there was neither officer nor Magistrate that could any more commaund them by authoritie, neither by any perswasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that Rome had in maner destroyed it selfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were daungerous stirres and tumults euery where: becausse they that were glad of this trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running vp and down the citie, when they met with others in diuers places, that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise is it impossible in so great a citie) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatned them with that that was to come. *Pompey* himselfe, who at that time was not a litle amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gaue him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproued him, and said that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly, because he had made *Cæsar* so great and strong against him and the commonwealth. And other againe did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace, which *Cæsar* had offered him, suffering *Lentulus* the Consull to abuse him too much. On the other side, *Phaonius* spake vnto him, and bad him stampe on the ground with his foote: For *Pompey* being one day in a brauerie in the Senate, said openly: Let no man take thought for preparation of warre, for when he listed, with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all Italie with souldiers. This notwithstanding, *Pompey* at that time had a greater number of souldiers then *Cæsar*: but they would neuer let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him so many lyes, and put so many examples of feare before him, as if *Cæsar* had bene already at their heeles, and had won all: so that in the end he yeelded vnto them, & gaue place to their fury & madnesse, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboile) that there was no way but to forsake the city, and therupon cõmanded the Senate to follow him, & not a man to tary there, vnlesse he loued tyranny, more then his own liberty & the cõmonwealth. Thus the Consuls themselues, before they had done their cõmon sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the city, fled euery man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their owne things in hast, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of thẽ also that alwaies loued *Cæsar*, whose wits were then so troubled & besides themselues, with the feare they had conceiued: that they also fled, and followed the streame of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But aboue all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the citie it selfe, that in this feare & trouble was left at all aduenture, as a ship tossed in storme of sea, forsaken of her Pylots, and despairing of her safetie. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the loue they bare vnto *Pompey*) to be their natural

Cæsars doubtfull thoughts at the riuer of Rubicon.

The Greeke vseth this phrase of speech: Cast the dye.

Cæsar tooke the citie of Ariminum.

Cæsars damnable dreame.

Rome in vproare with Cæsars comming.

Pompey flyeth from Rome.

Labienus forsooke Cæsar, & fled to Pompey.

country, and reckened ROME no better then *Cæsars* campe. At that time also *Labienus*, who was one of *Cæsars* greatest friends, and had bene alwaies vsed as his Lieutenant in the wars of Gaule, and had valiantly fought in his cause: he likewise forsooke him then, and fled vnto *Pompey*. But *Cæsar* sent his mony and cariage after him, and then went and encamped before the city of CORFINIVM, the which *Domitius* kept with thirty cohorts or ensignes. When *Domitius* saw he was besieged, he straight thought himselfe but vndone, and dispairing of his successe, he had a Phisitian, a slaue of his giue him poison. The Phisitian gaue him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to haue dyed. But shortly after, *Domitius* hearing them report what clemencie and wonderfull curtesie *Cæsar* vsed vnto them he tooke: repented him then that he had drunke this drinke, and began to lament and bewaile his desperate resolution taken to dy. The Phisitian did comfort him againe, and told him, that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him sleepe, but not to destroy him. Then *Domitius* reioyced, and went straight and yeelded himselfe vnto *Cæsar*: who gaue him his life, but he notwithstanding stale away immediatly, and fled vnto *Pompey*. When these newes were brought to ROME, they did maruellously reioyce and comfort them that still remained there: and moreouer there were of them that had forsaken ROME, which returned thither againe. In the meane time *Cæsar* did put all *Domitius* men in pay, and he did the like through all the cities, where he had taken any Captaines, that leauied men for *Pompey*. Now *Cæsar* hauing assembled a great and dreadfull power together, went straight where he thought to find *Pompey* himselfe. But *Pompey* taried not his comming, but fled into the citie of BRVNDVSIVM, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that army he had, vnto DYRRACHIVM: and he himselfe also went thither afterwards, when he vnderstood that *Cæsar* was come, as you shall heare more amply hereafter in his life. *Cæsar* lacked no goodwill to follow him, but wanting ships to take the seas, he returned forthwith to ROME: so that in lesse then threescore daies, he was Lord of all ITALIE, without any bloudshed. Who when he was come to ROME, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many Senators there also, he curteously intreated them, and prayed them to send vnto *Pompey*, to pacifie all matters betweene them, vpon reasonable conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared *Pompey*, for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought *Cæsar* meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course to colour his purpose withall. And when *Metellus* also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common treasure out of the temple of *Saturne*, but told him that it was against the law: Tush, said he, time of war and law are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for warre cannot abide this francke and bold speech. But when wars are done, and that we are all quiet againe, then thou shalt speake in the pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of fauour, impairing so much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that haue risen against me, and whom I haue in my hands. When he had spoken thus vnto *Metellus*, he went to the temple doore where the treasure lay: and finding no keyes there, he caused Smithes to be sent for, and made them breake open the lockes. *Metellus* thereupon began againe to withstand him, and certaine men that stood by praised him in his doing: but *Cæsar* at length speaking bigly to him, threatned him he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, Yong man, quoth he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, then to do it. That word made *Metellus* quake for feare, that he got him away roundly: and euer after that, *Cæsar* had all at his commaundement for the warres. From thence he went into SPAINE, to make warre with *Petreius* and *Varro*, *Pompeys* Lieutenants: first to get their armies and Prouinces into his hands which they gouerned, that afterwards he might follow *Pompey* the better, leauing neuer an enemie behind him. In this iourney he was oftentimes himselfe in daunger, through the ambushes that were laid for him in diuers straunge sorts and places, and likely also to haue lost all his army for lacke of victuals. All this notwithstanding, he neuer left following of *Pompeys* Lieutenants, prouoking them to battell, and intrenching them in: vntill he had gotten their campe and armies into his hands, albeit that the Lieutenants themselues fled vnto *Pompey*. When *Cæsar* returned againe to ROME, *Piso* his father in law gaue him counsell to send Ambassadours vnto *Pompey*, to treate for peace. But *Isauricus*, to flatter *Cæsar*, was against it. *Cæsar* being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had bene slaine in *Syllaes* time: and did somewhat cut off the vsuries that did oppresse them, & besides, did make some such other ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleuen daies onely, and

Domitius escaped from Cæsar, and fled to Pompey.

Pompey flyeth into Epirus.

Silent leges inter arma.

Cæsar taketh money out of the temple of Saturne.

Cæsars iourney into Spaine, against Pompeys Lieutenants.

Cæsars Dictator.

and then did yeeld it vp of himselfe, and made himselfe Consull, with *Seruilius Isauricus*, and after that determined to follow the wars. All the rest of his army he left comming on the way, behind him, and went himselfe before with sixe hundred horse, and fiue legions onely of footmen, in the winter quarter, about the moneth of Ianuarie, which after the ATHENIANS, is called *Posideon*. Then hauing past ouer the sea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the cities of ORICVM and APOLLONIA. Then he sent his ships backe againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM, to transport the rest of his souldiers that could not come with that speed he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body, and lustie youth was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry battels as they had fought with their enemies: complained of *Cæsar* in this sort. To what end and purpose doth this man hale vs after him, vp and downe the world, vsing vs like slaues and drudges? It is not our armour, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what, shall we neuer be without our harnesse on our backes, and our shields on our armes: should not *Cæsar* thinke, at the least when he seeth our bloud and wounds, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the miserie and paines that other men do feele? And now euen in the dead of winter, he putteth vs vnto the mercy of the sea and tempest, yea which the gods themselues cannot withstand: as if he fled before his enemies, and pursued them not. Thus spending time with this talke, the souldiers still marching on, by small iourneys came at length vnto the city of BRVNDVSIVM. But when they were come, and found that *Cæsar* had already passed ouer the sea, then they straight chaunged their complaints and minds. For they blamed themselues, and tooke on also with their captaines, because they had not made them make more hast in marching: and sitting vpon the rocks and cliffes of the sea, they looked ouer the maine sea, towards the realme of EPIRVS, to see if they could discerne the ships returning backe, to transport them ouer. *Cæsar* in the meane time being in the city of APOLLONIA, hauing but a small army to fight with *Pompey*, it grieued him for that the rest of his army was so long a coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to imbarke vnknowne in a litle pinnase of 12. oares only, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM: the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all that sea was full of *Pompeys* ships and armies. So he tooke ship in the night apparelled like a slaue, and went a boord vpon this litle pinnase, and said neuer a word, as if he had bene some poore man of meane condition. The pinnase lay in the mouth of the riuer of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme and quiet, by reason of a litle wind that came from the shore, which euery morning draue back the waues far into the maine sea. But that night, (by ill fortune) there came a great wind from the sea that ouercame the land wind, insomuch as the force & strength of the riuer fighting against the violence of the rage and waues of the sea, the encounter was maruellous daungerous, the water of the riuer being driuen backe, & rebounding vpward, with great noise & danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the Master of the pinnase seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this riuer, bad the Mariners to cast about againe, & to returne against the streame. *Cæsar* hearing that, straight discouered himselfe vnto the Maister of the pinnase, who at the first was amazed when he saw him: but *Cæsar* the taking him by the hand said vnto him, good fellow, be of good cheare, & forwards hardily, feare not, for thou hast *Cæsar* & his fortune with thee. The the Mariners forgetting the danger of the storm they were in, laid on load with oares, & laboured for life what they could, against the wind, to get out of the mouth of this riuer. But at length, perceiuing they laboured in vaine, and that the pinnase tooke in abundance of water, and was ready to sinke: *Cæsar* then to his great griefe was driuen to returne backe againe: who when he was returned vnto his campe, his souldiers came in great companies vnto him, and were very sorie, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to ouercome his enemies, but would put his person in daunger, to go fetch the that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time *Antonius* arriued, and brought with him the rest of his army from BRVNDVSIVM. Then *Cæsar* finding himselfe strong enough, went and offered *Pompey* battell, who was passingly well lodged, for victualling of his campe both by sea and land. *Cæsar* on the other side, who had no great plenty of victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: insomuch as his men gathered roots, and mingled them with milke, and eate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, and sometime when they skirmished with the enemies, and came alongst by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their trenches, & said: that as long as the earth brought foorth such fruits, they would neuer leaue besieging of *Pompey*. But *Pompey* straightly cõmanded them, that they should neither

Cæsar and Isauricus Consuls.

Cæsar goeth into the kingdome of Epirus.

Complaints of the old souldiers against Cæsar.

A great aduenture of Cæsar.

Anius fl.

Cæsars daungers and troubles in the realme of Epirus.

cary those words nor bread into their campe, fearing lest his mens hearts would faile them, and that they would be affraid, when they should thinke of their enemies hardnes, with whom they had to fight, sith they were weary with no paines, no more then brute beasts. *Cæsars* men did daily skirmish hard to the trenches of *Pompeys* campe, in the which *Cæsar* had euer the better, saue uing once onely, at what time his men fled with such feare, that all his campe that day was in great hazard to haue bene cast away. For *Pompey* came on with his battell vpon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driuen into their campe, and their trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were slaine within the very gate and bulwarks of their camp, they were so valiantly pursued. *Cæsar* stood before them that fled, to make them to turne head againe: but he could not preuaile. For when he would haue taken the ensignes to haue stayed them, the ensigne-bearers threw them downe on the ground: so that the enemies tooke two and thirty of them, and *Cæsars* selfe also escaped hardly with life. For striking a great bigge souldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay, and turne his face to his enemy: the souldier being affraid, lift vp his sword to strike at *Cæsar*. But one of *Cæsars* Pages preuenting him, gaue him such a blow with his sword, that he strake off his shoulder. *Cæsar* that day was brought vnto so great extremitie, that (if *Pompey* had not either for feare, or spitefull fortune, left off to follow his victorie, and retired into his campe, being contented to haue driuen his enemies into their campe) returning to his campe with his friends, he said vnto them: the victorie this day had bene our enemies, if they had had a Captaine, that could haue told how to haue ouercome. So when he was come to his lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more then any night that euer he had. For still his mind ran with great sorrow of the fowle fault he had committed in leading of his armie, of selfe-will to remaine there so long by the sea side, his enemies being the stronger by sea, considering that he had before him a goodly country, rich and plentifull of all things, and goodly cities of MACEDON and THESSALY, and had not the wit to bring the warre from thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his enemies for lacke of victuals, then that he did besiege them by force of armes. Thus, fretting and chafing to see himselfe so straighted with victuals, and to thinke of his ill lucke, he raised his campe, intending to go set vpon *Scipio*, making account, that either he should draw *Pompey* to battell against his will, when he had not the sea at his backe to furnish him with plenty of victuals: or else that he should easily ouercome *Scipio*, finding him alone, vnlesse he were aided. This remoue of *Cæsars* campe, did much encourage *Pompeys* army and his Captaines, who would needes in any case haue followed after him, as though he had bene ouercome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* himselfe, he would in no respect hazard battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himselfe so well prouided of all things necessarie to tary time, he thought it better to draw this warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to consume this litle strength that remained in *Cæsars* army: of the which, the best men were maruellous well trained and good souldiers, and for valiantnesse, at one daies battell, were incomparable. But on the other side againe, to remoue here and there so oft, and to fortifie their campe where they came, and to besiege any wal, or to keepe watch all night in their armour: the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then vnable to away with that paines, so that the weakenesse of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them that came by ill meates hunger draue them to eate. Yet was not this the worst: for besides, he had no store of money, neither could tell how to come by victuals: so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects, *Pompey* would in no case fight, and yet had he but *Cato* only of his mind in that, who stucke in it the rather, because he would auoid shedding of his countriemens bloud. For when *Cato* had viewed the dead bodies slaine in the campe of his enemies, at the last skirmish that was betweene them, the which were no lesse then a thousand persons: he couered his face and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he so long refrained from battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and kings of kings, saying, that he delayed this war in this sort, because he would not leaue his authoritie to command them all, and that he was glad alwaies to see many Captaines round about him, which came to his lodging to honour him, and wait vpon him. And *Faonius* also, a hare braind fellow, frantickly counterfeiting the round and plaine speech of *Cato*, made as though he was maruellous angrie, and said: Is it not great pity, that we shall not eate this yere of TVSCVLVM figs, & all for *Pompeys* ambitious

Cæsars army fled from Pompey.

Cæsars words of Pompeys victorie.

Cæsar troubled in mind after his losse.

Pompeys determination for the war.

Pompey called Agamemnon, and king of kings.

ambitious mind to raigne alone: and *Afranius*, who not long before was but lately come out of SPAINE, (where because he had but ill successe, he was accused of treason, that for money he had sold his army vnto *Cæsar*:) he went busily asking, why they fought not with that Merchant, vnto whom they said he had sold the prouince of SPAINE? So that *Pompey* with these kind of speeches, against his will, was driuen to follow *Cæsar* to fight with him. Then was *Cæsar* at the first, maruellously perplexed and troubled by the way: because he found none that would giue him any victuals, being despised of euery man, for the late losse and ouerthrow he had receiued. But after that he had taken the city of GOMPHES in THESSALY, he did not only meet with plenty of victuals to releeue his army with: but he strangely also did rid them of their disease. For the souldiers meeting with plenty of wine, drinking hard, and making merry: draue away the infection of the pestilence. For they disposed themselues vnto dancing, masking & playing the BACCHIANS by the way: insomuch that drinking drunke they ouercame their disease, and made their bodies new againe. When they both came into the country of PHARSALIA, & both camps lay before each other: *Pompey* returned againe to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signes and tokens of misfortune in his sleepe. For he thought in his sleepe that when he entred into the Theater, all the ROMAINES receiued him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon, they that were about him grew to such boldnesse and securitie, assuring themselues of victorie: that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a brauerie contended betweene themselues, for the chiefe Bishopricke which *Cæsar* had. Furthermore, there were diuerse that sent vnto ROME to hire the neerest houses vnto the market place, as being the fittest places for Prætors, and Consuls: making their account alreadie, that those offices could not scape them, incontinently after the warres. But besides those, the young Gentlemen, and ROMAINE knights were maruellous desirous to fight, that were brauely mounted, and armed with glistering gilt armors, their horses fat and very finely kept, and themselues goodly young men, to the number of seuen thousand, where the Gentlemen of *Cæsars* side, were but one thousand onely. The number of his footemen also were much after the same reckening. For he had fiue and fortie thousand against two and twentie thousand. Wherefore *Cæsar* called his souldiers together, and told them how *Carnificius* was at hand, who brought two whole legions, and that he had fifteene ensignes led by *Calenus*, the which he made to stay about MEGARA and ATHENS. Then he asked thē if they would tarie for that aide or not, or whether they would rather thēselues alone venture battell. The souldiers cryed out to him, & prayed him not to defer battell, but rather to deuise some feteh to make the enemy fight assoone as he could. Thē as he sacrificed vnto the gods, for the purifying of his army: the first beast was no sooner sacrificed, but his soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three daies. *Cæsar* asked him againe, if he saw in the sacrifices, any lucky signe, or token of good lucke. The soothsayer answered: For that, thou shalt answer thy selfe, better thē I can do: for the gods do promise vs a maruellous great change, & alteratiō of things that are now vnto another cleane contrary. For if thou beest well now, dost thou think to haue worse fortune hereafter: and if thou be ill, assure thy selfe thou shalt haue better. The night before the battell, as he went about midnight to visit the watch, men saw a great firebrand in the element, all of a light fire, that came ouer *Cæsars* campe, and fell downe in *Pompeys*. In the morning also when they relieued the watch, they heard a false allarme in the enemies campe, without any apparant cause: which they cōmonly cal, a sodaine feare, that makes men beside themselues. This notwithstanding, *Cæsar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to haue raised his campe from thence, and to haue gone towards the city of SCOTVSA: and his tents in his campe were alreadie ouerthrowne when his scoutes came in with great speede, to bring him newes that his enemies were preparing themselues to fight. Then he was very glad, and after he had made his prayers vnto the gods to helpe him that day, he set his men in battell ray, and deuided them into three squadrons, giuing the middle battell vnto *Domitius Caluinus*, and the left wing vnto *Antonius*, and placed himselfe in the right wing, chusing his place to fight in the tenth legion. But seeing that against that, his enemies had set all their horsemen: he was halfe affraid when he saw the great number of them, and so braue besides. Wherefore he closely made sixe ensignes to come from the rereward of his battell, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right wing, hauing first appointed his soldiers what they should do, when the horsmen of the enemies came to giue them charge. On the other side, *Pompey* placed himselfe in the right wing of his battell, gaue the left wing vnto *Domitius*, & the middle battell vnto *Scipio* his father in law. Now all the ROMANE

The citie of Gomphes in Thessalie.

Pompeys dreame in Pharsalia.

The securitie of the Pompeyans.

Pompeys army as great against as Cæsars.

A wonder seene in the element, before the battell in Pharsalia.

Cæsars armie and his order of battell, in the fields of Pharsalia.

Pompeys army and his order of battell.

knights (as we haue told you before) were placed in the left wing, of purpoſe to enuiron *Cæſars* right wing behind, and to giue their hoteſt charge there, where the generall of their enemies was: making their account, that there was no ſquadron of footmen how thicke ſoeuer they were, that could receiue the charge of ſo great a troupe of horſemen, and that at the firſt onſet, they ſhould ouerthrow them all, and march vpon their bellies. When the trumpets on either ſide did ſound the alarme to the battell, *Pompey* commaunded his footmen that they ſhould ſtand ſtill without ſtirring, to receiue the charge of their enemies, vntill they came to throwing of their darts. Wherefore *Cæſar* afterwards ſaid, that *Pompey* had committed a fowle fault, not to conſider that the charge which is giuen rnnning with fury, beſides that it giueth the more ſtrength alſo vnto their blowes, doth ſet mens hearts alſo on fire: for the common hurling of all the ſouldiers that runne together, is vnto them as a boxe on the eare that ſets men on fire. Then *Cæſar* making his battell march forward to giue the onſet, ſaw one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skilfull in warre, in whome he had alſo great confidence) ſpeaking to his ſouldiers that he had vnder his charge, encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloude by his name, and ſaid vnto him: Well, *Caius Craſſinius*, what hope ſhall we haue to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Craſſinius* caſting vp his hand, anſwered him aloud: This day, ô *Cæſar*, we ſhall haue a noble victorie, and I promiſe thee ere night thou ſhalt praiſe me aliue or dead. When he had told him ſo, he was himſelfe the formoſt man that gaue charge vpon his enemies, with his band following of him, being about ſixe ſcore men, and making a lane through the foremoſt ranckes, with great ſlaughter he entred farre into the battell of his enemies: vntill that valiantly fighting in this ſort, he was thruſt in at length in the mouth with a ſword, that the point of it came out againe at his necke. Now the footmen of both battels being come to the ſword, the horſemen of the left wing of *Pompey*, did march as fiercely alſo, ſpreading out their troupes, to compaſſe in the right wing of *Cæſars* battell. But before they began to giue charge, the ſixe enſignes of footmen which *Cæſar* had laid in ambuſh behind him, they beganne to run full vpon them, not throwing away their darts farre off as they were wont to do, neither ſtriking their enemies on the thighes nor on the legges, but to ſeeke to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as *Cæſar* had taught them. For he hoped that theſe luſty yong gentlemen that had not bene often in the warres, nor were vſed to ſee themſelues hurt, and the which, being in the prime of their youth and beautie, would be affraid of thoſe hurts, aſwell for the feare of the preſent daunger to be ſlaine, as alſo for that their faces ſhould not for euer be deformed. As indeed it came to paſſe, for they could neuer abide that they ſhould come ſo neare their faces, with the points of their dartes, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backes, couering their face, becauſe they ſhould not be hurt. Then, breaking of themſelues, they began at length cowardly to flie, and were occaſion alſo of the loſſe of all the reſt of *Pompeys* armie. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to ſet vpon the ſquadron of the footmen behind, and ſlue them. Then *Pompey* ſeeing his horſemen from the other wing of his battell, ſo ſcattered and diſperſed, flying away: forgat that he was any more *Pompey* the Great, which he had bene before, but rather was like a man whoſe wits the gods had taken from him, being affraid and amazed with the ſlaughter ſent from aboue, and ſo retired into his tent ſpeaking neuer a word, and ſate there to ſee the end of this battell. Vntill at the length all his armie being ouerthrowne and put to flight, the enemies came, and got vp vpon the rampers and defence of his campe, and fought hand to hand with them that ſtoode to defend the ſame. Then as a man come to himſelfe againe, he ſpake but this onely word: What, euen into our campe? So in haſt, caſting off his coate armour and apparell of a Generall, he ſhifted him, and put on ſuch, as became his miſerable fortune, and ſo ſtale out of his campe. Furthermore, what he did after this ouerthrow, and how he had put himſelfe into the hands of the ÆGYPTIANS, by whom he was miſerably ſlaine: we haue ſet it forth at large in his life. Then *Cæſar* entring into *Pompeys* campe, and ſeeing the bodies layed on the ground that were ſlaine, and others alſo that were a killing, ſaid, fetching a great ſigh: It was their owne doing, and againſt my will. For *Caius Cæſar*, after he had wonne ſo many famous conqueſts, and ouercome ſo many great battels, had bene vtterly condemned notwithſtanding, if he had departed from his armie. *Aſinius Pollio* writeth, that he ſpake theſe words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greeke, and ſaith furthermore, that the moſt part of them which were put to the ſword in the campe, were ſlaues and bondmen, and that there were not ſlaine in all at this battell, aboue fiue thouſand

An ill counſell & fowle fault of Pompey.

The battell in the fields of Pharſalia.

Cæſars ſtratageme.

Cæſar ouercometh Pompey.

Pompeys flight.

thousand souldiers. As for them that were taken prisoners, *Cæsar* did put many of them amongst his legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom *Brutus* was one, that afterwards slue *Cæsar* himselfe: and it is reported, that *Cæsar* was very sorie for him, when he could not immediatly be found after the battel, and that he reioyced againe when he knew he was aliue, and that he came to yeeld himselfe vnto him. *Cæsar* had many signes and tokens of victorie before this battell: but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the citie of TRALLES. For in the temple of victorie, within the same citie, there was an image of *Cæsar*, and the earth all about it very hard of it selfe, and was paued besides with hard stone: and yet some say that there sprang vp a palme hard by the base of the same image. In the citie of PADVA, *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothsayer, (a countriman and friend of *Titus Liuius* the Historiographer) was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of birds. He (as *Liuie* reporteth) knew the very time when the battell began, and told them that were present, euen now they giue the onset on both sides, and both armies do meete at this instant. Then sitting downe againe to consider of the birds, after he had bethought him of the signes: he sodainly rose vp on his feete, and cried out as a man possessed with some spirit, O *Cæsar*, the victorie is thine. Euery man wondring to see him, he took the crown he had on his head, and made an oath that he would neuer put in on againe, til the euent of his prediction had proued his art true. *Liuie* testifieth, that it came so to passe. *Cæsar* afterwards giuing freedome vnto the THESSALIANS, in respect of the victorie which he wan in their countrey, he followed after *Pompey*. When he came into ASIA, he gaue freedome also vnto the GVIDIANS for *Theopompus* sake, who had gathered the fables together. He did release ASIA also, the third part of the tribute which the inhabitants paid vnto the ROMAINES. Then he came into ALEXANDRIA after *Pompey* was slaine: and detested *Theodotus* that presented him *Pompeys* head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his seale, and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously vsed all *Pompeys* friends and familiars, who wandring vp and downe the countrey, were taken of the king of ÆGYPT, and wan them all to be at his commandement. Continuing these curtesies, he wrote vnto his friends at ROME, that the greatest pleasure he took of his victorie, was, that he daily saued the liues of some of his countrimen that bare armes against him. And for the war he made in ALEXANDRIA, some say, he needed not haue done it, but that he willingly did it for the loue of *Cleopatra*: wherein he wan litle honor, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault vpon the king of ÆGYPTS ministers, but specially on *Pothinus* the Eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the kings seruants, after he had caused *Pompey* to be slaine, and driuē *Cleopatra* from the court, secretly laid wait all the waies he could, how he might likewise kil *Cæsar*. Wherfore *Cæsar* hearing an inckling of it, began thenceforth to spend al the night long in feasting and banqueting, that his person might be in the better safetie. But besides all this, *Pothinus* the Eunuch spake many things openly not to be borne, onely to shame *Cæsar*, and to stirre vp the people to enuie him. For he made his souldiers haue the worst and oldest wheate that could be gotten: then if they did complaine of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eate at another mans cost. And he would serue them also at the table in treene and earthen dishes, saying, that *Cæsar* had away all their gold and siluer, for a debt that the kings father (that then raigned) did ow vnto him: which was, a thousand seuen hundred and fiftie Miriades, whereof *Cæsar* had before forgiuen seuen hundred and fiftie thousand vnto his children. Howbeit then he asked a million to pay his souldiers withal. Thereto *Pothinus* answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leysure recouer his debt with the kings good will and fauour. *Cæsar* replied vnto him, and said, that he would not ask counsell of the ÆGYPTIANS for his affaires, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for *Cleopatra*, which was in the country to come vnto him. She onely taking *Apollodorus* SICILIAN of all her friends, tooke a litle bote, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the castle. Then hauing no other meane to come into the court without being knowne, she laid her self downe vpon a mattres or flockbed, which *Apollodorus* her friend tied & bound vp together like a bundle with a great leather thong, and so took her vp on his back, and brought her thus hampered in this fardle vnto *Cæsar* in at the castle gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made *Cæsar* to loue her: but afterwards, when he saw her sweete conuersation and pleasant entertainement, he fel then in further liking with her, & did reconcile her againe vnto her brother the king, with condition, that they two ioyntly should raigne together. Vpon this new reconciliation,

Brutus that slue Cæsar, taken prisoner at the battell of Pharsalia.

Signes and tokens of Cæsars victorie.

A strange tale of Cornelius an excellent Prognosticator.

Cæsars clemencie in victorie.

The cause of Cæsars warre in Alexandria.

Pothinus the Eunuch caused Pompey to be slaine.

Cleopatra came to Cæsar.

Cleopatra trussed vp in a mattresse, and so brought to Cæsar, vpon Apollodours backe.

a great feaſt being prepared, a ſlaue of *Cæſars* that was his barber, the fearfulleſt wretch that liued, ſtill buſily prying and liſtening abroad in euery corner, being miſtruſtfull by nature: found that *Pothinus* and *Achillas* did lie in wait to kill his maſter *Cæſar*. This being proued vnto *Cæſar*, he did ſet ſuch ſure watch about the hall, where the feaſt was made, that in fine, he ſlue the Eunuch *Pothinus* himſelfe. *Achillas* on the other ſide, ſaued himſelfe and fled vnto the kings camp, where he raiſed a maruellous dangerous and difficult war for *Cæſar*: becauſe he hauing then but a few men about him as he had, he was to fight againſt a great and ſtrong citie. The firſt danger he fell into, was for lacke of water he had: for that his enemies had ſtopped the mouth of the pipes, the which conueyed the water vnto the caſtle. The ſecond danger he had, was, that ſeeing his enemies came to take his ſhips from him, he was driuē to repulſe that danger with fire, the which burnt the arſenall where the ſhips lay, and that notable librarie of Alexandria withall. The third danger was in the battell by ſea, that was fought by the tower of Phar: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by ſea, he leapt frō the peere into a boate. Then the Ægyptians made towards him with their oares on euery ſide: but he leaping into the ſea, with great hazard ſaued himſelfe by ſwimming. It is ſaid, that then holding diuers bookes in his hand, he did neuer let them go, but kept them alwayes vpon his head aboue water, and ſwam with the other hand, notwithſtanding that they ſhot maruellouſly at him, and was driuen ſometime to duck into the water: howbeit the bote was drowned preſently. In fine, the king comming to his men that made war with *Cæſar*, he went againſt him, and gaue him battell, and wan it with great ſlaughter, and effuſion of bloud. But for the King, no man could euer tell what became of him after. Thereupon *Cæſar* made *Cleopatra* his ſiſter, Queene of Ægypt, who being great with child by him, was ſhortly brought to bed of a ſon, whom the Alexandrians named *Cæſarion*. From thence he went into Syria, and ſo going into Aſia, there it was told him that *Domitius* was ouerthrowne in battell, by *Pharnaces* the ſonne of king *Mithridates*, and was fled out of the Realme of Pont with a few men with him: and that this king *Pharnaces* greedily following his victorie, was not contented with the winning of Bithynia and Cappadocia, but further would needes attempt to win Armenia the leſſe, procuring all thoſe Kings, Princes, and Gouernors of the prouinces thereabouts to rebell againſt the Romaines. Thereupon *Cæſar* went thither ſtraight with three legions, and fought a great battell with king *Pharnaces* by the citie of Zela, where he ſlue his armie, and draue him out of all the Realme of Pont. And becauſe he would aduertiſe one of his friends of the ſodainneſſe of this victorie, he onely wrote three words vnto *Anitius* at Rome: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I ſaw, I ouercame. Theſe three words ending all with like ſound, and letter in the Latin, haue a certaine ſhort grace, more pleaſant to the eare, then can be well expreſſed in any other tongue. After this, he returned againe into Italy, and came to Rome, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the ſecond time, which office before was neuer graunted for one whole yeare, but vnto him. Then was he choſen Conſull for the yeare following. Afterwards he was very ill ſpoken of, for that his ſouldiers in a mutinie hauing ſlaine two Prætors, *Coſconius* & *Galba*, he gaue them no other puniſhment for it, but in ſtead of calling them ſouldiers, he named them citizens, and gaue vnto euery one of them a thouſand Drachmaes a man, and great poſſeſſions in Italy. He was much miſliked alſo for the deſperate parts and madneſſe of *Dolabella*, for the couetouſneſſe of *Anitius*, for the drunkenneſſe of *Antonius* and *Cornificius*, which made *Pompeys* houſe be pulled downe and builded vp againe, as a thing not big inough for him, wherwith the Romaines were maruellouſly offended. *Cæſar* knew all this well inough, and would haue bene contented to haue redreſſed them: but to bring his matters to paſſe he pretended, he was driuen to ſeruе his turne by ſuch inſtruments. After the battell of Pharſalia, *Cato* and *Scipio* being fled into Africke, king *Iuba* ioyned with them, and leauied a great puiſſant armie. Wherefore *Cæſar* determined to make war with them, and in the middeſt of winter, he tooke his iorney into Sicile. There, becauſe he would take all hope from his captaines and ſouldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged vpon the very ſands by the ſea ſide, & with the next gale of wind that came, he took the ſea with 3. thouſand footmen, and a few horſemen. Then hauing put them a land, vnwares to thē, he hoiſed ſaile againe, to go fetch the reſt of his army, being afraid leaſt they ſhould meet with ſome daunger in paſſing ouer, and meeting them mid way, he brought them all into his camp. Where, when it was told him that his enemies truſted in an ancient Oracle, which ſaid, that it was predeſtined vnto the family of the *Scipioes* to be conquerours in Africke: either of purpoſe to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his enemies, or otherwiſe in good earneſt to take the benefite of this name (giuen

The great librarie of Alexandria burnt.

Cæſars ſwimming with bookes in his hand.

Cæſar made Cleopatra Queene of AEgypt.

Cæſarion, Cæſars ſonne, begotten of Cleopatra.

Cæſars victorie of king Pharnaces.

Cæſar writteth three wordes to certifie his victorie.

Cæſars iourney into Africke, againſt Cato and Scipio.

(giuen by the Oracle) vnto himselfe, in all the skirmishes and battels fought, he gaue the charge of his armie, vnto a man of meane qualitie and account, called *Scipio Salutius*, who came of the race of *Scipio* AFRICAN, and made him alwaies Generall when he fought. For he was eftsoones compelled to wearie and harrie his enemies: for that neither his men in his campe had corne inough, nor his beasts forrage, but the souldiers were driuen to take sea weeds, called Alga: and (washing away the brackishnes thereof with fresh water, putting to it a litle herbe called dogs tooth) to cast it so to their horse to eate. For the NVMIDIANS (which are light horsemen, and very readie of seruice) being a great number together, would be on a sodaine in euery place, & spread all the fields ouer thereabout, so that no man durst peepe out of the camp to go for forrage. And one day as the men of armes were staying to behold an AFRICAN doing notable things in dauncing and playing with the flute: they being set downe quietly to take their pleasure of the view thereof, hauing in the meane time giuen their slaues their horses to hold, the enemies stealing sodainly vpon them, compassed them in round about, & slue a number of them in the field, and chasing the other also that fled, followed them pel mel into their camp. Furthermore, had not *Cæsar* himselfe in person, and *Asinius Pollio* with him, gone out of the campe to the rescue, and staid them that fled: the war that day had bin ended. There was also another skirmish where his enemies had the vpper hand, in the which it is reported, that *Cæsar* taking the ensigne bearer by the coller that caried the Eagle in his hand, staid him by force, and turning his face, told him: see, there be thy enemies. These aduantages did lift vp *Scipioes* heart aloft, and gaue him courage to hazard battell: and leauing *Afranius* on the one hand of him, and king *Iuba* on the other hand, both their campes lying neare to other, he did fortifie himselfe by the citie of THAPSACVS, aboue the lake, to be a safe refuge for them all in this battel. But whilst he was busie intrenching of himself, *Cæsar* hauing maruellous speedily passed through a great countrey full of wood, by bypaths which men would neuer haue mistrusted: he stale vpon some behind, and sodainly assailed the other before, so that he ouerthrew them all, and made them flie. Then following this first good hap he had, he went forthwith to set vpon the camp of *Afranius*, the which he took at the first onset, and the camp of the NVMIDIANS also, king *Iuba* being fled. Thus in a litle peece of the day only, he tooke 3. campes, and slue fiftie thousand of his enemies, and lost but fiftie of his souldiers. In this sort is set down the effect of this battel by some writers. Yet others do write also, that *Cæsar* selfe was not there in person at the execution of this battel. For as he did set his men in battel ray, the falling sickenesse took him, whereunto he was giuen, and therefore feeling it comming, before he was ouercome withall, he was caried into a castle not far from thence, where the battell was fought, and there tooke his rest till the extremitie of his disease had left him. Now for the Prætor and Consuls that scaped from this battel, many of them being taken prisoners, did kill themselues, and others also *Cæsar* did put to death: but he being specially desirous of all men els to haue *Cato* aliue in his hands, he went with al possible speed vnto the citie of VTICA, wherof *Cato* was Gouernor, by meanes whereof he was not at the battell. Notwithstanding being certified by the way that *Cato* had slaine himself with his own hands, he then made open shew that he was very sory for it, but why or wherefore, no man could tell. But this is true, that *Cæsar* said at that present time: O *Cato*, I enuy thy death, becaus thou didst enuie my glorie to saue thy life. This notwithstanding, the booke that he wrote afterwards against *Cato* being dead, did shew no very great affection nor pitifull heart towards him. For how could he haue pardoned him, if liuing he had had him in his hands, that being dead did speake so vehemently against him? Notwithstanding, men suppose he would haue pardoned him, if he had taken him aliue, by the clemencie he shewed vnto *Cicero*, *Brutus*, and diuers others that had borne armes against him. Some report, that he wrote that booke, not so much for any priuate malice he had to his death, as for ciuill ambition, vpon this occasion. *Cicero* had written a booke in praise of *Cato*, which he intituled, *Cato*. This book in likelihood was very well liked of, by reason of the eloquence of the Orator that made it, and of the excellent subiect thereof. *Cæsar* therewith was marueilously offended, thinking that to praise him, of whose death he was author, was euen as much as to accuse himself: and therefore he wrote a letter against him, and heaped vp a number of accusations against *Cato*, and intituled the booke *Anticaton*. Both these bookes haue fauorers vnto this day, some defending the one for the loue they bare to *Cæsar*, & others allowing the other for *Cato* sake. *Cæsar* being now returned out of AFRIKE, first of al made an oratiõ to the people, wherin he greatly praised & cõmended this his last victorie, declaring vnto them, that he had conquered so many countries vnto the Empire of ROME, that he could furnish the commun-wealth yearely

Cæsars troubles in Africke.

Alga and dogs tooth giuen to the horse to eate.

Cæsars dangers in Africke.

Cæsars great victorie and small losse.

Cæsar troubled with the falling sickenesse.

Cæsar was sorie for the death of Cato.

Cæsar wrote against Cato being dead.

Cicero wrote a booke in praise of Cato being dead.

with two hundred thousand bushels of wheate, and twenty hundred thousand pound weight of oile. Then he made three triumphs, the one for Ægypt, the other for the kingdom of Pont, and the third for Afrike: not because he had ouercome *Scipio* there, but king *Iuba*. Whose son being likewise called *Iuba*, being then a yong boy, was led captiue in the shew of this triumph. But this his imprisonment fell out happily for him: for where he was but a barbarous Nvmidian, by the study he fel vnto when he was prisoner, he came afterwards to be reckned one of the wisest historiographers of the Grecians. After these three triumphs ended, he very liberally rewarded his souldiers: and to currie fauour with the people, he made great feasts and common sports. For he feasted all the Romaines at one time, at two and twenty thousand tables, and gaue them the pleasure to see diuers sword-players to fight at the sharpe, and battels also by sea, for the remembrance of his daughter *Iulia*, which was dead long before. Then after all these sports, he made the people (as the maner was) to be mustered: & where there were at the last musters before, three hundred and twentie thousand citizens, at this muster onely there were but a hundred and fiftie thousand. Such miserie and destruction had this ciuil war brought vnto the common wealth of Rome, and had consumed such a number of Romaines, not speaking at all of the mischiefes and calamities it had brought vnto all the rest of Italy, and to the other prouinces pertaining to Rome. After all these things were ended, he was chosen Consull the fourth time, and went into Spaine to make warre with the sonnes of *Pompey*: who were yet but very yong, but had notwithstanding raised a maruellous great army together, and shewed to haue had manhood and courage worthy to commaund such an armie, insomuch as they put *Cæsar* himself in great danger of his life. The greatest battell that was fought betweene them in all this war, was by the citie of Mvnda. For then *Cæsar* seeing his men sorely distressed, and hauing their hands full of their enemies, he ranne into the prease among his men that fought, and cried out vnto them: what, are ye not ashamed to be beaten and taken prisoners, yeelding your selues with your own hands to these yong boyes? And so, with all the force he could make, hauing with much ado put his enemies to flight, he slue aboue thirtie thousand of them in the field, and lost of his owne men a thousand of the best he had. After this battell he went into his tent, and told his friends, that he had often before fought for victorie, but this last time now, that he had fought for the safetie of his owne life. He wan this battell on the very feast day of the Bacchanalians, in the which men say, that *Pompey* the great went out of Rome, about foure yeares before, to begin this ciuill war. For his sonnes, the yonger scaped from the battell; but within few dayes after, *Diddius* brought the head of the elder. This was the last warre that *Cæsar* made. But the triumph he made into Rome for the same, did as much offend the Romaines, and more, then any thing that euer he had done before: because he had not ouercome Captaines that were strangers, nor barbarous Kings, but had destroyed the sonnes of the noblest man in Rome, whom fortune had ouerthrowne. And because he had plucked vp his race by the rootes, men did not thinke it meete for him to triumph so for the calamities of his countrey, reioycing at a thing for the which he had but one excuse to alleage in his defence, vnto the gods and men, that he was compelled to do that he did. And the rather they thought it not meet, because he had neuer before sent letters nor messengers vnto the commō-wealth at Rome, for any victorie that he had euer won in all the ciuill warres: but did alwayes for shame refuse the glorie of it. This notwithstanding, the Romaines inclining to *Cæsar's* prosperitie, and taking the bit in the mouth, supposing that to be ruled by one man alone, it would be a good meane for thē to take breath a litle, after so many troubles and miseries as they had abidden in these ciuil warres: they chose him perpetuall Dictator. This was a plaine tyrannie: for to this absolute power of Dictator, they added this, neuer to be affraid to be deposed: *Cicero* propounded before the Senate, that they should giue him such honors as were meet for a man: howbeit others afterwards added too, honors beyond all reason. For, men striuing who should most honour him, they made him hatefull and troublesome to themselues that most fauoured him, by reason of the vnmeasurable greatnesse and honours which they gaue him. Thereupon it is reported, that euen they that most hated him, were no lesse fauorers and furtherers of his honors, then they that most flattered him: because they might haue greater occasions to rise, and that it might appeare they had iust cause and colour to attempt that they did against him. And now for himselfe, after he had ended his ciuill warres, he did so honorably behaue himselfe, that there was no fault to be found in him: and therefore me thinkes amongst other honours they gaue him, he rightly deserued this, that they should build him a temple of clemencie, to thanke him for his courtesie he had vsed vnto them in his

Iuba, the sonne of king Iuba, a famous Historiographer.

Cæsars feasting of the Romaines.

The musters taken of the Romaines.

Cæsar Consull the fourth time.

Battell fought betwixt Cæsar and the young Pompeys, by the citie of Mundi.

Cæsars victorie of the sonnes of Pompey.

Cæsars triumph of Pompeys sonnes.

Cæsar Dictator perpetuall.

The temple of clemencie, dedicated vnto Cæsar, for his courtesie.

his victorie. For he pardoned many of them that had borne armes against him, and furthermore, did preferre some of them to honor and office in the common-wealth: as amongst others, *Cassius* and *Brutus*, both the which were made Prætors. And where *Pompeys* images had bene throwne down, he caused them to be set vp againe: whereupon *Cicero* said then, that *Cæsar* setting vp *Pompeys* images againe, he made his owne to stand the surer. And when some of his friends did counsell him to haue a guard for the safetie of his person, and some also did offer themselues to serue him: he would neuer consent to it, but said, it was better to die once, then alwayes to be affraid of death. But to win himself the loue and good will of the people, as the honorablest guard and best safetie he could haue: he made common feasts again, and generall distributions of corne. Furthermore, to gratifie the souldiers also, he repleni shed many cities againe with inhabitants, which before had bene destroyed, and placed them there that had no place to repaire vnto: of the which the noblest & chiefest cities were these two, CARTHAGE and CORINTH, and it chanced also, that like as aforetime they had bene both taken and destroyed together; euen so were they both set a foote againe, and repleni shed with people, at one selfe time. And as for great personages, he wan them also, promising some of them, to make them Prætors and Consuls in time to come, and vnto others, honors and preferments, but to all men generally good hope, seeking all the waies he could to make euery man contented with his raigne. Insomuch as one of the Consuls called *Maximus*, chancing to die a day before his Consulship ended, he declared *Caninius Rebilius* Consul only for the day that remained. So, diuers going to his house (as the maner was) to salute him, and to congratulate with him of his calling and preferment, being newly chosen officer: *Cicero* pleasantly said, Come, let vs make haste, and be gone thither before his Consulship come out. Furthermore, *Cæsar* being borne to attempt all great enterprises, and hauing an ambitious desire besides to couet great honors: the prosperous good successe he had of his former conquests, bred no desire in him quietly to enioy the fruites of his labors, but rather gaue him the hope of things to come, still kindling more and more in him, thoughts of greater enterprises, and desire of new glorie, as if that which he had present were stale and nothing worth. This humour of his was no other but an emulation with himselfe as with another man, and a certaine contention to ouercome the things he prepared to attempt. For he was determined, and made preparation also, to make warre with the PERSIANS. Then when he had ouercome them, to passe through HYRCANIA (compassing in the sea Caspium, and mount Caucasus) into the Realme of PONTVS, and so to inuade SCYTHIA: and ouerrunning all the countries, and people adioyning vnto high GERMANIE, and GERMANIE it selfe, at length to returne by GAVLE into ITALY, and so to enlarge the ROMAINE Empire round, that it might be euery way compassed in with the great sea Oceanum. But whilest he was preparing for this voyage, he attempted to cut the barre of the straight of PELOPONNESVS, in the market place where the citie of CORINTH standeth. Then he was minded to bring the riuers of Anienes and Tiber, straight from ROME, vnto the citie of CIRCES, with a deepe channell and high banks cast vp on either side, and so to fall into the sea at TERRACINA, for the better safetie and commoditie of the merchants that came to ROME to traffick there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and seaw all the water of the marishes betwixt the cities of NOMENTVM and SETIVM, to make it firme land, for the benefite of many thousands of people: and on the sea coast next vnto ROME, to cast great high bankes, and to clense all the hauen about OSTIA, of rockes and stones hidden vnder the water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harborough dangerous for ships, and to make new hauens and arsenals meete to harbour such ships, as did continually trafficke thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but tooke no effect. But the ordinance of the Kalender, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commoditie vnto all men. For the ROMAINES vsing then the auncient computation of the yeare, had not onely such incertaintie and alteration of the moneth and times, that the sacrifices and yearely feasts came by litle and litle to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the reuolution of the Sunne (which is called *Annus Solaris*) no other nation agreed with them in account: and of the ROMAINES themselues, onely the priests vnderstood it. And therefore when they listed, they sodainly (no man being able to controle them) did thrust in a moneth aboue their ordinarie number, which they called in old time, *Mercedonius. Some say, that *Numa Pompilius* was the first that deuised this way, to put a moneth betweene: but it was a weake remedie, and did litle helpe the correction of the errours that

Cassius and Brutus Prætors.

Cæsars saying of death.

Good will of subiects, the best guard and safetie for Princes.

Caninius Rebilius Consul for one day.

Anienes. Tiber flu.

Cæsar reformed the inequalitie of the yeare.

**Mercedonius mensis intercalaris.*

were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Cæsar* committing this matter vnto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time, did set forth an excellent and perfect kalender, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMAINES do vse vntill this present day, and do nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his enemies notwithstanding that enuied his greatnesse, did not sticke to find fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one said, to morrow the starre Lyra will rise: Yea, said he, at the commandement of *Cæsar*, as if men were compelled so to say and think, by *Cæsars* edict. But the chiefest cause that made him mortally hated, was the couetous desire he had to be called King: which first gaue the people iust cause, and next his secret enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this honour and dignitie, gaue it out among the people, that it was written in the Sybiline prophecies, how the ROMAINES might ouercome the PARTHIANS, if they made warre with them, and were led by a king, but otherwise that they were vnconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that *Cæsar* returning to ROME from the city of ALBA, when they came to salute him, they called him king. But the people being offended, and *Cæsar* also angrie, he said he was not called king, but *Cæsar*. Then euery man keeping silence, he went his way heauy and sorowfull. When they had decreed diuers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors accompanied with the whole assembly of the Senate, went vnto him in the market place, where he was set by the pulpit for orations, to tell him what honors they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting stil in his maiestie, disdaining to rise vp vnto them when they came in, as if they had bene priuate men, answered them: that his honors had more neede to be cut off then enlarged. This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common people also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the common wealth: insomuch as euery man that might lawfully go his way, departed thence very sorowfully. Thereupon also *Cæsar* rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his dublet coller, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, that his throte was readie to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstanding, it is reported, that afterwards to excuse this folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wits are not perfit which haue this disease of the falling euill, when standing on their feet they speake to the common people, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their bodie, and a sodaine dimnesse and giddinesse. But that was not true: for he would haue risen vp to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, do you not remember that you are *Cæsar*, and will you not let them reuerence you, and do their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproch, abusing the Tribunes of the people in this sort. At that time, the feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in old time, men say was the feast of shepheards or heard-men, and is much like vnto the feast of the LYCÆIANS in ARCADIA. But howsoeuer it is, that day there are diuers noble mens sons, yong men, (and some of them Magistrates themselues that goeuerne then) which run naked through the citie, striking in sport them they meete in their way, with leather thongs, haire and all on, to make them giue place. And many noble women and gentlewomen also, go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be striken, as scholers hold them out to their schoolemaister, to be striken with the ferula: perswading themselues that being with child, they shall haue good deliuerie; and also being barren, that it will make them to conceiue with child. *Cæsar* sate to behold that sport vpon the pulpit for orations, in a chaire of gold, apparelled in triumphant maner. *Antonius* who was Consull at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the market place, the people made a lane for him to runne at libertie, and he came to *Cæsar*, and presented him a Diadeame wreathed about with laurell. Whereupon there rose a certaine crie of reoycing, not very great, done onely by a few, appointed for the purpose. But when *Cæsar* refused the Diadeame, then all the people together made an outcrie of ioy. Then *Antonius* offering it him againe, there was a second shout of ioy, but yet of a few. But when *Cæsar* refused it againe the second time, then all the whole people shouted. *Cæsar* hauing made this proofe, found that the people did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his chaire, and commanded the crowne to be caried vnto *Iupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there were set vp images of *Cæsar* in the citie, with Diademes vpon their heads, like kings. Those, the two Tribunes, *Flauius* and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe: and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted *Cæsar* as King, they committed them to prison. The people followed them reioycing at it, and called them *Brutes*, because of *Brutus*, who had in old

VVhy Cæsar was hated.

The feast Lupercalia.

Antonius being Consull, was one of the Lupercalians.

Antonius presented the Diademe to Cæsar.

old time driuen the kings out of Rome, and that brought the kingdome of one perſon, vnto the gouernement of the Senate and people. *Cæſar* was ſo offended withall, that he depriued *Marullus* and *Flauius* of their Tribuneſhips, and accuſing them, he ſpake alſo againſt the people, and called them *Bruti*, and *Cumani*, to wit, beaſts, and fooles. Hereupon the people went ſtraight vnto *Marcus Brutus*, who from his father came of the firſt *Brutus*, and by his mother, of the houſe of the *Seruilians*, a noble houſe as any was in Rome, and was alſo nephew and ſonne in law of *Marcus Cato*. Notwithſtanding, the great honors and fauour *Cæſar* ſhewed vnto him, kept him backe that of himſelfe alone, he did not conſpire nor conſent to depoſe him of his kingdome. For *Cæſar* did not only ſaue his life, after the battell of Pharsalia when *Pompey* fled, and did at his requeſt alſo ſaue many moe of his friends beſides: but furthermore, he put a maruellous confidence in him. For he had alreadie preferred him to the Prætorſhip for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Conſull the fourth yeare after that, hauing through *Cæſars* friendſhip obtained it before *Caſſius*, who likewiſe made ſute for the ſame: and *Cæſar* alſo, as it is reported, ſaid in this contention, Indeed *Caſſius* hath alleaged beſt reaſon, but yet ſhall he not be choſen before *Brutus*. Some one day accuſing *Brutus* while he practiſed this conſpiracie, *Cæſar* would not heare of it, but clapping his hand on his bodie, told them, *Brutus* wil looke for this skin: meaning therby, that *Brutus* for his vertue, deſerued to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions ſake, he would not ſhew him ſelfe vnthankfull or diſhonorable. Now they that deſired change, and wiſhed *Brutus* onely their Prince and Gouernour aboue all other: they durſt not come to him themſelues to tell him what they would haue him to do, but in the night did caſt ſundrie papers into the Prætors ſeate where he gaue audience, and the moſt of them to this effect: Thou ſleepeſt *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* indeed. *Caſſius* finding *Brutus* ambition ſtirred vp the more by theſe ſeditious bils, did pricke him forward, and egge him on the more, for a priuate quarell he had conceiued againſt *Cæſar*: the circumſtance whereof, we haue ſet downe more at large in *Brutus* life. *Cæſar* alſo had *Caſſius* in great ielouſie, and ſuſpected him much: wherupon he ſaid on a time to his friends, what will *Caſsius* do, think ye? I like not his pale looks. Another time when *Cæſars* friends complained vnto him of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, that they pretended ſome miſchiefe towards him: he anſwered them againe, as for thoſe fat men and ſmooth combed heads, quoth he, I neuer reckon of them: but theſe pale viſaged and carion leane people, I feare them moſt, meaning *Brutus* and *Caſsius*. Certainly, deſtinie may eaſier be foreſeene, then auoided: conſidering the ſtrange and wonderfull ſignes that were ſaid to be ſeene before *Cæſars* death. For, touching the fires in the element, and ſpirits running vp and downe in the night, & alſo the ſolitarie birds to be ſeene at noone daies ſitting in the great market place: are not all theſe ſignes perhaps worth the noting, in ſuch a wonderfull chance as happened? But *Strabo* the Philoſopher writeth, that diuers men were ſeene going vp and down in fire: and furthermore, that there was a ſlaue of the ſouldiers, that did caſt a maruellous burning flame out of his hand, inſomuch as they that ſaw it, thought he had bene burnt; but when the fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. *Cæſar* ſelf alſo doing ſacrifice vnto the gods, found that one of the beaſts which was ſacrificed had no heart: and that was a ſtrange thing in nature, how a beaſt could liue without a heart. Furthermore, there was a certaine Soothſayer that had giuen *Cæſar* warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of March, (which is the fifteenth of the moneth) for on that day he ſhould be in great danger. That day being come, *Cæſar* going vnto the Senate houſe, and ſpeaking merily vnto the ſoothſayer, told him, the Ides of March be come: So they be, ſoftly anſwered the Soothſayer, but yet are they not paſt. And the very day before, *Cæſar* ſupping with *Marcus Lepidus*, ſealed certaine letters as he was wont to do at the boord: ſo talk falling out amongſt them, reaſoning what death was beſt: he preuenting their opinions, cried out aloud, death vnlooked for. Then going to bed the ſame night as his manner was, and lying with his wife *Calpurnia*, all the windows and doores of his chamber flying open, the noiſe awoke him, and made him afraid when he ſaw ſuch light: but more, when he heard his wife *Calpurnia*, being faſt aſleepe, weepe and ſigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable ſpeeches: for ſhe dreamed that *Cæſar* was ſlaine, and that ſhe had him in her armes. Others alſo do denie that ſhe had any ſuch dreame, as amongſt other, *Titus Liuius* writeth, that it was in this ſort: The Senate hauing ſet vpon the top of *Cæſars* houſe for an ornament, and ſetting forth of the ſame, a certaine pinnacle: *Calpurnia* dreamed that ſhe ſaw it broken downe, and that ſhe thought ſhe lamented and wept for it. Inſomuch that *Cæſar* riſing in the morning, ſhe prayed him if it were poſſible, not to go out of the doores that day, but to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate, vntill another day.

Cæſar ſaued Marcus Brutus life, after the battell of Pharſalia.

Brutus conſpireth againſt Cæſar.

Caſſius ſtirreth vp Brutus againſt Cæſar.

Predictions & foreſhewes of Cæſars death.

Cæſars day of his death prognoſticated by a Soothſayer.

The dreame of Calpurnia, Cæſars wife.

And if that he made no reckoning of her dreame, yet that he would ſearch further of the Soothſayers by their ſacrifices, to know what ſhould happen him that day. Thereby it ſeemed that *Cæſar* likewiſe did feare and ſuſpect ſomewhat, becauſe his wife *Calpurnia* vntill that time, was neuer giuen to any feare or ſuperſtition: and that then he ſaw her ſo troubled in mind with this dreame ſhe had. But much more afterwards, when the Soothſayers hauing ſacrificed many beaſts one after another, told him that none did like them: then he determined to ſend *Antonius* to adiorne the ſeſſion of the Senate. But in the meane time came *Decius Brutus*, ſurnamed *Albinus*, in whom *Cæſar* put ſuch confidence, that in his laſt will and teſtament he had appointed him to be his next heire, and yet was of the conſpiracie with *Caſſius* and *Brutus*: he fearing that if *Cæſar* did adiorne the ſeſſion that day, the conſpiracie would be betrayed, laughed at the Soothſayers, and reproued *Cæſar*, ſaying: that he gaue the Senate occaſion to miſlike with him, and that they might thinke he mocked them, conſidering that by his commandement they were aſſembled, and that they were ready willingly to grant him all things, and to proclaime him king of all the prouinces of the Empire of Rome out of Italy, and that he ſhould weare his Diadem in all other places both by ſea & land. And furthermore, that if any man ſhould tell them from him, they ſhould depart for that preſent time, and returne again when *Calpurnia* ſhould haue better dreames: what would his enemies and ill willers ſay, and how could they like of his friends words? And who could perſwade them otherwiſe, but that they would thinke his dominion a ſlauerie vnto them, and tyrannicall in himſelf? And yet if it be ſo, ſaid he, that you vtterly miſlike of this day, it is better that you go your ſelfe in perſon, and ſaluting the Senate, to diſmiſſe them till another time. Therewithall he tooke *Cæſar* by the hand, and brought him out of his houſe. *Cæſar* was not gone far from his houſe, but a bondman, a ſtranger, did what he could to ſpeak with him: and when he ſaw he was put back by the great preaſe and multitude of people that followed him, he went ſtraight into his houſe, and put himſelfe into *Calpurniaes* hands to be kept, till *Cæſar* came backe againe, telling her that he had greater matters to impart vnto him. And one *Artemidorus* alſo borne in the Ile of Gnidos, a Doctor of Rhetoricke in the Greeke tongue, who by meanes of his profeſſion was very familiar with certaine of *Brutus* confederates, and therefore knew the moſt part of all their practiſes againſt *Cæſar*: came and brought him a litle bill written with his owne hand, of all that he meant to tell him. He marking how *Cæſar* receiued all the ſupplications that were offered him, and that he gaue the ſtraight to his men that were about him, preſſed nearer to him, and ſaid: *Cæſar*, reade this memoriall to your ſelfe, and that quickly, for they be matters of great waight, and touch you nearely. *Cæſar* tooke it of him, but could neuer reade it, though he many times attempted it, for the number of people that did ſalute him: but holding it ſtill in his hand, keeping it to himſelfe, went on withall into the Senate houſe. Howbeit other are of opinion, that it was ſome man elſe that gaue him that memoriall, and not *Artemidorus*, who did what he could all the way as he went to giue it *Cæſar*, but he was alwayes repulſed by the people. For theſe things they may ſeeme to come by chance: but the place where the murther was prepared, & where the Senate were aſſembled, and where alſo there ſtood vp an image of *Pompey* dedicated by himſelfe amongſt other ornaments which he gaue vnto the Theater: all theſe were manifeſt proofes that it was the ordinance of ſome god, that made this treaſon to be executed, ſpecially in that very place. It is alſo reported, that *Caſſius* (though otherwiſe he did fauour the doctrine of *Epicurus*) beholding the image of *Pompey*, before they entred into the action of their traiterous enterpriſe, he did ſoftly call vpon it, to aide him: but the inſtant danger of the preſent time, taking away his former reaſon, did ſodainly put him into a furious paſſion, and made him like a man halfe beſides himſelfe. Now *Antonius*, that was a faithfull friend to *Cæſar*, and a valiant man beſides of his hands, him *Decius Brutus Albinus* entertained out of the Senate houſe, hauing begunne a long tale of ſet purpoſe. So *Cæſar* comming into the houſe, all the Senate ſtood vp on their feete to do him honour. Then part of *Brutus* companie and confederates ſtood round about *Cæſars* chaire, and part of them alſo came towards him, as though they made ſute with *Metellus Cimber*, to call home his brother againe from baniſhment: and thus proſecuting ſtill their ſute, they followed *Cæſar*, till he was ſet in his chaire. Who, denying their petitions, and being offended with them one after another, becauſe the more they were denied, the more they preſſed vpon him, and were the earneſter with him: *Metellus* at length, taking his gowne with both his hands, pulled it ouer his necke, which was the ſigne giuen the confederates to ſet vpon him. Then *Caſca* behind him ſtrake him in the necke with his ſword, howbeit the wound was not great nor mortall, becauſe

Decius Brutus Albinus perſwaſion to Cæſar.

Decius Brutus brought Cæſar into the Senate houſe.

The tokens of the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar.

The place where Cæſar was ſlaine.

Antonius Cæſars faithfull friend.

Caſca, the firſt that ſtrake at Cæſar.

becauſe it ſeemed, the feare of ſuch a diueliſh attempt did amaze him, and take his ſtrength from him, that he killed him not at the firſt blow. But *Cæſar* turning ſtraight vnto him, caught hold of his ſword, and held it hard, and they both cried out: *Cæſar* in latin, O vile traitor *Caſca*, what doeſt thou? And *Caſca* in Greek to his brother, Brother, help me. At the beginning of this ſtir, they that were preſent, not knowing of the conſpiracie, were ſo amazed with the horrible ſight they ſaw, they had no power to flie, neither to help him, nor ſo much as once to make an outcrie. They on the other ſide that had conſpired his death, cõpaſſed him in on euery ſide with their ſwords drawn in their hands, that *Cæſar* turned him no where, but he was ſtriken at by ſome, and ſtill had naked ſwords in his face, and was hacked & mangled among them, as a wild beaſt taken of hunters. For it was agreed among them that euery man ſhould giue him a wound, becauſe al their parts ſhould be in this murther: and then *Brutus* himſelf gaue him one wound about his priuities. Men report alſo, that *Cæſar* did ſtil defend himſelf againſt the reſt, running euery way with his body: but whẽ he ſaw *Brutus* with his ſword drawne in his hand, then he pulled his gowne ouer his head, and made no more reſiſtance, and was driuen either caſually or purpoſedly, by the counſel of the conſpirators, againſt the baſe whereupon *Pompeys* image ſtood, which ran all of a goare bloud till he was ſlaine. Thus it ſeemed, that the image tooke iuſt reuenge of *Pompeys* enemie, being throwne down on the ground at his feet, & yeelding vp his ghoſt there, for the number of wounds he had vpon him. For it is reported, that he had three and twentie wounds vpon his bodie: and diuers of the conſpirators did hurt themſelues, ſtriking one bodie with ſo many blowes. When *Cæſar* was ſlaine, the Senate (though *Brutus* ſtood in the middeſt amongſt them, as though he would haue ſaid ſomething touching this fact) preſently ranne out of the houſe, and flying, filled all the citie with maruellous feare and tumult. Inſomuch as ſome did ſhut too their doores, others forſooke their ſhops and ware-houſes, and others ranne to the place to ſee what the matter was: and others alſo that had ſeene it, ran home to their houſes againe. But *Antonius* and *Lepidus*, which were two of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends, ſecretly conueying themſelues away, fled into other mens houſes, and forſooke their owne. *Brutus* and his confederates on the other ſide, being yet hot with this murther they had committed, hauing their ſwords drawne in their hands, came all in a troupe together out of the Senate, and went into the market place, not as men that made countenance to flie, but otherwiſe, boldly holding vp their heads like men of courage, and called to the people to defend their libertie, and ſtaid to ſpeake with euery great perſonage whom they met in their way. Of them, ſome folowed this troupe, and went amongſt them, as if they had bene of the conſpiracie, and falſly chalenged part of the honor with them: amongſt them was *Caius Octauius*, and *Lentulus Spinther*. But both of them were afterwards put to death, for their vaine couetouſnes of honor, by *Antonius*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the yonger: and yet had no part of that honor for the which they were both put to death, neither did any man beleeue that they were any of the confederates or of counſel with them. For they that did put them to death, took reuenge rather of the wil they had to offend, then of any fact they had committed. The next morning, *Brutus* & his confederats came into the market place to ſpeake vnto the people, who gaue thẽ ſuch audience, that it ſeemed they neither greatly reproued, nor allowed the fact: for by their great ſilence they ſhewed, that they were ſory for *Cæſars* death, and alſo that they did reuerence *Brutus*. Now the Senate granted generall pardon for all that was paſt, and to pacifie euery man, ordained beſides, that *Cæſars* funerals ſhould be honored as a god, & eſtabliſhed all things that he had done: and gaue certaine prouinces alſo, and conuenient honors vnto *Brutus* & his confederates, wherby euery man thought all things were brought to good peace and quietnes again. But when they had opened *Cæſars* teſtament, & found a liberall legacie of mony bequeathed vnto euery citizen of Rome, & that they ſaw his body (which was brought into the market place) al bemangled with gaſhes of ſwords: thẽ there was no order to keep the multitude & common people quiet, but they plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtooles, and laid them all about the body, and ſetting them afire, burnt the corſe. Then when the fire was well kindled, they tooke the fire-brands, and went vnto their houſes that had ſlaine *Cæſar*, to ſet them afire. Other alſo ran vp and down the citie to ſee if they could meet with any of them, to cut them in peeces: howbeit they could meet with neuer a man of them, becauſe they had locked thẽſelues vp ſafely in their houſes. There was one of *Cæſars* friends called *Cinna*, that had a maruellous ſtrange & terrible dreame the night before. He dreamed that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper, and that he refuſed and would not go: then that *Cæſar* took him by the hand, & led him againſt his wil. Now *Cinna* hearing at that time, that they burnt *Cæſars* body in the market place,

Cæſar ſlaine, and had 23. wounds vpon him.

The murtherers of Cæſar do go to the Capitoll.

Cæſars funerals

Cinnaes dream of Cæſar.

notwithstanding that he feared his dreame, and had an ague on him besides: he went into the market place to honour his funerals. When he came thither, one of the meane sort asked him what his name was? He was straight called by his name. The first man told it to another, and that other vnto another, so that it ranne straight through them all, that he was one of them that murthered *Cæsar*: (for indeed one of the traitors to *Cæsar*, was also called *Cinna* as himselfe) wherefore taking him for *Cinna* the murtherer, they fell vpon him with such furie, that they presently dispatched him in the market place. This stirre and furie made *Brutus* and *Cassius* more affraid, then of all that was past, and therefore within few daies after, they departed out of ROME: and touching their doings afterwards, and what calamitie they suffered till their deaths, we haue written it at large in the life of *Brutus*. *Cæsar* died at sixe and fiftie yeares of age, and *Pompey* also liued not passing foure yeares more then he. So he reaped no other fruite of all his raigne and dominion, which he had so vehemently desired all his life, and pursued with such extreame danger: but a vaine name onely, and a superficiall glorie, that procured him the enuy and hatred of his countrey. But his great prosperitie and good fortune that fauoured him all his life time, did continue afterwards in the reuenge of his death, pursuing the murtherers both by sea and land, till they had not left a man more to be executed, of all them that were actors or counsellers in the conspiracie of his death. Furthermore, of all the chances that happen vnto men vpon the earth, that which came to *Cassius* aboue all other, is most to be wondred at: for he being ouercome in battell at the iorney of PHILIPPES, slue himselfe with the same sword, with the which he strake *Cæsar*. Againe of signes in the element, the great comet which seuen nights together was seene very bright after *Cæsars* death, the eighth night after was neuer seene more. Also the brightnesse of the Sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gaue but small heate: therefore the ayre being very cloudie and darke, by the weakenesse of the heate that could not come forth, did cause the earth to bring forth but raw and vnripe fruite, which rotted before it could ripe. But aboue all, the ghost that appeared vnto *Brutus* shewed plainely, that the gods were offended with the murther of *Cæsar*. The vision was thus: *Brutus* being readie to passe ouer his armie from the citie of ARYDOS, to the other coast lying directly against it, slept euery night (as his maner was) in his tent, and being yet awake, thinking of his affaires: (for by report he was as carefull a Captaine, and liued with as litle sleepe, as euer man did) he thought he heard a noise at his tent doore, and looking towards the light of the lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnesse, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him maruellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bed side, & said nothing; at length he asked him what he was. The image answered him: I am thy ill Angell, *Brutus*, and thou shalt see me by the citie of PHILIPPES. Then *Brutus* replied againe, and said: Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the spirit presently vanished from him. After that time, *Brutus* being in battell neare vnto the citie of PHILIPPES, against *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæsar*, at the first battell he wanne the victorie, and ouerthrowing all them that withstood him, he draue them into yong *Cæsars* campe, which he tooke. The second battell being at hand, this spirit appeared againe vnto him, but spake neuer a word. Thereupon *Brutus* knowing that he should die, did put himselfe to all hazard in battell, but yet fighting could not be slaine. So seeing his men put to flight and ouerthrowne, he ranne vnto a litle rocke not farre off, and there setting his swords point to his breast, fell vpon it, and slue himselfe: but yet, as it is reported, with the helpe of his friend that dispatched him.

The murther of Cinna.

Cæsar 56. yeare old at his death

The reuenge of Cæsars death.

Cassius being ouerthrowne at the battell of Philippes, slue himselfe with the selfesame sword, wherewith he strake Cæsar.

Wonders seen in the element after Cæsars death.

A great comet.

Brutus vision.

A spirit appeared vnto Brutus.

The second appearing of the spirit vnto Brutus.

THE COMPARISON OF
Alexander the great with Iulius Cæsar.

ENTRING into consideration of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, it is an easie matter to speake, and much easier to proue, that they are two of the braueſt Chiefetaines of warre, that are to be noted in hiſtories: that their vertues out of warre are excellent, and haue great reſemblance together: that both of them were nobly borne, learned, eloquent, liberall, moderate, very louing to their friends and ſeruants, and wonderful much made of, and obeyed of Captaines and ſouldiers of their armies, and mercifull euen to their enemies: that euen from their youth they made good proofe of the future greatneſſe of their courages: that their exploites are altogether admirable: that they be two miracles for militarie diſcipline, whether a man doth looke into the ſhortneſſe of the time of their warres, and the countries which they haue paſſed through, as it were with the turning of a hand: or that they behold the enemies they haue ouercome, the townes and prouinces they haue conquered; their wiſedome, valour, and happineſſe, hauing neuer receiued repulſe, but alwayes carying victorie in their hands, and making valour their aduantage with an aſſured good direction. Both of them were in maruellous danger of their perſons; the one, in the citie of the MALLIANS; the other in SPAINE, againſt the ſonne of *Pompeius*. Both of them were by Soothſayers expreſly told of their death, whom they loued and reſpected. Both of them in the meane ſpace (as it were blindfold) did throw themſelues into danger, from the which men would haue withdrawne them. But he that will meerely conſider the life of either of them, ſhall find himſelfe in a field, whereof the eye cannot ſee the end, nor the diuerſe wayes obiect vnto it: but remaineth dazled, not knowing whither to point it, he ſeeth ſo many things at once before him. If he come to preferre the life of one before the other, he entreth into an Ocean of diſcourſe, and cannot tell which of the two he ſhould chuſe, nor to what port to go to diſcharge himſelfe of this man here, before the other there; yet to encourage ſome bodie to ſaile in this ſea, let vs row by the ſhore: and (to ſpeake plainely without figure) let vs ſee wherein the one doth paſſe the other, to leaue the Reader his free iudgement of that we will ſay. At this preſent I will in few words ſhew what may be obſerued moſt memorable, in the adoleſcencie of the one and of the other, of their exploits of warre, of their vices and vertues, of their death, and what followed after. I pleade firſt for *Alexander*, not mentioning his race, his beautie, nor the ſweetneſſe of his bodie, which they ſpeake of ſo much; all that being nothing worth in reſpect of vertue: his continencie vnto women, and for that he did moderately vſe the exerciſes of his bodie, doth ſo much the more condemne *Cæſars* exceſſe and frailtie of his youth, doing and ſuffering filthie things, not to be ripped vp any further. The ambition of *Alexander* came of a noble mind, as witneſſeth that he ſpake of the running at the games Olympicall, his diſcourſe with the Ambaſſadors of PERSIA, and the complaint he made to his companions, that his father would leaue him nothing to conquer. Whereas *Cæſar* after he had remained ſometime in NICOMEDIA and in GREECE, he caſt himſelfe

into the armes of the common people at ROME, being bountifull, and making orations to gaine their hearts, ſuing for pettie offices finely to attaine to the greater. To conclude, taking a quite contrarie courſe vnto *Alexander*, who traced the great royall broade way to vertue, to become one day the honour of the world: ſo had he to his ſchoolemaiſter the learnedeſt man of all men, and ſhewed himſelfe indeed a moſt worthy diſciple of *Ariſtotle*. But *Cæſar* pricked forward by his naturall wit, and tyrannicall manners of his time, was poſſeſſed (in an vnluckie hower for him and his countrey) with the intollerable vice of ſelfe-will and ambition, which was cauſe of his death. The loue that *Alexander* bare from his infancie, vnto learning and learned men, makes him farre excell other Princes. The honour that he did vnto *Homer* the Poet, returned againe to himſelfe: how praiſe-worthy are his curteſies and liberalitie vnto *Diogenes*, *Xenocrates*, and others? To the contrarie, *Cæſar* neuer ſeemed to care for any man, but for himſelfe; or if he haue regarded ſome, or giuen gold and ſiluer by handfuls; it was but to gaine men, and by degrees to ſerue his turne, to raiſe him to that greatneſſe he aymed at, rather then for any other conſideration. Now as may be ſaid of the one and the other, he was,

In counſell wiſe: and valorous in fight.

And to ſpeake truly, it is their true and right title of honour, and the aduantage they haue of all thoſe that haue gone before them: let vs ſee if we can a litle in particular qualifie *Alexander*.

A ſturdie warrier, neuer fearing harmes,
And dreadfull to his enemies in armes:

As ſaith *Æſchilus*: for what was all his warre in ASIA after the death of *Philippus*, but tempeſts, extreame heates, wonderfull deepe riuers, maruellous high mountaines, monſtrous beaſts for greatneſſe to behold, wild ſauage faſhions of life, change and alteration of Gouernors vpon euerie occaſion, yea treaſons and rebellions of ſome? At the beginning of his voyage, GRECE did yet lay their heads together, for remembrance of the warres that *Philippus* made vpon them: the townes gathered together: MACEDONIA inclined to ſome change and alteration: diuers people farre and neare lay in waite to ſee what their neighbours would do: the gold and ſiluer of PERSIA flowing in the Orators purſes, and Gouernors of the people in euery towne did raiſe vp *Peloponneſe*: *Philippus* treaſure and coffers were emptie, and the debts were great. In deſpite of all theſe troubles, and in the middeſt of his pouertie, a yong man, but newly come to mans eſtate, durſt in his mind thinke of the conqueſt of ASIA, yea of the Empire of the whole world, with thirtie thouſand footemen, and fiue thouſand horſe, or (as ſome other thinke) with fiue and fortie thouſand footmen, and fiue thouſand and fiue hundreth horſe, hauing to entertaine this warre in readie money, but two and fortie thouſand crownes, or (as *Duris* writeth) prouiſion of victuals and money but for thirtie dayes: howbeit he was furniſhed with magnanimitie, with temperance, with wiſedome, and valour; being more holpen in this marſhall enterpriſe, with that he had learned of his tutor *Ariſtotle*, then with that which his father *Philippus* had left him: he was armed with a iuſt quarrell againſt the PERSIANS, ſworne enemies vnto GREECE, vnto whom they had done infinite wrongs and iniuries: his magnanimitie and valiantneſſe appeared in all his fights, were it in a pitched field, or in aſſaults, and taking in of townes; neuer ſparing his perſon, hauing bene grieuouſly wounded in ſundrie fights: what valour ſhewed he in the citie of the MALLIANS, he himſelfe alone againſt ſo many barbarous people? With what conſtancie did he encourage his ſurgeons to plucke out a dart that ſtucke faſt in his breaſt? Let no man, ſaith he, be ſo faint-hearted nor cowardly; no, not if my life were in queſtion, I could not thinke that a man would beleeue I feared death, if he had any feeling or feare in my behalfe. Now for a man in twelue yeares ſpace and leſſe, to haue done theſe things, and to haue trauelled a conquerour the moſt part of the world, is a commendation paſſing mens vnderſtanding. *Cæſar* on the contrarie part, hauing made his preparations long before, happily found *Craſſus* to pay his debts he ought, to the end to corrupt the citie of ROME: and afterwards, hauing practiſed a dangerous league with *Pompeius*, he taketh armes and entreth into FRANCE, where his ſubtilties did him as good ſeruice as his armes: in the meane ſpace, he had his meanes, through whoſe aide, in the end he ouerthrew the whole ſtate of the common-wealth of ROME. Now *Alexander* is not ſo admirable, for that by his proweſſe he ouercame his enemies, as he was by his wonderfull wiſe and vertuous behauiour in the middeſt of his armes, where indeede he ſhewed himſelfe a perfect Philoſopher: whereof it is good to alleage ſome examples, that ſhall bring vs to the goodly diſcourſe of the vertues of this Prince, ſurpaſſing *Cæſar* in that reſpect.

Therefore

Therefore we may ſee his proweſſe accompanied with great iuſtice, a ſweet temperance, an excellent bountie, a goodly order and exquiſite wiſedome: directing all things by good diſcretion and ripe iudgement. In all his doings you ſhall hardly diſcerne, that is a deed of valour, that of humanitie, that of patience: but all his exploits ſeeme to be mingled and compounded of all the vertues together. Yet it is true, that alwaies in euery action, there is a vertue eminent aboue the others: but that pointeth them all to one end. In *Alexanders* actions they ſee, that his valiantnes is gentle, and his gentlenes valiant: his liberalitie, husbandrie, his choler ſoone downe, his loues temperate, his paſtimes not idle, and his trauels gracious. What is he that hath mingled feaſting with wars, and militarie expeditions with ſports? Who hath intermingled in the middeſt of his beſieging of townes: and in the midſt of skirmiſhes and fights, ſports, banquets, and wedding ſongs? Who was euer more enemy to thoſe that did wrong, nor more gracious to the afflicted? Who was euer more cruell to thoſe that fought, or more iuſt vnto ſuppliants? Let vs bring forth *Porus* wittie ſayings, who being brought priſoner before *Alexander*, and by him asked how he would be vſed: he anſwered: Like a king. So *Alexander* following on ſtill, asked him if he would ſay any thing more: No, ſaid he, for all is contained in that word onely. And ſo may they in all *Alexanders* deedes, to his friends and enemies, at the beginning and end of his life adde too this verſe:

Like a wiſe man.

How liued he? *Like a wiſe man.* How caried he himſelfe in all his exploits of warre? *Like a wiſe man.* How hath he conuerſed amongſt men openly and priuately? *Like a wiſe man.* He hath ſome faults in his behauiour, and we will not forget to ſpeake of them. But as all rules haue their exceptions, and yet therefore not to be taken away: and a pimple or wart ſhall not ſtaine the perfections of the face otherwiſe very faire. So *Alexanders* follies and imperfections cannot take away this honour from him, which wiſe men giue him. If we would here helpe our ſelues with examples, we ſhould write that which *Plutarch* hath ſo learnedly and briefly gathered out of ſo many good authors, who tooke pleaſure to do that in the life of *Alexander*, which they iudge *Xenophon* did in *Cyrus*: to wit, to ſet before all men the pattern of a prince complete in all vertues. And whereas *Cæſar* diſtained his life with a continuall violent deſire to ſubdue his countrie, committing a greater fault in his laſt warres, and towards the end of his life, then if he had lien with his owne mother: as alſo this damnable illuſion did torment him the night before he entred into Italie, to violate the liberty of Rome. *Alexander* was not pricked forward but by vertue it ſelf, to begin a iuſt warre worthy of a great king, not of purpoſe to ſet his feet vpon the throats of the Greekes, but to bring all the world to a peaceable and happy gouernment. His wars made the Greekes ſhed no teares. *Cæſar* filled all his country with fire and teares. *Alexander* keeping his ſouldiers vnder obedience, ſuffering none of them that followed him to commit any diſorders, he brought the barbarous people through the helpe of his friends to be ciuill. *Cæſar* vndid ſome of his friends, others forſooke him, he filled Rome with the inſolencie of his ſouldiers, and ſowed there the graines of infinite confuſions that came out of his bloud. But what hath bene the continencie of *Alexander*, to whom all things ſucceeded as he wiſhed? He would not ſee the Ladies that were priſoners, and through his temperance was aſmuch conquerour of their beauties, (notwithſtanding, he was in the flower of his age, and of a luſty complexion) as of the proweſſe of men by his valiantneſſe: yea he made leſſe account of thoſe women they ſhewed him, then of thoſe that he neuer ſaw. And where he was gracious to all ſorts of people, he ſhewed himſelfe as vntoward to them that were faire. How did he threaten *Philoxenus*, that would haue bought him two boyes of a Merchant of Tarentvm? And if he did loue *Roxane* and *Statira*, it was becauſe he would lawfully marie them, and for the good of his affaires: and not as *Cæſar*, that forgat himſelfe too much in thoſe matters. But furthermore, what praiſe deſerueth *Alexander*, that will not ſteale a victorie? O how noble is his courage, that would not accept *Darius* offers: but would needes haue Grece commaund Asia, as it was requiſite! What diligence vſed he in following of his enemie? and otherwiſe what compaſſion tooke he of the vnworthy death of him? how did he puniſh *Beſſus*? All his former behauiour ſheweth that he had a good and a true kingly mind in him: that he loued not traitors, nor treaſon, and would not ouercome but with honour. *Cæſar* indeed did purſue *Pompeius*, but he did not puniſh the murderers, till that he had diſcouered they conſpired againſt him. Now to make an end of that we haue to ſay for *Alexander*: we may gather out of the diſcourſe of his life, that the diuine prouidence made a preſent

vnto this prince of the vertues moſt apparant in all the other noble GREEKES and ROMANES: who beſides his pietie, iuſtice, & equitie, in his aduerſity he ſtrengthened himſelfe with hope: in proſperitie, enuironed with flatterers, he was not drunke with his greatnes, he did acknowledge he was mortall, and humbled himſelfe many waies: he is wonderfull patient, beareth the hard words of his familiars: he neither taketh pen nor ſword in hand to be reuenged of thoſe that offended him, thinking it a worthy thing in a king to ſuffer himſelfe to be blamed, and to heare ill to do good: ſhewing a hartie affection and great honour to his friends, euen for their ſakes to forbeare his owne neceſſarie cõmodities, to write vnto them familiarly, & to haue a ſpeciall care of their perſons, and of their affaires. He prouided his ſeruants pay of creditors ſixe millions of gold due for his ſouldiers. He ſent out of ASIA into GREECE the like ſum to build vp temples againe to to their gods, in place of thoſe which the PERSIANS had ouerthrowne. To conclude, in the middeſt of his affaires he ſhewed an aſpiring and inuincible valor: not being faint harted for any danger whatſoeuer. It is true that *Cæſar* in this caſe had many things cõmon with him, as we will tell you hereafter. This notwithſtanding *Alexander* alwaies kept himſelfe conſtant, and after ſuch a manner, that he followed not vice, nor did not ſeeme ſo much to blemiſh his goodly vertues as the other. Among other vices, they blame *Alexander* for drunkenneſſe and choler. I will neither excuſe the one nor the other in him: but as for this laſt, as there was neuer prince that would ſooner confeſſe his faults after he had done them, through this vehemencie of his, wherunto he was ſomwhat giuen by nature: it may be ſaid alſo that *Clitus*, *Caliſthenes*, and ſome others that felt the force of his anger, were the chiefe cauſe & motiue of it, and had brought the miſchiefe vpon thẽſelues. And to ſpeake the troth, there is no reaſon that a ſeruant much made of by his maſter, ſhold ſtand ſo highly vpon himſelfe, that he will beare nothing, but wilfully run his head againſt a ſtone which he might eaſily haue auoided, if he could but haue kept his toung, & giuen place to his fury that could preſently vndo him. Euery man wil condemne *Alexander* for his ill vſage of the INDIAN ſouldiers, comming out of a towne vpon his word giuen them. And as for the Philoſophers, it is a thing done wherof ſomwhat may be ſaid, wherein they ſhould haue bene more ſpare in their practiſes to haue done longer ſeruice to their country, and not to haue prouoked ſomuch a puiſſant and victorious enemy. And as for the nation of the COSSEIANS, that he did vtterly deſtroy thẽ for ſacrifice of the funerals of *Hephæſtion:* it is a great & vnexcuſable fault, what excuſe ſocuer may be made for it. But the gracious entertainments he gaue *Taxiles*, & *Porus*, to ſo many nations ſubdued, to ſo many townes taken: the diuers & great honors he gaue vnto the captaines of his army, & the ordinarie courſe of his life wonderfull merciful, do ſomwhat ſalue the wounds of his choler not premeditated, & of his exceeding griefe & ſorow for his fauorites and familiars. The which we muſt diſtinguiſh frõ the ſtrange hatred that *Cæſar* hid in his heart, againſt all thoſe that hindred his doings, without regard of any man. And where he pardoned ſome before & after victory, it was but for his aduancement, not for any goodwill he bare thẽ: for in AFRICKE he put a great nũber of thẽ to death whom he ſuſpected, nay he ſpared not *Cato* himſelf after his death. As for the teares he ſhed taking *Pompeius* ſeale, refuſing to ſee the head of him, nor *Theodotus* that brought it him: & contrariwiſe, fauouring the ſeruants & friends of the dead, & writing goodly letters to ROME, which they call: *Kiſsing of his dead enemy*: his acts that went before, and followed after, may plainely ſhew, that all that was but a tragicomedy ceremoniouſly ended, although otherwiſe they had had ſo many matters to deale in together: that it was not poſſible but that ſome remainder of the ancient knowledge meeting then in the hart, ſhould ſtir vp ſome inward contrariety within: as alſo it hapneth to men of great courage, that contrarie paſſions do meete together, & do ſhew more without, then remaineth within. The wicked *Theodotus* deſerued no leſſe then *Beſſus*: but *Cæſar* was not *Alexander*, neither went he into ÆGYPT but for the aduancement of his affairs, which could not well be compaſſed but by the deſtruction of *Pompeius*: the which when he had obtained, made him forget his dutie openly. For *Alexanders* drunkenneſſe, ſome deſirous to excuſe it, alleage that he dranke not much, but was long at the table, and ſpent the time talking with his friends. As they tell of *Cato* VTICAN, that he ſate at the table with his friends al night long vntil the morning: wherof ſome ſaid that his buſines in the commonwealth was cauſe, which he followed al the day. This hindering him that he had no leiſure to go to his booke when night came, he took great delight to confer with learned men at his table. If *Alexander* after he had trauelled about ſo many affaires of the cõmonwealth, the which he wold neuer leaue vndone to follow his owne pleaſures, dranke ſomwhat liberally among his captaines, yea ſuppoſe that he exceeded meaſure more then once: yet will I not conclude that he made vſe

Alexanders vices, namely, choler and drunkenneſſe.

of

of it, and that he deſerued the name of a drunkard. I will not excuſe the fault he committed at the inſtance of *Lais* the curtiſan, nor the promiſe that he made of a priſe of ſixe hundred crowns to his Captaines, vnto him that could drinke moſt: for it is not in glaſſes and gobbets that men ſhould ſhew their ſtrength. But there died at this quaffing and carrouſing, one and forty of his Captaines. And as for himſelfe, truly he was too lightly led by *Medius*, to go drinke with him all night, and the next morning: whereupon he fell ſicke, and would not forbeare to drinke wine for all that, which caſt him into a feuer that left him not. For where they ſay he was poiſoned, it hath no likelihood of reaſon in it. Be it that this Prince did exceed in drinking, yet that notwithſtanding, wine muſt not drown nor bury ſo many excellent vertues that do ſhine in him in time of peace and warre. *Cæſars* intemperancie in his pleaſures, and his vnſatiable ambition, is an extremity without all compariſon more vehement and daungerous, then *Alexanders* choler or cuppe. And as for his death, as the countinuance and greatnes of his glory was pure and vnſpotted, free from enuie, during the ſtrength of his age whileſt he liued in this world: ſo after his death this glorie held out ſtill in the wonted manner, he being lamented of all his army, of all GREECE and EVROPE. Many royall branches hauing ſprong from his ſouldiers, leauing the world in diuiſion to foure ſimple Captaines, whoſe iſſue after them haue continued many yeares in poſſeſſion of their parts. Whereas *Cæſar* to the contrarie, hauing with ſo great labour and trauell by many obſcure and oblique waies, attained to the height of a ſhamefull glorie, and which wan him the hatred of the chiefeſt members of the commonwealth: was immediatly caſt downe, litle lamented of thoſe that loued good lawes and the good of the eſtate, the which he left turmoiled with ciuill warres, and which began to make ſome ſhew againe vnder his nephew, whome the diuine prouidence (hauing regard to things much more excellent then either heauen or earth) had in his counſell determined to make him Monarch of the world. As to the contrarie, *Alexander* was happily ſtayed in BABYLON, where he was told by the diuines, the wicked ſpirite hauing (according to the knowledge it pleaſed the iuſt iudge to giue him) coniectured and foretold ſomething of that, which God had long time before reuealed vnto his by his faithfull Prophet. But yet after *Auguſtus*, the Empire of ROME fell againe into new misfortunes, and was neuer but vnconſtant from that time forward, till in the end it ſunke vnder her owne waight. The like chaunced to *Alexanders* ſucceſſors, but not thorow his fault: and that makes the memorie of him more famous. Thus haue you all I can ſay for him. Let vs ſpeake ſomething of *Iulius Cæſar* alſo, not that I pretend to attaine to that whſch may be ſaid of him: for it would require a more ſufficient man then my ſelfe to performe that. But to make ſome compariſon with *Alexander*, whoſe deedes he chaunced one day to reade of in a booke, he fell a weeping, enuying the braue exploits of the other. Let vs therefore conſider if he haue done things that came neare, or did excell the other. First of all, vnto all the noble acts that may be written of *Alexander* in his youth, I do obiect the worthy act of *Cæſar* againſt the pirats, which were more his priſoners then he theirs: vnto whom he paid raunſome in ſuch ſort, that he made them repent their folly that they euer medled with him. So that vpon land they found he was very round with them, as alſo their Iudge at ſea, though he were but a young man in their hands. That is but an example of the reſt of his life, who could abide no companion, and much leſſe a maiſter, as being borne to all great things, and delighting in nothing, but to be excellent in all the rareſt and higheſt things of the world: as his deedes did witneſſe, after he came to beare office in the commonwealth, euen to the end of his daies. Now albeit, his eloquence is no ſmall thing to be ſpoken of, which did him notable ſeruice in many troubleſome encounters: though it is a wonder to ſee the excellencie of his ſtyle, and grace, liuely to expreſſe all things in ſo fine and goodly tearmes, that the ſmootheſt Muſes neither would, nor could ſpeake more ſweetly then he: yet ſince we had rather ſtand vpon good deedes then faire words: let vs paſſe ouer this matter ſo much to ſupport *Alexander*: and let vs ſee whether it may be receiued for truth of all men of vnderſtanding: that *Cæſar* is the moſt excellent Captaine that euer was in the world. Albeit that *Alexander* had but ſmall means, yet he was Lord of a great kingdom: he had men and credit. But *Cæſar* without patrimonie of much worth, without money, and with few men, performed the greateſt things that may be thought of. *Alexander* had to do with women and children, if one compare the people he fought with, with thoſe whom *Cæſar* ouerthrew: not in fiue or ſixe battels, but in more then fiftie, very well ordered, where he was euer the weaker in number of men, but the greater in valour: neuer vanquiſhed, but euer victor: and was neuer hurt that I can tell of, though he would

Alexanders death and ſucceſſors.

VVherein Cæſar ſeemed to excell Alexander.

Cæſars youth.

Cæſars great skill in armes.

venture euen to his laſt, and let his fleſh go as freely as the meaneſt ſouldier of his legions. And yet in the meane time they ſhall find he was better ſtayed in his enterpriſes then *Alexander*, that like a ſwift running ſtreame, would run into any danger, which indifferently ioyneth with all that commeth againſt it. So he was in the heat of his age, and *Cæſar* entred into doings being a man of ripe iudgement, and well onwards in yeares. To ſay it is a great commendation for a generall in the field, headlong to put himſelfe into all dangers, making no difference betwixt himſelfe and a common ſouldier, that is ſomewhat too forward: and therefore therein I find *Cæſar* to be preferred before *Alexander*, onely for that he was not ſo forward without great neceſſity. So that his happineſſe defended him in all parts, as alſo for that *Alexander* ſeemed to haue ſought to be beaten. Shall I tell you that *Cæſar* killed a million of enemies, hath triumphed for a million of others, and hath made an innumerable number to flie? That in leſſe then ten yeares that the warre in GAVLE endured, he wan eight hundred towns, and ſubdued three hundred nations? If I ſhould mention the warres he made in 15. yeares ſpace, it would aske a whole booke to ſpeake only but of the praiſes he deſerued. The SVVIZZERS, GERMANES, GAVLES, ROMAINES, ÆGYPTIANS, AFRICANS, the ASIANS, and his fiue triumphs of ſo many enemies, ſo mightie, and in ſhew ſo inuincible, do approue his valor and ſufficiencie in all the parts requiſit in a chieftaine of war. His vertues and happineſſe being his tutors, he got about him a world of goodwils of certaine valiant Captaines and ſouldiers together, whom he ordered ſo well, that he made them ready to performe what he commaunded, and hauing ſuch an vnmatchable cariage towards them, he made them inuincible with him: and in the middeſt of his continuall troubles, he did reade, meditate, ſpake, wrote, and left behind him the goodlieſt booke that a martiall man, and one that entertaineth the Muſes, can deuiſe to take in his hands. His orations were a long time held in great reputation among the ROMAINES. And for his reſpect vnto men learned, valiant, and vertuous: *Cæſar* had renounced himſelfe, if he had ſhut his gate againſt ſuch men. The daungers *Alexander* paſſed thorow were great, but what were they in reſpect of *Cæſars* daungers, enuironed with ſo braue enemies, and in ſo great a number, as were the GAVLES, and *Pompeys* followers? What foule parts haue bene played him by ſome of his owne people, and yet he weighed them not? But to the contrarie, he ſuffered ſome of them to runne what courſe they liked beſt: he ſent the cariage and goods to others: he alwaies reſpected and honoured his enemies, when they made no head againſt him. And by his friends he ſent reaſonable conditions vnto *Pompey*, before he would fight with him. Furthermore, when he entred into wars, being greatly in debt, and raiſed vp with hope hauing the chiefeſt in ROME his aduerſaries: he took vpon him to fight with all the enemies abroad, and to make his way in deſpite of the world to the ſoueraigntie of ROME, the which he ſaw had need of a good maiſter, not of ſo many pettie Lords. His wonderfull foreſight ſerued him altogether in all occurrences, being neuer preuented in any thing he went about, but alwaies obtained more then he deſired. His magnanimitie weighed more, then any other vertue they could note in him: which is as much as if one would ſay, that *Cæſar* outweighed all the other Captaines of the GREEKES and ROMAINES: he was almoſt at all the battels in the wars where he commaunded, he was neuer beaten but in his Lieutenants. For the skirmiſh in the which *Pompey* on a time had the better, it is not worth the ſpeaking of it: becauſe he could not tell how to follow his victorie. And it is a ſingular direction, fauoured with a moſt rare happineſſe: that amongſt ſo many blowes giuen, *Cæſar* neuer had one giuen him. If he found fauour of *Craſſus* before he went to the warres, that cannot be imputed any blame to him: ſince he alwaies payed his friends well, and brought his enemies to reaſon, though they ſet againſt him. If iuſtice accompanieth the proweſſe of *Alexander*, if he haue vſed moderation, gentleneſſe, and humilitie in his victories, if he ſhew himſelfe wiſe and circumſpect in his purpoſes: what ſhall be ſaid of *Cæſar* then? whoſe gentleneſſe is ſo much ſpoken of, that men iudge that that was one of the occaſions of his death. His paſtimes were very ſerious: and after he beganne to deale in affaires, he neuer played but in good earneſt, and yet would he neuer looſe his times of recreation, and his pleaſant talke and communication with his friends and familiars. But in the middeſt of his victories, how did he vſe his enemies, and thoſe that ſet themſelues againſt him? He was a lightening of warre, that ouerthrew all that durſt withſtand him: and he neuer medled with any that yeelded without reſiſtance. He is faithfull, wiſe, valiant, and courragious, and did not allow all kind of meanes to obtaine victorie: although more then once he might haue ſewed (as they ſay) the caſe of the Foxe, with the skinne of the Lyon.

The vertues and perfections of Cæſar both in war and peace.

But

But yet he followed in good time his predeceſſors, although he did finely aſſault the moſt part of his enemies, and deſtroyed the one by the other. *Cæſars* ambition was very extreame, but he couered it in another maner of ſort then *Alexander* did: who paſſing ouer a riuer let fall certaine wordes, plaine enough, that he ſought the praiſe of the ATHENIANS. And the falſe inuentions to make the glorie of his name to continue for euer amongſt the INDIANS, do not they diſcouer a moſt groſſe vanitie, which did but labour after that which it could not attaine? But *Cæſar* deſired earneſtly, and touched the end of his intentions. His proweſſe is wonderfull gracious, and his gentleneſſe graue and valiant: his liberalitie ſo great, that to thinke what he ſhould giue was more, then the gift it ſelfe how great ſoeuer. Alſo he gathered no riches together in the warres, to liue afterwards in deliciouſneſſe at his pleaſure: it was a reward of vertue that he locked vp, to recompence men of valure, and to leaue good ſouldiers a meane to liue by honeſtly at home, when age and their wounds did conſtraine them to leaue warres. He was neuer weane of any trauell more then *Alexander*: and gaue not himſelfe to ſo much eaſe, though he was elder, ſlenderer, and thinner of bodie, and ſubiect to the falling ſickneſſe: but he hardened himſelfe againſt it by continuall exerciſe of his bodie and mind, accompanied with an incredible quickneſſe and diligence. He hauing left FRAVNCE, and running after *Pompeius* to BRVNDVSIVM: he ſubdued all ITALIE in leſſe then three weekes, returned againe from BRVNDVSIVM to ROME, from whence he went to the heart of SPAINE, where he ouercame extreame hardneſſe in war the againſt *Afranius* and *Petreius*, and at the long ſiege of MARSEILLES. Frō thence he returned into MACEDONIA, wan the battel of PHARSALIA, and followed *Pompeius* into ÆGYPT, which he ſubdued alſo. After that he came into SYRIA, and into the kingdome of PONT, where he fought with *Pharnaces*: from thence into AFRICKE, where he ouercame *Scipio* and *Iuba*. Afterwards he returned againe through ITALIE and SPAINE, and there ouercame the ſonne of *Pompeius*. Now weigh therewithall the trauels, fights, conqueſts and expeditions of *Alexander*: then ſay plainely, what you thinke of it: *Cæſar* caried it by much. The only wars of the GAVLES haue bene more ſharpe and dangerous, then all the conqueſts of ASIA and the INDIANS. For it is not in paſſing ouer mountaines and riuers ill guarded, that ſhewes the deedes of men: it is to ouercome a ſubtill and puiſſant enemie. But I pray you, theſe words of *Cæſar* to the Maiſter of the Brigantine (who vnleſſe they had known him, would haue paſſed him from APOLLONIA to BRVNDVSIVM) were they not more ſwelling then the ſea it ſelf? Courage my friend, ſaid he, ſaile hardily: for thou carieſt *Cæſar* & his fortune. And that which he ſaid paſſing ouer the riuer of Rubicon, to enter into ITALIE: *A man can be but once vndone*: what a courage did he ſhew in that? Truly a mind, that from thence did behold death, and cared for no more, but for the execution of his counſels. If a man obſerue the directions of *Alexander* in his exploits: what is that in reſpect of the wiſedome of *Cæſar*? being wont to ſay, he loued victorie gotten by counſell more then by force. I know that *Alexander* was adorned with moſt excellent vertues, and hurt with very few knowne vices. For therein it ſeemeth he hath lattiſed vp *Cæſar*, and many others of the chiefeſt in the GREEKE and ROMAINE hiſtorie: although I cannot diſſemble alſo, that he was led by flatterers and women too: witneſſe that which he did at the inſtigation of *Lais* and of his minions. Alſo that his deedes were but wind: dangerous vices in all men, but eſpecially in princes: from which *Cæſar* kept himſelfe with better vnderſtanding. But if we bring in ſhew the good vnderſtanding, the ſpirit, the iudgement, the conduct, the profound knowledge, the eloquence, the hardineſſe, the greatneſſe of courage, the more then humane boldneſſe in the middeſt of the greateſt dangers: the trauels, the paines, the bountie, the gentleneſſe, the curteſie, the liberality, and the good fortune of *Cæſar*: we ſhall haue enough to ſpeake of. They obiect this againſt him: that among the Senators and others which tooke *Pompeius* part, he ſpared them that could not much hurt him: and others whom he thought he could not gaine, he ouercame thē in AFRICKE. But *Brutus*, *Caſſius*, and his adherents ſhew, that *Cæſar* ſought nothing elſe but to carie himſelfe graciouſly, if his ill-willers would haue let him alone. And ſure it is very likely, that if they had borne with him but a while longer, matters had not gone on with ſuch a violent courſe as they did after his death: but the eſtate of ROME had bene gouerned with better pollicie, and the ambition of this great perſon hauing attained his deſire, had bene ſatisfied, and would haue fallen of himſelfe. For whereas he did leane to the flatteries of *Balbus* and *Antonius*, to diſdaine the Senat, and to couet the markes and ſignes of royall dignitie: theſe were but the blaſts of this wicked wind, which ſuch dangerous bellowes entertained and kept in his hart. Now in this he cannot be *Cæſars vices.*

excuſed. On the contrary ſide, they cannot too much condemne this paſſion of his, which ſufficiently appeared in the firſt voyage he made into SPAINE: when paſſing by a pelting village, he preferred the firſt place in that to the ſecond in ROME. This paſſion increaſed in him euer after, ſo mightily ouerruling all the reſt, & ſo abſolutely poſſeſſing his mind, that it caried him whither it would, and made him that without reſpect of his country or of himſelfe he neuer left running, vntill that this fierce horſe caſt him on the ground and brake his necke. Yea ſo many victories and triumphs drew him not for all that to ſeeke reſt: but (as *Alexander* ſailed vp & downe the Ocean, during his laſt ſickneſſe, and ſome hours before his death) he embraced greater wars & conqueſts then before. For that he did in reforming the Kalender, and the enterpriſe of ſo many buildings and works for the commonwealth, ſheweth that that mind was a bow euer bent. For his voluptuouſnes, peraduenture it will not become vs to ſpeake of them, & we were better with ſilence and ſhame lament mans imperfection, then in deſcrying of noble perſons, content thoſe that are neuer merrie, but when one feedeth their malice. The ambition wherewith he was infinitly wounded, comming to fight with this wickedneſſe after women, made him quickly leaue the haunt vtterly to ſubdue it afterwards: to the end that his pleaſures ſhould neuer make him ſteale a minute of an hower, nor to remoue one foot from the occaſions offered him to raiſe him to greatneſſe. As for his death, it was violent indeed, but practiſed by the moſt part of them to whom he had giuen life, and who continued not long after him. It is true, his high cariage of himſelfe was cauſe of his death: for nothing wanted to his happineſſe, but to loue his city, and to continue to be more carefull then he was to pleaſe the Senate and people; as he had begun after his fiue triumphes, pardoning all, raiſing one and other to offices in the commonwealth, and ſetting vp againe the ſtatues of *Pompey*. Now being fallen againe into this deſperate deſire to be yet greater, he made ſo many offended with him, that diuers put that in execution, which one man alone could not eaſily haue brought to paſſe. But yet he hath that more then *Alexander*, that his death was reuenged. To the contrarie, *Alexanders* mother, wiues, and children made a poore end; his armie remained as a bodie without a head, and he had a good grace that compared it to *Cyclope Polypheme*, when *Vlyſſes* had put out his eye. His Captaines and ſucceſſors deuoured one another by long warres. As for *Cæſar*, he liued ſtill in the perſon of his ſucceſſor *Auguſtus*, who hauing ouercome a world of hard aduentures, eſtabliſhed a Monarchie: the which in deſpite of a million of tempeſts, hath continued many hundreds of years. And ſpecially the name of *Cæſar*, by excellent priuiledge hath remained vnto thoſe that after him raigned in the Empire of ROME: and his valiantneſſe was, and yet is to this day deſired of all men, that by valorous exploits ſeeke to win to their name immortal praiſe and glorie. You looke here, Reader, to ſee to which of the two I ſhold giue the precedencie: but ſince the world hath bene too litle for the one and the other, I ſhould go too farre if I plainely ſpake what I thought. Now that I haue ſpoken for the other, I ceaſe, and leaue you to your iudgement.

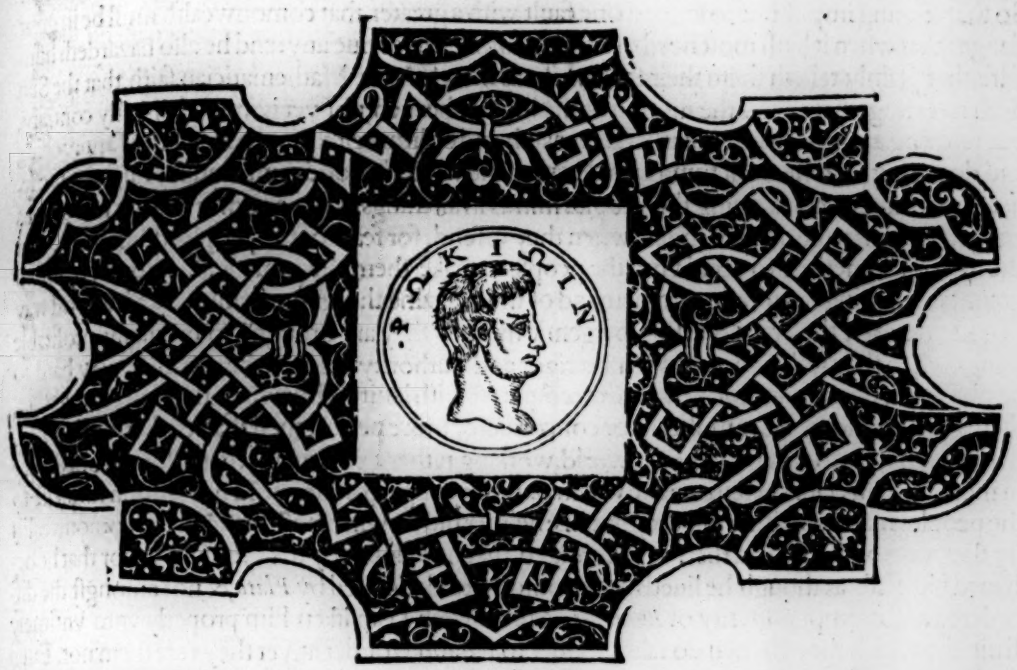
Cæſars death, and of the ſtate of Rome vnder Auguſtus and afterwards.

The iudgement of precedencie betwixt Alexander and Cæſar left to the Reader.

The end of Iulius Cæſars life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Phocion.*



THE Orator *Demades* on a time flouriſhed in ATHENS, becauſe in all his doings and ſayings in the adminiſtration and gouernement of the common wealth, he alwayes fauored the MACEDONIANS and *Antipater*: in reſpect whereof he was eftſoones compelled, both in his counſell and lawes, to preferre many things to the diſhonour of his city, ſaying, that they muſt pardon him, becauſe he gouerned the ſhipwracks of his country. This was an arrogant ſpeech: but yet referring it to the gouernment of *Phocion* he ſayd truly. For indeed *Demades* ſelfe was the ſhipwracke of the commonweale, becauſe he liued ſo inſolently, and gouerned ſo lewdly. Inſomuch as *Antipater* ſayd of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beaſt ſacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion*, which had to fight againſt the cruell and bitter enemy of the time, were ſo obſcured by the calamities of GREECE, that his fame was nothing ſo great as he deſerued. For we muſt not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it ſelfe but weake, in theſe verſes:

Demades arrogant ſaying.

When ſtormes of ſore aduerſities (ô king) do men aſſaile,
It daunts their courage, cuts their combes, and makes their harts to quaile.

But we muſt onely giue place to fortune, who when ſhe frowneth vpon any good and vertuous man, her force is ſo great, that where they deſerue honour and fauour, ſhe violently heapeth falſe and malicious accuſations againſt them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credite which indeed it deſerueth. And yet it ſeemeth to many, that free cities are moſt cruell vnto their good citizens in time of proſperity: becauſe they flow in wealth and liue at eaſe, which maketh them of haughty minds. But it is cleane contrary. For aduerſity commonly maketh mens maners ſower, cholericke, and very haſty: beſides, ſlow to heare, churliſh, and offended with euery litle ſharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, ſeemeth to caſt their aduerſity in their teeth: and he that telleth them plainly of their faults, ſeemeth alſo to deſpiſe them. For like as hony ſweete by nature, applied vnto wounds, doth bring both ſmart and paine: euen ſo, ſharpe words, though profitable, do bite the vnfortunate man, if they be not tempered with diſcretion and courteſie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth ſweete and pleaſant things μειλιχια, as yeelding, and not ſtriuing with contrariety, againſt that part of the mind, whereby we be angry

The power of vertue and fortune.

Aduerſity maketh men haſty.

and froward. For euen as ſore eyes do like to looke on blacke and darke colours, and cannot abide the bright and glaring: ſo in a city, where for want of foreſight and gouernment, things go not well, men be ſo diuerſe and vnwilling to heare of their owne fault and eſtate, that they had rather continue in their folly and danger, then by ſharpneſſe of words to be rebuked & reſtored. So that it being impoſſible to amend one fault with a greater, that comonwealth muſt be in great danger, that when it hath moſt need of helpe, is lotheſt to receiue any: and he alſo hazardeth himſelfe, that plainly telleth them their faults. Like as therefore the Mathematician ſaith, that the Sun doth not altogether folow the motion of the higheſt heauen, nor yet is moued directly contrary, but fetching a cõpaſſe a litle ouerthwart, maketh and oblique circle, and by variety of approching and departing preſerueth all things, and keepeth the world in good temperature. Euen ſo, too ſeuere gouernment, contrarying the peoples minds in all things, is not good: as alſo it is maruellous dangerous, not to correct offenders when they offend, for feare of the peoples diſpleaſure. But the meane, ſometime to yeeld vnto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to graunt them things of pleaſure, to demand of them againe things profitable: that is a good way to gouerne men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to do many profitable things, when they ſeeke it not of them, by rigor and authority. Indeed this meane is very hard to be obſerued, becauſe authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meete together, there is no harmony more muſical, nor concordance more perfect then that: & therfore it is ſaid, that thereby God doth gouerne the world, working rather a voluntary, then a forced obedience in men. But this fault of ſeuereneſſe was in *Cato* the yonger, for he could not faſhion himſelfe to the peoples maners, neither did they like his: neither did he win his eſtimatiõ in the comonwealth by flattering of them. And therfore *Cicero* ſayd, that he was put by the Conſulſhip, for that he behaued himſelfe as though he liued in the comonwealth deuiſed by *Plato*, & not amongſt the diſordered and corrupt poſterity of *Romulus*. Me thinketh I can liken him properly vnto vntimely fruit: the which though men do take pleaſure to ſee and wonder at, yet they eate them not. Euen ſo, the ancient ſimplicity of *Catoes* maner (hauing ſo long time bene out of vſe, & comming then to ſhew it ſelfe in that corrupt time & all maners of the city) was indeed much praiſe worthy: but yet not the conuenienteſt, nor the fitteſt for him, becauſe it aunſwered nor reſpected not the vſe and maners of his time. For he found not his countrey (as *Phocion* did vtterly deſtroyed, but toſſed in a dangerous tempeſt: & being not of authority like the pilot to take the ſterne in hand, and gouerne the ſhip: he tooke himſelfe to tricking the ſailes, & preparing the tackle, ſo to aſſiſt men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he ſo thwarted fortune (which ſeemed to haue ſworne the ouerthrow of the ſtate of ROME) that with much ado, with great difficulty, & a long time after, ſhe executed her malice. And yet the common wealth had almoſt gotten the victory of her, by meanes of *Cato* and his vertue: with whom I do compare the vertue of *Phocion*, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike, neither in their honeſty, nor pollicy of gouernment. For there is difference betwixt manhood and manhood, as there was betwixt that of *Alcibiades*, and that of *Epaminondas*: betwixt wiſdome and wiſedome, as betwixt that of *Ariſtides*, & that of *Themiſtocles*: and betwixt iuſtice and iuſtice, as betwixt that of *Numa* and that of *Ageſilaus*. But the vertues of theſe men (to him that ſhall ſuperficially regard, and lightly conſider them) ſeeme all one in quality, in maner, and vſe, both alike in temperance of curteſie with ſeuerity, and manhood with wiſdome: a valiant care for others, with preſence of courage & ſecurity of mind for themſelues, abhorring all filthineſſe & corruption, and imbracing conſtancy and loue of iuſtice: that for any man to diſcerne the difference betweene them, it requireth an excellent good wit & iudgement. Now touching *Cato*, euery man knoweth that he was of a noble houſe, as we will ſhew you hereafter in his life: but for *Phocion*, I geſſe he came of no baſe parentage. For if he had bene the ſon of a ſpoonmaker, as *Idomeneus* teſtifieth, *Glaucippus* the ſon of *Hyperides*, hauing in an inuectiue he wrote againſt him, rehearſed all the miſchiefes he could of him, he would not haue forgotten to haue vpbraided him with his baſe parentage, neither he himſelfe alſo (if that had bin true) had bene ſo well brought vp as he was. For when he was but a young man, he was *Platoes* ſcholer, and afterwards *Xenocrates* ſcholer, in the ſchoole of Academia: and ſo, euen from his firſt beginning, he gaue himſelfe to follow them that were learned. For as *Duris* writeth, neuer ATHENIAN ſaw him weepe nor laugh, nor waſh himſelfe in any common bath, nor his hands out of his ſleeues when he wore a long gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alwayes go on foote, and neuer wore gowne, vnleſſe it were extreme cold: and then the ſouldiers

Ciceroes ſaying of Cato, and the commonwealth at Rome.

Catoes plaine maner, became not the corrupt and ſubtill time.

The parentage of Phocion.

Phocion neuer wept nor laughed.

to

to mocke him withall, would say it was a signe of a sharpe winter, when they saw *Phocion* in his gowne. Now, though indeed he was very courteous and gentle of nature, yet hé had such a grimme looke withall, that no man had any desire to talke with him, but such as were of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when *Chares* the Orator one day mocking him for the bending of his browes, and that the ATHENIANS fell in a laughter withall: My maisters, quoth *Phocion*, the bending of my browes hath done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of these flatterers, haue made ye oftentimes to weepe. Furthermore, his manner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsels he vttered: but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortnesse. For as *Zeno* the Philosopher saith, that the wise man should temper his words with wit and reason, before he vtter them: euen so was *Phocions* speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN sayd, that *Demosthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in speech *Phocion* was very witty. For like as coines of gold or siluer, the lighter they weigh, the finer they be of goodnesse: euen so the excellency of speech consisteth in signifying much by few words. And touching this matter, it is reported that the Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked all alone vpon the scaffold where the players played, and was in a great muse with himselfe: whereupon, one of his friends seeing him so in his muses, sayd vnto him, Surely *Phocion*, thy mind is occupied about somewhat. Indeed it is so sayd he: for I am thinking with my selfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I haue to say to the people. For *Demosthenes* selfe litle esteeming all other Orators, when *Phocion* rose vp to speake, he would round his friends in the eares, and told them: See, the cutter of my words riseth. Peraduenture he meant it by his maners also: For when a good man speaketh, not a word onely, but a winke of an eye, or a nod of his head, doth counteruaile many artificiall words and speeches of Rhetoricians. Furthermore, when he was a yong man, he went to the warres vnder Captaine *Chabrias*, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfect souldier, and in recompence thereof, he reformed many of his Captaines imperfections, & made him wiser then he was. For *Chabrias* otherwise being very dull and slothfull of himselfe, when he came to fight, he was so hot and couragious, that he would thrust himselfe into danger, with the desperatest persons: and therefore for his rashnesse, it afterwards cost him his life, in the city of CHIO, where lanching out with his galley before the rest, he pressed to land in despite of his enemies. But *Phocion* being wise to looke to himselfe, and very quicke to execute: on the one side quickned *Chabrias* slownesse, and on the other side also, by wisdome cooled his heat and fury. *Chabrias* therfore, being a good man and courteous, loued *Phocion* very well, and did preferre him in matters of seruice, making him famous amongst the GRECIANS, and employed him in his hardest enterprises. For by his meanes he atchieued great fame and honor in a battell by sea, which he wanne by the Ile of NAXOS, giuing him the left wing of his army, on which side the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he soonest put the enemies to flight. This battell being the first which the city of ATHENS wanne with their owne men onely, after it had bene taken: gaue the people cause to loue *Chabrias*, and made them also make account of *Phocion*, as of a noble souldier, and worthy to haue charge. This victory was gotten on the feast day of the great mysteries, in memory whereof *Chabrias* did yearely on the sixteenth day of the moneth Boedromion (now called August) make all the people of ATHENS drinke. After that time *Chabrias* sending *Phocion* to receiue the tribute of the Ilanders their confederates, and the ships which they should send him: he gaue him twenty galleys to bring him thither. But *Phocion* then (as it is reported) sayd vnto him: If he sent him to fight with his enemies, he had need to haue more ships: but if he sent him as an Ambassador vnto his friends, then that one ship would serue his turne. So he went with one galley onely: and after he had spoken with the cities, and courteously dealt with the gouernors of euery one of them, he returned backe, furnished of their confederates, with a great fleete of ships and money, to cary vnto ATHENS. So *Phocion* did not onely reuerence *Chabrias* while he liued, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friends and kinsmen, and sought to make his sonne *Ctesippus* an honest man: whom though he saw very wild and vntoward, yet he neuer left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is sayd also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vaine friuolous questions, seruing then vnder him, he being Captaine, and taking vpon him to giue him counsell, to reproue him, and to teach him the duty of a Captaine: he could not but say, O *Chabrias*, *Chabrias*: now do I pay for the loue thou diddest beare me when thou wert aliue, in bearing with the folly of thy

Phocions maners.

Wherein excellency of speech consisteth.

Phocions first souldier-fare.

The victory of Chabrias and Phocion in the Ile of Naxos.

ſonne. But when he ſaw that the heads of the city of ATHENS had as it were by lot deuided among themſelues the offices of warre and peace, and that ſome of them, as *Eubulus*, *Ariſtophon*, *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, and *Hyperides* were common ſpeakers and preferrers of matters in councels and Senate: and that others, as *Diopithes*, *Meneſtheus*, *Leoſthenes*, and *Chares*, became great men by the warres, and had charge of armies: he determined rather to follow the manner of gouernment of *Pericles*, *Ariſtides*, and *Solon*, as being mingled of both. For either of them ſeemed (as the Poet *Archilochus* ſayth:)

To be both champions ſtout, of Marſes warlike band,
And of the Muſes eke, the arts to vnderſtand.

He knew alſo, that *Pallas* the goddeſſe and protector of ATHENS, was called *Polemica*, and *Politica*: to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, hauing thus diſpoſed of himſelfe in gouernment, he alwayes perſwaded peace and quietneſſe, and yet was often choſen Captaine, and had charge of armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his time, did neuer ſue for charge, neither yet refuſed it at any time, when he was called to ſerue the commonwealth. It is certaine that he was choſen fiue and forty times Prætor, and was alwayes abſent at the elections, but yet ſent for. Whereupon all the wiſe men wondred to ſee the manner of the people towards him, conſidering that *Phocion* had neuer done nor ſayd any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had bene againſt their deſires: and how they vſed other gouernours notwithſtanding, that were more pleaſant and delightfull in their orations, like men to ſportat, as it is ſayd of kings, who after they haue waſhed their hands to go to their meate, do vſe to haue leſters and flatterers to make them merry: but on the other ſide when they had occaſion of wars indeed, how then like wiſe men they would bethinke themſelues, and choſe the wiſeſt and ſtouteſt man of the city, and that moſt would withſtand their minds and deſires. For on a time an Oracle of *Apollo Delphias*, being openly read before them, which ſayd, that all the other ATHENIANS being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the reſt of the city: *Phocion* ſtepping foorth before them all, bad them neuer ſeeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of all their doings. Another time he chanced to ſay his opinion before all the people, the which they all praiſed and approued: but when he ſaw they were ſo ſuddenly become of his mind, he turned backe to his friends, and asked them: Alas, hath not ſome euilthing ſlipped my mouth vnwares? Another time a generall collection being gathered of the people at ATHENS, towards the ſolemnizing of a ſacrifice: other men of his ſtate hauing payed their part, he was often alſo called vpon to pay his. But he anſwered them againe, aske them that be rich, for it were a ſhame for me to giue you any thing, being yet in this mans debt, pointing to *Callicles* the vſurer, who had lent him money. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out vpon him for the contribution, he began to tell them this tale: That on a time there was a coward preparing to go to the warres, and as he was ready to depart, he heard the rauens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill ſigne, he put off his harneſſe, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harneſſe againe, and went on his way towards the campe: the rauens began againe to make a goodlier cry behind him. But thereupon he ſtayed ſtraight, and at length ſayd: Ye ſhall crooke as loud as ye liſt, before ye feed on my carkaſſe. Another time the ATHENIANS being in warre vnder his charge, would needs haue him to leade them to giue charge vpon their enemies, but he would not: thereupon they called him coward, and ſayd he durſt not. Well ſayd he againe, It is not you can make me valiant, no more then my ſelfe can make you cowards: and yet one of vs know another. Another time in a maruellous dangerous time, the people handled him very churliſhly, and would needs haue him preſently deliuer account of his charge: but he aunſwered them, O my friends, firſt ſaue your ſelues. Furthermore, the people being very lowly and humble, for feare, in time of warres: and preſently in peace againe waxing braue in words againſt *Phocion*, charging him that he had taken the victory out of their hands: he onely ſayd this to them, You are happy that haue a Captaine that knowes you, elſe you would ſing a new ſong. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the BOEOTIANS and them, about their bounds and fronters: the which they would not try by law, but by battell. But *Phocion* told them, they did they wiſt not what, and counſelled them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the ſtronger, and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they ſo much miſliked his opinion in the aſſembly, that they would not abide to heare him, nor ſuffer him to ſpeake. Well, my Maiſters, quoth he then, you may make me do that which is not

Phocions notable ſaying.

to

to be done: but you ſhall neuer compell me againſt my mind, to ſay that which is not to be ſpoken. He would as gallantly alſo gird the Orators his aduerſaries, when they were buſie with him. As on a time he anſwered *Demoſthenes*, that ſayd vnto him: The people, *Phocion* will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads. Yea thee, quoth he, if they be wiſe. Againe, when *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN, in a hot day perſwaded the people of ATHENS to make warre with king *Philip*, ſweating, and with much ado fetching his breath, being a fat man, that he was driuen oftentimes to drinke water, to end his oration: Surely ſayd *Phocion*, ye ſhall do maruellous wiſely, to make warre at ſuch a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he do, when he hath his curates and his target vpon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an oration onely before you, which he hath ſtudied long before, is almoſt ſtifled? Another time alſo when *Lycurgus* in his oration had openly reproued him for many things before the people, and among the reſt, for that *Alexander* demanding ten citizens of ATHENS to do with them what he thought good, that he had counſelled them to deliuer them: *Phocion* anſwered him, I haue oftentimes counſelled them for the beſt, but they would neuer follow my counſell. There was one *Archibiades* at that time in ATHENS, that counterfeited the LACEDÆMONIAN, with a maruellous long beard, a beggerly cloake, and a ſower looke. *Phocion* being checkt one day before the people, appealed vnto *Archibiades* for a witneſſe, to confirme that he ſpake. But he riſing vp, counſelled the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. *Phocion* perceiuing it, tooke him by the beard, and ſayd vnto him: Alas *Archibiades*, why diddeſt thou not then clip thy beard, ſeeing thou wouldeſt needs flatter? There was another great pleader, one *Ariſtogiton* that in all the aſſemblies of the city, did nothing but buzze warres continually in their eares. Afterwards when men were to be leauied and muſtered, and their names entred that ſhould go to the warres, *Ariſtogiton* came halting into the market place with a ſtaffe in his hand, and both his legges bound vp, to make the people beleeue that he was ſicke and diſeaſed. *Phocion* ſpying *Ariſtogiton* farre off, cried out to the clearke that wrote the bils: Put in *Ariſtogiton*, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muſe, how, or wherefore ſo ſharpe and ſeuere a man (as by theſe examples it appeareth he was) could come to the ſurname of good. Notwithſtanding, in the end I find it a hard thing, but not impoſſible, that a man ſhould be like wine, both ſweete and ſharpe together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the firſt ſight, ſeeme very courteous and gentle of conuerſation, and vpon better acquaintance, proue churliſh and dogged. It is reported alſo, that *Hyperides* the Orator one day ſhould ſay to the ATHENIANS: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my ſharpneſſe, but conſider if my ſharpneſſe be without profit. As who ſhould ſay, men are not troubleſome, but for couetouſneſſe onely, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of inſolency and malice, did abuſe and contemne their authority. *Phocion* on the other ſide, neuer did citizen hurt, for any priuate malice he bare him: but was euer ſharpe and cruell to them, which were againſt any matter he preferred, for the benefit of the commonwealth. For in all other things, he ſhewed himſelfe maruellous lowly and courteous to euery body, and would be familiar with his aduerſaries, and helpe them if they wanted, or were otherwiſe in danger of diſpleaſure with the ſtate. Inſomuch as his friends therefore reproued him on a time, when he ſpake in the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O ſayd he, honeſt men need no helpe. Another time, *Ariſtogiton* the Sycophant, being clapped vp in priſon, ſent vnto *Phocion* to pray him to come and ſpeake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the priſon to him, and when his friends perſwaded him to the contrary, he anſwered them: O let me alone, ſayd he, for where could I ſee *Ariſtogiton* more gladly then in priſon? Furthermore, when there went any army to ſea out of ATHENS, if there were any other choſen Generall but *Phocion*, the townes and Ilands all alongſt the ſea coaſt (which were friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS) fortified their wals, filled vp their hauens, and brought their wiues, ſlaues, and cattell, and all their goods into their townes and cities, as if they had bene enemies, and open war proclaimed. Contrarily alſo, if *Phocion* had bin Captaine and Generall, they would ſend out their ſhips to the ſea to meete him a farre off, crowned with garlands in token of common ioy, and ſo would bring him to their cities. King *Philip* ſecretly ſeeking to win the Ile of EVBOEA, ſent an army thither out of MACEDON, and intiſed the townes by tyrants to rebell: whereupon *Plutarke* ERETRIAN prayed aide of the ATHENIANS, to take this Iland from the MACEDONIANS, which they daily wanne more and more, if they came not preſently to aide them. So *Phocion* was ſent Generall thither, but with a few men onely, becauſe they made

Ariſtogiton, a Sycophant, and coward.

Phocion called by ſurname, Good.

Phocions iourney into Euboea.

account the men of that countrey would straight ioyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found them all traytors, and rebels, and bribed with king *Philips* money, which he lauished out amongst them: so that he was brought into great daunger. Thereupon he retired to a litle hill that is seuered from the fields of Tamines, with a great large valley, and there fortified himselfe with that litle army he had. Then he perswaded his Captaines not to care for all those rebels, pratlers, and cowards which fled out of their tents, and forsooke their ensignes and Captaines, but that they should let them go out of the campe where they would. For sayd he, such disobedient souldiers here will do vs no seruice, and moreouer will hinder them that haue good will to serue well: and at home also, knowing themselues in fault, for that they forsooke the campe without licence, they dare not complaine vpon vs. Afterwards when the enemies came to set vpon him, he commaunded his men to arme, and put themselues in readinesse, and not to stirre, vntill he had done sacrifice: but he stayed long before he came, either because he could haue no lucky signes of the sacrifices, or else for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon *Plutarke* ERETRIAN supposing he deferred to march for feare, went himselfe first into the field, with certaine light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of armes seeing them giue charge, could hold no longer, but followed him also, straggling out of the campe one after another disorderly, and so did set vpon their enemies. The first being ouerthrowne, all the other dispersed themselues, and *Plutarke* himselfe fled. Then certaine bands of the enemies thinking all had bene theirs, followed them euen into their campe, and came to throw downe their rampiers. In the meane time, *Phocion* hauing ended his sacrifice, the ATHENIANS came out of their campe, and set vpon them, and made part of them flie immediatly, and part of them also they slue hard by the trenches of their campe. Then *Phocion* commaunded that the battell should stand still, to receiue their men that were scattered vp & downe the fields: in the meane space, he himselfe, with the choisest men of his army gaue charge vpon the enemies. The fight was cruell betweene them. For the ATHENIANS fought very valiantly, venturing their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their Generall (*Glaucus* the sonne of *Polymedes*, and *Thallus*, the sonne of *Cineas*) caried the praise away. And so did *Cleophanes* that day also shew himselfe very valiant. For he crying out still vpon the horsemen that fled, and perswading them to come and helpe their Generall that was in daunger: brought them backe againe, and thereby got the footmen the victorie. After this battell, he draue *Plutarke* out of ERETRIA, and tooke the castell of ZARETRA, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile draweth to a straightnesse, enuironed on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his men to take any GRECIANS prisoners, fearing least the Orators at ATHENS might moue the people suddenly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these things were done, *Phocion* returned backe to ATHENS. But then did the confederates of the ATHENIANS straight wish for his iustice and courtesie: and the ATHENIANS themselues also knew his skilfulnesse and manhood. For his successor *Molossus*, that was Generall for the rest of the warre, dealt so vndiscreetly: that he himselfe was taken prisoner there. Then king *Philip* being put in maruellous great hope, went with all his army into HELLESPONT, perswading himselfe, that he should straight take all CHERRONESVS, the cities of PERINTHE and BIZANTIVM. The ATHENIANS thereupon determining to send aide, to preuent king *Philips* comming: the Orators made great sute, that *Chares* might be chosen Captaine: but he being sent thither with a good number of ships, did no seruice worthie commendation, neither would the cities receiue his nauy into their hauens: but being suspected of euery man, and despised of his enemies, he was driuen to saile vp and downe, and to get money of the allies. The people being incensed by the Orators, were maruellously offended, and repented themselues that they had sent aide vnto the BIZANTINES. Then *Phocion* rising vp, spake vnto the people, and told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their confederates they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their Captaines that deserued to be mistrusted. For they, sayd he, do make your confederates affraid of you, who without you notwithstanding cannot saue themselues. The people changing their minds by his oration, made *Phocion* againe their Captaine, and sent him with an army into HELLESPONT to helpe their confederates there, which was of great importance to saue the city of BIZANTIVM. Furthermore, *Phocions* fame was so great, that *Cleon*, the greatest man of vertue and authority in BIZANTIVM, and had before bene *Phocions* companion and familiar in the Academy: he made sute for him vnto the city. Then the BIZANTINES would not suffer him

Phocion perswadeth his Captaines, to suffer the mutinous soldiers and cowards to depart the campe.

Phocions victory in Euboea.

Phocion saued the city of Byzantium.

him (though he desired it) to campe without the wals of their city, but opening their gates, receiued him in, and mingled the ATHENIANS amongst them. Who, perceiuing how much the citizens trusted them, did so honestly behaue themselues in their conuersation amongst them, that they gaue them no manner of cause to complaine of them: and shewed themselues so valiant besides in all battels and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadfull and inuincible, euery man being afraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of HELLESPONT without any thing done, and to his great discredite: where *Phocion* wanne some of his ships, and recouered againe the strong holds, in the which he had placed his garrisons. Furthermore, making diuerse inuasions into his countries, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was sore hurt there, and so driuen to returne home againe, by meanes of a great army that came against him to defend the countrey. Shortly after, the MEGARIANS secretly sent vnto him, to deliuer their city into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the BOEOTIANS vnderstood it, that they would preuent him, he called a common assembly early in the morning, and told the people what message the MEGARIANS had sent vnto him. The people vpon this motion being determined to aide them: *Phocion* straight sounding the trumpet at the breaking vp of the assembly, gaue them no further leisure, but to take their weapons, and so led them incontinently to MEGARA. The MEGARIANS receiuing him, *Phocion* shut vp the hauen of NISÆA, and brought two long wals from the city vnto it, and so ioyned it vnto the sea: whereby he stood not greatly in feare of his enemies by land, and for the sea, the ATHENIANS were Lords of it. Now when the ATHENIANS had proclaimed open warre against king *Philip*, and had chosen other Captaines in his absence, and that he was returned from the Iles: aboue all things, he perswaded the people (king *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the daunger) to accept the conditions of peace. Then one of these busie Orators that was still accusing one or other, sayd vnto him: Why *Phocion*, how darest thou attempt to turne the ATHENIANS from warre, hauing now their swords in their hands? Yes truly, sayd *Phocion*: though in warre I know I shall commaund thee, and in peace thou wilt commaund me. But when the people would not harken to him, and that *Demosthenes* caried them away with his perswasions, who counselled them to fight with king *Philip*, as farre from ATTICA as they could: I pray thee friend quoth *Phocion* vnto him, let vs not dispute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall ouercome, the which if we can so bring to passe, be sure we shall put the warre farre inough from vs: for men that are ouercome, be euer in feare and danger, whereseoeuer they be. When the ATHENIANS had lost a battell against *Philip*, the seditious Orators, that hunted after innouation, preferred *Charidemus* to be chosen Generall of the ATHENIANS: whereupon the Magistrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the AREOPAGITS, they made such earnest sute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at last (but with much ado) they obtained, that the affaires of the city might be put into *Phocions* hands and gouernemen. He thought good to accept the articles and gentle conditions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the Orator *Demades* moued that the citie of ATHENS would enter into the common treatie of peace, and common assembly of the states of GREECE, procured at king *Philips* request: *Phocion* would not agree to it, vntill they might vnderstand what demaunds *Philip* would make at the assembly of the GRECIANS. When his opinion through the peruersnesse of time could not be liked of them, and that he saw the ATHENIANS soone after repented them that they did not follow his counsell, when they heard they should furnish king *Philip* with ships and horsemen: then he told them, the feare whereof ye now complaine, made me to withstand that, which now ye haue consented vnto. But sithence it is so that you haue now past your consents, you must be contented, and not be discouraged at it: remembring that your ancestors in times past haue sometime commaunded, and otherwhile obeyed others, and yet haue so wisely and discreetly gouerned themselues in both fortunes, that they haue not oney saued their city, but all GREECE besides. When newes came of king *Philips* death, the people for ioy would straight haue made bonfires and sacrifices to the gods for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not suffer them, and sayd, that it was a token of a base mind, to reioyce at any mans death, and besides that, the army which ouerthrew you at CHÆRONEA, hath not yet lost but one man. And when *Demosthenes* also would commonly speake ill of *Alexander*, and specially when he was so neare THEBES with his army, *Phocion* rehearsed vnto him these verses of *Homer*:

Phocion draue Philip out of Hellespont.

Phocion ioyned Megara vnto Athens.

To reioyce at any mans hurt sheweth a base mind, and vile nature.

How great a folly is it for to ſtand
Againſt a cruell king,
Which being arm'd, and hauing ſword in hand,
Seekes fame of euery thing?

What, when there is ſuch a great fire kindled, wilt thou caſt the city into it? for my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not ſuffer them to caſt themſelues away: for to that end haue I taken vpon me this charge and gouernement. And afterwards alſo, when *Alexander* had razed the city of THEBES, and had required the ATHENIANS to deliuer him *Demoſthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Charidemus*, and that the whole aſſembly and councell not knowing what aunſwer to make, did all caſt their eyes vpon *Phocion*, and cried vnto him to ſay his opinion: he then roſe vp, and taking one of his friends vnto him called *Nicocles*, whom he loued and truſted aboue all men elſe, he ſayd thus openly vnto them: Theſe men whom *Alexander* requireth, haue brought this city to this extremity, that if he required *Nicocles* here, I would giue my conſent to deliuer him; for I would thinke my ſelfe happy to looſe my life, for all your ſafety. Furthermore, though I am right heartily ſory (ſayd he) for the poore afflicted THEBANS, that are come into the city for ſuccour: yet I aſſure yee, it is better one city mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is beſt to intreate the conquerour for both, rather then to our certaine deſtruction to fight with him that is the ſtronger. It is ſayd alſo that *Alexander* refuſed the firſt decree which the people offered him vpon *Phocions* requeſt, and ſent away the Ambaſſadours, and would not ſpeake with them. But the ſecond, which *Phocion* himſelfe brought, he tooke, being told by his fathers old ſeruants, that king *Philip* made great accompt of him: whereupon *Alexander*, did not onely giue him audience, and graunt his requeſt, but further followed his counſell. For *Phocion* perſwaded him, if he loued quietneſſe, to leaue warre: if he deſired fame, then that he ſhould make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the GRECIANS. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humour with ſuch talke and diſcourſe as he thought would like him beſt: he ſo altered and ſoftned *Alexanders* diſpoſition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the ATHENIANS ſhould looke to their affaires, for if he ſhould dye, he knew no people fitter to commaund then they. Furthermore, becauſe he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend, he made ſo much of him, that he more honoured him, then all the reſt of his friends. To this effect, *Duris* the hiſtoriographer writeth, that when *Alexander* was growne very great, and had ouercome king *Darius*: he left out of his letters this word Chærin (to wit, ioy, and health) which he vſed commonly in all the letters he wrote, & would no more honor any other with that maner of ſalutation, but *Phocion* and *Antipater*. *Chares* alſo writeth the ſame. And they all do confeſſe, that *Alexander* ſent *Phocion* a great gift out of ASIA, of a hundred ſiluer talents. This money being brought to ATHENS, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gaue him ſuch a great reward, aboue all the other citizens of ATHENS. Becauſe ſayd they, he onely eſteemeth thee to be a good and honeſt man. *Phocion* replied againe, then let him giue me leaue to be that I ſeeme, and am whileſt I liue. The meſſengers would not ſo leaue him, but folowed him home to his houſe, where they ſaw his great husbandry and thriftineſſe. For they found his wife her ſelfe baking, and he himſelfe drew water before them, out of the well to waſh his feete. But then they were more earneſtly in hand with him than before, and prayed him to take the kings preſent, and were offended with him, ſaying it was a ſhame for *Alexanders* friend to liue ſo miſerably and beggarly as he did. Then *Phocion* ſeeing a poore old man go by, in a thread-bare gowne, asked them whether they thought him worſe then he? No, God forbid, anſwered they againe. Then replied he againe, he liues with leſſe then I do, and yet is contented, and hath inough. To be ſhort, ſayd he, if I ſhould take this ſumme of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other ſide, if I occupy it, I ſhall make all the city ſpeake ill of the king and me both. So this great preſent was ſent backe from ATHENS, whereby he ſhewed the GRECIANS, that he was richer that needed not ſuch gold and ſiluer, then he that gaue it him. But when *Alexander* wrote againe to *Phocion*, that he did not reckon them for his friends, that would take nothing of him: *Phocion* notwithſtanding would not take the money, but only requeſted him for his ſake, that he would ſet theſe men at liberty, which were kept priſoners in the city of SARDIS, for certaine accuſations layed againſt them: *Echecratides* the Rhetoritian, *Athenodorus* borne in the citie of IMBROS, and two CORINTHIANS, *Demaratus* and *Spartus*. *Alexander* preſently ſet them at liberty, and ſent *Craterus* into MACEDON, commanding

Alexander pacified with the Athenians, by Phocions meanes.

Phocions vertue and integrity, refuſing of Alexanders mony.

commaunding him to giue *Phocion* the choise of one of these foure cities of Asia which he liked best: Cios, Gergitha, Mylassis, Elea: sending him word, that he would be much more angrier with him now, if he did refuse his offer, than he was at the first. But *Phocion* would neuer accept any one of them: and *Alexander* shortly after died. *Phocions* house is seene yet at this day in the village of Melita, set foorth with plates of copper, but otherwise very meane, and without curiosity. For the wiues he maried, there is no mention made of the first, sauing that *Cephisodotus* the image grauer was her brother. But for his second wife she was no lesse famous at Athens, for her honesty and good housewifery, then *Phocion* for his iustice and equity. And for proofe thereof, it is reported that the Athenians being one day assembled in the Theater, to see new tragedies played, one of the players when he should haue come vpon the scaffold to haue played his part, asked the setter forth of the playes the apparell of a Queene, and certaine Ladies to waite vpon her, because he was to play the part of the Queene. The setter foorth of the playes denying him, the player went away in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and would not come out vpon the stage. But *Melanthius* the setter foorth of the playes, compelling him, brought him by force on the stage, and cried out vnto him: doest not thou see *Phocions* wife that goeth vp and downe the city with one mayde onely waiting vpon her? and wilt thou play the foole, and marre the modestie of the women of Athens? the people hearing his words, filled all the Theater with ioy and clapping of hands. The same Lady, when a certaine Gentlewoman of Ionia came to Athens to see her, and shewed her all her rich iewels and precious stones she had: she aunswered her againe, All my riches and iewels, is my husband *Phocion*, who these twenty yeares together hath continually bene chosen Generall for the Athenians. *Phocions* sonne telling his father on a time, that he was desirous to contend with other yong men for the victory, who should cunninglieſt leape out, and get vp againe into the charets or coaches, running full course at the feasts Panathenæa at Athens: his father was contented he should, not that he was desirous his sonne should haue the honour of the victory, but because by this honest exercise he should grow to better maner, for that he was a dissolute yong man, and much giuen to wine. Yet he wan the victory at that time, and there were diuerse of his fathers friends, that prayed him to do them that honour, that they might keepe the feast of this victory in their houses. *Phocion* denied them all but one man, and him he suffered to shew his good will vnto his house, and went thither himselfe to supper to him. Where amongst many fine and superfluous things prepared, he found passing bathes of wine and sweet smelling spices to wash the feete of the bidden guests as they came to the feast. Whereupon he called his sonne to him, and asked him, how canst thou abide *Phocus*, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victory with excesse? But because he would withdraw his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to Sparta, and placed him there among yong boyes brought vp after the Laconian discipline. The Athenians were much offended at it, to see that *Phocion* did so much despise his owne countrey manner and fashions. Also when *Demades* the Orator one day sayd vnto *Phocion*: Why do we not perswade the Athenians to liue after the Laconian maner? As for me, sayd he, if thou wilt make one to set it forward, I am ready to be the first man to moue the matter. Indeed quoth *Phocion*, thou art a meete man to perswade the Athenians to liue Laconian like, in common together at their meales, and to praise *Lycurgus* straight law: that art thy selfe commonly so perfumed, and fine in thy apparell. Another time when *Alexander* wrote letters vnto Athens to send him some ships, and that the Orators perswaded them not to graunt him, the people called vpon *Phocion* chiefly to say his opinion: then *Phocion* told them plainly, me thinkes ye must either make your selues the strongest in wars, or being the weaker, procure to be friends vnto the stronger. *Pythias* a new come Orator, being full of toung, and impudent, would still make one to speake in euery matter: wherefore *Phocion* sayd to him, Good gods, will this nouice neuer leaue babling? And when *Harpalus* king *Alexanders* Lieutenant of the prouince of Babylon, fled out of Asia, and came to Attica with a great summe of gold and siluer: straight these men that sold their tongues to the people for mony, flocked about him like a sight of swallowes. And he stucke not to giue euery one of them a peece of money to bast them with: for it was a trifle to him, considering the great summes of money he brought. But to *Phocion* himselfe, he sent vnto him seuen hundred talents, and offered himselfe and all that he had into his hands of trust. But *Phocion* gaue him a sharpe aunswer, and told him, that he would make him repent it, if he corrupted the city of Athens in that manner. So *Harpalus* being amazed

Phocions house and vvines.

Phocus Phocions sonne vvhat he was.

Phocion despiseth Harpalus money.

therewith, left him at that time, and went vnto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS sate in councell about him, he perceiued that those which had taken his mony were shrunke from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should haue excused him, to bleere the world, that men should not suspect them they had bene corrupted: and that *Phocion* on the other side which had refused his money, hauing respect to the cõmonwealth, had also some regard to saue his life: he once more attempted all the wayes he could to win him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could cary the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendship with *Chariles* (*Phocions* sonne in law) he made him to be ill spoken of, and greatly suspected, because men saw that he trusted him in all things, and imployed him in all his affaires. As in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous tombe for *Pythonicè*, the famous curtisan that was dead, whom he loued, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking vpon him whereof was no lesse shame vnto *Chariles*, then the finishing thereof was disgrace vnto him. This tombe is seene vnto this day in a place called Hermium, in the high way from ATHENS to ELEVSIN: the workmanship thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirty talents, which was reported to be giuen by *Harpalus* vnto *Chariles*, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore after *Harpalus* death, *Chariles* and *Phocion* tooke his daughter, and carefully brought her vp. Afterwards also, *Chariles* being accused for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he besought his father in law *Phocion*, to helpe to ease him in his iudgement. But *Phocion* flatly denied him, and sayd: *Chariles* I tooke thee for my sonne in law, in all honest and iust causes onely. Furthermore, when *Asclepiades* the son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first newes of the death of king *Alexander*, *Demades* the Orator would not beleeue him: for sayd he, if it were true, all the earth would smell of the sauor of his corse. *Phocion* then perceiuing the people began to be high minded, & sought innouation: he went about to bridle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators got vp to the pulpit for orations, and cried out that *Asclepiades* newes was true of *Alexanders* death: well then quoth *Phocion*, if it be true to day, it shall be true also to morow, and the next day after. And therefore my maisters, be not too hasty, but thinke of it at better leisure, and set your affaires at a sure stay. When *Leosthenes* also by his practise had brought the city of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES warre, and in scorne asked *Phocion* that was offended at it, what good he had done vnto the comonwealth so many yeares together, as he had bene Generall ouer the ATHENIANS: *Phocion* aunswered him, No small good sayd he, for all my countrey men haue bene buried at home in their owne graues. Another time also, *Leosthenes* speaking proudly and insolently vnto the people, *Phocion* one day sayd vnto him: Young man my friend, thy words are like vnto the Cypresse tree, which is high and great, but beareth no fruite. Then *Hyperides* rising vp, asked *Phocion*: When wilt thou then counsell the ATHENIANS to make warre? When I shall see young men, sayd he, not to forsake their rankes, rich men liberall, and Orators leaue to rob the common wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondred to see such a goodly great army as *Leosthenes* had leauied: and that they asked *Phocion* how he liked it: It is a goodly army, quoth he, for a furlong, but I feare their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I do not see the city able to make any more money, nor more ships, neither yet any more souldiers than these. The which proued true, as it fell out afterwards: for at the first, *Leosthenes* did many notable exploits. He ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and draue *Antipater* into the citie of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in such a hope and iolity, that they made continuall feasts and sacrifices through the citie to thanke the gods for these good newes. And there were some among them, that to take *Phocion* in a trippe, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? Yes indeed, aunswered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not haue giuen the counsell to haue done them. Another time also when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good newes, Good gods, sayd he, when shall we leaue off to ouercome? But when *Leosthenes* was dead in this voyage, they that feared *Phocion* should be appointed Captaine in his place, and that he would pacifie the warre: did thrust in a man of meane hauiour, and vnknowne, that sayd in full assembly of councell, that he was *Phocions* friend, and schoole-fellow, and therefore besought the people that they would spare *Phocion*, because they had not such another man as he, and that they would make *Antiphilus* Generall of their armie. The people were well contented withall. But then *Phocion* stood vp, and sayd, that this man was neuer scholer with him, neither did he euer know him before that time: but now sayd he, from hencefoorth I will take

Phocion refused to defend his sonne in law in an ill cause.

take thee for my friend, for thou haſt giuen the people the beſt counſell for me. The people notwithſtanding determining to make warre with the BOEOTIANS, *Phocion* ſpake againſt it all he could. Thereupon his friends bidding him beware of ſuch ſpeeches, how he did offend the people, leaſt they killed him: he aunſwered them, they ſhall wrongfully put me to death, quoth he, ſpeaking for the benefit of my countrey, but otherwiſe they ſhall haue reaſon for to do it, if I ſpeake to the contrary. But when he ſaw nothing would pacifie them, and that they went on ſtill with their intent: then he commaunded the Herauld to proclaime by ſound of trumpet, that all citizens from fourteene yeares vnto threeſcore, able to cary weapon, ſhould preſently vpon the breaking vp of the aſſembly, arme themſelues, and follow him with fiue dayes prouiſion for victuals. Then was there great ſtirre amongſt them in the city, and the old men came and complained vnto him, for his ouer ſtraight commandement. He told them againe, I do you no wrong: for I am foure ſcore my ſelfe, and yet will go with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fond deſire of warre. But when all the ſea coaſt was full of ſouldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other ſtrangers which were led by *Micion* their Captaine, that landed in the territory of the village RHAMNVS, and ſpoiled the countrey thereabouts: then *Phocion* led the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, diuerſe taking vpon them the office of a Lieutenant, and going about to counſell him, ſome to lodge his campe vpon ſuch a hill, and others to ſend his horſemen to ſuch a place, and others to campe here: O *Hercules*, quoth he, how many Captaines do I ſee, and how few ſouldiers! Afterwards when he had ſet his footmen in battell ray, there was one among them that left his rancke, and ſtepped out before them all. Thereupon one of his enemies alſo made towards him to fight with him: but the ATHENIANS hart failed him, and he went backe againe to his place. Then ſayd *Phocion* vnto him: Art thou not aſhamed yong lout to haue forſaken thy rancke twiſe? the one, where thy Captaine had placed thee, and the other in the which thou haddeſt placed thy ſelfe? So *Phocion* giuing charge vpon the enemies, he ouerthrew them, and ſlue *Micion* their Captaine, with diuerſe others. Furthermore, the army of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wan a battell of *Antipater*, and *Leonatus*, that ioyned with him with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where *Leonatus* was ſlaine in the field, *Antiphilus* being Generall of the footmen, and *Menon* THESSALIAN Colonell of the horſemen. Shortly after *Craterus* comming out of ASIA into EVROPE with a great army, they fought a battell by the city of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were ouerthrowne: yet was not the ouerthrow nor ſlaughter great, although it came through the diſobedience of the ſouldiers to their Captaines, which were but yong men and vſed them ouer gently. Moreouer, when *Antipater* practiſed to make the cities reuolt, they betrayed them, and ſhamefully forſooke to defend their common liberty: whereupon *Antipater* marched foorthwith with his army, to the city of ATHENS. *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides* vnderſtanding that, forſooke the city. Then *Demades*, that was in diſgrace and defamed for lacke of payment of ſuch fines as were ſet vpon his head (being ſeuen ſeuerall times cõdemned, becauſe he had ſo many times moued matters contrary to the law) and could not therefore be ſuffered any more to ſpeake in the aſſembly, was then diſpenced withall, and licenſed to ſpeake: wherupon he moued the people to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto *Antipater*, with full commiſſion and authority to treate with him of peace. The people fearing to put to any mans truſt this abſolute authority to treate of peace: they called for *Phocion*, ſaying that he onely was to be truſted with the Ambaſſade. Then *Phocion* anſwered thẽ: if you had beleeued my former coũſels I alwaies gaue you, ſuch weighty matters ſhould not now haue troubled you at all. So the decree being confirmed by the people, *Phocion* was ſent Ambaſſador vnto *Antipater*, that lay at the caſtell of Cadmea, being ready at that time to inuade the coũtry of ATTICA. *Phocion* firſt requeſted him, that before he remoued from thence, he would make peace with the ATHENIANS. *Craterus* preſently anſwered him: *Phocion*, thy requeſt is vnreaſonable, that lying here we ſhould eate out our friends, and deſtroy their countrey, when we may liue of our enemies, and enrich our ſelues with their ſpoile. But *Antipater* taking *Craterus* by the hand, told him: we muſt needs do *Phocion* this pleaſure. And for the reſt, touching the capitulations of peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS ſhould ſend them a blanke, & refer the conditions of peace to them: like as himſelfe being beſieged in the city LAMIA, had referred all capitulations and articles of peace, vnto the diſcretion of *Leoſthenes* their Generall. So when *Phocion* was come backe to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS ſeeing there was no remedy, were compelled to be contented with ſuch offer of peace, as the enemy made them. Then *Phocion* was ſent backe againe to

Phocions victory of the Macedonians.

The Grecians ouercome by Antipater.

Phocion Ambaſſador vnto Antipater.

Antipater at THEBES, with other Ambaſſadors ioyned in commiſſion with him: amongſt whom alſo was that famous Philoſopher *Xenocrates*. The eſtimation of his vertue was ſo great with all men, that it was thought there was no liuing man ſo proud, cruell, diſdainfull, nor haſty of nature, but that the onely looke of *Xenocrates* would ſoften and qualifie him, and make him to reuerence him: but yet with *Antipater* it fell out contrary, by his peruerſe nature, which hated all vertue: for he embraced all the reſt, and would not once ſalute *Xenocrates*. Whereupon, ſome ſay, that *Xenocrates* ſayd then, *Antipater* doth well to be aſhamed, to ſee me a witneſſe of the diſcourteſie and euill he meaneth vnto the ATHENIANS. So when *Xenocrates* began to ſpeake, *Antipater* would not abide to heare him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the end commaunded him to hold his peace. When *Phocion* had ſpoken, *Antipater* aunſwered them, that he would make peace with the ATHENIANS, ſo they deliuered him *Demoſthenes* and *Hyperides*: that they ſhould keepe their auncient lawes and gouernement, that they ſhould receiue a garriſon into the hauen of Munychia, that they ſhould defray the charges of this warre, and alſo pay a ranſome beſides. All the other Ambaſſadours but *Xenocrates*, willingly accepted theſe conditions of peace, as very reaſonable and fauourable: but he ſayd, that for ſlaues *Antipater* did handle them fauourably, but for free men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then *Phocion* beſought him that he would yet releaſe them of their garriſon. But *Antipater* (as it is ſayd) anſwered him: *Phocion*, we would gladly graunt thee any thing, ſauing that which ſhould vndo thee, and vs both. Some other write notwithſtanding, that *Antipater* ſayd not ſo, but aſked him, if he would become ſurety for the ATHENIANS, that they ſhould attempt no alteration, but faithfully keepe the articles and conditions of this peace, if he did releaſe them of this garriſon. *Phocion* then holding his peace, and delaying aunſwer, there was one *Callimedon* ſurnamed *Carabos* (a bold man, and hated the liberty of the people) that brake foorth in theſe words: If *Phocion* were ſo fond to giue his word for the ATHENIANS, wouldeſt thou *Antipater* beleeue him therefore, and leaue to do that thou haſt determined? Thus were the ATHENIANS, driuen to receiue the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS, of the which *Menillus* was Captaine, an honeſt man, and *Phocions* friend. This commaundement to receiue the garriſon within the hauen of Munychia, was found very ſtately, and done by *Antipater* rather of a vaine glory to boaſt of his power: then for any profit could other come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke poſſeſſion of the caſtell, he further increaſed their griefe: becauſe the garriſon entred the twentieth day of Bœdromion (to wit, the moneth of Auguſt) on the which the feaſt day of their myſteries was celebrated, at what time they make their proceſſion called Iacchus, from the city of ATHENS, vnto ELEVSIN. Therefore the ſolemnitie of this holy feaſt being thus confuſed, many began to conſider, that in old time when their Realme did flouriſh, there were heard and ſeene voices and images of the gods on that day, which made the enemies both afraid, and amazed: and now in contrary manner in the very ſelfe ſame ſolemnity of the gods, they ſaw the greateſt calamitie that could haue happened vnto GREECE. And the holieſt feaſt which was kept all the yeare through before, became then to be prophaned with the title of the greateſt misfortune and euent, that euer happened vnto the GRECIANS, which was, the loſſe of their liberty. For, not many yeares before, there was brought an Oracle from DODONE vnto ATHENS: that they ſhould looke well to the rockes of *Diana*, that ſtraungers ſhould not poſſeſſe them. And about that time alſo the couerings with the which they do adorne the holy beds of the myſteries, being wet with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to looke yellow and pale, as if it had bene the couering of a dead bodie. Yea, and that which was moſt to be wondred at of all other, was this: that taking other couerings which were not holy, and putting them in the ſame water, they did without chaunging keepe their colour they had before. When one of the miniſters of the temple alſo did waſh a white pigge in the ſea in a cleane place by the wharfe, there ſuddenly came a great fiſh that bit at it, and caried the hinder parts of the pigge cleane away with it. Whereby men coniectured that the gods did ſignifie vnto them, that they ſhould looſe the loweſt part of their city, neareſt vnto the ſea, and ſhould keepe the higheſt parts thereof. This notwithſtanding, the garriſon did not offend nor trouble the ATHENIANS, becauſe of the honeſty of their Captaine *Menillus*. Now there were aboue twelue thouſand citizens, that for their pouerty loſt the benefite of their freedome, of the which, part of them remained at ATHENS, vnto whom it ſeemed that they offered great wrong and iniury: and part of them alſo went into THRACIA, where *Antipater* aſſigned them townes

Xenocrates authority.

Xenocrates deſpiſed of Antipater.

Preſages of the miſeries of the Athenians.

townes and lands to inhabite. They ſeemed to be men like vnto them, that had bene taken by aſſault, or by ſiege within a citie, which had bene compelled to forſake their countrie. Furthermore, the ſhamefull death of *Demoſthenes* in the Ile of CALAVRIA, and of *Hyperides*, by the citie of CLEONES, (whereof we haue written heretofore) were almoſt occaſion giuen them to lament the times of the raigne of king *Philip* and *Alexander*. As it is reported that when *Antigonus* was ſlaine, they that had ouercome him, were ſo cruell vnto their ſubiects, that a labourer in the countrie of PHRYGIA digging the earth, being asked what he ſought for, anſwered ſighing: I ſeeke for *Antigonus*. Then many men beganne to ſay as much, when they remembred the noble minds of thoſe two Princes, how mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their diſpleaſure: not like vnto *Antipater*, who craftily cloaked his tyrannicall power, which he vſurped, by being familiar, going ſimply apparelled, and faring meanely: and yet ſhewed himſelfe notwithſtanding a more cruell Lord and tyrant vnto them whom he had ouercome. Neuertheleſſe, *Phocion* obtained of him the reſtoring againe of diuerſe men, whome he had baniſhed: and thoſe whom he could not get to be reſtored, yet he procured that they ſhould not be baniſhed into ſo farre countries, as others which had bene ſent beyond the Mountaines Acroceraunians, and the head of Tænarus out of GRECE, but that they had libertie to remaine within the countrey of PELOPONNESVS: among the which was one *Agnonides* a Sycophant, and falſe accuſer. Furthermore, he gouerned them that remained in ATHENS with great iuſtice and lenitie, and ſuch as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he alwaies preferred to ſome office: but ſuch as he ſaw were phantaſticall people, and deſirous of change, he kept them from office, and tooke all occaſion from them, ſo that they vaniſhed away of themſelues, and learned in time to loue the countrey, and to follow tillage. When he ſaw *Xenocrates* alſo pay a certaine penſion or tribute to the Commonwealth, which all ſtraungers dwelling in ATHENS did vſe yearely to paye: he would haue made him a freeman, and offered to put his name amongeſt the number of the free citizens. But *Xenocrates* refuſed it, ſaying he would haue no part of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof, he had bene ſent Ambaſſadour. And when *Menyllus* had ſent *Phocion* money, he made him anſwer: that *Menyllus* was no greater Lord then *Alexander* had bene, neither had he at that time any greater occaſion to receiue his preſent, then when he had refuſed king *Alexanders* gift. *Menyllus* replying againe, ſaid, that if he had no neede of it for himſelfe, yet he might let his ſonne *Phocus* haue it. But *Phocion* anſwered: If my ſonne *Phocus* will leaue his naughtie life, and become an honeſt man, that which I will leaue him, ſhall ſerue his turne very well: but if it be ſo that he will ſtill hold on the courſe he hath taken, there is no riches then that can ſuffice him. Another time alſo he anſwered *Antipater* more roundly, when he would haue had him done an vnhoneſt thing: *Antipater* ſaid he, cannot haue me to be his friend, and flatterer both. *Antipater* ſelfe was wont to ſay, that he had two friends at ATHENS, *Phocion* and *Demades*: of the which he could neuer make the one to take any thing of him, and the other, he could neuer ſatisfie. And truly *Phocions* pouertie was a great glorie vnto his vertue, ſithence he was growne old, continuing in the ſame, after he had bene ſo many times Generall of the ATHENIANS, and had receiued ſuch friendſhip and courteſie of ſo many Kings and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrarie delighted to ſhew his riches, in things that were contrarie to the lawes of the citie. For a decree being made at ATHENS, commaunding that no ſtraunger, vpon forfeiture of a thouſand Drachmas to be payed by the defrayer of the daunces of the citie, ſhould be any of the dauncers that daunced at any common playes or ſports: *Demades* one day making certaine games and ſports at his owne charges, brought a hundred dancers of ſtrangers at one time, and withal brought alſo a hundred thouſand Drachmas to pay the forfeiture thereof. Another time, when he maried his ſon *Demas*, he ſaid vnto him: Son, when I maried thy mother there was ſo ſmall roſt, that my next neighbour knew not of it: where now at thy mariage, Kings and Princes are at the charge of the feaſt. Furthermore, when the ATHENIANS were importunate with *Phocion* to go vnto *Antipater*, to intreate him to take his garriſon out of their citie: he ſtill refuſed the ambaſſade, either becauſe he had no hope to obtaine it, or for that he ſaw the people more obedient vnto reaſon, for feare of the garriſon. Howbeit, he obtained of *Antipater*, that he ſhould not be too haſtie in the demaunding of his money, but ſhould deferre it vntill a further time. So the ATHENIANS perceiuing they could do no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke the matter vpon him, and went with his ſonne into MACEDON, whither doubtleſſe his deſtinie

Phocion refuſeth Menyllus gifts.

Phocion loued pouertie.

The inſolencie of Demades the Orator.

caried him to his vtter destruction, euen at that very time when *Antipater* was fallen sicke of a disease whereof he died: whereby the affaires of the Realme went through the hands of *Cassander* his sonne, who had intercepted a letter of this *Demades*, which he had sent vnto *Antigonus* in ASIA, willing him to come in all possible speed to win GREECE and MACEDON, which hung but of an old rotten threed, mocking *Antipater* in this maner. Wherefore *Cassander* being aduertised of his arriuall, he made him presently to be apprehended, and setting his sonne hard by him, slue him before his father, so neare him, that the bloud of his sonne sprang vpon him: so that the father was all bloudied with the murther of his sonne. Then *Cassander* casting in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and trecherous treason against his father, giuing him all the reprochfull wordes he could deuise: at the length he slue him with his owne hands. Now *Antipater* before his death, had established *Polyperchon* Generall of the armie of the MACEDONIANS, and *Cassander* his son onely Colonell of a thousand footmen. He notwithstanding, after his fathers decease, taking vpon him the gouernment of the realme: sent *Nicanor* with speed to succeed *Menillus* in the Captaineship of the garrison of ATHENS, before his death should be reuealed, commaunding him first in any case, to take the castle of MVNYCHIA, which he did. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS vnderstanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accused *Phocion* for that he had knowne of his death long before, and yet kept it secret to please *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not this accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with *Nicanor*: whom he handled so wisely, that he made him not only friendly vnto the ATHENIANS, but furthermore perswaded him to be at some charge to giue the people the pastime of common playes, which he made to be done at his cost. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the gouernment of the kings person, meaning to giue *Cassander* a slampant and blurt, he sent letters patents vnto the people at ATHENS, declaring how the young king did restore vnto them their popular state againe, and commanded that all the ATHENIANS should vse their former auncient lawes of their city. This was a wile and craftie fetch against *Phocion*. For *Polyperchon* deuising this practise to get the city of ATHENS into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpose, vnlesse he found meanes first to banish *Phocion*: and thought that he should easily bring that to passe, when such as had before bene put off their freedom by his means, shold come again to haue voyces in the assembly, and that the seditious Orators and accusers might be turned at libertie againe, to say what they would. The ATHENIANS hauing heard the contents of these letters patents, began to be somewhat quickened and moued withall: whereupon *Nicanor* desiring to speake with the ATHENIANS in their Senate, which was assembled in the hauen of PIRÆA: he went and hazarded his person amongst them, vpon *Phocions* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the king, being secretly aduertised thereof, and in the field, not far from the city, did what he could to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* hauing warning of it in time, saued himselfe. Then it appeared, that *Nicanor* would presently be reuenged of the citie, and they accused *Phocion* because he kept him not, but did let him go. Whereunto he answered: That he trusted *Nicanors* word, and that he did not think he would offer the city any hurt, but if it should fall out otherwise, he had rather the world should know, that he had the wrong offered him, then that he should offer any. This truly appeared to be nobly spoken, in respect of himselfe: but considering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the safetie of his countrey, I cannot tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to haue had to the safetie of his countrimen. Neither could he also alleage for his excuse, that he did not lay hands on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the city into manifest war: but that for a colour he did preferre the faith which he had sworne and promised vnto him, and the iustice that he would obserue in his behalfe: that for his sake, *Nicanor* shold afterwards keepe himselfe in peace, and do no hurt to the ATHENIANS. Howbeit in truth it seemed, that nothing deceiued *Phocion*: but the ouer trust he had in this *Nicanor*. The which seemeth to be so, because when diuers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he sought all the secret meanes he could to surprise the hauen of PIRÆA, and that he daily passed ouer souldiers in the Ile of SALAMINA, and practised to bribe certaine of the inhabitants within the precinct of the hauen: he wold neuer heare of it, and much lesse beleeue it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* LAMBRIAN made a motion, that the ATHENIANS should prepare to be in readinesse to wait vpon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commanded them: he made no account of it, vntill he saw *Nicanor* come out with his souldiers from the fort of MVNYCHIA, and that he began to cast trenches to compasse in the hauen of PIRÆA. But then, when *Phocion* thought to leade out the people to preuent him: he found

Cassander, king Antipaters sonne.

The vnfortunate end of Demades.

Polyperchon Generall of the army of the Macedonians.

Polyperchons conspiracie against Phocio.

Better to receiue then to offer an iniury.

found they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commaundement. In the meane time, *Alexander* the ſon of *Polyperchon* came with an armie, pretending to aide them of the citie against *Nicanor*, where indeed he meant (if he could) to get the reſt of the citie into his hands, then ſpecially, when they were in greateſt broile one againſt another, and the rather, becauſe the baniſhed men entred hand ouer head with him, and diuers ſtrangers alſo, & other defamed men: ſo that there was a confuſed councel and aſſembly of Omnigatherum kept within the citie, without any order, in the which *Phocion* was depriued of his office of Generall, and others were alſo choſen Captaines in his place. And had they not ſeene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the wals of the citie, which made the ATHENIANS afraid and miſtruſtfull, they had neuer ſaued it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was preſently accuſed of treaſon by the Oratour *Agnonides*: the which *Callimedon* and *Pericles* fearing, got them out of the citie betimes. And *Phocion* alſo with his friends that were not fled, went vnto *Polyperchon*: with whom alſo *Solon* PLATÆIAN, and *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN, went for companie, who thought to haue found friendſhip and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling ſick by the way, in the city of ELATIA, they ſtayed there many daies, hoping of his recouerie. But in the meane time, the people at the perſwaſion of the Orator *Agnonides*, and at the requeſt of *Archeſtratus*, ſtabliſhed a decree, to ſend Ambaſſadors vnto *Polyperchon*, to accuſe *Phocion*: inſomuch as both parties met at one ſelfe time, and found him in the field with the king about a village of the country of PHOCIDE, called PHARYGES, ſtanding at the foot of the mountaine Acrorion, which they ſurname alſo Galaten. There *Polyperchon* commaunded a cloth of gold to be ſet vp, and cauſed the king to be ſet vnder the ſame, and all his chiefeſt friends about him. But to begin withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commanded them to put him to death after they had racked him: then he willed the ATHENIANS to tell what they had to ſay. Then they beganne to quarrell, and to be loude one with another, accuſing one another in the preſence of the king and his councell: vntill *Agnonides* at length ſtepped foorth, and ſaid: My Lords of MACEDON, put vs all in priſon, and then ſend vs bound hands and feet to ATHENS, to giue account of our doings. The king laughed to heare him ſay ſo. But the Noblemen of MACEDON that were preſent then, and diuerſe ſtraungers beſides to heare their complaints, made ſigne to the Ambaſſadours to vtter their accuſations before the king, rather then to referre them to the hearing of the people at ATHENS. Howbeit both parties had not alike indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked vp *Phocion* oftentimes, and did ſtill cut off his tale, as he thought to purge himſelf: inſomuch as in anger, he beate his ſtaffe he had in his hand againſt the ground, and commaunded him at length to hold his peace, and to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* alſo told *Polyperchon*, that he himſelfe could beſt witneſſe, how *Phocion* had alwaies faithfully ſerued and loued the people: he angrily anſwered him, Come not hither to lye falſly vpon me in the preſence of the king. Therewith the king roſe out of his ſeat, and tooke a ſpeare in his hand, thinking to haue killed *Hegemon*, had not *Polyperchon* ſodainly embraced him behind, and ſtaid him. So the councell roſe, & brake vp, but preſently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that ſtood by him. Certaine of his friends ſeeing that, which ſtood further of, muffled their faces, and ſtraight conueyed themſelues away. The reſt were ſent priſoners to ATHENS by *Clitus*, not ſo much to haue their cauſes heard there, as to haue them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carying of them to ATHENS was ſhamefull. For they were caryed vpon cartes through the great ſtreete Ceramicum, vnto the Theater: where *Clitus* kept them, vntill the Senate had aſſembled the people, excepting no bondman, no ſtraunger, nor defamed perſon out of this aſſemblie, but left the Theater wide open to all commers in whatſoeuer they were, and the pulpit for Orations free for euery man that would ſpeake againſt them. So firſt of all, the kings letters were read openly, by the which he did aduertiſe the people, that he had found theſe offenders conuicted of treaſon: notwithſtanding, that he referred the ſentence of their condemnation vnto them, for that they were freemen. Then *Clitus* brought his priſoners before the people, where the Noblemen when they ſaw *Phocion*, were aſhamed, and hiding their faces, wept to ſee him. Howbeit, there was one that roſe vp and ſaid: My Lords, ſith the king referreth the iudgement of ſo great perſons vnto the people, it were great reaſon all the bondmen and ſtraungers which are no free citizens of ATHENS, ſhould be taken out of this aſſembly. The people would not agree to it, but cryed out, that ſuch traitors ſhould be ſtoned to death, that fauour the authoritie of a few, and are enemies of the people: whereupon ſilence was made, and no man durſt ſpeake any more

Alexander the ſonne of Polyperchon practiſeth treaſon againſt the Athenians.

Phocion accuſed of treaſon.

Polyperchon did put Dinarchus to death.

Phocion ſent priſoner to Athens to be condemned.

The furie of the Athenians againſt Phocion.

for *Phocion*. Neuertheles when *Phocion* with much a do had obtained audience, he asked them: My Lords, will ye iuſtly or wrongfully put vs to death? Some anſwered him, iuſtly. How then can ye do it, quoth he, that will not heare our iuſtifications? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* comming nearer, ſaid vnto them: For my ſelfe, my Lords, I confeſſe I haue done you wrong, and haue in gouernment committed faults deſeruing death: but for theſe priſoners with me, what haue they done, why you ſhould put them to death? The common people anſwered him: becauſe they are thy friends. With this anſwer *Phocion* departed, and ſpake neuer a word more. Then the Orator *Agnonides* holding a decree in his hand ready written, read it openly to the people, declaring how they ſhould be iudged by voyces, whether the offendors had deſerued death or not: and if it were found they had, then that they ſhould all be put to death. And there were that when this decree was read, cried out, that they ſhould adde further vnto the decree, that before *Phocion* ſhould be put to death, they ſhould firſt torment him: and therwithall commandement was giuen that the wheele ſhould be ſet vp to breake his ioynts vpon it, and alſo that the hangman ſhould be ſent for. But then *Agnonides* perceiuing that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking beſides it were too beaſtly and barbarous a part to vſe him in that ſort, he ſaid openly: My Lords, when you ſhall haue ſuch a varlet in your hands at CALLIMEDON, then you may caſt him on the wheele: but againſt *Phocion*, I would not wiſh ſuch crueltie. Then roſe vp a nobleman among them, and added to his words: Thou haſt reaſon to ſay ſo, *Agnonides*: for if *Phocion* ſhould be laid on the wheele, what ſhould we then do with thee? The decree being confirmed according to the contents thereof, iudgement was giuen by voyces of the people, no man ſitting but all ſtanding vp, and moſt of them with garlands on their heads, for the ioy they had to condemne theſe priſoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned, *Nicocles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pythocles*: but *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Callimedon* and *Charicles* were alſo in their abſence condemned to die. Now when the aſſembly was broken vp, and that the perſons condemned were caried backe to priſon, from thence to be conueyed to execution: others embracing their friends, and taking their laſt leaue of them as they went, wept, and lamented their curſed fortune. But *Phocion* looking as chearefully of it as he was wont to do being Generall, when they honorably waited on him to his houſe from the aſſembly: he made many of them pitie him in their hearts to conſider his conſtancie and noble courage. On the other ſide alſo, there were many of his enemies that came as neare vnto him as they could, to reuile him, amongſt whom there was one that ſtepped before him, and did ſpit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him vnto the Magiſtrates, ſaid: Will ye not cauſe this impudent fellow to leaue his railing? When they were in priſon, *Thudippus* ſeeing the hemlocke which they brayed in a morter to giue them to drinke: he began deſperatly to curſe and ban, ſaying, that they wrongully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, ſaid *Phocion* againe: and doeſt thou not rather reioyce to dye with me? When one that ſtood by asked *Phocion*, if he would any thing to his ſon *Phocus*: Yes, quoth he, that I will: bid him neuer reuenge the wrong the ATHENIANS do me. Then *Nicocles* one of *Phocions* deareſt friends, prayed him to let him drinke the poiſon before him. *Phocion* anſwered him, thy requeſt is grieuous to me, *Nicocles*: but becauſe I neuer denyed thee any thing in my life, I will alſo graunt thee this at my death. When all the reſt had drunke, there was no more poiſon left, and the hangman ſaid he would make no more, vnleſſe they gaue him twelue Drachmas, for ſo much the pound did coſt him. *Phocion* perceiuing then that the hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends vnto him, and prayed him to giue the hangman that litle money he demaunded, ſith a man cannot dye at ATHENS for nothing, without coſt. It was the ninteenth day of the moneth of Munichion, (to wit, March) on which day the knights were wont to make a ſolemne proceſſion in the honour of *Iupiter*: howbeit ſome of them left off the garlands of flowers which they ſhould haue worne on their heads, and others alſo looking towards the priſon doore as they went by, burſt out a weeping. For, they whoſe hearts were not altogether hardened with crueltie, and whoſe iudgements were not wholly ſuppreſſed with enuie, thought it a grieuous ſacrilcdge againſt the gods, that they did not let that day paſſe, but that they did defile ſo ſolemne a feaſt, with the violent death of a man. His enemies notwithſtanding, continuing ſtill their anger againſt him, made the people paſſe a decree, that his bodie ſhould be baniſhed, and caried out of the bounds of the countrie of ATTICA, forbidding the ATHENIANS that no fire ſhould be made for the ſolemnizing of his funerals. For this reſpect no friend of his durſt once touch his body. Howbeit a poore man called *Conopion*, that was wont to get his liuing

The crueltie of the Athenians vnto Phocion.

Phocion condemned to death.

The conſtancie and courage of Phocion, being condemned to die.

Phocion gaue money to be put to death.

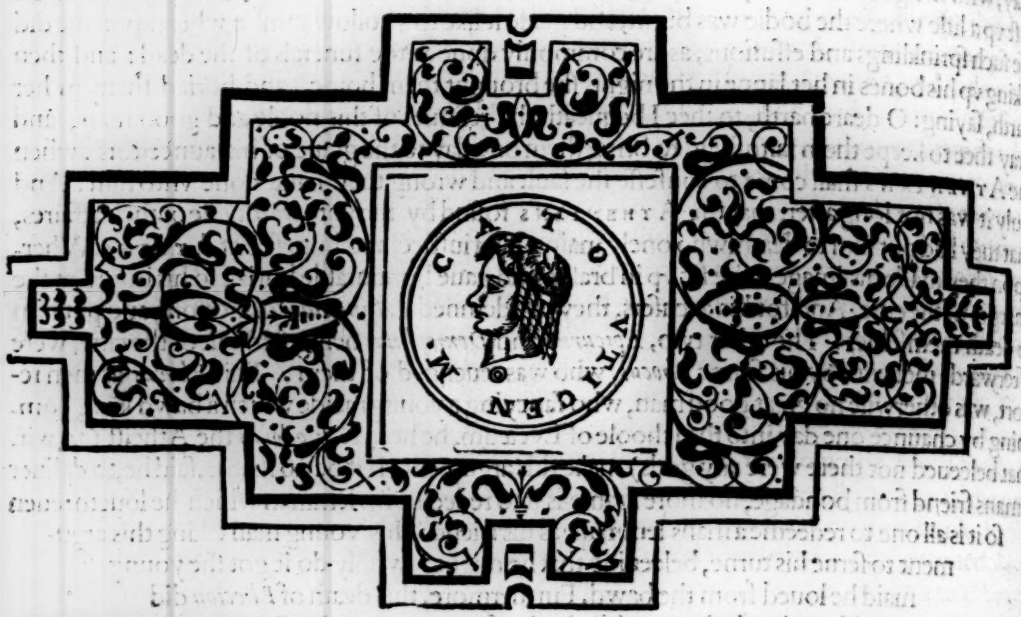
that

that way, being hired for money to burne mens bodies: he tooke his corse, and caried it beyond the citie of ELEVSIN, and getting fire out of a womans house of MEGARA, he solemnized his funerals. Furthermore, there was a gentlewoman of MEGARA, who comming by chaunce that way, with her gentlewomen, where his bodie was but newly burnt: she caused the earth to be cast vp a litle where the bodie was burnt, and made it like to a hollow tombe, whereupon she did vse such sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the funerals of the dead: and then taking vp his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her harth, saying: O deare harth, to thee I bequeath the reliques of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring them one day to the graue of his auncestors, when the ATHENIANS shall come to confesse the fault and wrong they haue done vnto him. And truly it was not long after, that the ATHENIANS found by the vntowardnesse of their affaires, that they had put him to death, who onely maintained iustice, and honestie at ATHENS. Wherupon they made his image to be set vp in brasse, and gaue honourable buriall to his bones, at the charges of the citie. And for his accusers, they condemned *Agnonides* of treason, and put him to death themselues. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the citie, were afterwards met with by his sonne *Phocus*, who was reuenged of them. This *Phocus* as men report, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young maide which a bawd kept, comming by chaunce one day into the schoole of Lycæum, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheist (to wit, that beleeued not there were any gods) make this argument: If it be no shame, said he, to deliuer a mans friend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his lemman which he loueth: euen so it is all one to redeeme a mans lemman, as his friend. This young man taking this argument to serue his turne, beleeuing that he might lawfully do it, got the young maid he loued from the bawd. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did also reuiue the lamentable death of *Socrates* vnto the GRECIANS: for men thought that it was a like hainous offence and calamity vnto the citie of ATHENS.

Phocions funerals.

The end of Phocions life.

THE LIFE OF *Cato Vtican.*



The parentage of Cato.

THE familie and houſe of *Cato* tooke his firſt glorie and name of his great grandfather, *Cato* the Cenſor: who for his vertue (as we haue declared in his life) was one of the famouſeſt and worthieſt men of Rome in his time. This *Cato* whome we now write of, was left an orphan by his father and mother, with his brother *Cæpio*, and *Porcia* his ſiſter. *Seruilia* was alſo *Catoes* halfe ſiſter by his mothers ſide. All theſe were brought vp with their Vncle *Liuius Druſus*, at that time the greateſt man of the citie: for he was paſſing eloquent, and very honeſt, and of as great a courage beſides, as any other Romaine. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood ſhewed himſelfe both in word and countenance, and alſo in all his paſtimes and recreations, very conſtant and ſtable. For he would go through with that he tooke vpon him to do, and would force himſelfe aboue his ſtrength: and as he could not away with flatterers, ſo was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh; and yet had euer a pleaſant countenance. He was not cholericke, nor eaſie to be angred: but when the bloud was vp, he was hardly pacified. When he was firſt put to ſchoole, he was very dull of vnderſtanding, and ſlow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would neuer forget it, as all men elſe cõmonly do. For ſuch as are quicke of conceipt, haue commonly the worſt memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, do keepe that better which they haue learned. For euery kind of learning is a motion and quickening of the mind. He ſeemed beſides not to be light of credit, and that may be ſome cauſe of his ſlowneſſe in conceipt. For truly he ſuffereth ſomewhat that learneth, and thereof it commeth, that they that haue leaſt reaſon to reſiſt, are thoſe which do giue lighteſt credit. For yong men are eaſilier perſwaded then old men, and the ſicke then the whole. And where a man hath leaſt reaſon for his doubts: there he is ſooneſt brought to beleeue any thing. This notwithſtanding, it is reported that *Cato* was obedient vnto his ſchoolemaiſter, and would do what he commaunded him: howbeit he would aske him ſtill the cauſe and reaſon of euery thing. Indeed his ſchoolemaiſter was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to ſtrike him with his fiſt. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the people of Italie which were confederates of the Romaines, ſued to be made free citizens of Rome. At that time it chaunced one *Pompedius Silo*, a valiant ſouldier, and of great eſtimation among the confederates of the Romaines, and a great friend beſides of *Druſus*, to be lodged many daies at his houſe. He in this time falling acquainted with theſe young boyes, ſaid one day vnto them: Good boyes, intreat your vncle to ſpeake for vs, that we may be made free citizens of Rome.

Liuius Druſus Catoes vncle.

Catoes maners.

VVhy quicke wits haue neuer good memory.

Sarpedo, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.

ROME. *Cæpio* ſmiling nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no anſwer, looked very wiſely vpon the ſtrangers that lay in the houſe. Then *Pompedius* taking him aſide, asked him: And thou, my pretie boy, what ſayeſt thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine vncle as well as thy brother, to be good to his gueſts? *Cato* ſtill held his peace and anſwered nothing, but ſhewed by his ſilence and looke, that he would not heare their requeſt. Then *Pompedius* taking him vp in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he wold haue let him haue gone: and ſpeaking more ſharply to him then he did before, he caſt him many times out of his armes without the window, and ſaid, Promiſe vs then, or elſe I will let thee fall. But *Cato* abid it a long time, and neuer quinched for it, nor ſhewed countenance of feare. Therupon *Pompedius* ſetting him downe againe, told his friends that ſtood by him: O what good hap doth this child promiſe one day vnto ITALIE, if he liue? Sure if he were a man, I beleeue we ſhould not haue one voice of al the people on our ſide. Another time there were ſome of *Catoes* neere kinſmen, that keeping the feaſt day of his birth, bad many young boyes to ſupper, and amongſt others this *Cato*. The boyes to occupie themſelues till ſupper was ready, gathered themſelues together great and ſmall, into ſome priuate place of the houſe. Their play was, counterfeiting pleadings before the Iudges, accuſing one another, and carying them that were condemned to priſon. Amongſt them a goodly young boy was caried by a bigger boy into a litle chamber, bound as a condemned perſon. The boy perceiuing he was locked vp, cryed out vnto *Cato*: who miſtruſting what it was, went ſtraight to the chamber dore, and putting them by by force that withſtood him to come vnto it, he took out the young boy, and caried him very angrily with him to his owne houſe, and all the other yong boies followed him alſo. So *Cato* had ſuch name among the young boyes, that when *Sylla* made the game of yong boyes running a horſebacke, which the ROMAINES call Troia: to appoint thē before that they might be ready at the day of the ſhew, he hauing gotten all the young boies of noble houſes together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the boyes tooke the one, becauſe of his mother *Metella*, which was the wife of *Sylla*: but they would none of the other called *Sextus*, who was nephew to *Pompey* the Great, neither would they be exerciſed vnder him, nor follow him. Wherefore *Sylla* asked them, which of them they would haue: they all cryed then *Cato*, and *Sextus* himſelfe did willingly giue him the honor, as the worthier of both. *Sylla* was their fathers friend, and therefore did ſend for them many times to come vnto him, and he would talke with them: the which kindnes he ſhewed to few men, for the maieſty & great authority he had. *Sarpedo* alſo (*Catoes* ſchoolemaiſter) thinking it a great preferment and ſafety for his ſcholers, did commonly bring *Cato* vnto *Syllaes* houſe, to wait vpon him: the which was rather like vnto a iayle or priſon, for the great number of priſoners which were daily brought thither, and put to death. *Cato* being then but fourteen yeares of age, and perceiuing that there were many heads brought which were ſaid to be of great men, and that euery bodie ſighed and mourned to ſee them: he aſked his ſchoolemaiſter, how it was poſſible the tyrant ſcaped, that ſome one or other killed him not? Becauſe, quoth *Sarpedo*, that all men feare him, more then they hate him. Why then, replyed *Cato* again, didſt thou not giue me a ſword that I might kill him, to deliuer my country of this ſlauery and bondage? *Sarpedo* hearing the boy ſay ſo, and ſeeing his countenance and eyes on fire with choler, he maruelled much at it, and afterwards had a very good eye vnto him, leſt raſhly he ſhould attempt ſomething againſt *Sylla*. When he was but a litle boy, ſome asked him whom he loued beſt? My brother, ſaid he. Then the other continuing ſtill to aske him, and who next? he anſwered likewiſe, his brother. Then the third time againe, likewiſe his brother. Till at length he that asked him, was wearie with asking him ſo oft. Yea and when he was come of age alſo, he then confirmed the loue he bare to his brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he neuer ſupped without his brother *Cæpio*, neither went he euer out of his houſe into the market place, nor into the fields without him: but when his brother did noint himſelfe with ſweet oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things elſe, he led a ſtreight and hard life. So that his brother *Cæpio* being commended of euery man for his temperance, honeſtie, and ſober life: he graunted in deede that in reſpect of others, he led a ſober and temperate life: but when I do (ſaid he) compare my life with my brother *Catoes*, me thinkes then there is no difference betwixt me and *Sippius*. This *Sippius* was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that *Cato* was once choſen *Apolloes* Prieſt, he went from his brother, and tooke his portion of the goods of his father, which amounted to the ſum of an hundred and twentie talents. Then he liued more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintance

Catoes auſteritie.

The maruellous conſtancie of Cato when he was a child.

Syllaes loue vnto Cato being but a boy.

Catoes hate being a boy againſt a tyrāt.

Catoes loue to his brother.

Antipater the Stoicke, Catoes ſchoolemaiſter.

with *Antipater* TYRIAN, a Stoicke Philoſopher, and gaue himſelfe chiefly vnto the ſtudie of morall and ciuill Philoſophie, embracing all exerciſe of vertue with ſuch an earneſt deſire, that it ſeemed he was prickt forward by ſome god: but aboue all other vertues, he loued the ſeuerity of iuſtice, which he would not wreſt for any gift nor fauour. He ſtudied alſo to be eloquent, that he might ſpeake openly before the people, becauſe he would there ſhould be certaine warlike forces entertained in ciuill Philoſophie, as alſo in a great citie. Notwithſtanding, he would not exerciſe it before any bodie, neither would he euer haue any man to heare him ſpeake when he did learne to ſpeake. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did miſlike he ſpake ſo litle in companie: It skilleth no matter, quoth he, ſo they cannot reproue my life, for I will begin to ſpeake, when I can ſay ſomething worthie to be ſpoken. Hard by the market place there was the common pallace or towne houſe of the citie, called Baſilica Porcia, the which *Porcius Cato* the elder had built, in the time of his Cenſorſhip. There the Tribunes were wont to keepe their audience: and becauſe there was a pillar that troubled their ſeates, they would either haue taken it away, or elſe haue ſet it in ſome other place. That was the firſt cauſe that made *Cato* againſt his will to go into the market place, and to get vp into the pulpit for orations, to ſpeake againſt them: where hauing giuen this firſt proofe of his eloquence and noble mind, he was maruellouſly eſteemed of. For his oration was not like a young man, counterfeiting fineneſſe of ſpeech and affectation, but ſtout, full of wit and vehemencie: and yet in the ſhortneſſe of his ſentences, he had ſuch an excellent grace withall, that he maruellouſly delighted the hearers: and furthermore, ſhewing in nature a certaine grauity beſides, it did ſo pleaſe them, that he made them laugh. He had a very ful and audible voyce that might be heard of a maruellous number of people, and ſuch a ſtrong nature beſides, that he neuer fainted, nor brake his ſpeech: for many times he would ſpeake a whole day together, and was neuer weary. So when he had obtained his cauſe againſt the Tribunes, he returned againe to keepe his former great ſilence, and to harden his body with painefull exerciſes, as to abide heate, froſt, and ſnow bare headed, and alwaies to go a foot in the field, where his friends that did accompanie him rode a horſebacke, and ſomtime he would come and talke with one, ſometime with another, as he went a foot by them. He had a wonderfull patience alſo in his ſickneſſe: for when he had any ague, he would be alone all day long, and ſuffer no man to come and ſee him, vntill he perceiued his fit was off him, and that he found he was better. When he ſupped with his friends and familiars, they drew lots who ſhould chuſe their parts. If he chanced not to chuſe, his friends notwithſtanding gaue him the preferment to chuſe: but he refuſed it, ſaying it was no reaſon, ſith the goddeſſe *Venus* was againſt him. At the firſt he did not vſe to ſit long at the table, but after he had drunke one draught onely, he would ſtraight riſe. But when he came to be elder, he ſate long at the table: ſo that oftentimes he would ſit it out all night with his friends, till the next morning. But they ſeeking to excuſe it, ſayd, that his great buſineſſe and affaires in the commonwealth was the cauſe of it: for following that all the day long, hauing no leyſure nor time to ſtudie, when night came he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philoſophers at the boord. Wherefore when *Memmius* on a time being in companie, ſayed, that *Cato* did nothing but drinke all night: *Cicero* taking his tale out of his mouth, anſwered him, Thou doeſt not adde this vnto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dice. To be ſhort, *Cato* thinking that the manners and faſhions of mens liues in his time were ſo corrupt, and required ſuch great chaunge and alteration, that to go vprightly, he was to take a contrarie courſe in all things: therfore when he ſaw that purple, red, & the lighteſt colors were beſt eſteemed of, he in contrarie manner deſired to weare blacke. And many times alſo after dinner he wold go abroad bare footed without ſhooes, and without any gowne: not becauſe he would be wondered at for any ſuch ſtrangeneſſe, but to acquaint himſelfe to be aſhamed only of ſhameleſſe and diſhoneſt things, and to deſpiſe thoſe which were not reproued, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, land being left him to the value of an hundred talents by the death of a couſin of his, that likewiſe was called *Cato*: he put it all into readie money, to lend to his friends that lacked, and without vſurie. And there were ſome of his friends alſo that would morgage his land, or his ſlaues, to the chamber of the citie, for their owne priuate buſineſſe: the which he himſelfe would either giue them to morgage, or elſe afterwards confirme the morgage of them. Furthermore, when he was come of age to marie, hauing neuer knowne woman before, he was made ſure to *Lepida*. This *Lepida* had bene precontracted vnto *Metellus Scipio*: but afterwards the precontract being broken, he forſooke her, ſo that ſhe was free, when *Cato* was contracted to her.

Catoes act for Baſilica Porcia.

Catoes exerciſes.

Catoes drinking.

Ciceroes ſaying of Cato.

Catoes maniages.

Not-

Notwithstanding, before *Cato* maried her, *Scipio* repenting him that he had refused her, made all the meanes he could to haue her againe: and so he had. *Cato* tooke it so grieuously, that he thought to go to law for her: but his friends disswaded him from it. Then seeing no other remedie, to satisfie his angry mind, he wrote verses against *Scipio*, in the which he reuiled him all he could: vsing the bitter taunts of *Archilocus* verses, but not such impudent, lewde, and childish reproaches as be there. After that he maried *Attilia*, *Soranus* daughter, being the first woman he euer knew: yet not the onely woman whome he did know, as is reported of *Lælius*, *Scipioes* friend, who therein was counted the happier, because all that long time wherein he liued, he neuer knew other woman but his first wife. Furthermore, in the warre of the bondmen (otherwise called *Spartacus* warre) one *Gellius* was chosen Prætor of the armie, vnder whom *Cato* serued of his owne good will, for the loue he bare vnto his brother *Capio*, who in that armie had charge of a thousand footemen. Now *Cato* could not as he wished, shew his valiantnes and good seruice, because of the insufficiencie of the Prætor that gaue ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the midst of all the ryot and insolencie of them in the campe, he shewing himselfe a stayed man in all his doings, valiant where need was, and very wise also: all men esteemed him to be nothing inferiour vnto *Cato* the elder. Whereupon *Gellius* the Prætor gaue him many honours in token of his valiantnesse, which are giuen in reward of mens good seruice: howbeit *Cato* refused them, and sayd, that he was nothing worthie of those honours. These things made him to be thought a maruellous straunge man. Furthermore, when there was a law made, forbidding all men that sued for any office in the commonwealth, that they should haue no prompters in any of the assemblies, to blow into their eares the names of priuate citizens: he alone making sute to be Colonell of a thousand footmen, was obedient to the law, and committed all the priuate citizens names to memorie, to speake vnto euery one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was enuied euen of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praiseworthie, by so much more were they grieued, for that they could not follow them. So *Cato* being chosen Colonell of a thousand footmen, he was sent into MACEDON, vnto *Rubrius*, Prætor there. Some say, that at his departure from thence, his wife lamenting, and weeping to see him go: one *Munatius* a friend of his said vnto her: Take no thought *Attilia*, and leaue weeping, for I promise thee I will keepe thy husband for thee. It is well said, answered *Cato*. Then when they were a daies iourney from ROME, *Cato* after supper said vnto this *Munatius*: Thou must looke well to thy promise thou hast made *Attilia*, that thou wouldst keepe me for her, and therfore forsake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commanded his men that from thencefoorth they should prepare two beds in his chamber, that *Munatius* also might lye there: who was rather pleasantly himselfe looked vnto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fifteen slaues with him, two freemē, and foure of his friends, which rode, & he himself went a foot: somtime talking with one, otherwhile with another as he went. When he came to the campe, where there were many legions of the ROMAINES, the Prætor immediatly gaue him charge of one of thē: who thinking it smal honor to him for himself only to be valiant, sith he was but one man, he practised to make all his souldiers vnder him, like vnto himselfe. The which he did not by feare & terror, but by lenity and gentle perswasion, training and instructing thē in euery point what they should do: adding to his gentle instruction and perswasions, reward to those that did well, and punishment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to iudge, whether he had made them more quiet, then warlike: more valiant, then iust. So dreadfull they shewed themselues to their enemies, and curteous to their friends: fearefull to do euill, and ready to win honor. Wherof followed that which *Cato* least accounted of, that is, he wan fame and goodwil: for his souldiers did greatly honour and loue him, because he himselfe would euer first set his hand to any thing he commanded them, and because also both in his diet, in his apparell, and in any iourney or paines, he was rather like vnto the meaneſt soldier, then any of the other Captaines. In contrary manner also, in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he far exceeded all the other Colonels and Captaines. For the true loue of vertue, (to wit, the desire to follow it) taketh no roote in mens minds, vnlesse they haue a singular loue and reuerence vnto the person, whom they desire to follow. When *Cato* vnderstood that *Athenodorus* surnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the city of PERGAMVS, being a very old man, and one that stiffely refused the friendship of kings, princes, and noblemen, desirous to haue him about them: to write to him, he thought it was but lost labor. Wherfore hauing two months liberty by

Attilia, Catoes wife.

Lælius mariage.

Catoes first soldier-fare in the war of the bondmen.

Cato chosen Tribunus militum.

How Cato trained his men, and made them valiant.

The loue of vertue from whence it proceedeth.

Athenodorus the Stoicke, Catoes friend.

the lawes of the ROMAINES, to follow his owne affaires: he tooke sea, and went into ASIA to him, hoping he should not lose his iourny, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of diuerse matters together: at length he brought him from his first determination, and caried him to the campe with him, esteeming this victorie more, then all the conquests of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the most part of all the prouinces and realmes of the East parts of the world. In the meane time, whilst he lay at his charge in the camp, being Colonell of a thousand footemen: his brother preparing to go into ASIA, fell sicke in the citie of ÆNVS, in the countrey of THRACIA. *Cato* hauing speedie intelligence thereof, tooke sea presently, when it was maruellous rough and boisterous, and imbarked in a litle crayer of a merchants of THESSALIE, with two of his friends, and three bondmen only, and did escape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arriued safely, a litle after his brother *Cæpios* death. He tooke his death more sorrowfully then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, embracing the dead corps of his brother: but also for the exceeding charge and sumptuous funerals, which he bestowed vpon him, in perfumes, sweet sauours, and sumptuous silkes that were burnt with his bodie: and furthermore, in the stately tombe of THRACIAN marble which he made for him, and set vp in the market place of the ÆNIANS, that cost eight talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that *Cato* bestowed, considering the modesty and temperance he vsed in all things else, not regarding with iudgement his tender loue and affection towards his kinsmen, which was mingled in him with his seuerity and hardnesse, against all voluptuousnesse, feare, and shamelesse requests. Diuers cities, Princes and Noblemen sent him many sundry presents, to honour the funerals of his brother *Cæpio*: howbeit he tooke no money of all thē, sauing only spices, and sweet sauours, and such other ornaments, as honored the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, vnto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the land that fell vnto him, and a litle daughter of his, by the death of his brother: notwithstanding, the charge he had bene at in his funerals, he did not recken it in the partition of the land, betwixt him and his brother *Cæpioes* daughter. All the which things when they were solemnized, some* write notwithstanding, that he did cleanse the imbers where his brothers bodie had bene burnt, through a siue or riddle, where through they cleanse corne, & all to get out the gold & siluer that was molten there: but such thinke that their writings should be as far frō controlment, as their doings. So when *Catoes* time of his charge was expired, they did accompanie him at his departure, not only with ordinary praises, vowes, & prayers to the gods for his health: but with embracings, teares, and maruellous lamentations of the souldiers, which spred their garments on the ground as he went, & kissing of his hands, which honor the ROMAINS did but to very few of their generals. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to ROME to deale in the affaires there, to go & see ASIA, partly to be an eye-witnesse of the maners, customs, and power of euery prouince as he went: and partly also to satisfie king *Deiotarus* request, who hauing bene his fathers friend, had earnestly intreated him to come & see him: he went the iorny, and vsed it in this sort. First, by peepe of day, he sent his baker and cooke before, where he meant to lye that night. They coming soberly into the city or village, inquired if there were none of *Catoes* friends & acquaintance there, & if they found none, then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Gouernours of the towne, & prayed them to helpe thē to lodging, & did content thēselues with the first that was offered thē. Oftentimes the towns men did not beleeue they were *Catoes* men, & made no account of thē: becausse they took all things so quietly, & made no ado with the officers. Insomuch as *Cato* somtime came himself, & found nothing ready for him, & when he was come, they made as smal account of him, seeing him set vpon his cariages, and speake neuer a word: for they tooke him for some meane man, and a timerous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them vnto him, and told them: O poore men, learne to be more courteous to receiue trauelling ROMAINES that passe by you, and looke not alwaies to haue *Catoes* to come vnto you: and therefore see that you vse them with such courtesie and entertainement, that they may bridle the authoritie they haue ouer you: for you shall find many that will desire no better colour nor occasion by force to take from you that they would haue: becausse you vnwillingly also do graunt them the things they would, and neede. There is a report of a pretie ieast happened him in SYRIA. When he came to ANTIOCH, he found a great number of people deuided on either side of the street, standing a row one by another very decently: the yong men by thēselues in faire clokes, boies by themselues in seemely

The death of Cæpio, Catoes brother.

Catoes mourning for his brother Cæpios death.

**It seemeth to be meant of Cæsar, which wrote the booke called Anticaton.*

Catoes iourney into Asia.

Catoes modestie.

A laughing matter hapned vnto Cato.

seemely array, and priests and other officers of the city also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. *Cato* thought straight they had made this solemne procession to honor him, and fell out with his men he had sent before, because they did suffer them to make such preparation for his coming. So he made his friends light from their horses, and go a foote to accompany him. But when they came neare to the gate of the city, the maister of these ceremonies that had assembled all that company (an old man, hauing a rod in his hand, and a crowne on his head) came to *Cato* without saluting of him, and asked him only, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he wold come. This *Demetrius* had bene one of *Pompeys* slaues, and because *Pompeys* fame was great with all men, his seruant *Demetrius* also was much honored and made of aboue his desert, for that he was in great credite with *Pompey*. *Catoes* friends hearing what question the old man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this procession. *Cato* being ashamed of it, said no more then: but, O vnfortunate city! Afterwards notwithstanding, when he told it to any body, he wold laugh at it himselfe. But *Pompey* rebuked them, that through ignorance had failed to honor *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the city of EPHESVS, and was comming towards *Pompey* to salute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignitie and estimation then he, who at that time also was Generall of a great and puissant army: *Pompey* seeing him coming towards him a far off, would not tary till he came to him, sitting in his chaire of estate, but rising vp went to meet him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of ROME, & taking him by the hand, after he had embraced and welcomed him, he presently fell in praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also cõmended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereupon, euery man after that had him in great veneration for those things which before they despised in him, when they considered better of his noble and curteous mind. For men that saw *Pompeys* entertainment towards him, knew well enough that *Cato* was a man which he rather reuerenced, and for a kind of dutie obserued, more then for any loue he bare him: & they noted further, that he honored him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he sought to keep back all the young gentlemen of ROME that went to see him, and desired them to remaine with him: but for *Cato*, he was nothing desirous of his cõpany, for that in his presence he thought he could not command as he would, and therfore was willing to let him go, recõmending his wife & his children to him, the which he neuer did before vnto any other ROMAINE that returned to ROME: howbeit indeed *Cato* was partly allyed vnto him. After that time, all the cities whereby he passed, deuised (in emulation one of the other) which of them should honor him most, and made him great feasts and banquets: in the which he prayed his friends to haue an eye to him, lest vnwares he should proue *Curioes* words true. For *Curio* somtime being his friend, & a familiar of his, misliking notwithstanding his seuerity: asked *Cato* if he wold go see ASIA, when his charge were expired. *Cato* answered againe, that it was his full determination. O well said, quoth *Curio*, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleasant and ciuill. And these were *Curioes* words. Furthermore, *Deiotarus* king of GALATIA, being a very old man, sent for *Cato* to come into his countrey to recõmend his sons and house vnto him: who when he arriued there, had great rich presents of all sorts offered him by the king, intreating him all he could to take them. This so much misliked and angred *Cato*, that he coming thither in the euening, (after he had taried there one whole day only) the next morning he went his way frõ thence at the third houre. Howbeit he had not gone one daies iourney, but he found greater gifts that taried him, with *Deiotarus* letters, at the city of PESSINVNTA: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them himselfe, that then he would let them be deuided amongst his friends, sith euery way they did deserue it, but specially for his sake, for that his goods also were not so great, as could content all his friends. But *Cato* would not suffer them to take any iot of it more then before, although he saw well enough that there were some of them so tender harted, that they complained of him, for that he would not suffer them to take any of it. For he told thẽ, that otherwise, corruption & briberie could lacke no honest colour to take: and for his friends, they should alwaies haue part with him of that which was his own iustly. So he returned king *Deiotarus* presents backe againe. Now when he was ready to imbarke, to passe ouer the sea againe vnto BRVNDVSIVM: some of his friends perswaded him, that it was better to put the ashes of his brother *Capioes* bones into another shippe. But he aunswered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leaue his brothers reliques. Thereupon he presently hoisted saile, and it is reported that he passed ouer in great daunger, where other shippes arriued very safely. When he was returned vnto ROME, he

Demetrius a slaue, great with Pompey.

Cato honored of Pompey in Asia.

Pompey rather suspected Cato, then loued him.

Catos iourney vnto king Deiotarus, and his abstinence from gifts.

was alwaies either talking Philoſophie with *Athenodorus* the Philoſopher, or elſe in the market place to pleaſure his friends. When his turne came that he was to make ſute to be Quæſtor, he would neuer ſue for it, before he had firſt diligently peruſed all the ordinances touching the office of Quæſtor,, and that he had particularly made enquirie of men of greateſt experience to know what the authoritie of the office was. So he no ſooner came to his office, but he preſently made great alteration amongſt the Clearkes and Officers of the treaſurie: who hauing the lawes and records in their hands, and exerciſing the office commonly vnder young men which were choſen Treaſurers (who for their ignorance and lacke of experience, ſtood rather in neede of maiſters to teach them, then that they were able to correct others) they themſelues were the officers, and controlled them. But *Cato* not contenting himſelfe with the name and honour of the thing, did throughly vnderſtand what the Clearkes and Regiſters ſhould be, and therefore would haue them to be as they ought to be, miniſters vnder the Quæſtors onely, telling them of their briberie and corruption which they committed, and reformed them alſo that faulted through ignorance. And when he ſaw ſome inſolent and impudent perſons, that curried fauour with other treaſurers to be againſt him: he cauſed the chiefeſt of them to be condemned for falſhood, in making diuiſion betwixt two coheires, and conſequently turned him cleare out of his office, for euer doing any thing there any more. He accuſed another alſo for forging of a Will, whom *Catulus Luctatius* defending, being then Cenſor, and a man of great honour for the dignitie of his office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the iuſteſt man one of them in his time at Rome, and one of thoſe alſo that highly commended *Cato*, and was conuerſant with him for his honeſt life: when he perceiued that he could not defend his man by no reaſon, he prayed them at his requeſt that they would pardon him. But *Cato* would in no wiſe grant it. But *Catulus* earneſtly intreating ſtill for him: then *Cato* plainly ſaid vnto him: It is ſhame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art Cenſor, and ſhouldeſt reforme all our liues, thus to forget the dutie of thine office, to pleaſe our miniſters. *Catulus* looking at *Cato* when he had ſpoken, as though he would anſwer him: whether it were for ſhame or anger, he went his way, and ſaid neuer a word more. Yet was not the partie condemned, though there was one voice more that did condemne then cleare him, becauſe of the abſence of one of the Iudges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of *Catoes* colleagues in the Quæſtorſhip, being ſicke at that time, and abſent, *Catulus* ſent vnto him, to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereupon *Lollius* being brought thither in a litter, after iudgement giuen, gaue his laſt voice, which abſolutely cleared him. *Cato*, this not withſtanding, would neuer vſe him as a Clearke, nor pay him his wages, nor would count of *Lollius* voyce among others. Thus hauing pulled downe the pride and ſtomacke of theſe Clearkes, and brought them vnto reaſon: in ſhort time he had al the tables and records at his commandement, and made the Treaſure chamber as honourable as the Senate it ſelfe: ſo that euery man thought, and ſaid, that *Cato* had added vnto the Quæſtorſhip the dignitie of the Conſulſhip. For finding diuers men indebted before vnto the commonwealth, and the commonwealth alſo vnto diuers men: he ſet downe ſuch an order, that neither the commonwealth ſhould be deceiued by any man, nor that any man alſo ſhold haue wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the chamber, he compelled them to pay their debt, and willingly and quickly alſo payed them to whom the chamber ought any thing: ſo that the people were aſhamed to ſee ſome pay which neuer thought to haue payed any thing, and on the contrary ſide alſo others payd, which neuer looked to haue had any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, diuers men did before make falſe bils of their debts, and brought thē ſo to be put into the coffer of the Quæſtors: and many times alſo his predeceſſors were wont of fauor & friendſhip to receiue falſe meſſages. But whil ſt he was Quæſtor, he neuer did paſſe away matters ſo lightly. For one day, he being doubtful of a meſſage that was ſent vnto him, to know whether it was true or no: albeit diuers men did witnes it was true, yet would he not beleeue it, vntill ſuch time as the Conſuls themſelues came in their owne perſons to iuſtifie it was true, and to ſweare, that it was ſo ordained. Now there were many vnto whom *Lucius Sylla* (being Dictator) had appointed in his ſecond proſcription twelue thouſand ſiluer Drachmas for euery citizen and outlawe which they had ſlaine with their owne hands. Theſe men, though euery man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked people and cruell murtherers: yet no man durſt offer to be reuenged of them. *Cato* called theſe men in ſute, as thoſe that did wrongfully detaine the money of the common treaſure, and compelled thē to repay it backe againe: ſharpely reprouing (and iuſtly) the wicked diuelliſh fact they had committed.

Cato made Quæſtor.

Catulus Luctatius what he was.

Cato made the Quæſtorſhip of great dignitie.

Cato was reuenged of Sylaes bloudy murther.

committed. So when they had repayed the money, they were ſtraight accuſed by others for murder: and as if they had bene wrongfully condemned by one iudgement, they were brought into another, to the great ioy of all the ROMAINES, who then thought they ſaw all the tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* himſelfe puniſhed. Beſides all this, *Catoes* continuall paines and care of the treaſure, was ſo well thought of, and liked of the people as could be. For he was alwayes the firſt that came to the coffer of the treaſurers, and alſo the laſt that went from thence, and was neuer weary of any paines. Furthermore, he neuer miſſed to be at any aſſembly of the people or Senate, fearing, and being alwayes carefull, leaſt lightly by fauour, any money due to the common wealth ſhould be forgiuen: or elſe that they ſhould abate the rent of the farmers, or that they ſhould giue no money but to them that had iuſtly deſerued it. Thus hauing ridde all accuſers, and alſo filled the coffers with treaſure: he made men ſee, that the commonwealth might be rich, without oppreſſing of any man. Indeed at his firſt comming into the office his colleagues and companions found him maruellous troubleſome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and ſeuere: howbeit they all loued him in the end, becauſe he onely withſtood the complaints and cries of all men againſt them (which complained that they would not for any mans reſpect or fauour let go the money of the common treaſure) and was contented his companions ſhould excuſe themſelues vnto their friends that were importunate, and lay the fault vpon him, ſaying, that it was vnpoſſible for them to bring *Cato* vnto it. The laſt day that he went out of his office, being very honourably brought home to his houſe by the people: it was told him that *Marcellus*, being in the treaſure chamber, was attempted and enuironed with many of his friends, and men of great authoritie, that were earneſtly in hand with him to record a certaine gift of money, as a thing that had bene due by the commonwealth. This *Marcellus* had bene *Catoes* friend euen from their childhood, and whileſt *Cato* was in office, he did orderly execute his office with him: but when he was left alone, he was of ſo gentle a nature, that he would eaſily be intreated, and was as much aſhamed to deny any man, as he was alſo ouer-ready to graunt euery man that he required. *Cato* ſtraight returned backe vpon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yeelded vnto their importunacy, and recorded the gift: he cauſed the bookes to be brought vnto him, and did raze it out before his face, *Marcellus* ſpeaking neuer a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought *Cato* home, and neuer once repined againſt that he had done, neither then, nor at any time after, but continued ſtill friendſhip with him, as he had done before. But now, though *Cato* was out of his office of Quæſtor, he was not without ſpials of his men in the treaſure chamber: who marked alwayes, and wrote what was done and paſſed in the treaſury. And *Cato* himſelfe hauing bought the bookes of account for the ſumme of fiue talents, containing the reuenew of the whole ſtate of the common wealth, from *Syllaes* time vntill the very yeare of his Quæſtorſhip: he euer had them about him, and was the firſt man that came to the Senate and the laſt that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarying long before they came, he went and ſate downe in a corner by himſelfe, and read cloſely the booke he had vnder his gowne, clapping his gowne before it, and would neuer be out of the city on that day when he knew the Senate ſhould aſſemble. After that, *Pompey* and his conſorts perceiuing that it was vnpoſſible to compell *Cato*, and much leſſe to win or corrupt him, to fauor their vniuſt doings, they ſought what meanes they could to keepe him from comming to the Senate, and defending certaine of his friends cauſes, and to occupy him ſome other wayes about matters of arbiterment. But *Cato* finding their wiles and craft, to encounter them, he told his friends once for all, whom he would pleaſure: that when the Senate did ſit, no mans cauſe could make him be abſent from thence. For he came not to ſerue the common wealth to enrich himſelfe as many did, neither for any glory or reputation, nor yet at all aduenture: but that he had aduiſedly choſen to ſerue the common wealth, like a iuſt and honeſt man, and therefore thought himſelfe bound to be as carefull of his duty, as the Bee working her waxe in the hony combe. For this reſpect therefore, to performe his dutie the better, by the meanes of his friends which he had in euery prouince belonging to the Empire of ROME: he got into his hands the copies of all the chiefeſt acts, edicts, decrees, ſentences, and the notableſt iudgements of the gouernours that remained in record. Once *Cato* perceiuing that *Publius Clodius* a ſeditious Orator amongſt the people, did make great ſtirre, and accuſed diuerſe vnto the aſſembly, as the Prieſts and Veſtall Nunnes among the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Ciceroes* wiues ſiſter was accuſed, he taking their cauſe in hand, did ſo diſgrace *Clodius* their accuſer, that he

Catoes care and integrity to the common-wealth.

Catoes mind and determination ta take charge in the common-wealth.

Cato draue Clodius out of Rome.

was driuen to flie the city. *Cicero* therefore giuing *Cato* thankes, *Cato* told him, that he muſt thanke the common wealth, not him, for whoſe ſake onely he both ſayd and did that he had done. Hereby *Cato* wanne him great fame. For when a certaine Orator or common counſellor preferred one witneſſe vnto the Iudges, the counſellor on the other ſide told them, that one witneſſe was not to be credited, though it were *Cato* himſelfe. Inſomuch as the people tooke it vp for a prouerbe among them, that when any man ſpake any ſtrange and vnlikely matter, they would ſay: Nay, though *Cato* himſelfe ſayd it, yet were it not to be beleeued. When on a time a certaine prodigall man had made a long oration in the Senate, in praiſe and commendation of ſobriety, temperance, and thriftineſſe: one *Amnæus* a Senator riſing vp, ſayd vnto him, Alas, friend, what thinkeſt thou? who can abide to heare thee any longer with patience: that fareſt at thy table like *Craſſus*, buildeſt like *Lucullus*, and ſpeakeſt to vs like *Cato*? So men cõmonly (in ſport) called them *Catoes*, which were graue and ſeuere in their words, and diſſolute in their deeds. When diuerſe of his friends were in hand with him to ſue to be Tribune of the people, he told them he thought it not meete at that time: for ſuch an office (quoth he) of ſo great authority as that, is not to be imployed, but like a ſtrong medicine in time of need. So, the tearme and matters of law ceaſſing for that time, *Cato* went into the country of Lvca to take his pleaſure there, where he had pleaſant houſes: and tooke with him both his bookes and Philoſophers to keepe him company. But, meeting as he went, with diuerſe ſumpters and great cariage, and a great traine of men beſides, he asked them whoſe cariage it was: they told him it was *Metellus Nepos* that returned to Rome, to make ſute to be Tribune. Thereupon *Cato* ſtayed ſuddenly, and bethinking himſelfe commanded his men to returne backe againe. His friends maruelling at it, he anſwered them: Do not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of himſelfe, for his raſhneſſe and folly? and now that he commeth inſtructed by *Pompey*, like a lightning he would ſet all the common-wealth a fire? for this cauſe therefore, we muſt not now go take our pleaſure in the countrey, but ouercome his folly, or otherwiſe die honourably in defence of our libertie. Yet at his friends perſwaſions, he went firſt vnto his houſe in the countrey, and taried not long there, but returned ſtraight againe to Rome. When he came thither ouernight, the next morning betimes he went into the market place, and ſued to be Tribune of the people, purpoſely to croſſe *Metellus* enterpriſe, becauſe the power and authoritie of the Tribune conſiſteth more in hindering, then doing any thing: for if all men elſe were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were againſt it, the Tribune would carie it from them all. *Cato* at the firſt had not many of his friends about him, but when they heard of his intent, why he made ſute for the Tribuneſhip, all his friends and Noblemen ſtraight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and encouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to ſerue the common wealth, then his owne turne, conſidering, that where many times before he might (without reſiſtance or deniall) haue obtained the ſame, the ſtate being toward no trouble, he then would neuer ſue for it, but now that he ſaw it in danger, where he was to fight for the common wealth, and the protection of her libertie. It is reported that there was ſuch a number of people about him to fauour his ſute, that he was like to haue bene ſtifled among them, and thought he ſhould neuer haue come to the market place, for the preaſſe of people that ſwarmed about him. Thus when he was choſen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceiued how they bought and ſold the voices of the people when the Conſuls were choſen: whereupon he made an oration, and ſharply tooke them vp for this deteſtable marchandiſe, and after his oration ended, ſolemnly proteſted by oath: that he wold accuſe him, & bewray his name, which had giuen mony to be choſen Conſull. Howbeit he ſpake nothing of *Syllanus*, whoſe ſiſter *Seruilia* he had maried: but he flatly accuſed *Lucius Murena*, that had obtained to be Cõſull with *Syllanus*, by meanes of his mony. Now a law being prouided, that the party accuſed might haue a keeper or ſpiall to follow the accuſer, to ſee what he would accuſe the party with, that he might the better be able to defend himſelfe, knowing what ſhould be obiected againſt him. *Murena* hauing one for him to waite vpon *Cato*, to cõſider throughly what courſe he tooke, when he ſaw that he went not maliciouſly to worke, but tooke a plaine common way of a iuſt accuſer: he had ſo great confidence in *Catoes* vpright mind and integrity, that not regarding the narrow ſifting of him otherwiſe, he did one day aske him himſelfe in the market place (or at home in his owne houſe) if that day he were determined to proſecute any matter againſt him touching his accuſation. If *Cato* anſwered him that he did not: then he went his way and ſimply beleeued him. When the day came indeed that his cauſe was to be heard, & pleaded vnto: *Cicero* being Conſull that

The authority and credite of Cato.

Cato tooke Philoſophers with him when he went into the country.

The office and authority of the Tribune, what it is.

Catoes Tribuneſhip.

that yeare, defending *Murena*, played ſo pleaſantly with the STOICKS Philoſophers, and their ſtrange opinions, that he made all the Iudges laugh: inſomuch as *Cato* himſelfe ſmiling at him, told them that were by him: See, we haue a pleaſant Conſull that makes men laugh thus. So *Murena* being diſcharged by this iudgement, did neuer after malice *Cato* for that, but ſo long as he remained Conſull, he was alwayes ruled by his counſell in all his affaires, and continued euer to honor him, following his counſell in all things touching his office. Hereof *Cato* himſelfe was cauſe, who was neuer rough nor terrible, but in matters of counſell, and in his orations before the people, for the maintenance onely of equity and iuſtice: for otherwiſe, he was very ciuill & courteous to all men. But before he entred into his Tribuneſhip, *Cicero* being yet Conſul, he did helpe him in many things touching his office, but ſpecially, in bringing *Catilines* cõſpiracy to good end, which was a noble act done of him. For *Catiline* did practiſe a generall commotion and ſtirre in the commonwealth, to ouerthrow the whole ſtate of ROME, by ciuill diſcord within ROME, and open warres abroad: who being diſcouered and ouercome by *Cicero*, he was driuen in the end to flie ROME. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the accomplices of this conſpiracy, blamed *Catiline* for his faint and cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to burne the whole city of ROME, and to put all the Empire thereof in vprore, by ſtraunge warres, and rebellions of forreine nations and prouinces. Howbeit this treaſon being diſcouered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the matter was referred vnto the iudgement of the Senate, to determine what was to be done therein. *Syllanus* being the firſt who was asked his opinion therein, ſayd, that he thought it good they ſhould ſuffer cruell paines: and after him alſo, all the reſt ſayd the like, vntill it came to *Cæſar*. *Cæſar* being an excellent ſpoken man, and that rather deſired to nouriſh then to quench any ſuch ſtirres or ſeditions in the commonwealth, being fit for his purpoſe long determined of: made an Oration full of ſweete pleaſant words, declaring vnto them, that to put ſuch men as them to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether vnreaſonable, and rather that they ſhould do better to keepe them in priſon. This Oration of *Cæſar* ſo altred all the reſt of the Senators minds, for that they were afraid of the people: that *Syllanus* ſelfe mended his opinion againe, and ſayd, that he meant not they ſhould put them to death, but keepe them faſt in priſon, becauſe that to be a priſoner, was the greateſt paine a ROMAINE citizen could abide. Thus, the Senators minds being ſo ſuddenly chaunged, and bent to a more fauorable ſentence: *Cato* riſing vp to ſay his opinion, began very angrily with maruellous eloquence, grieuouſly to reproue *Syllanus* for chaunging his mind, and ſharply to take vp *Cæſar*, that vnder a popular ſemblance, and maske of ſweete ſugred words, he ſought vnder-hand to deſtroy the commonwealth, and alſo to terrifie and make the Senate afraid: where he himſelfe ſhould haue bene afraid, and thinke himſelfe happy, if he could ſcape from being ſuſpected, giuing ſuch apparant cauſe of ſuſpition as he did, going about ſo openly to take the enemies and traytours of the common wealth out of the hands of iuſtice, ſeeming to haue no pity nor compaſſion of his naturall city, of ſuch Nobility and fame, being euen brought in maner to vtter deſtruction, but rather to lament the fortune of theſe wicked men, that it was pity they were euer borne, and whoſe death preſerued ROME from a thouſand murthers and miſchiefes. Of all the Orations that euer *Cato* made, that onely was kept: for *Cicero* the Conſull, that day had diſperſed diuerſe pen-men in ſundry places of the Senate houſe, which had maruellous ſwift hands, and had further taught them how to make briefe notes and abridgements, which in few lines ſhewed many words. For vntill that time, writers were not knowne that could by figures and ciphers expreſſe a whole ſentence and word, as afterwards they could: being then the firſt time that euer they were found out. So *Cato* at that time preuailed againſt *Cæſar*, and made them all change their minds againe, that theſe men were put to death. But that we may not leaue out a iot of his manners, as the very patterne and impreſſion of his mind: It is reported, that when *Cato* that day was ſo hot and vehement againſt *Cæſar*, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them both, a letter was deliuered *Cæſar*, ſent him into the houſe. *Cato* began preſently to ſuſpect it, and ſo earneſtly miſliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commaunded his letter ſhould be ſeene and read openly. *Cæſar* thereupon reached his letter vnto *Cato*, that ſate not farre from him. When *Cato* had read it, and found that it was a loue letter which his ſiſter *Seruilia* had written vnto *Cæſar*, whom ſhe loued, and had knowne: he caſt it againe to *Cæſar*, and ſayd, There drunkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begun before. In fine, it ſeemeth that *Cato* was very vnfortunate in his wiues: for this *Seruilia*, as we haue ſayd,

Cicero defended Murena againſt his accuſer Cato.

The conſpiracy of Catiline againſt Rome.

Catoes oration againſt Cæſar, touching Catilines conſpiracy.

Cicero taught them how to write briefly, by notes and figures.

Cato vnfortunate in his wiues.

had an ill name by *Cæsar*. And the other *Seruilia* also, which was his sister, was worse defamed. For she being maried vnto *Lucullus*, one of the greatest men of Rome, by whom she had a sonne, was in the end put away from him, for her naughty life. But worst of al, his owne wife *Attilia* also was not altogether cleare without suspitiō: for though he had two sons by her, yet he was driuen to be diuorced from her, she was so naught and cōmon. After that, he maried *Martia*, the daughter of *Philip*, which by report seemed to be a very honest gentlewoman. It is she that is so famous among the Romaines. For in the life of *Cato*, this place (as a fable or comedie) is disputable, and hard to be iudged. For thus it was, as *Thraseas* writeth: who referreth all to the report and credite of one *Munatius*, *Catoes* very familiar friend. Among many that loued *Catoes* vertues, and had them in admiration, some of them did shew more what he was, then other some did: amongst the which, was *Q. Hortensius*, a man of great honesty and authority. He, desiring not onely to be *Catoes* friend and familiar, but also to ioyne with him in alliance, and by affinity to make both their houses one: was not abashed to moue him, to let him haue his daughter *Porcia* in mariage (which was *Bibulus* wife, and had brought him two children) that he might also cast abroad the seed of goodly children, in that pleasant fertile ground. And though to men this might seme a straunge mind and desire, yet that in respect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the common wealth, not to suffer a young woman in the prime of her youth, to loose the fruite of her wombe, being apt to beare children: nor also that he should impouerish his sonne in law with moe children, then one house needed. And further, that communicating women in this sort from one to another, specially being bestowed vpon worthie and vertuous men: that vertue should thereby be increased the more, being so dispersed in diuerse families, and the city likewise should be the stronger, by making alliances in this sort together. And if it be so, quoth he, that *Bibulus* do loue his wife so dearly, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him againe, when he had a child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendship to him, by meanes of this communication of children with *Bibulus* selfe, and with him. *Cato* aunswered him, that he loued *Hortensius* well, and liked of his alliance, bowbeit that he maruelled he would speake to him to let him haue his daughter to get children of, sith he knew that she was maried to another. Then *Hortensius* altering his tale, stucke not to tell him his mind plainly, and to desire his wife of him, the which was yet a young woman, and *Cato* had children inough. But a man cannot tell whether *Hortensius* made this sute, becaus he saw *Cato* make no reckoning of *Martia*, for that she was then with child by him. In fine, *Cato* seeing the earnest desire of *Hortensius*, he did not deny him her, but told him, that he must also get *Philips* good will, the father of *Martia*. He knowing that *Cato* had graunted his good will, would not therefore let him haue his daughter, before that *Cato* himselfe by his presence did confirme the contract and mariage with him. Though these things were done long after, yet hauing occasion to talke of *Catoes* wiues, I thought it not amisse to anticipate the time. Now *Lentulus*, and his consorts of *Catilines* conspiracy being but to death: *Cæsar* to cloake the accusations wherewith *Cato* charged him in open Senate, did put himselfe into the peoples hands, and gathering the rakehels & seditious persons together, which sought to set all at sixe and seuen, he did further encourage them in their mischieuous intent and practises. Whereupon, *Cato* fearing least such a rabble of people should put all the common wealth in vprore and daunger, he perswaded the Senate to winne the poore needy people that had nothing, by distributing of corne amongst them, the which was done: and the charge thereof amounted yearely vnto twelue hundred and fifty talents. This liberalitie did manifestly drinke vp and quench all those troubles which they stood in feare of. But on the other side, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneship, made certaine seditious Orations and assemblies, and preferred a law to the people, that *Pompey* the great should presently be called into Italie with his army, that he should keepe the citie by his comming, from the present danger of *Catilines* conspiracy. These were but words spoken for fashions sake, but indeed the law had a secret meaning, to put the whole common wealth and Empire of Rome into *Pompeys* hands. Hereupon the Senate assembled, wherein *Cato* at his first comming, spake somewhat gently, and not too vehemently against *Metellus*, as his maner was to be sharpe vnto them that were against him: but modestly perswaded him, and fel to intreate him in the end, and highly to extoll his house, for that they had alwayes taken part with the Senate and Nobility. But *Metellus* therewith tooke such pride and conceipt of himselfe, that he began to despise *Cato*, thinking he had vsed that mildnesse, as though he had bene afraid of him: in so much as he gaue out

Martia Catoes wife.

Platoes fellowship and community of women.

Cato perswaded corne to be distributed vnto the people.

proud

proud ſpeeches againſt him, and cruell threats, that in deſpite of the Senate he would do that which he had vndertaken. Then *Cato* chaunging his countenance, his voyce and ſpeech, after he had ſpoken very ſharply againſt him: in the end he roughly proteſted, that while he liued, he would neuer ſuffer *Pompey* to come into ROME with his army. The Senate hearing them both, thought neither of both well in their wits, but that *Metellus* doings was a furie, which proceeding of a cancred ſtomacke and extreme malice, would put all in hazard: and that which *Cato* did, was a rauiſhment and extaſie of his vertue, that made him beſide himſelfe, contending for iuſtice and equity. When the day came that this law ſhould paſſe by voices of the people, *Metellus* failed not to be in the market place with a world of ſtraungers, ſlaues, and fencers, armed, and ſet in battell ray, beſides a number of the common people that were deſirous to ſee *Pompeys* returne, hoping after chaunge. Beſides all thoſe, *Cæſar* then being Prætor, gaue aide likewiſe with his men, in the behalfe of *Metellus*. On the contrary part alſo, the noble men and Senators of the city were as angry as *Cato*, and ſayd it was a horrible ſhame: howbeit they were his friends, rather in miſliking the matter, then in defending the common wealth. Whereupon, all his friends at home, and his whole family, were maruellouſly perplexed and ſorowfull, that they both refuſed their meate, and alſo could take no reſt in the night for feare of *Cato*. But he, as one without feare, hauing a good heart with him, did comfort his people, and bad them not ſorow for him: and after he had ſupped, as he commonly vſed to do, he went to bed, and ſlept ſoundly all night, till the morning that *Minutius Thermus*, his colleague and fellow Tribune, came and called him. So they both went together into the market place, accompanied with a very few after them. Whereupon diuerſe of their friends came and met them by the way, and bad them take heed vnto themſelues. When they were come into the market place, and that *Cato* ſaw the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* full of armed men, and the degrees or ſteps kept by ſword players and fencers, and *Metellus* on the top of them ſet by *Cæſar*: turning to his friends, he ſayd, See I pray you the coward there, what a number of armed men he hath gotten together, againſt one man naked, and vnarmed. Therewithall he ſtraight went forward with his companion *Thermus* vnto that place, and they that kept the degrees, opened of themſelues to let him paſſe, but they would let no other go vp but himſelfe: But *Cato* with much ado, taking *Minutius* by the hand, got him vp with him, and when he was come vp, he ſate him downe betwixt *Metellus* and *Cæſar*, to keepe them aſunder, that they ſhould not whiſper one in anothers eare. Neither of them both could tell what to ſay to him: whereupon the Noblemen that conſidered *Catoes* countenance and boldneſſe, wondring to ſee it, drew neare, and by their cries willed him not to be afraid, but encouraged one another to ſticke by him, that ſtood for defence of their liberty. So, there was a ſeruant that tooke the written law in his hand, and would haue read it to the people: but *Cato* would not let him. Then *Metellus* tooke it himſelfe in his hands to reade it: but *Cato* alſo ſnatched it out of his hands. *Metellus* notwithſtanding, hauing it perfect without booke, would needs declare the effect of it by heart. But *Thermus* clapped his hand before his mouth to keepe him that he ſhould not ſpeake. *Metellus* ſeeing theſe two men bent by all meanes to keepe this law from paſſing, and that the people did leane on their ſide: he beckned to his men to go fetche armed men which were at home in his houſe, that they ſhould come with terrour and cries to make them afraid, and ſo they did. The people thereupon were diſperſed here and there for feare, that *Cato* was left alone in the market place, and they threw ſtones at him from beneath. But then *Muræna*, who had before accuſed *Cato* for buying of the Conſulſhip, forſooke him not in that daunger, but holding his long gowne before him, cried out vnto them beneath, that threw at *Cato*, to leaue. So ſhewing him the danger he had brought himſelfe vnto, holding him ſtill by the armes, he brought him into the temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. Then *Metellus* ſeeing the pulpit for Orations voided, and his enemies flying out of the market place, he thought he had wonne the goale: whereupon commaunding his ſouldiers to depart, then proceeding gently, he attempted to paſſe his law. But his enemies that fled for feare, being gathered againe together in the market place, began a freſh to cry out againſt *Metellus*, with greater boldneſſe and courage then before. Then *Metellus* and his adherents being afraid and amazed, doubting that their enemies had gotten weapons, and were prouided, and therefore were the bolder: they fled, and all of them left the pulpit for Orations. So when *Metellus* and his company were gone, *Cato* came againe to the pulpit for Orations, and greatly commended the people for the good will they had ſhewed, and perſwaded them to continue in their well

Cato reſiſteth Metellus, Tribune of the people.

Iulius Cæſar Prætor.

Catoes noble courage and conſtancy.

doing. Whereupon the common people were then againſt *Metellus*, and the Senate alſo being aſſembled gaue order, that *Cato* ſhould haue better aide then he had before, and that by all meanes poſſible they ſhould reſiſt *Metellus* law, which onely tended to moue ſedition and ciuill warre in Rome. For *Metellus* ſelfe, he was yet vehemently bent to follow his attempt and enterpriſe: but perceiuing that his friends were maruellouſly affraid of *Cato*, as a man whom they thought inuincible, he ſuddenly came into the market place, and aſſembling the people, told them many reaſons in his oration, ſuppoſing to bring *Cato* in diſgrace with the people, and amongſt other things he ſayd, that he would withdraw himſelfe out of this tyrannicall power of *Catoes*, and his conſpiracy againſt *Pompey*, the which peraduenture the city before it were long ſhould repent, for that they had ſhamed and defaced ſo noble a man. After that, he preſently departed Rome, and went into Asia to informe *Pompey* of all this matter. *Cato* on the other ſide was greatly eſteemed for his doings, for that he had freed the common wealth from the great trouble of ſuch a fooliſh Tribune, and by ouerthrowing *Metellus*, he had alſo ſuppreſſed the power of *Pompey*. But he was yet much more commended, when he was againſt the Senate, who would haue noted *Metellus* of infamy, and depriued him of his office, the which he would not ſuffer them to do. The common people thought him of a courteous and gentle nature, becauſe he would not tread his enemy vnder his foote, when he had the vpper hand of him, nor be reuenged of him when he had ouercome him: but wiſe men iudged it otherwiſe, that it was wiſely done of him not to prouoke *Pompey*. About this time returned *Lucullus* from the warre, of the which it ſeemed that *Pompey* had taken the honor and glory from him for the ending of it, and was likely alſo to haue bene put from his honour of triumph, for that *Cains Memmius* was his aduerſary, who layd many accuſations againſt him before the people, rather to pleaſe *Pompey*, then for any malice elſe he had towards him. But *Cato*, both for that *Lucullus* was his brother in law, and had maried his owne ſiſter *Seruilia*, as alſo for that he ſaw they did him wrong: reſiſted this *Memmius*, and defended many accuſations againſt him. So that in the end, though *Memmius* had laboured that *Cato* ſhould be depriued of his office, as from a tyrannicall power: yet *Cato* compelled *Memmius* at the laſt to leaue off his accuſations, & to proſecute law no more againſt him. Thus *Lucullus* hauing obtained honor of triumph, did embrace *Catoes* friendſhip more then before, taking him for a ſure bulwarke and defence againſt the power of *Pompey* the great. But *Pompey* ſhortly after returning home againe, with great honor from his conqueſts, truſting that for reſpect of his welcome he ſhould be denied nothing at the peoples hands when he came home: ſent before vnto the Senate, to pray them for his ſake to deferre the election of the Conſuls, vntill he came to Rome, that being preſent he might fauour *Piſoes* ſute, ſuing to be Conſull. Therunto the moſt part of the Senate gaue their conſent, but *Cato* on the other ſide was againſt it, not that the deferring of time was a matter of ſuch importance, but to cut all hope from *Pompey* to go about to attempt any new deuiſes: inſomuch that he made the Senate chaunge opinion againe, and *Pompeys* requeſt was denied. *Pompey* being maruellouſly troubled withall, and perceiuing that *Cato* would be againſt him in all things if he found not ſome deuice to win him: he ſent for his friend *Munatius*, by his meanes to demaund *Catoes* two neeces of him which were mariable: the eldeſt for himſelfe, & the yongeſt for his ſon. Others ſay alſo, that they were not his neeces, but his owne daughters. *Munatius* did *Pompeys* meſſage, & brake the matter vnto him, his wife, & his ſiſters, who maruellouſly deſired *Pompeys* alliance, for the greatneſſe & dignity of his perſon. But *Cato* making no farther delay, without other deliberation, as not greatly pleaſed with the motion, anſwered him preſently: *Munatius*, go thy way vnto *Pompey* againe, and tell him that *Cato* is not to be won by women, though otherwiſe I miſlike not of his friendſhip: and withall, that ſo long as he ſhall deale vprightly in all cauſes, & none otherwiſe, that he ſhall find him more aſſuredly his friend, then by any alliance of mariage: and yet, that to ſatisfie *Pompeys* pleaſure and will againſt his country, he will neuer giue him ſuch pledges. The women and his friends at that time were angry with his anſwer and refuſall, ſaying, it was too ſtately and vncourteous. But afterwards it chaunced, that *Pompey* ſuing to haue one of his friends made Conſull, he ſent a great ſumme of money to bribe the voyces of the people, which liberalitie was noted, and ſpoken of, becauſe the money was told in *Pompeys* owne garden. Then did *Cato* tell the women of his houſe, that if he had now bene bound by alliance of mariage vnto *Pompey*, he ſhould then haue bene driuen to haue bene partaker of *Pompeys* ſhamefull acts. When they heard what he had told them, they all confeſſed then that he was wiſer to refuſe ſuch alliance, then they were

Catoes doings for Lucullus.

Cato reſiſteth Pompey.

Cato refuſeth alliance with Pompey.

that

that wished and desired it. And yet, if men should iudge of wisedome, by the successe and euent of things: I must needs say, that *Cato* was in great fault for refusing of this alliance. For thereby he was the cause of *Pompeys* matching with *Cæsar*, who ioyning both their powers together, was the whole destruction of the Empire of Rome: whereas peraduenture it had not fallen out so, if *Cato* fearing *Pompeys* light faults, had not caused him by increasing his power with another, to commit farre greater faults. Howbeit those things were yet to come. Furthermore, *Pompey* being at iarre with *Lucullus*, touching certaine ordinances which he had made in the Realme of Pontvs, because both the one and the other would haue their ordinances to take place: *Cato* fauoured *Lucullus*, who had open wrong. *Pompey* therefore seeing that he was the weaker in the Senate, tooke part with the people, and put forth the law for deuiding of the lands amongst the souldiers. But *Cato* stoutly resisting that law againe, he put it by, and made *Pompey* thereby in a rage to acquaint himselfe with *Publius Clodius*, the most seditious and boldest person of all the Tribunes, and besides that, made alliance euen at that time with *Cæsar*, whereof *Cato* himselfe was the onely author. *Cæsar* returning out of Spaine from his Prætorship, required the honour of triumph, and withall made sute to be Consull. But being a law to the contrary, that they that sued to be Consuls should be present themselues in the city, and such also as desired honour of triumph, should be without the city: he earnestly required the Senate, that he might sue for the Consulship by his friends. The most part of the Senate were willing vnto it, but *Cato* was flatly against it. He perceiuing that the other Senators were willing to gratifie *Cæsar*, when it came to him to deliuer his opinion, he spent all the whole day in his Oration, and by this pollicie preuented the Senate, that they could not conclude any thing. Then *Cæsar* letting fall his triumph, made sute to be Consull, and entring the citie, ioyned friendship with *Pompey*. Hereupon he was chosen Consull, and immediatly after maried his daughter *Iulia* vnto *Pompey*: and so hauing made in manner a conspiracy against the common wealth betweene themselues, *Cæsar* preferred the law Agraria, for destributing the lands vnto the citizens, and *Pompey* was present to maintaine the publication thereof. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* on the other side taking part with *Bibulus* the other Consull, did what they could against it, but specially *Cato*: who fearing much this alliance of *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, that it was a pact and conspiracy to ouerthrow the common wealth, sayd, that he cared not so much for this law Agraria, as he feared the reward they looked for, who by such meanes did intise and please the common people. Therewithall, the Senate were wholly of his opinion, and so were many other honest men of the people besides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his part: maruelling much, and also being offended with *Cæsars* great vnreasonablenesse and importunitie, who by the authoritie of his Consulship did preferre such things, as the most seditiousest Tribunes of the people were wont commonly to do, to currie fauour with the people, and by such vile meanes sought to make them at his commaundement. Wherefore, *Cæsar* and his friends fearing so great enemies, fell to open force. For to begin withall, as the Consull *Bibulus* was going to the market place, there was a basket of dung powred vpon his head: and furthermore, the officers rods were broken in their hands, which they caried before him. In fine, darts were throwne at them out of euery corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driuen to flye, and leaue the market place. But *Cato*, he came last of all, keeping his wonted place, and often cast backe his head, and cursed such citizens. So, they did not onely passe this law Agraria by voyces of the people, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate should be sworne to stablish that law, and be bound to defend the same (if any attempted the alteration thereof) vpon great penalties and fines to be set on his head, that should refuse the oath. All the other Senators sware against their wils, remembring the example of the mischiefe that chaunced vnto the old *Metellus*, who was banished out of Italie, because he would not sweare to such a like law. Wherupon, the women that were in *Catoes* house, besought him with the teares in their eyes, that he would yeeld and take the oath: and so did also diuerse of his friends besides. Howbeit, he that most inforced and brought *Cato* to sweare, was *Cicero* the Orator: who perswaded him, that peraduenture he would be thought vnreasonable, that being but one man, he should seeme to mislike that, which all other had thought meete and reasonable: and that it were a fond part of him wilfully to put himselfe in so great a daunger, thinking to hinder a matter already past remedie. But yet that besides all this, a greater inconuenience would happen, if he forsooke his countrey (for whose sake he did all these things) and left it a prey

Lex Agraria.

The alliance and friendship betwixt Cæsar and Pompey.

Cicero by his oration brake Catoes stifnesse.

vnto them, which ſought the vtter ſubuerſion of the ſame, as if he were glad to be rid from the trouble of defending the common wealth. For (ſayd he) though *Cato* haue no need of ROME, yet ROME hath need of *Cato*, and ſo haue all his friends: of the which, *Cicero* ſayd he was the chiefe, and was moſt maliced of *Publius Clodius* the Tribune, who ſought to driue him out of the countrey. It is ſayd that *Cato* being wonne by theſe like words and perſwaſions at home, and openly in the market place, they ſo ſoftened him, that he came to take his oath laſt of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friend of his. *Cæſars* heart being then lift vp, for that he had brought his firſt purpoſe to paſſe: he began now to preferre another law, to deuide all CAMPANIA, and the countrey called TERRA DI LAVORO (the land of labour) vnto the poore needy people of ROME, and no man ſtood againſt him but *Cato*. Whereupon *Cæſar* made his officers to take him from the pulpit for Orations, to cary him to priſon. All this made not *Cato* ſtoupe, nor leaue his francke ſpeech, but as he went he ſtill ſpake againſt this edict, and perſwaded the people to beware of them that preferred ſuch lawes. All the Senate, and the beſt ſort of citizens followed *Cato* with heauy hearts, ſhewing by their ſilence that they were offended and angrie for the iniurie they did vnto him, being ſo worthie a man. In ſo much as *Cæſars* ſelfe perceiued that the people were offended with it, and yet of ambition and ſtomacke, he looked alwayes when *Cato* would haue appealed vnto the people. So when he ſaw that *Cato* meant no ſuch matter, at length ouercome with ſhame and diſhonour, he himſelfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeants. In fine, all *Cæſars* practiſe tended to this end, that when he had wonne the peoples fauour by ſuch lawes: they ſhould then graunt him the gouernement of all the GAVLES (as well on this ſide, as beyond the mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an armie of foure legions, for the ſpace of fiue yeares, notwithſtanding that *Cato* told the people before, that they themſelues with their owne voyces did ſet vp a tyraunt, that one day would cut their throats. They did alſo chuſe *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the people, which was of a noble houſe: a thing directly contrary to the law. But this *Clodius* had promiſed them, ſo that they would helpe him to baniſh *Cicero* out of ROME, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calphurnius Piſo* (*Cæſars* wiues father) and *Gabinius Paulus* (a man wholly at *Pompeys* commandement, as they write which knew his life and maners) Conſuls the next yeare following. Now, notwithſtanding they had the rule of the commonwealth in their owne hands, and that they had won part of the city with bribes, and the other part alſo with feare: yet they were both afraid of *Cato*, when they conſidered what trouble they had to ouercome him, which they did very hardly notwithſtanding, and to their great ſhame, being driuen to vſe force, and yet thought they ſhould neuer haue done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* vtterly diſpaired that he could poſſibly baniſh *Cicero*, ſo long as *Cato* was there. So deuiſing wayes how to do it, when he had taken poſſeſſion of his office, he ſent for *Cato*, and began to tell him, that he thought him the honeſteſt and iuſteſt man of ROME, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deed. For, where many made ſute vnto him to be ſent into CYPRVS, to make warre with king *Ptolomie*: he thought none ſo worthy as himſelfe, and therefore for the good will he bare him, he was very willing to offer him that pleaſure. *Cato* ſtraight cried out with open mouth, that this was a deuice to intrap him, not to pleaſure him. Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely aunſwered him, Well, ſeeing thou wilt not go with good will, thou ſhalt go then againſt thy will: and ſo he did. For at the firſt aſſembly of the city, he cauſed the people to graunt his commiſſion for his iourney thither: but they neither appointed him ſhips, nor ſouldiers, nor any miniſters to go with him, ſauing two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very villaine and arrant theefe, and the other one of *Clodius* followers. Beſides all this, as if they had appointed him but litle to do in CYPRVS againſt *Ptolomie*, he made them commaund him after that, to go and reſtore the outlawes and baniſhed men of the city of BYZANTIVM, vnto their countrey and goods againe, of purpoſe onely to keepe *Cato* farre inough from ROME, whileſt he continued Tribune. *Cato* being driuen by neceſſity to obey, he counſelled *Cicero* (whom *Clodius* purſued) to beware that he made no ſtirre againſt him, for feare of bringing ROME into ciuill warre and murther for his ſake: but rather, to abſent himſelfe, that he might another time preſerue his countrey. After that, he ſent his friend *Canidius* before into CYPRVS, vnto *Ptolomy*, to perſwade him to be quiet without warre: declaring vnto him, that he ſhould neither lacke honour nor riches, for the ROMAINES would graunt him the Prieſthood of *Venus* in the citie of PAPHOS. *Cato* in the meane time remained in the Ile of RHODES, preparing

Cato committed to priſon by Cæſar.

P Clodius, Tribune of the people.

The craftie iuggling betwixt Cæſar and Pompey with P Clodius.

Cato ſent Ambaſſador into Cyprus.

preparing himselfe there, and abiding his aunswer. In the time of these stirres *Ptolomy* king of Ægypt, for a certaine offence and discord with his subiects, departing out of Alexandria, sailed towards Rome, hoping that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* with a great army would restore him to his Crowne and kingdome againe. He being desirous to see *Cato*, sent vnto him, supposing he would come at his sending for. *Cato* by chaunce was occupied at that time about some businesse, and bad the messenger will *Ptolomie* to come to him, if he would see him. So when *Ptolomie* came, he neither went to meete him, nor rose vp vnto him, but onely welcomed him, and bad him sit downe. It amazed the king at the first, to see vnder so simple and meane a traine, such a statelinesse and maiestie in *Catoes* behauiour. But he heard him boldly talke with him of his affaires, and such graue talke come from him, reprouing his folly he had committed, to forsake such princely pleasure and wealth, to go and subiect himselfe vnto such dishonour, such extreame paines, and such passing great gifts and presents, as he should throw away, to satisfie the couetousnesse of the rulers at Rome, the which was so vnsatiable, that if all the Realme of Ægypt were conuerted into siluer to giue among them, it would scarce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to returne backe with his nauie, and to reconcile himselfe againe with his subiects, offering himselfe also to go with him, to helpe to make his peace. Then *Ptolomie* comming to himselfe, and repenting him of his folly, knowing that *Cato* told him truly, and wisely: he determined to follow his counsell, had not his friends turned his mind to the contrarie. So when *Ptolomie* came to Rome, and was driuen to waite at the gates of the Magistrates that were in authoritie: he sighed then, and repented his follie, for that he had not onely despised the counsell of a wise man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolomie* that was in Cyprvs (a happy turne for *Cato*) poysoned himselfe. *Cato* being also informed that he left a wonderfull summe of mony behind him, he determined to go himselfe vnto Byzantivm, and sent his nephew *Brutus* into Cyprvs, because he durst not trust *Canidius* so farre. Then hauing restored the banished men vnto the peoples fauour againe, setting agreement betwixt them, he returned into Cyprvs. There he found a maruellous great treasure, and plate both of gold and siluer, tables, precious stones, hangings, and purple silkes, all the which he was to make ready money of. There he tooke great care and paines to raise all things to the vtmost and deerest prices that could be, and he himselfe was present at all, to keepe the reckening of the last peny. Wherefore, to bring this to passe, he would not stand to the common vse of the sale of the crier, but suspected them all, both criers, praisers, and his owne friends, and therefore talked himselfe with the praisers, and made them set high prises vpon euerie thing that was to be sold. And thus were the most part of the goods sold and caried away, at the deerest prices. This did maruellously offend the most of his friends, when they saw that he did mistrust them: but *Munatius* specially, his deerest friend, tooke it so inwardly, that he thought neuer to be friends with him againe. In so much as in the booke *Cæsar* wrote against *Cato*, in this place he forceth most the accusation against him. *Munatius* notwithstanding writeth, that he was not angry so much with *Cato* for that he mistrusted him, but for a certaine disdaine he had himselfe of *Cato*, and for the emulation betwixt him and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a booke of *Catoes* deedes and sayings, whom *Thraseas* in his historie chiefly followed. In this booke he sheweth that he came late into Cyprvs, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore also, that when he would haue come into *Catoes* house; they kept him out of the gates, for that *Cato* was busie, doing some thing with *Canidius*. He modestly complaining of it vnto *Cato*, had this churlish aunswer: ouermuch loue, sayth *Theophrastus*, oftentimes causeth hate. So fareth it with thee, who ouer-louing me, doest thinke that I esteeme thee not as thou deseruest, and therefore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I must tell thee truly, I do rather employ him for his skill and faithfulnesse in things, then any man else: for that he hath bene with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was neuer bribed, but cleane handed still. These words *Cato* told *Munatius* secretly betweene them two, but afterwards he knew that he had also reported them vnto *Canidius*. When he saw that, he would no more go and sup with *Cato* as he was wont, and when he was also called to counsell, he would not come there neither. Wherefore *Cato* threatned him, that he would seaze vpon all his goods and cariage, as they vse to handle them that are disobedient vnto iustice. This notwithstanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke sea, and returned againe to Rome, bearing *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Catoes* wife, spake with him;

Ptolomie king of AEgypt, goeth vnto Cato.

Catoes diligẽce about money in Cyprus.

The enuy betwixt Cato and Munatius.

Too much loue oftentimes causeth hate.

and were both bidden to ſupper together, vnto a friend of theirs, called *Barca*. Thereupon *Cato* alſo arriued, and came thither, when they were all ſet at ſupper, and asked where he ſhould ſit: *Barca* told him againe, where it pleaſed him. Then caſting his eyes about, he ſayd he would ſit by *Munatius*: and ſo fetching a compaſſe about the boord, he went and ſate by him, but offered him no friendſhip and familiarity all ſupper time. Afterwards notwithſtanding, at the requeſt of *Martia*, that was earneſtly in hand with *Cato* for him: he wrote vnto him, and willed him to come and ſpeake with him. *Munatius* went to *Catoes* houſe in the morning, where *Martia* ſtayed him, and kept him company, vntill all the reſt that came to ſalute *Cato*, were departed. Then *Cato* comming to him, embraced him in his armes, and made very much of him. We haue the willinglier dilated this matter at length, becauſe mens natures and maners might be diſcerned euen in theſe ſmall matters of friendſhip priuatly, as otherwiſe in the greateſt publicke cauſes. Now touching *Catoes* commiſſion, he got together litle leſſe then ſeuen thouſand ſiluer talents. Furthermore, fearing the farneſſe of the iourney he had to go by ſea, he made diuerſe little coffers, and put into euery one of them two talents, and fiue hundred Drachmas, and tied vnto each of them a long rope, and a great peece of corke: becauſe that if the ſhip ſhould fortune to miſcarie, thoſe corkes might ſhew where the cheſts with money lay in the bottome of the ſea. Thus was all the mony ſaued, ſauing a litle, and brought ſafely to Rome. *Cato* hauing made two bookes wherein he had noted all things done in his iourny, he could neither ſaue the one nor the other of them. For one of his bondmen made free, called *Philargyrus*, tooke the one away: who taking ſhip at the hauen of Cenchrees, was himſelfe drowned, and the booke he had alſo, loſt with him. The other booke which he himſelfe had kept, vntill he came vnto Corfov: he lying in the market place of the city in his tents, which he cauſed to be ſet vp: the mariners being very cold in the night, made ſo great a fire, that it burnt the tents, ſtuffe, booke and all. Notwithſtanding, he brought certaine of the late king *Ptolomies* ſlaues with him, who while he liued, had the charge and cuſtodie of all his treaſure and riches, the which he brought as witneſſes to ſtop the mouths of his malicious enemies, that would haue accuſed him in any thing. But yet the loſſe of them did grieue him, not ſo much for the great care and paines he had taken in ſetting downe the account of his charge, for the iuſtification and proofe of his fidelity and good ſeruice: but alſo, for that they might haue ſerued for a good memoriall and example vnto all others, to haue bene a like carefull in their charge, as himſelfe. But the gods denied him this good hap. Newes being brought that he was come to Rome by water, when they vnderſtood that he was at hand, by and by all the Magiſtrates, the Prieſts, the Senate, and the moſt part of the people alſo went out to meete him by the riuers ſide: ſo that both ſides of the riuer of Tyber were full of people, and the receiuing of him in, ſeemed not inferiour to the entry of a triumph. Notwithſtanding, ſome thought him very preſumptuous, that the Conſuls and Prætors comming out to meet him, he did not ſtay his gally, but rowed ſtill vp the ſtreame (being in a kings gally of ſix oares to euery banke) and neuer ſtayed, vntill all his fleete arriued in the hauen. This notwithſtanding, when the coffers with money were caried through the market place into the treaſure chamber, the people wondred to ſee ſo great a quantity of it. And thereupon the Senate being aſſembled, with great and honourable words they gaue *Cato* an extraordinary Prætorſhip, and priuiledge alſo, at any common ſports to weare a purple gowne. *Cato* refuſed all theſe honors, and onely beſought the Senate to make *Nicias* a free man, Steward of the late deceaſed king *Ptolomy*, being a witneſſe of his faith and great paines he had taken in this ſeruice. *Philip* the father of *Martia*, was that yeare Conſull, ſo that after a ſort, the authority of the Conſull was in *Cato*: becauſe *Lentulus*, colleague and fellow Conſull with *Philip*, did no leſſe reuerence *Cato* for his vertues, then *Philip* did for his alliance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was reſtored againe from his baniſhment, the which *Publius Clodius* (being then Tribune of the people) had put vpon him, and being againe growne to great credite: he went one day into the Capitoll, in the abſence of *Clodius*, by force to take away the tables which *Clodius* had conſecrated there, in the which were compriſed all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being aſſembled, *Clodius* did accuſe *Cicero* of this violent fact. *Cicero* aunſwered him againe: that becauſe *Clodius* was choſen Tribune, directly againſt the law, therefore all his doings were voyde, and of no validitie. Then ſtood vp *Cato*, and ſayd: he knew that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was ſcantly good and allowable, but yet if generally any man ſhould vndo all that he had paſſed by that authoritie: then all that he himſelfe had done likewiſe in Cyprvs,

Money gotten together by Cato in Cyprus.

Cato receiued into Rome with great honour, of the people.

must

must of neceſſitie be reuoked. For the commiſſion that was granted vnto him (by vertue whereof he had done many things) ſhould be vnlawfull: becauſe the Tribune alſo that did graunt it him, was not lawfully choſen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune againſt the law, who by conſent of the law was taken out from a noble houſe, and made a popular perſon: howbeit, if he had behaued himſelfe vndutifully in his office, as other men that haply had offended, then he was to be accuſed to make him mend his fault, and not to deſtroy the authority of the officer, which in it ſelfe was lawfull. After that, there fell miſliking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counterbuffe he had giuen him: and *Cicero* continued a long time after, before he did ſhew him any countenance of friendſhip as he had at other times done. But afterwards they were reconciled together againe, by this occaſion. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* hauing bene with *Cæſar* to talke with him (who for that purpoſe came out of GAVLE beyond the Alpes) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demaund the ſecond Conſulſhip together, and when they had it, then to proroge *Cæſars* gouernment for fiue yeares more, & alſo they would haue the beſt prouinces and greateſt for themſelues, with great armies, and money inough to pay them with. This was indeed a plaine conſpiracy to deuide the Empire of ROME betweene them, and vtterly to ouerthrow the ſtate of the common wealth. At that time there were many Noble men, which came to make ſute for the Conſulſhip. But when they ſaw *Pompey* and *Craſſus* offer to make ſute for it, all the reſt gaue ouer, but *Lucius Domitius* that had maried *Porcia*, *Catoes* ſiſter: through whoſe perſwaſion he would not relinquiſh his ſute, conſidering that it was not the office onely of the Conſulſhip that was the chiefeſt matter of importance, but the liberty of the Senate & people. Straight there ran a rumor through the moſt part of the people, that they were not to ſuffer *Pompeys* power to be ioyned with *Craſſus*, by meanes of this office: for then his authority would be too great and ſtrong, and therefore, that of neceſſity one of theſe two were to be denied. For this cauſe therefore, the good men tooke *Domitius* part, and did encourage him to go on with his ſute, aſſuring him of aide vnderhand of diuerſe, which durſt not be ſeene openly for feare of thoſe two great men, who at the day of the election would procure him voyces in his fauour. *Pompey* and *Craſſus* miſtruſting this, made *Domitius* be ſet vpon, going with torch-light before day into the field of *Mars*, where the election was alwayes made: and firſt ſtriking the torch-bearer that went before him, they hurt him ſo ſore, that he fell downe dead at his feet. Then they layed at the reſt in like caſe, who finding themſelues cruelly hurt, ranne away euery man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* poſt alone. But *Cato*, notwithſtanding he was hurt in one of his armes, ſtill held *Domitius* faſt, and prayed him to tary, and not to leaue to defend the liberty of their countrey, againſt tyrants, which plainly ſhewed after what manner they would gouerne, ſith by ſuch wicked meanes they aſpired to tyrannicall gouernement. All this notwithſtanding, *Domitius* would tary no longer, but betooke him to his legges, and ranne home. Thus were *Craſſus* and *Pompey* without deniall proclaimed Conſuls. *Cato* neuer yeelded therefore, but came and ſued to be Prætor, becauſe that thereby he might yet make it ſome ſtrength and countenance to him againſt their Conſulſhip, that being no priuate perſon, he ſhould haue ſome better authoritie to reſiſt them that were the chiefeſt perſons. But they fearing, that the Prætorſhip by the eſtimation of *Cato*, would come to equall their authority of the Conſulſhip: firſt aſſembled the Senate (the moſt part of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that aſſembly cauſed the Senate to decree: that all ſuch as were choſen Prætors, ſhould preſently go to their charge, not attending the time and liberty appointed by the law, during which time men might accuſe thoſe which had bought the voyces of the people with money. Then hauing by this colour and decree ſet ill doers at liberty, without feare of puniſhment, they pretending to vſe corruption, did preferre ſome of their owne miniſters to make ſute for the Prætorſhip, themſelues giuing money to corrupt the people, and being preſent alſo at the election. But notwithſtanding all theſe practiſes, the vertue and reputation of *Cato* ouercame them. For the people had him in ſo great reuerence, that they thought it too ſhamefull a part to ſell *Cato* by voyces, who deſerued rather to be hired to take the Prætorſhip vpon him. Then the firſt Tribe being called to giue their voices, declared him Prætor. *Pompey* ſeeing that, ſtraight brake off the aſſembly, making a ſhamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the ROMAINES do maruellouſly deteſt, and will conclude nothing when it thundreth. Howbeit afterwards they gaue more money then they had done before, and thereby draue away the chiefeſt men out of the field of *Mars*, and by practiſe obtained, that *Vatinius* was choſen Prætor for *Cato*.

VVhy Cato ſued to be Prætor.

Cato put from the Prætorſhip by Pompey.

And the report went, that they that had ſo wickedly giuen their voices, feeling themſelues pricked in conſcience, fled immediatly out of the field: and the honeſt men that remained, were both very ſorie and angrie, for the iniurie they had offered *Cato*. At that time one of the Tribunes keeping an aſſembly of the citie, *Cato* ſtood vp, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what would happen to the common-wealth by theſe practiſers, and ſtirred vp the people againſt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, ſaying: that they were guiltie of thoſe things, and therefore procured them to be done, becauſe they were afraid that if *Cato* had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue ſifted out their deuiſes. In fine, *Cato* going home to his houſe, had more companie to waite vpon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had bene choſen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the new Conſuls, SPAINE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT and SYRIA vnto the other, with full power to make warre as they thought good both by ſea and land: all other men hauing no hope to keepe it back, did let it alone, and ſpake nothing to contrarie it. Then *Cato* getting vp into the pulpit for Orations, before the people began to giue their voices, could hardly haue two houres ſpace to ſpeake: but at length, they perceiuing that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would ſuffer him to ſpeake no longer, but ſent a Sergeant to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cried out notwithſtanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Sergeant went to him againe, and tooke him, and caried him out of the market place. Howbeit the officer had no ſooner left him, but he went ſtraight towards the pulpit for Orations, and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye to aide the libertie of their common-wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being mad withall, commaunded his Sergeant to carie him to priſon. The people followed him hard notwithſtanding, to heare what he ſaid vnto them. Whereupon *Trebonius* fearing ſome ſtirre, was forced to commaund his Sergeant to let *Cato* go. So *Cato* draue off all that day without any matter concluded. The next morning notwithſtanding, the contrarie faction hauing partly put the ROMAINES in feare, and wonne the othe part alſo by faire words and money, and by force of armes likewiſe kept *Aquilius*, one of the Tribunes, from comming out of the Senate, and after they had alſo violently driuen *Cato* out of the market place, for ſaying that it thundred, and hauing hurt many men, and alſo ſlaine ſome out of hand in the market place: in the end they forcibly paſſed the decree by voices of the people. Many being offended therewith, went a companie of them together to plucke downe *Pompeys* images: but *Cato* would not ſuffer them. And afterwards alſo, when they preferred another law for the prorogation of the prouinces and armies which *Cæſar* demaunded, *Cato* would ſpeake no more to the people to hinder it, but proteſted vnto *Pompey* himſelfe, that he ſaw not how he plucked *Cæſar* vpon him, and that he ſhould feele the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then when he could neither ſuffer nor remedie it, he would euen caſt his burthen and himſelfe vpon the common-wealth, and too late would remember *Catoes* warnings, which were priuatly as profitable for *Pompey*, as openly iuſt and reaſonable for the common-wealth. *Cato* vſed manie of theſe perſwaſions ſundrie times vnto him, but *Pompey* neuer made account of them: for he would not be perſwaded that *Cæſar* would euer change in that ſort, and beſides he truſted too much to his owne power and proſperitie. Furthermore, *Cato* was choſen Prætor for the next yeare following, in the which it appeared (though he miniſtred iuſtice vprightly) that he rather defaced and impaired the maieſtie and dignitie of his office, then that he gaue it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foote bare-legged, and without any coate, vnto his Prætors chaire, and there giue ſentence of life and death, otherwhiles of men of great account. And ſome report, that he would giue audience when he had dined, and drunke wine: but that is vntrue. Now *Cato* perceiuing that the citizens of ROME were marred by bribes and gifts of thoſe which aſpired vnto offices, and that the people made it an art and faculte to gaine by: to roote this vice altogether out of the common-wealth, he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that ſuch as hereafter ſhould be choſen Conſuls or Prætors, ſhould (if there were no man to accuſe them) come and offer themſelues before the Iudges, and taking their oath, ſhould truly declare what meanes they had vſed to attaine to their office. This offended the ſuters for the offices, but much more the mercenarie multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his audience, and all cried out vpon him, reuiled him, and threw ſtones at him: inſomuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, and himſelfe alſo was driuen

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driuen out of the place by the preaſe of the people, and had much ado to get to the pulpit for Orations, where ſtanding on his feete, he preſently pacified the tumult of the people, by the boldneſſe and conſtancie of his countenance onely. Then when all was pacified by the preſent perſwaſions he vſed, aptly ſpoken to purpoſe for the inſtant, they giuing attentiue eare, without ſtir or vprore. The Senate giuing him great commendation therefore, he told them roundly and plainely: but I haue no cauſe to praiſe you, to leaue a Prætor in ſuch danger of his life, offering no aide to helpe him. But the ſuters for the offices, they were in a maruellous caſe: for one way, they were afraid to giue money to buy the peoples voices; and on the other ſide, they were afraid alſo if any other did it, that they ſhould go without their ſute. So they were all agreed together, euery man to put downe twelue Myriades and a halfe a peece, and then they ſhould make their ſute iuſtly and vprightly: and whoſoeuer were taken faultie, and that had otherwiſe made his way by corruption, that he ſhould looſe the money he had layed downe. This agreement being concluded betweene them, they choſe *Cato* (as it is reported) for their arbitrator, and keeper of all the ſame money. This match was made in *Catoes* houſe, where they all did put in caution or ſureties to anſwer the money: the which he tooke, but would not meddle with the money. The day being come, *Cato* aſſiſting the Tribune that gouerned the election, and carefully marking how they did giue their voices: he ſpied one of the ſuters for the office breake the accord agreed vpon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture vnto the reſt. But they greatly commending his iuſtice and integritie, forgaue the forfeiture, thinking it puniſhment enough vnto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But thereby *Cato* procured himſelfe the diſpleaſure of the other Senators, for that he ſeemed therein to take vpon him the power and authoritie ouer the whole court and election. For there is no vertue, whereof the honour and credite doth procure more enuie, then iuſtice doth: becauſe the people do commonly reſpect and reuerence that more then any other. For they do not honour them as they do valiant men, nor haue them in admiration, as they do wiſe men: but they loue and truſt them better. As for the two firſt, the one they are afraid of, and the other they diſtruſt: beſide, they ſuppoſe that valiancie and wiſedome commeth rather by the benefite of nature, then of our intent and choiſe, eſteeming wiſedome as a readineſſe of conceit; and fortitude, a preſence and courage of the mind. For euery man may be iuſt that will, and therefore iniuſtice is of all other vices moſt ſhamefull: for it is a wilfull and malicious default, and therefore cannot be excuſed. Lo, this was the cauſe why all the noblemen in manner were againſt *Cato*, as though he onely had ouercome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the eſtimation of *Cato* was altogether the diſcountenance of his power and greatneſſe, and therefore did dayly raiſe vp many railers againſt him. Of them *Publius Clodius* that ſeditious Tribune, who was againe fallen in friendſhip with *Pompey*, he accuſed *Cato* and cried out vpon him, how he had robbed the common-wealth of a wonderfull treaſure, by his commiſſion in Cyprvs: and that he was enemie vnto *Pompey*, becauſe he did refuſe to marrie his daughter. *Cato* thereto made anſwer, that he had brought more gold and ſiluer out of Cyprvs, into the treaſure of Rome, without the allowance of either horſe or ſouldier, then *Pompey* had done with all his triumphs and warres, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreouer, that he did neuer ſeeke alliance with *Pompey*, not that he thought him vnworthy of it, but becauſe he ſaw he dealt not as vprightly in the common-wealth as he himſelfe did. I, ſaid he, haue refuſed a prouince offered me when I came out of my Prætorſhip: but *Pompey* hath taken ſome by force, and giuen away vnto others. And to conclude, he lent *Cæſar* not long ſince, an armie of ſixe thouſand men to ſerue him in the warres in Gavle: the which he neuer required of vs, nor *Pompey* graunted them him by our conſent. But we ſee, that ſo many armies, armours and weapon, ſo many men and horſes by common pleaſures of our priuate citizens, giuen and lent at our charge: and *Pompey* himſelfe reſeruing onely the name of Emperour, and Lieutenant generall, aſſigneth ouer his armies and prouinces to the gouernement of others, whileſt he himſelfe beſiegeth here the walles of the citie, with ſeditious and tumultuous election of officers, craftily vndermining thereby the ſtate of the common-wealth, to bring all to confuſion, that he himſelfe might be abſolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he reuenged of *Pompey*. Among *Catoes* friends, he had one called *Marcus Faonius*, ſuch a one as *Apollodorus* Phalerian was ſaid to be in old time, vnto *Socrates*, who did counterfaite to be another himſelfe, in doing all things as he did. This man would be farre out of reaſon, and paſſionate in his talke, ſtorming like a drunkard. He one yeare made ſute to be Ædilis, but he was reiected. Howbeit *Cato* that furthered

The power of iuſtice.

M. Faonius Catoes friend.

And the report went, that they that had ſo wickedly giuen their voices, feeling themſelues pricked in conſcience, fled immediatly out of the field: and the honeſt men that remained, were both very ſorie and angrie, for the iniurie they had offered *Cato*. At that time one of the Tribunes keeping an aſſembly of the citie, *Cato* ſtood vp, and told (as if he had prophecied) before them all, what would happen to the common-wealth by theſe practiſers, and ſtirred vp the people againſt *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, ſaying: that they were guiltie of thoſe things, and therefore procured them to be done, becauſe they were afraid that if *Cato* had bene Prætor, he would too narrowly haue ſifted out their deuiſes. In fine, *Cato* going home to his houſe, had more companie to waite vpon him alone, then all the other Prætors that had bene choſen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the people, had preferred a law for the deuiding of the prouinces vnto the new Conſuls, SPAINE and AFRICKE vnto the one, and ÆGYPT and SYRIA vnto the other, with full power to make warre as they thought good both by ſea and land: all other men hauing no hope to keepe it back, did let it alone, and ſpake nothing to contrarie it. Then *Cato* getting vp into the pulpit for Orations, before the people began to giue their voices, could hardly haue two houres ſpace to ſpeake: but at length, they perceiuing that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would ſuffer him to ſpeake no longer, but ſent a Sergeant to him, and plucked him by force out of the pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cried out notwithſtanding, and diuers gaue good eare vnto him: the Sergeant went to him againe, and tooke him, and caried him out of the market place. Howbeit the officer had no ſooner left him, but he went ſtraight towards the pulpit for Orations, and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the people to haue an eye to aide the libertie of their common-wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being mad withall, commaunded his Sergeant to carie him to priſon. The people followed him hard notwithſtanding, to heare what he ſaid vnto them. Whereupon *Trebonius* fearing ſome ſtirre, was forced to commaund his Sergeant to let *Cato* go. So *Cato* draue off all that day without any matter concluded. 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his ſute, marked, that the tables wherein the voyces were written, were all one hand. So he finding out the falſhood, appealed thereupon vnto the Tribunes, and made the election voide for that time. After that *Faonius* was created Ædilis, *Cato* did helpe him foorth in all the other charges of his office, and ſpecially in ſetting foorth playes in the Theater, which are cuſtomably done at the comming in of euery ſuch new officer, to giue the people paſtime: and gaue vnto the common players and dauncers in thoſe playes, no golden crownes, as other Ædiles did, but crowns of wild oliue twigges, as they commonly vſe in GREECE at the Olympian games. And where others gaue vnto the poore rich gifts, he gaue the GRECIANS leekes, lettiſes, radiſhes, and peares: and vnto the ROMAINES, they had earthen pots full of wine, porke, figges, cucumbers, and fagots of wood of ſmall value. Inſomuch as ſome thought ſcorne of them they were ſo meane, others were very glad of them, ſeeing that *Cato* which was ſeuere and hard of nature, had a doing in them, and by litle and litle they turned this auſteritie of his into pleaſure. In fine, *Faonius* himſelfe ſitting downe amongſt the people, which looked vpon the players, clapped his hands for ioy at *Cato*: and cried out to him, that he ſhould giue them good rewards that played well, alluring them alſo about him to do the like, and told them that he had made *Cato* the whole ruler of thoſe ſports. At the ſelfe ſame time, *Curio*, *Faonius* colleague and companion in the office of Ædilis, had likewiſe goodly playes in another Theater: but all the people forſooke his, and went to ſee *Faonius* playes, who ſate among them like a priuate man, and *Cato* as the maiſter of the playes. *Cato* did this in ſcorne and mockerie of vaine charge and expences, which men are wont to beſtow in ſuch trifles, ſhewing thereby, that whoſoeuer will make any playes, he ſhould make the charge but a ſport alſo, furniſhing it only with a conuenient grace, but with no vaine expence or charge about ſuch a triſle. Shortly after, when *Scipio*, *Hypſeus*, and *Milo*, ſued all three together to be Conſuls, not onely by briberie of money (a common fault then in ſuing for any of the offices in the commonwealth) but by plaine force of armes, ſlaying and killing as in a ciuill warre, they were ſo deſperate and inſolent: ſome preferred a lawe, that they ſhould make *Pompey* Præſident in theſe elections, becauſe men ſhould moue their ſute after a lawfull ſort. But *Cato* ſtraight was againſt it, ſaying, that the law could haue no ſafetie by *Pompey*, but *Pompey* might haue ſafetie by the law. Notwithſtanding, when he ſaw this trouble continue of a long time, without any Conſuls in ROME, and that daily there were three campes in the market place, that it was almoſt impoſſible to preuent the miſchiefe at hand, and to ſtay that it ſhould go no further: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their owne goodwils, rather then by compulſion, ſhould put the gouernment of the ſtate into *Pompeys* hands alone, chuſing the leſſer euill, to withſtand the greater, and ſo to yeeld to the abſolute gouernment without conſtraint, which the ſedition would bring it vnto. Therfore *Bibulus*, *Catoes* friend and kinſeman, made a motion to the Senat, that they would chuſe *Pompey* ſole Conſull. For, ſaid he, either the commonwealth ſhall be well gouerned by him, or elſe ROME ſhall ſerue an ill Lord. *Cato* then riſing vp, beyond all mens expectation confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and ſaid: that the citie were better to haue one ſoueraigne Magiſtrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* could giue preſent order for the pacifying of this confuſion, and that he would be carefull to preſerue the citie, when he ſaw that they truſted him with the gouernement thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by *Catoes* meanes choſen ſole Conſull. Then he ſent for *Cato* to come to his gardens to him, which were in the ſuburbes of the citie. *Cato* went thither, and was receiued with as great honour and courteſie of *Pompey* as could be deuiſed: & in the end, after he had giuen him great thanks for the honors he had done him, he prayed him to affoord him his aduice and counſell in his gouernment. *Cato* anſwered him thus, That he had not ſpoken any thing before that time in reſpect of any ill will he bare him, neither that he deliuered this laſt opinion of his in reſpect of his friendſhip, but wholly for the commonwealths ſake: howbeit otherwiſe, that for his owne priuate affaires, if he thought good to vſe his aduice, whenſoeuer it pleaſed him to aske his opinion, he would tell him the beſt he could. But for common cauſes, that he would alwaies tell what he thought, though he neuer asked him: and in fine, he performed all he ſaid. For, firſt of all, when *Pompey* did ſet grieuous penalties and new fines vpon their heads, which had bought the peoples voyces for money: *Cato* counſelled him to prouide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already paſt. For, ſaid he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man ſhould ſeeke to reforme the faults that are paſt: and furthermore, if the puniſhments appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they ſhould do wrong vnto them that were already accuſed, to puniſh them by a new law

Cato doth ſet forth the plaies for Faonius Ædilis.

Catoes wiſe counſels for playes.

Pompey created ſole Conſul, by Catoes ſentence.

law which they had not offended. Afterwards alſo, certaine men of good calling (*Pompeys* friends) being accuſed, *Cato* perceiuing that *Pompey* grew remiſſe, and yeelded in many things: he ſharpely reproued and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by law taken away the praiſes which were wont to be ſpoken of the offenders that were accuſed: he himſelfe notwithſtanding hauing written an Oration in the praiſe of *Munatius Plancus*, ſent it vnto the Iudges, whileſt his cauſe was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Iudges at that time, ſtopped his eares with both his hands, and would not haue it read. Wherefore *Plancus* refuſed him for one of his Iudges, after his cauſe was pleaded vnto: howbeit he was condemned notwithſtanding. To conclude, *Cato* was ſuch a griefe and trouble vnto them that were accuſed, that they could not tell wel how to deale with him. For, once they durſt not let him be any of their Iudges, neither could they well alſo refuſe him. For there were many that were condemned, which refuſing *Cato*, ſeemed vnto others that they were guiltie: and many alſo were ſhamefully reproued: becauſe they would not accept *Cato* for their Iudge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this ſort at Rome, *Cæſar* remained in Gavle with his armie, where he made warres: neuertheleſſe he wanne him friends ſtill in Rome, by gifts and money, and made himſelfe very ſtrong. Now appeared *Catoes* predictions and forewarnings true vnto *Pompey*, and beganne to quicken his ſpirits which had ſlept ſo long, and made him then to conſider of the daunger, the which before he could not be perſwaded to beleeue. But perceiuing his ſlackneſſe and feare withall, doubting how to proceede: to preuent *Cæſars* practiſes, *Cato* determined to ſue to be Conſull, with intent either to make him leaue his armie, or elſe to find out the practiſe he intended. *Catoes* competitors, they were both of them very honeſt men alſo, of the which *Sulpitius* had receiued great honour and preferment by *Catoes* credite and authoritie: in reſpect whereof many thought that it was ſcant honeſtly done of *Sulpitius*, to ſhew himſelfe ſo vnthankfull, as to ſtand againſt *Cato* in this ſute. Howbeit, *Cato* neuer complained of the matter, but ſaid, that it was no maruell he would giue place to no man in that, ſith it was the greateſt good happe that euer came vnto him. This notwithſtanding he perſwaded the Senate to make a law, that from thencefoorth, ſuch as ſued for any office, they ſhould themſelues be ſuters to the people, and not preferre their ſute by others. This cauſed the people to be more offended with him then before, becauſe thereby he did not only take away their fingering of money, which they got by their voices in elections: but tooke from them the meanes they had alſo to pleaſure many, bringing them now into pouerty and contempt. He therefore hauing no face to flatter the people and to currie fauor with them, but rather ſticking to his graue maner and modeſt life, then to ſeeke the dignity of a Conſull by ſuch meanes: made ſute himſelfe in perſon, and would not ſuffer his friends to take the ordinarie courſe which might win the peoples harts, wherupon he was put frō his Conſulſhip. This deniall was wont not only to haue made the parties refuſed, very ſorowfull, but their friends and kinſemen alſo greatly aſhamed a long time after. Howbeit *Cato* made no reckening of that, but went the next morning, and played at tennis with his friends in the field of *Mars*, and after he had dined, walked againe in the market place, as his maner was, without ſhooes on his feet, and coat. *Cicero* blamed him much for that, becauſe the cōmonwealth requiring then ſuch a Cōſull as he, he had not carefully endeuoured himſelfe by curteſie and gentle meanes to win the fauor of the people, neither would euer after make ſute for it, although at another time he ſued to be Prætor. Thereunto *Cato* anſwered, that for the Prætorſhip he was not denyed it by the good-will of the people, but rather for that they were bribed with money. And for the election of the Conſuls, where there was no deceipt vſed, he knew plainely he went without it, for his maners which the people miſliked: the which he thought were no wiſe mans part to chaunge for any mans pleaſure, nor yet by making the like ſute againe to hazard the refuſall. Furthermore, *Cæſar* making warre with very ſtoute nations, and hauing with no ſmall daunger and trauell ſubdued them: and hauing alſo ſet vpon the Germaines, with whom the Romaines were at peace, and alſo ſlaine three hundred thouſand perſons: his friends made ſute that the people ſhould do ſolemne ſacrifice to giue thanks vnto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they ſhould deliuer *Cæſar* into their hands, whom he had iniured, to receiue ſuch puniſhment as they thought good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be caſt vpon him, that the citie might be no partaker of it, ſith they could not do withall. Neuertheleſſe, ſaid he, we are to do ſacrifices vnto the gods, to giue them thankes, for that they turned not the reuenge of the furie and raſhneſſe of the Captaine, vpon our poore ſouldiers which were in no fault, but

Cato ſued to be Conſull to reſiſt Cæſar.

Cato was denied the Conſulſhip.

Cicero blameth Cato.

Catoes opinion againſt Cæſar.

haue pardoned the commonwealth. *Cæsar* being aduertised thereof, wrote a letter vnto the Senate, containing many accusations against *Cato*. The letter being read, *Cato* rose, not as a man put in a chafe with choler, nor pricked with enuie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would say) declared that the accusations which *Cæsar* heaped against him in his letters, were but pretie mockes and sleights which he had gathered together to make the people merie withall. But on the other side, when he began to vnrip his whole intents and practises from the beginning, not as if he had bene his enemie, but rather a confederate with him in his conspiracie, declaring that they were not the GERMAINS, nor the GAVLES, which they were to be afraid of, but of himselfe, if they were wise: he thereupon so offended the Senat, and made such stirre among them, that *Cæsars* friends repented them they had caused his letters to be read in the Senate, giuing *Cato* thereby occasion iustly to complaine of *Cæsar*, and to alleage much good matter against him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate against *Cæsar*, but this was said onely, that it were good reason to let him haue a successor. Then *Cæsars* friends made sute that *Pompey* should put away his army, and resigne vp the prouinces he kept, or else that they should compell *Cæsar* no more then him to do it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and said, the thing was now come to passe, which he had euer told them of, and that *Cæsar* came to oppresse the commonwealth, openly turning the armie against it, which deceitfully he had obtained of the same. All this preuailed not, neither could he thereby win any thing of the Senate, because the people fauoured *Cæsar*, and would alwaies haue him great: for the Senate did beleeue all that he said, but for all that they feared the people. When newes was brought that *Cæsar* had wonne the citie of ARIMINVM, and was comming on with his armie towards ROME: then euery man looked vpon *Cato*, and the people and *Pompey* confessed, that he only from the beginning had found out the marke *Cæsar* shot at, and had hit the white of his slie deuise. Then said *Cato* vnto them, If you would haue beleeued me, my Lords, and followed my counsell: you should not now haue bene afraid of one man alone, neither should you also haue put your only hope in one man. *Pompey* answered thereunto, that *Cato* indeede had guessed more truly, howbeit that he also had dealt more friendly. Thereupon *Cato* gaue counsell that the Senate should referre all vnto *Pompeys* order: for, said he, they that can do great mischiefe, know also how to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiuing that he had no armie conuenient about him to tarie *Cæsars* coming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint hearted: he forsooke the citie. *Cato* being determined to go with him, sent his younger sonne before vnto *Munatius*, which lay in the countrie of the BRVTIANS, and tooke his eldest sonne with him. Now, because he was to prouide a stay and gouernor of his house and daughters, he tooke *Martia* againe, which was left a widow and very rich, for that *Hortensius* dying, made her his heire of all that he had. Therein *Cæsar* vpbraideth *Cato* much, reprouing his couetousnesse to marie for goods. For, said he, if he had need of a wife, why then did he before graunt her vnto another? If he had no need of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Vnlesse she were before a baite vnto *Hortensius*, to keepe her whilest she was young, that he might haue her againe when she was rich. But against that me thinkes it is sufficient to recite these verses of *Eurypides*:

Vnlikelihoods first I will disproue. For why? what man can say,
That euer feare made Hercules to turne his face away?

For I take it to be all one, to reproue *Hercules* cowardlinesse, and *Catoes* couetousnesse. But if his mariage be to be reproued, peraduenture it is in another sort. For so soone as he had maried *Martia* againe, he left his house and his daughters to her gouernment, and followed *Pompey*. But after that time, men report that he neuer polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any garland, but to his dying day, lamented and bewailed in his heart, the miserie and calamitie of his countrie, whether they had victorie, or were ouercome. So hauing the prouince of SICILE allotted to him, he went vnto SYRACVSA. There vnderstanding that *Asinius Pollio* was arriued at MESSINA, with men of warre from his enemies: *Cato* sent vnto him, to know wherefore he came thither. *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the causer of all this warre. Againe, when *Cato* was aduertised that *Pompey* had forsaken ITALIE, and that he lay in camp beyond the sea by the citie of DYRACHIVM, then he said, he saw a maruellous great change and incertaintie in the prouidence, of the gods: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond reason, and out of course, he was inuincible, and now that he sought to preserue his country, he saw he lacked his former good happe. Now he knew he was strong enough at that time to driue *Asinius Pollio* out of SICILE if he would: but

Cato inueigheth against Cæsar.

Cato prognosticated Cæsars tyrannie.

Cato followeth Pompey.

Cæsar reproueth Catoes couetousnesse.

Cato is sent into Sicile.

but becauſe there came a greater aide vnto him, he would not plague that Iland, with the miſery of warre. Then after he had aduiſed the SYRACVSANS to take the ſtronger part, and to looke to their ſafetie: he tooke the ſea and went towards *Pompey*. When he was come vnto him, he did alwaies counſell him to prolong the warre, hoping ſtill of ſome treatie of peace: and would in no caſe they ſhould come to fight any battell, where the weaker part ſhould of neceſſitie be put to the ſword by the ſtronger. Therefore he perſwaded *Pompey* and the counſellers about him, to eſtabliſh certaine lawes to this effect. That they ſhould ſacke no citie in this warre, the which belonged vnto the Empire of ROME: and alſo, that they ſhould kill no citizen of ROME, but in furie of battell, when their ſwords were in their hands. Thereby he wanne himſelfe great honour, and brought many men to take *Pompeys* part, by the lenitie and clemencie he vſed vnto them that were taken. Thereupon *Cato* being ſent into ASIA, to aide them that had commiſſion to preſſe ſhippes and men of warre, he tooke his ſiſter *Seruilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her: for all the time of her widowhood, ſhe had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name ſhe had before, ſith they ſaw ſhe had ſo willingly giuen her ſelfe to follow him in his flying, and contented her ſelfe with his ſtraight manner of life. This notwithſtanding, *Ceſar* did not let to ſhame her to *Cato*. *Pompeys* Captaines had no need of *Cato* any where but at RHODES. For he wanne the people there with his courteous vſage and perſwaſion, leauing with them *Seruilia* and her litle ſonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* campe, who had leuied a great armie both by ſea and land. There did *Pompey* moſt of all diſcouer his mind and intent. For firſt he meant to haue giuen *Cato* the charge of the army by ſea, which were aboue 500. ſhips of war, beſides an infinite number of foiſts and pinnaſes, and ſuch ſmall bottomes vncouered: but ſodainly conſidering better of it (or poſſibly being informed by ſome of his friends, that all *Catoes* regard and counſel in matters of gouernment was, to deliuer ROME from tyranny, and that if he had ſo great a charge vnder him, *Cæſar* being once ouercome, he would alſo force *Pompey* to leaue his armie, and ſo make him ſubiect to the law) he chaunged his mind, notwithſtanding he had already moued it to *Cato*, and leauing him, gaue *Bibulus* the charge of al his army by ſea. But *Cato* therfore ſhewed no leſſe goodwill vnto *Pompey*, then before. For it is reported, that in a certain skirmiſh & conflict before the city of DYRRACHIVM, *Pōpey* encouraging his ſoldiers, & commaunding euery captaine alſo to do the like in his quarter: the ſoldiers gaue but faint eare vnto thē, and made no maner of ſhew of men whoſe hearts had bene any whit the more encouraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came & told them (as the time ſerued) the reaſon of Philoſophie, touching liberty, manhood, death, and honor, and that with a vehement affection: & laſt of all, ending his oration, with calling vpon the gods, turning his ſpeech vnto them, as if they had bene preſent to haue ſeene how valiantly the ſouldiers fought for the liberty of their country: they gaue ſuch a luſty cry, & had ſuch a braue conceit and vehement deſire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, & ſo led them to battell, where they gaue ſuch a cruell charge and fierce onſet vpon their enemies, that they ouerthrew them, and put them that day to flight. Howbeit *Cæſars* good fortune tooke the finall end of this victorie from *Pompey*, by his ouer great feare and miſtruſt: who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victorie, as we haue written more amply in his life. But when all the reſt reioyced that they had done ſo noble an exploit, and made their vaunts of the great aduantage they had of their enemies: *Cato* to the contrarie bewailed the calamitie of his country, & lamented that curſed ambition which cauſed ſo many good and valiant citizens of one ſelfe citie, ſo to kill and murther one another. After this ouerthrow, *Cæſar* taking his way into THESSALIE, *Pompey* raiſed his campe to follow him, and leauing a great power at DYRRACHIVM, of men, armour, munition, and friends: he gaue *Cato* the charge of them all, and fifteene enſignes of footemen beſides. The which he did for the feare and miſtruſt he had of him, being aſſured, that if by ill fortune he ſhould loſe the battell, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a truſtier man then he: but on the other ſide if he wan the victory, he doubted ſore that he could not command as he wold, where *Cato* was. There were alſo many other noblemen, as a man would ſay, caſt away, and left at DYRRACHIVM with *Cato*. In fine, the ouerthrow of the battel at PHARSALIA being blown abroad, *Cato* reſolued with himſelfe if *Pompey* were dead, that he would paſſe ouer all his men into ITALY, and then like a baniſhed man would himſelfe alone wander as farre as he could from the tyrannie: and contrarily, if he were aliue, that then he would keepe his armie together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he paſſed ouer the ſea into the Ile of CORFV,

Cato leaueth Sicile.

Catoes lawes in Pompeys army.

VVhy Pompey changed his mind for the gouernment of the army by ſea.

VVhy Pompey left Cato at Dyrrachium.

where *Pompeys* armie by ſea lay. There *Cato* finding *Cicero*, he would haue ſurrendred vp his charge vnto him, as to a man of a greater dignitie, for that he had bene Conſull, and *Cato* onely but Prætor. Howbeit *Cicero* would in no wiſe receiue it, but returned immediatly into ITALIE. *Cato* then perceiuing that *Pompey* the younger (ſon vnto *Pompey* the Great) of a raſh and haughtie mind, would haue puniſhed all them that went into ITALIE, and left the armie by ſea, and that ſpecially he was bent firſt of all to begin with *Cicero*: *Cato* reproued him priuately for it, ſo that he certainely ſaued *Ciceroes* life, and many other mo beſides. Now *Cato* ſuppoſing that *Pompey* the Great had ſaued himſelf in ÆGYPT or in AFRICKE, he determined to take the ſeas, to meet him with all his men: but before he tooke ſhippe, he gaue all men leaue to depart that were not willing to follow him. *Cato* being arriued in AFRICKE, ſailing vp and downe the coaſt there, he met with *Sextus*, the youngeſt ſonne of *Pompey*, who firſt told him, that his father was ſlaine in ÆGYPT: when the ſouldiers heard it, they tooke it very heauily, and not one of them after the death of *Pompey* the Great, would ſerue vnder any other Captaine then *Cato*. He thereupon being aſhamed, and thinking it pitie alſo to leaue ſo many noble and good men that had ſerued ſo faithfully vnder him, without a Captaine, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to go: at their requeſt he was contented to take charge of them, and went firſt vnto the citie of CYRENES, where not many daies before, the citizens had ſhut the gates againſt *Labienus*. Being there, it was told him that *Scipio*, *Pompeys* father in law, was gotten vnto king *Iuba*, who had receiued him, and that *Actius Varus*, vnto whom *Pompey* had giuen the charge of the prouince of AFRICKE, was in their company with an army, and determined to go ioyne with them. So he went by land in the winter time, and had gotten a maruellous number of aſſes together, to cary water and victuals, which followed him with a great number of carts beſides, and of thoſe men, which the AFRICANS call PSILLES, to wit, they that do heale the ſtinging of ſerpents, and do ſucke out the poiſon with their mouths, and do furthermore charme and enchaunt the ſnakes, that they haue no power to do any hurt. He was ſeuen dayes together marching continually, and went a foote as a guide vnto his men, without helpe of horſe or beaſt. From that day foorth, on the which he vnderſtood of the battell loſt at PHARSALIA, he neuer ſupped, but ſitting,* and added that vnto the reſt of his ſorrow, that he neuer laid him downe, but when he went to bed for all night. *Cato* hauing paſſed the winter in LYBIA, he brought his ſouldiers into the field, which were about ten thouſand perſons. The affaires on their ſide had but hard ſucceſſe, for the contention and variance betwixt *Scipio* and *Varus*, for the which, they both flattered king *Iuba* to win his fauour: being a maruellous proud man for his greatneſſe and riches: as he ſhewed the firſt time he ſpake with *Cato*. For when *Cato* came, he cauſed his owne chaire to be ſet betwixt *Scipio* and *Cato*, to haue the honor to be in the midſt. But *Cato* perceiuing it, tooke vp his owne chaire, and ſet it on the other ſide by *Scipio* to put him in the middeſt, notwithſtanding that he was his enemy, and had written a ſhamefull booke againſt him. Many make no account of this fact of *Cato*, but reproue him, becauſe that walking one day with *Philoſtratus* in SICILE, he gaue him the vpper hand, honouring him for his Philoſophie. Thus *Cato* did pull downe the pride of the king at that time, who before had vſed *Scipio* and *Varus* as his noblemen and ſubiects: howbeit *Cato* did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the company prayed him to take charge of the whole armie, and that *Scipio* himſelfe, and *Varus* both, did firſt giue him place, and willingly reſigned vnto him the honour to command the whole campe: he anſwered them, he would not offend the law, ſith he made warre only to preſerue the authoritie and priuiledge thereof, neither would take vpon him to commaund all, himſelfe being but Viceprætor, where there was a Viceconſull preſent. For *Scipio* was created Proconſull, and furthermore, the people had a certaine confidence that their affaires would proſper the better if they had but the name of a *Scipio* to leade them in AFRICKE. Now when *Scipio* was Generall ouer them, he would ſtraight, for *Iubaes* ſake, haue put all the inhabitants of the citie of VTICA (without reſpect of age) vnto the ſword, and haue razed the houſes to the ground, as thoſe that had taken *Cæſars* part. Howbeit *Cato* would not ſuffer him, but proteſting vnto them that were preſent, and calling the gods to witneſſe in open councell, with great difficultie he ſaued the poore people of VTICA from that cruel tragedie and ſlaughter. Afterwards, partly at the requeſt of the people, and partly alſo at *Scipioes* inſtance, *Cato* tooke vpon him to keepe the citie, fearing leſt by treaſon, or againſt their wils it ſhould come into *Cæſars* hands: becauſe it was a ſtrong place of ſituation, and well repleniſhed with all things neceſſarie for him that ſhould keepe it. *Cato* did both furniſh it, and alſo fortifie it.

Cato ſaueth Ciceroes life, from Pompeys ſonne.

Cato went into Africke.

Psillis, he men which heale the ſtinging of ſerpents.

** Men in old time bathed and waſhed themſelues, and then layed them downe in their bed to ſuppe.*

The modeſtie and noble mind of Cato.

Cato ioyneth with Scipio in Africke.

Cato was made Gouernor of the city of Vtica.

For

For he brought in great ſtore of corne, he repaired the rampers of the wals, made great high towers, and caſt deepe trenches round about the city, paling them in: and betwixt the trenches and the towne, he lodged all the young men of VTICA, and compelled them to deliuer vp their armour and weapon, and kept all the reſt within the city it ſelfe, carefully prouiding, that neuer a man of them ſhould be hurt by the ROMAINES, and beſides, did alſo ſend corne, armor, munition and money vnto the campe: ſo that the city of VTICA was the ſtaple and ſtorehouſe of the wars. Moreouer, as he had before counſelled *Pompey* not to come to battell, the like counſell he now gaue alſo vnto *Scipio*: not to hazard battell againſt a man of great skill & experience in wars, but to take time, wherby, by litle and litle, he ſhould conſume the power & ſtrength of *Cæſars* tyranny. But *Scipio* was ſo ſtout, that he regarded not *Catoes* counſell, but wrote otherwhile vnto him, twitting him with his cowardlineſſe in this maner: That it was enough for him to be ſafe in a good city compaſſed about with wals, though otherwiſe he ſought not to hinder men to be valiant, to execute any enterpriſe as occaſion was offered. *Cato* wrote againe vnto him, that he was ready to go into ITALIE with his footmen and horſmen which he had brought into AFRICK to draw *Cæſar* from thẽ, & to turne him againſt him. *Scipio* made but a ſport at it. Then *Cato* ſhewed plainely, that he did repent him he had giuen him the preferment to be Generall of the army, becauſe he ſaw he wold but fondly proſecute this war: and alſo, that if he chanced to ouercome, he could not moderatly vſe the victory againſt his countrimen. Then he began to miſtruſt the good ſucceſſe of this war, (and ſo he told his friends) for the generals haſtineſſe and vnskilfulneſſe: and yet if beyond expectation it fell out well, and that *Cæſar* were ouerthrown, he would neuer dwell at ROME any more, but would fly the crueltie and bitterneſſe of *Scipio*, who euen at that preſent time did proudly threaten many. But in the end, that fell out ſooner then looked for. For a poſt came to him late that night, who but three daies before departed from the campe, and brought newes that all was loſt, in a great battell, by the city of THAPSES, which *Cæſar* had won: that he had taken both campes, that *Scipio* and king *Iuba* were fled with a few men, and that all the reſt of their army was ſlaine. Theſe newes did put the citizens in ſuch a feare and maze, (and ſpecially being in the warre, and in the night time) that for very feare they could ſcant keepe themſelues within the walles of their city. But *Cato* meeting with them, ſtayed them that ran vp and downe crying in the ſtreetes, and did comfort them the beſt he could. Yet he tooke not all their feare from them, though he brought them again vnto themſelues from the extaſie they were in, declaring vnto them, that the loſſe was nothing ſo great as it was made, and that it was a common matter to enlarge ſuch newes with words enough. By theſe perſwaſions, he ſomewhat pacified the tumult and vprore, and the next morning by breake of day, he made proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had choſen for his counſellers, ſhould come and aſſemble in the temple of *Iupiter*, they all being citizens of ROME, which for trafficke of merchandize lay in AFRICKE, and all the ROMAINE Senators and their children alſo. Now whilſt they gathered themſelues together, *Cato* himſelfe went very grauely with a ſet modeſt countenance, as if no ſuch matter had happened, hauing a litle booke in his hand, which he read as he went. This booke contained the ſtore and preparation of munition he had made for this warre, as corne, armour, weapons, bowes, ſlings, and footmen. When they were all aſſembled, he began greatly to commend the good loue and faithfulneſſe of theſe three hundred ROMAINES, which had profitably ſerued their country with their perſons, mony, and counſell, and did counſell them not to depart one from another, as men hauing no hope, or otherwiſe ſeeking to ſaue themſelues ſcatteringly. For remaining together, *Cæſar* would leſſe deſpiſe them, if they would make war againſt him: and would alſo ſooner pardon them, if they craued mercie of him. Therefore he counſelled them to determine what they would do, and for his owne part, he ſaid he would not miſlike whatſoeuer they determined of: for if their minds followed their fortune, he wold think this change to proceede of the neceſſitie of time. But if they were reſolued to withſtand their misfortune, and to hazard themſelues to defend their libertie: he then would not onely commend them, but hauing their noble courage in admiration, would himſelfe be their chiefetaine and companion, euen to proue the fortune of their country to the vttermoſt. The which was not VTICA, nor ADRVMETVM, but the city ſelfe of ROME: the which oftentimes through her greatneſſe, had raiſed her ſelfe from greater daungers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many waies to ſaue themſelues, and the greateſt meane of all was this: that they ſhould make warre with a man, who by reaſon of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAINE of the one ſide was vp

Scipio deſpiſeth Catoes counſell.

Catoes conſtancie in extremitie.

Catoes oration to the Romains at Vtica.

" againſt him, and tooke part with the younger *Pompey*: and the city of Rome alſo not being vſed
" to be bridled with the ſnaffle of ſuch inſolencie, could not abide it, but would rather riſe with a-
" ny other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuſe any danger, but to take example of
" their enemy: who to worke his miſchieuous intent, ſpareth not his perſon in any daunger. And
" contrarily alſo, that vnto them, the incertaintie of the war, if victory followed, would make them
" happy, as alſo in being ouerthrowne, their death would turne to immortall glory. Notwithſtan-
" ding, they were to thinke of the matter among themſelues, and to make their prayers to the gods,
" that in recompence of their vertue and good ſeruice which they had ſhewed thitherunto, they
" would grant them grace to determine for the beſt. After *Cato* had ended his oration, there were
diuers of thē that were ſtirred vp by his liuely perſwaſions, but the moſt part of them were enco-
raged by his conſtancy and noble mind, and alſo by his kindnes: ſo that they preſently forgat the
danger they were in, and prayed him to cōmand their perſons, goods, & weapons, as he thought
good, taking him for their only inuincible Captaine, of whom fortune had no power, thinking
it better to dy obeying his counſell, then to ſaue thēſelues, forſaking ſo valiant and worthy a man.

The equitie of Cato.

Then, when one of the aſſembly made a motion that they ſhould make their bondmen free, and
that diuers alſo did confirme it, *Cato* ſaid he would by no meanes ſuffer it, becauſe it was neither
meet nor lawfull: howbeit if their maiſters would manumiſſe thē, that he was contented to re-
ceiue thē for ſoldiers, that could weare any weapon. Diuers promiſed him to do it: and *Cato* cō-
manded their names ſhould be enrolled that wold, and ſo went his way. Immediatly after, letters
were brought him from king *Iuba* and *Scipio*: of the which, king *Iuba* was hidden in a mountaine
with few men with him, who ſent vnto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he
meant to forſake Vtica, he would tary him there: & if otherwiſe he determined to keepe Vti-
ca, then that he would come & helpe him with an army. *Scipio* on the other ſide riding at anker,
at a point of the land not far frō Vtica, ſtaid for the like anſwer. Thē *Cato* thought it beſt to ſtay
the meſſengers which had brought him their letters, till he ſaw what was the determination of
the 300. For all they that were Senatours of Rome, were very glad men, and did preſently make
their bondmen free, and gaue thē weapons. But the other three hundred which were merchant-
venturers, & that liued by vſury and exchange, who had the moſt part of their goods in ſlaues &
bondmen, did not long follow *Catoes* counſell: but like men, whoſe bodies ſoone receiue heate,
and are ſoone cold againe, when they are once gone from the fire: euen ſo thoſe merchants, while
Cato was preſent among them, had ſome good prety will & deſire: but when by themſelues they
had caſt their account, the feare they had of *Cæſar*, made thē forget the reuerence they bare vnto
Cato, and vnto their duty. For, ſaid they, what are we, & what is he whom we diſdaine to obey?
Is it not *Cæſar* himſelf, who at this day is Lord & Emperor of Rome? Neuer a one of vs is *Scipio*,
Pompey, nor *Cato*: and yet now, when all men for feare (and in manner compelled) do yeeld and
ſubmit themſelues, we will needes take vpon vs within the wals of Vtica to fight for the liberty
of Rome, againſt him, for whom, *Cato* flying with *Pompey*, forſooke Italy: and we now make
our bondmen free to fight with *Cæſar*, hauing no better liberty our ſelues, then it pleaſeth him to
giue vs. Let vs therefore now know our ſelues whileſt we haue time, and craue mercy at his
hands that is the ſtronger, and ſend vnto him to pray him to pardon vs. The greateſt and wiſeſt
men of thoſe three hundred merchants, had this ſpeech. But the moſt part of them ſought means
how to entrap the Senatours, hoping the better of mercie at *Cæſars* hand, if they did deliuer them
vnto him. *Cato* did looke for this chaunge in them, but yet vttered not that he thought, and re-
turned the meſſengers backe againe vnto king *Iuba*, and *Scipio*, and wrote vnto them: that they
ſhould beware they came not neare Vtica, becauſe he did miſtruſt theſe three hundred mer-
chants. Now there were a great number of horſemen which had eſcaped from the battell, who
comming towards Vtica, ſent three of their company vnto *Cato*, the which brought him not
one ſelfe determination from all the company. For ſome of them meant to go vnto king *Iuba*, o-
thers alſo to ioyne with *Cato*, and part of them were affraid to come into Vtica. Theſe things
being thus reported vnto *Cato*, he commaunded *Marcus Rubrius* to take care of theſe three hun-
dred men, and to receiue the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumiſſed, without
compelling of any man. In the meane time, *Cato* with all the Senatours went out of Vtica, to
meet with theſe horſemen, and there he ſpake to the Captaines, & prayed them that they would
not forſake ſo many noblemen & Senators of Rome as were there: & that they would not haue
king *Iuba* for their captain before *Cato*, but to come into Vtica: where they might ſaue thēſelues

Cato forſaken of three hundred Romaine Merchants at Vtica.

Catoes pity & regard vnto the Senators.

the

the city was of ſuch ſtrength, and beſides, ſo well armed and victualled for many yeares. The like requeſt did the Senatours alſo make vnto them, with the teares running downe their cheekes. Thereupon the Captaines went and ſpake with their ſouldiers. *Cato* in the meane time ſate him downe on a litle hill, with the Senators, tarying for anſwer. But then on the ſodaine came *Rubrius* vnto him in great haſt, complaining of the tumult of theſe three hundred merchants, which went about to make the city to rebell: wherupon the reſt (their harts failing them) fell to bewaile their miſerable fortune. But *Cato* ſought to comfort them, and then ſent vnto the three hundred merchants, to pray them to haue a litle patience. So the Captains returned againe with vnreaſonable demaunds of the horſemen. For they ſaid, that they cared not for king *Iubaes* pay, neither were they afraid of *Cæſars* malice, ſo that they had *Cato* for their generall: yet to be pend vp within the wals of a city with AFRICANS, that were PHOENICIANS, and a traiterous nation as could be, that grieued them moſt of all. For, ſaid they, though now they ſtirre not, and be quiet: yet when *Cæſar* comes, they will be the firſt that will betray vs, and cut our throates. And therefore, if *Cato* would haue them to ioyne with him in this war, that he ſhould either kill or driue away all the VTICANS out of the city, and then that they would come into it, when it was cleare of all thoſe barbarous people their enemies. *Cato* thought this a cruell and barbarous condition, neuertheleſſe he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and ſo returning againe into VTICA, he ſpake vnto them. But they then not regarding the reuerence vnto *Cato*, diſſembling no longer, ſaid openly, that they would not like of him whatſoeuer he were, that ſhould compell them to make war with *Cæſar*, both becauſe they would not, nor could not do it. Further, there were ſome of them that mumbled to themſelues, that the Senators ſhold be kept there, till *Cæſar* came. *Cato* ouerheard them, for indeed his hearing was not very quicke. At that very inſtant one came to him, and told him, that the horſemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing leſt theſe three hundred merchants would lay hands vpon the Senators: he went vnto them himſelfe with his friends, and perceiuing they were gone a great way off, he tooke his horſe and rode after thē. They reioycing to ſee him come, receiued him among them, and prayed him to ſaue himſelfe with them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to ſaue the Senatours, and that with ſuch affection, as it forced teares in him: beſides, he held vp his hands vnto them, tooke their horſes by the bridles, and themſelues by their weapons, that at the length he obtained of them, that they would remain there one day at the leaſt, to helpe the Senators to ſaue themſelues. So *Cato* returning with them into the city, he appointed ſome of them to ward at the gates, and put others alſo in garriſon into the caſtell: ſo that the three hundred merchants quaked for feare, leſt he would haue bene reuenged of them, becauſe of their returne with him. Thereupon they ſent vnto *Cato*, humbly to pray him to come vnto them in any caſe. But the Senators flocking about him, would not ſuffer him to go, and ſaid, that they would not caſt away their ſauior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doubtleſſe, all that were within VTICA, plainly ſaw the vertue and ſimplicity of *Cato*, and found that there was no fraud nor deceipt in him: who hauing long time reſolued to kill himſelfe, he onely tooke that extreame paines and care for others, that their liues being ſaued, he might then rid himſelf of his own. For men might eaſily ſee, though he diſſembled it, that he was reſolued to die. Wherupon, hauing comforted the Senators, he yeelded vnto the requeſts of the 300. merchants, and went himſelfe alone vnto them. Then they thanked him much for his comming, & prayed him to command them, and boldly to truſt thē: ſo that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*, & would take pitie of their faint harts, though they were not ſo cōſtant and noble minded as he. For they were determined to ſend vnto *Cæſar*, ſpecially to intreate him for him: & if that they could not obtaine pardon for him, then they were aſſured they could haue none for themſelues, and therefore would fight for the ſafetie of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking them for their goodwils, anſwered: that they ſhould ſend quickly to craue pardon for themſelues, but to aske none for him. For, ſaid he, men that be ouercome, & haue offended, it ſtandeth them vpon to make humble ſute, & to craue pardon: but for himſelfe, he was neuer ouercome in his life, & yet had ouercome as much as he deſired, and had alwaies bene better then *Cæſar* in iuſtice, who only (not himſelfe) was now taken and ouercome: the thing being apparantly proued in fight againſt him, which he had alwaies denyed to haue practiſed againſt his country. When he had made this anſwer vnto the three hundred merchants, he departed frō them. Newes being brought that *Cæſar* was in his way with all his army, coming towards VTICA: O gods, ſayed he, then he commeth againſt vs, as againſt men. Then turning

Cato an earneſt ſuter for the Senators.

The ſincerity of Cato.

Catoes mind vnconquerable

vnto the Senators, he gaue them counsell quickly to saue thẽselues, whilst the horsemen were yet in the citie. So shutting all the gates of the city, sauing that towards the hauen: he appointed ships for them all, and set euery thing at a stay, without tumult or disorder, no man hauing iniurie offered him, and gaue euery one money to make way for their safetie. When *Marcus Ollanius* (who came with two legions, and camped hard by VTICA) sent vnto *Cato*, to determine which of them two should be Generall: he made no answer, but turning to his friends, said: How can we wonder any more that all goeth to wracke with vs, sith there is such ambition amongst vs for the gouernment, euen now, when we are at the last cast? In the meane time word was brought him, how the horsemen going their way were spoiling of the citizens goods, as a lawfull prey in war. He straight ran thither himselfe, and the first he met withall, he tooke from them that they had gotten. The rest, before he came vnto them, threw downe that they were carying away, and hanging downe their heads for shame, they went their way, and said nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the citizens of VTICA together, prayed them not to incense nor moue *Cæsar* against the three hundred, but rather to craue of him pardon for them all. Then he went againe to the peere, and there embracing his friends, and taking his leaue of them all, he brought them to their ships. Now for his son, he did not counsell him to go, neither did he thinke it meet to vrge him to forsake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius* a yong man in his company, of a noble courage, that was determined to follow the inuincible constancie of *Cato*: who counselled him to take the sea, and to saile away with the rest, because he knew he was *Cæsars* mortall enemy. *Statilius* said he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him vnto *Apollonides* a Stoick Philosopher, & vnto *Demetrius* a Peripateticke Philosopher, said: You must take this stout yong man, to perswade him to obey vnto necessity. *Cato* himselfe in the meane time sent away the rest, and did minister iustice vnto thẽ that required it: spending all that night, & the next day about those matters. Then *Lucius Cæsar*, the kinsman of *Iulius Cæsar* the conqueror, being chosen by the three hundred, to go & make sute vnto him for them all, came and prayed *Cato* to help him to make his oration, which he shold say vnto *Cæsar* for them all: and as for thee, *Cato*, said he, I will kisse his hands, and fall downe on my knees before him to intreat him for thee. Nay said *Cato*, thou shalt not do so. For if I would saue my life by *Cæsars* grace, I could do it, if I wold but go vnto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyrant for iniustice. For it is an iniustice in him to take vpon him, as a Lord and soueraigne to saue a mans life, when himself hath no authority to command. But yet let vs consider if thou wilt, what thou shalt say, to craue pardon for the three hundred. So they were awhile together considering the matter: and in fine, *Lucius Cæsar* being ready to depart, *Cato* recommended his son and friends vnto him, and imbracing him, tooke his leaue of him. Then he returned vnto his lodging, and calling his son and friends before him, and talking of many matters: among others he charged his sonne in no case to meddle in the affaires of the commonwealth. For, said he, to deale vprightly like *Catoes* sonne, the corruption of the time and state will not abide it: and contrarily, obseruing the time, thou canst not do like an honest man. Towards euening he went into his bath to wash himselfe, and as he was a bathing, thinking vpon *Statilius*, he cried out aloud: Well *Apollonides*, thou hast at length yet perswaded *Statilius* to go his way, and pulled downe his stout courage he had: and is he gone without bidding vs farewell? How, gone, said *Apollonides*? Nay his hart is now more stout and couragious then euer it was, notwithstanding all the perswasions we could vse vnto him: for he is determined to tary, & to take such part as thou doest. After he had bathed himselfe, he went to supper, and sate at his meat, as he had alwaies vsed after the battell of PHARSALIA, and neuer lay, but when he went to bed: & he had all his friends, & the chiefe Magistrates of VTICA to supper with him. After supper they fell into graue talke, & matters of Philosophie: till at length they came vnto the strange opinion of the Stoicke Philosophers, which was this: that only the good man is free, & all the euil be slaues. The Peripatetick Philosopher that was present there, was straight against it. But *Cato* was very earnest against the Peripatetick, & argued the matter a long time, with a vehement speech & contention: insomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid himselfe out of all those troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and saw that euery man held their peace, and looked sadly of it: to comfort them againe, and to put the suspition of his death out of their heads: he beganne againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and seemed to be carefull of them, as though he had bene affrayed lest some misfortune were come vnto them vpon the sea, or vnto them that were gone by land, because they passed through deserts, where there was no water to be had.

Cato reproueth the ambition of men.

Statilius, a follower of Cato.

Cato would not haue pardõ begged of Cesar for him.

Cato forbad his son to meddle with matters of State in a corrupt time.

The Paradoxes of the Stoicks.

Now

Now when ſupper was done, and the ſtraungers gone, he walked as his manner was with his friends, and hauing taken order with the Captains of the watch for matters of ſeruice, as the time required: going into his chamber he embraced his ſon and his friends more louingly then he was wont to do, whereby he made them againe ſuſpect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his chamber and layed in his bed, he tooke *Platoes* dialogues in hand, treating of the ſoule, and read the moſt part of it. Then looking by his beds ſide, and miſſing his ſword (which his ſon had taken from him when he was at ſupper) he called one of the groomes of his chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his ſword away: his man made him no anſwer, and he fell againe to reade his booke. Then a pretie while after, not ſeeming to be importunate, or ouer haſtie of the matter, but as though he would only know what became of it: he willed thē to bring him his ſword againe. They taried long, and he had read ouer all the booke, but yet his ſword was not brought him againe. Whereupon he called for all his men one after another, and very angrily asked them his ſword, and gaue one of them ſuch a blow on the face, that his noſe fell a bleeding, and his hand was all bloudy withall, and cryed out that his ſonne and his ſeruants would deliuer him naked into the hands of his enemy: vntill his ſon and friends at length ranne vnto him, and falling downe on their knees, lamented, and beſought him to be contented. *Cato* then riſing out of his bed, looked grimly vpon them, and ſaid vntō them: O gods, who euer ſaw me in this taking? Why doth no man by reaſon perſwade me, if they ſee me out of the way: and not to keepe me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doeſt not thou (my ſonne) bind thy fathers hands behind him, that when *Cæſar* commeth, he may find me in caſe not to defend my ſelfe? I do not deſire my ſword to hurt my ſelfe, for if I had any ſuch mind, I need but hold my breath a litle, or giue but a knocke of my head againſt the wall onely, and diſpatch my ſelfe quickly. When he had ſaid thus, his ſonne went out of his chamber weeping, and all his friends alſo, no man remaining with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, vnto whom he ſpake more gently, and reaſoned in this ſort. What, do you thinke to keepe an old man as I am aliue by force? And haue you taried behind but to ſit ſtaring vpon me, and ſay nothing vnto me? If otherwiſe elſe, by reaſon you come to perſwade me, that it ſhall be no ſhame for *Cato*, diſpairing of the ſafetie of his life, to ſeeke it by the grace and mercie of his enemie: why then do you not now tell me your reaſons to perſwade me, that forſaking all other fancies and determinations which hitherunto we haue holden for good, being on a ſodaine become wiſer by *Cæſars* meanes, we ſhould be bound the more therefore to giue him thankes? I do not tell you this that I haue determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I liſt) to put the thing in execution I haue determined: but yet I will conſult with you, when I am ſo determined, to heare the reaſons and opinion of your bookes, which your ſelues do vſe in diſcourſe and argument together. Go your way therefore hardily vnto my ſon, and tell him that he muſt not thinke to compell his father vnto that, which he cannot proue good vnto him by reaſon. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his chamber. Then his ſword was brought him by a litle boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his ſword was ſharpe and would cut: when he ſaw it was well: O, ſaid he, now I am where I would be, and ſo laying downe the ſword naked by him, he tooke his booke againe in his hand, and read it ouer (as they ſay) twiſe together. Then he ſlept ſo ſoundly after it, that his men which were without his chamber heard him ſnort againe. About midnight he called for two of his freemen, *Cleanthes* his Phiſitian, and *Butas*, whom he chiefly employed in his waightieſt affaires of the commonwealth. So he ſent him vnto the hauen, to ſee if all his men that were imbarked were vnder ſaile: and gaue his hand to the Phiſitian to be bound vp, becauſe it was ſwollen with the blow he gaue one of his ſlaues when he hit him on the face. All his ſeruants were glad to heare of that, hoping then that he deſired to liue. Soone after came *Butas* backe againe from the hauen, and brought him word that all were gone but *Craſſus*, who ſtayed about ſome buſineſſe he had, and yet that he was going to take ſhip: howbeit that the ſea was very rough, and wind exceeding great. *Cato* hearing this, ſighed, being ſorie for them that were vpon the ſea: and ſent *Butas* backe againe to the hauen, to ſee if any man came backe for any matter they had to ſay vnto him. The litle birds began to chirpe, and *Cato* fell againe in a litle ſlumber. But thereupon *Butas* returned, and brought him word that all was quiet in the hauen, and there was no ſtirre. Then *Cato*, bad him go his way, and ſhut too the doore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had meant to haue ſlept out all the reſt of the

Platoes dialogues of the ſoule.

Catoes laſt words vnto the Philoſophers his friends.

Cato conſidered his ſword wherwith he killed himſelf.

The death of Cato.

night. *Butas* backe was no ſooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked ſword in his hand, thruſt it into his breaſt: howbeit the ſwelling of his hand made the blow ſo weake, that it killed him not preſently, but drawing on to his latter end, he fell downe vpon his bed, and made ſuch a noiſe with his fall (ouerthrowing a litle table of Geometrie hard by his bed) that his ſeruants hearing the noiſe, gaue a great ſhreeke for feare. Thereupon his ſonne and his friends ran into the chamber, and found him all of a goare bloud, and the moſt part of his bowels comming out of his bodie, himſelfe being yet aliue and ſeeing them. They were all ſtricken with ſuch ſorrow to behold it, that at the firſt they were ſo amazed, as they could not tell what to ſay to it. His Phiſition comming to him, he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not periſhed, and to ſow vp his wound. But *Cato* comming to himſelf, thruſt backe the Phiſitian, and tore his bowels with his own hands, and made his wound very great, and immediatly gaue vp the ghoſt. Wherupon the three hundred ROMAINES (in leſſe time then a man would haue thought *Catoes* owne houſhold ſeruants could haue knowne of his death) were at his doores, and immediatly after all the people of VTICA alſo came thither, and with one voice called *Cato* their benefactor and ſauiour, and ſaid he only was a freeman, and had an inuincible mind: and this was done, when they heard ſay that *Cæſar* was not farre from VTICA. Furthermore, neither feare of the preſent danger, nor the deſire to flatter the Conqueror, neither any priuate quarrell amongſt themſelues, could keepe

Catoes funerals

them from honoring *Catoes* funerals. For ſumptuouſly ſetting out his bodie, and honorably accompanying his funerals as might be, they buried him by the ſea ſide, where at this preſent time is to be ſeene his image, holding a ſword in his hand. After that they made their beſt way to ſaue themſelues and their citie. Now *Cæſar* being aduertiſed by them that came vnto him, how *Cato* ſtirred not from VTICA, nor fled not, but ſent all others away, ſauing himſelfe and his ſonne, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing: he could not deuiſe what he meant by it. Therfore eſteeming *Cato* much, he made haſt with all the ſpeed he could with his army to come thither. But whē he vnderſtood that *Cato* had ſlain himſelf, writers do report he ſaid

Cæſars ſaying vnto Cato the dead.

thus: O *Cato*, I enuie thy death, ſith thou haſt enuied mine honour to ſaue thy life. For indeede had *Cato* bene contented *Cæſar* ſhould haue ſaued his life, he had not ſo much impaired his own honour, as he had augmented *Cæſars* glorie. And yet what *Cæſar* would haue done, men make it doubtfull, ſauing that they coniecture well of *Cæſars* clemencie. *Cato* dyed when he was but

The ſonne of Cato what conditions he had.

eight and forty yeares old. For his ſonne, *Cæſar* neuer did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him that he was very idlely giuen, and laſciuious beſides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a noblemans houſe of the kings bloud, called *Maphradates*, who had a faire woman to his wife: he taried longer there then he might well with honeſtie, whereupon he fell to be a laughing ſtocke to the people, and in mockerie they ſaid, *Cato* will go to morrow, a thirty daies hence. And further, that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friends, but they haue but one mind: and the reaſon

Pſyche, ſignifieth mind.

was, becauſe *Maphradates* wife was called *Pſyche*, which in the Greeke ſignifieth, mind: and *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a princely mind: howbeit his famous death did ſtoppe this infamous ſpeech. For he valiantly fighting againſt *Auguſtus* and *Antonius*, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for the liberty of his countrie: their army being ouerthrown and fled, he would neither flie nor hide himſelfe, but running in amongſt his enemies, he made them know what he was, by encouraging thoſe of his ſide, which yet did defend themſelues, til he was ſlaine in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnes. Furthermore, *Porcia*, the daughter of *Cato*, gaue no place vnto her father, neither for chaſtity, nor greatneſſe of mind. For ſhe being maried vnto *Brutus*, who ſlue *Cæſar*,

The death of Porcia, the daughter of Cato, and wife of Brutus.

was of the conſpiracie, and ſlue her ſelfe as couragiouſly as became the vertue and nobility of her bloud from whence ſhe came, as we haue more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* alſo, who had ſaid he would runne *Catoes* fortune (as we haue told you before) was kept from killing of himſelfe by the Philoſophers, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*. But after that time hauing ſhewed himſelfe very faithfull and ſeruiceable vnto *Brutus* in all his affaires, he was ſlaine in the field alſo at the battell of PHILIPPES.

The death of Statilius.

The end of Catoes life.

AGIS

AGIS AND CLEOMENES.

TRuly the fable of *Ixion* was not ill deuiſed againſt ambitious perſons: who imbracing a cloud for the goddeſſe *Iuno*, begot (as it is ſayd) the CENTAVRI. For euen ſo ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of vertue, do neuer any act that is good nor perfect: but being caried away with diuerſe fancies, and following others humors with deſire to pleaſe the people, they may as the heardmen in the tragedy of *Sophocles* (ſpeaking of their cattell) ſay: *The fable of Ixion againſt ambitious perſons.*

We waite vpon their beaſts, though we their maiſters be,
And whereſoeuer they become, there alſo follow we.

Such indeed are they compared to, that gouerne common weales after peoples luſt and fancy: who doubtleſſe are as their ſeruants obedient at call, becauſe they onely may enioy the glorious title and name of an officer. For like as in a ſhip the mariners that ſtand in the prowe, do better ſee before them, then the pilots that ſteere the helme in the poope, and yet lookes alwayes backe vnto them to ſee what they commaund: euen ſo, they that gouerne in the commonwealth for honors ſake, are no better then honourable ſlaues of the people, hauing no more but the bare name of a gouernour. But indeed, the perfect good and honeſt man ſhould neuer couet outward glory, but as a meane to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credite of his doings. And for a young man that coueteth honour by vertue, giue him leaue a litle to glory in his well doing: for as *Theophraſtus* ſayth, vertue buddeth and flouriſheth in youth, and taketh faſt roote by praiſes giuen, as wit and courage groweth in them. But ouermuch praiſe is daungerous in euery perſon, but chiefly in ambitious gouernours. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many deſperate parts: for they will not allow that honour proceeds of vertue, but that honour is vertue it ſelfe. But indeed they ſhould ſay as *Phocion* did vnto *Antipater*, that requeſted an vnlawfull matter of him: Thou canſt not, ſayd he, haue *Phocion* a friend and flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be ſayd vnto the people: you cannot both haue one, a maiſter and a ſeruant, that can commaund and obey together. Or elſe the miſchiefe ſpoken of in the tale of the Dragon muſt needs happen, which was: the taile on a time fel out with the head, and complained, ſaying, it would another while go before, and would not alwayes come behind. The head graunted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing how to guide the head, and beſides that the head thereby was tormented euery way, being compelled againſt nature to follow that part and member, which could neither heare, nor ſee how to guide it. The like matter haue we ſeene happē vnto many, which in the adminiſtration of the commonwealth, did ſeeke to pleaſe the humors of the multitude. For whē they haue once put their heads vnder their girdles to pleaſe the common people, which without cauſe and reaſon do ſoone rebell: they can by no poſſible meanes afterwards bridle their furie and inſolencie. Now the reaſon that made vs to enter into diſcourſe againſt the ambition and vaine glorie

Theophraſtus of the praiſe of vertue.

Immoderate praiſe very dangerous.

Phocions ſaying.

The fable of the Dragons head and taile.

Plutarch excuſeth the Gracchi.

amongst the people: was the consideration I had of their great power, remembring the misfortunes of *Tiberius* & *Caius Gracchi*: both of the which comming of a noble house, and hauing bene maruellous well brought vp, and managing also the affaires of the common wealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the end cast away: not so much through couetousnesse of glory, as for feare of dishonour, which came also of no base mind. For they hauing receiued great pleasures and frienships of the people, were ashamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earnestly sought to exceed the people in goodwill, by new decrees & deuices, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their parts contended to honor them the more, by how much they striued to shew themselues thankfull. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people to honour them, were so vnwares entangled with publike causes, that they could no more follow the common prouerbe, which saith:

Although our deeds dissent from equity,
Yet can we not desist with honesty.

This thou shalt easily find by the declaration of the history. With these we do compare two other popular men, both kings of Lacedæmon. *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they as the *Gracchi*, seeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the iust and honest gouernment againe of the common wealth of Lacedæmon, which of long time had bene out of vse: did in like manner purchase the hate of the Nobility, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted couetousnesse. Indeed these two Laconians were no brethren borne, but yet did both follow one selfe course and forme of gouernement, which had beginning in this sort. After that couetousnesse of gold and siluer crept againe into the city of Sparta, and with riches, couetousnesse also and misery, and by vse, voluptuousnesse and licentious life: Sparta then was voide of all honor and goodnesse, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonor, vntill king *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to raigne there. *Agis* was of the house of the *Eurytiontides*, the sonne of *Eudamedas*, the sixt of lineall descent after *Agesilaus*, who had bene the greatest prince of all Grece in his time. This *Agesilaus* had a sonne slaine in Italy by the Messapians, called *Archidamus*, before the city of Mandonivm. *Archidamus* had issue two sonnes, *Agis* and *Eudamidas* that was king, who succeeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* slue before the city of Megalipolis, and left no children behind him. *Eudamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Eudamidas*: which *Eudamidas* also begat *Agis*, whose life we now write of.

The linage of Agis.

Leonidas also, the sonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other family of the *Agiades*, the eight of succession after *Pausanias*, who slue *Mardonius*, the kings Lieutenant generall of Persia, in a battell fought before the city of Platæes. This *Pausanias* had a son called *Pliſtonax*, & *Pliſtonax* also another, called *Pausanias*: who flying from Sparta vnto the city of Tegea, his eldest son *Agesipolis* was made king in his fathers roome, who dying without issue, his yõger brother *Cleombrotus* succeeded him in the kingdome. *Cleombrotus* had two sons, *Agesipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which, *Agesipolis* raigned not long king, and died without issue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother, who was king after him, had two sons, *Acrotatus* the elder, that died in his fathers life time: and *Cleomynus* the yonger which suruiued him, & was not king, but one *Areus* his nephew, the son of *Acrotatus*. This *Areus* died before the city of Corinth: who hauing another *Acrotatus* to his son, he succeeded him in the kingdome. He also died at a battell before the city of Megalipolis, and was slaine there by the tyrant *Aristodemus*, leauing his wife great with child. She being brought to bed after his death of a sonne, whom *Leonidas* the sonne of *Cleonymus* taught and brought vp: the child dying very yong, the crowne by his death was cast vpon *Leonidas* himselfe. Howbeit his manners and conditions neuer liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the commonwealth, and cleane out of order: yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming most the auncient Laconian life: because he had bene long time brought vp in princes houses, and followed also *Seleucus* court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of those courts into Grece, where law and reason ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not only farre excell *Leonidas*, in honour and magnanimity of mind: but all other almost also which had raigned in Sparta from the time of *Agesilaus* the great. So that when *Agis* was not yet twenty yeares old, & being daintily brought vp with the fineneſſe of two women, his mother *Agistrata*, and *Archidamia* his grandmother, which had more gold and siluer, then all the Lacedæmonians else, he began to spurne against these womanish delights and pleasures, in making himselfe faire to be the better beliked, and to be fine and trimme in his apparell, and to cast vpon him a plaine

The linage of Leonidas.

Aristodemus, tyrant of Megalipolis.

Leonidas brought superfluity and excesse into Sparta.

The continency of Agis.

plaine Spaniſh cape, taking pleaſure in the diet, bathes, and manner of the auncient LACONIAN life: and openly boaſted beſides, that he would not deſire to be king, but only for the hope he had to reſtore the auncient LACONIAN life by his authority. Then began the ſtate of LACEDÆMON firſt to be corrupted, and to leaue her auncient diſcipline, when the LACEDÆMONIANS hauing ſubdued the Empire of the ATHENIANS, ſtored themſelues and countrey both, with plenty of gold and ſiluer. But yet reſeruing ſtill the lands left vnto them by ſucceſſion from their fathers, according vnto *Lycurgus* firſt ordinance and inſtitution, for diuiſion of lands amongſt them: which ordinance, and equalitie being inuiolably kept amongſt them, did yet preſerue the common wealth from defamation of diuerſe other notorious crimes: vntill the time of the authoritie of *Epitadeus*, one of the *Ephores*, a ſeditious man, and of proud conditions: who bitterly falling out with his owne ſonne, preferred a law, that euery man might lawfully giue his lands and goods whileſt he liued, or after his death by teſtament, vnto any man whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this man made this law to ſatisfie his anger, and others alſo did confirme it for couetouſneſſe ſake, and ſo ouerthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy lands of numbers, and ſo transferred it from the right and lawfull heires: whereby a few men in ſhort time being made very rich, immediatly after there fell out great pouerty in the city of SPARTA, which made all honeſt ſciences to ceaſe, and brought in thereupon vnlawfull occupations, who enuied them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not aboue ſeuen hundred naturall citizens of SPARTA in all, and of them, not aboue a hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the reſt were poore people in the city, and were of no countenance nor calling, and beſides that, went vnwillingly to the warres againſt their enemies, looking euery day for ſtirre and chaunge in the city. *Agis* therefore thinking it a notable good act (as indeed it was) to repleniſh the city of SPARTA againe, and to bring in the old equalitie, he moued the matter vnto the citizens. He found the youth (againſt all hope) to giue good eare vnto him, and very well giuen vnto vertue, eaſily chaunging their garments and life, to recouer their liberty againe. But the oldeſt men, which were now euen rotten with couetouſneſſe and corruption, they were afraid to returne againe to the ſtraight ordinances of *Lycurgus*, as a ſlaue and runnagate from his maiſter, that trembleth when he is brought backe againe vnto him. Therefore they reproued *Agis*, when he did lament before them their preſent miſerable eſtate, and wiſh alſo for the former auncient honour and true dignitie of SPARTA. Howbeit *Lyſander* the ſonne of *Lybis*, and *Mandroclidas* the ſonne of *Ecphanes*, and *Ageſilaus* alſo, greatly commended his noble deſire, and perſwaded him to go forward withall. This *Lyſander* was of great authority and eſtimation amongſt them in the city, *Mandroclidas* was alſo very wiſe, and carefull about any matter of counſell, and with his wiſdome and pollicy, very valiant: *Ageſilaus* in like manner, the kings vnckle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and couetous, and yet prickt forward to giue his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his ſonne *Hippomedon*, who was a noble good ſouldier, and could do very much, by meanes of the loue and good will the young men did beare him. But indeed, the ſecret cauſe that brought *Ageſilaus* to conſent vnto this practiſe, was the greatneſſe of his debt which he ought, of the which he hoped to be diſcharged by chaunging of the ſtate and common wealth. Now when *Agis* had wonne him, he ſought by his meanes to draw his mother alſo vnto the matter, which was *Ageſilaus* ſiſter. She could do very much by the number of her friends, followers, and debters in the city, by whoſe meanes ſhe ruled the moſt part of the affaires of the city after her owne pleaſure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her priuie vnto it, at the firſt ſhe was amazed withall, and bad him hold his peace if he were wiſe, and not meddle in matters vnpoſſible and vnprofitable. But when *Ageſilaus* had told her what a notable act it would be, and how eaſily it might be brought to paſſe, with maruellous great profit: and that king *Agis* began alſo to ſtraine her with great intreatie, that ſhe ſhould willingly depart with her goods to win her ſonne honor and glory: who though he could not in mony and riches come to be like vnto other kings (becauſe the ſlaues and factors only of the kings *Seleucus* and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the kings of SPARTA had together that euer raigned) yet if in temperance, thriftineſſe, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to reſtore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe vnto equalitie: that then indeed he ſhould be counted a noble king. Theſe women being ſtirred vp with ambition by theſe perſwaſions of the young man, ſeeing him ſo nobly bent, as if by the gods their minds had ſecretly bene inflamed with the loue of vertue: did preſently alter their minds in ſuch ſort, that they them-

The beginning of the Lacedemonians fall, from their ancient diſcipline.

Lycurgus rhetra, for partition of lands, broken by Epitadeus lawe.

Epitadeus law for deuiſe of lands by will.

Agis goeth about to reduce the commonwealth to her ancient eſtate.

How louing the Lacedemonians were vnto their wiues.

selues did pricke forward *Agis*, and sent for their friends to pray and intreate them to fauor his enterprise: and furthermore they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDEMONIANS did euer heare and beleeue their wiues, suffering them to vnderstand more of the affaires of the state, then they themselues did of their priuate estate at home. Herein is to be considered, that the most part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were against it, not onely because thereby they were cut off from their fineneſſe and excesse, in the which being ignorant of the true good indeed, they put all their felicity: but also because they saw their honour and authority which they had by their riches, cleane troden vnder foote. Therefore they comming to *Leonidas*, they did perswade him to reproue *Agis*, because he was elder man than he, and to let that this enterprise went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in fauor of the rich, but fearing the common people, who desired nothing but alteration, he durst not openly speake against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder *Agis* practise, talking with the Magistrates of the city, and accusing *Agis* vnto them, he told them how he did offer the rich mens goods vnto the poore, the diuision of their lands, and the abolishing of all debts, for reward to put the tyranny into his hands, & that therby he got him a strong gard vnto himselfe, but not many citizens vnto SPARTA. This notwithstanding, king *Agis* hauing procured *Lysander* to be chosen one of the *Ephores*, he presently preferred his law vnto the councell. The articles whereof were these: That such as were in debt, should be cleared of all their debts, and that the lands also should be deuided into equall parts: so that from the valley of Pallena vnto mount Taugetus, and vnto the cities of MALEA and SELASIA, there should be foure thousand fiue hundred parts, and without those bounds, there should be in all the rest, fifteene thousand parts, the which should be distributed vnto their neighbours meete to cary weapon: and the rest vnto the naturall SPARTANS. The number of them should be repleniſhed with their neighbors and strangers in like maner, which should be very well brought vp, and be able men besides to serue the commonwealth: all the which afterwards should be deuided into fifteene cõpanies, of the which, some should receiue two hundred, and others foure hundred men, & should liue according to the old ancient institutiõ obserued by their ancestors. This law being preferred vnto the Senate, the Senators grew to diuerse opinions vpon it. Whereupon *Lysander* himselfe assembled the great councell of all the people, & there spake vnto them himselfe, & *Mandroclidas*, and *Agesilaus* also, praying them not to suffer the honor of SPARTA to be troden vnder foote, for the vanity of a few: but that they would remember the auncient Oracles of the gods, warning them to beware of auarice, as of the plague and destruction of the commonwealth: and of the late Oracle also brought vnto them, from the temple of *Pasiphaé*. The temple and Oracle of *Pasiphaé*, was famous at the city of THALAMES: and some say, that *Pasiphaé* was one of the daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with child by *Iupiter*, and was deliuered of a son called *Hammon*. Other thinke that it was *Cassandra*, one of king *Priamus* daughters that died there, which was surnamed *Pasiphaé*, because she gaue all the aunswers and Oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Daphné* the daughter of *Amycla*, flying from *Apollo* that would haue rauished her, was turned into a lawrell tree, and honored by *Apollo* with the gift of prophecy. So, they said that this Oracle of the god commanded them, that the SPARTANS should againe returne vnto their former ancient equality, stablished first by *Lycurgus* law. When euery man else had spoken, king *Agis* rising vp, briefly speaking vnto the people, sayd: that he would bestow great contributions for the reformation of this commonwealth, which he was desirous to restore againe. For first of all, he would make common all his arable and pasture he had, and besides that, he would adde too sixe hundred talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsmen and friends, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in SPARTA. When the people heard what he sayd, they maruelled much at the noble mind of this young king, and were very glad of it, saying: that for three hundreth yeares space together, the city of SPARTA had not so worthy a king as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily assayed with all his power he could to resist him, thinking with himselfe, that if king *Agis* purpose tooke place, he should also be compelled to do as he did, and yet he should haue no thankes, but king *Agis*: because that all the SPARTANS indifferently should be compelled to make their goods in common, but the honor should be his only that first began it. So he asked *Agis*, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had bene a good and iust man, or not. *Agis* answered, that he had bene. Then replied *Leonidas*, Did you euer see that he had taken away and abolished any debts, or had receiued strangers into the number of the citizens of SPARTA? Who

Agis lawe.

Pasiphaé, the daughter of Atlas.

Agis maketh his goods common.

Leonidas resisteth king Agis.

contrarily

contrarily thought his commonweath vnperfect, if all ſtrangers were not baniſhed the city. *Agis* againe anſwered him: that he maruelled not that *Leonidas* being brought vp in a ſtraunge countrey, and alſo maried there in a noble mans houſe, he ſhould be ignorant of *Lycurgus* lawes, who baniſhing gold and ſiluer out of his city, did therewithall exile debt and lending. And for ſtrangers he hated them that would not conforme themſelues vnto the manners and faſhions of life which he inſtituted, and thoſe they were which he baniſhed: not for any ill will he bare vnto their perſons, but becauſe he feared their maners of life, leaſt that mingling them with the citizens, they ſhould make them run after vanity & couetouſneſſe to be rich. For otherwiſe, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all ſtrangers, were marueilouſly reuerenced and honored in SPARTA in old time, becauſe they did ſing in their writings, the ſelfe ſame things which *Lycurgus* had eſtabliſhed in his lawes. And thou thy ſelfe alſo doeſt cõmend *Ecprepes*, being one of the *Ephores*, becauſe he did cut with a hatchet the two ſtrings which *Phrynis* the muſitian had added vnto the citherne, more then the ſeuen common ſtrings, and thoſe alſo which did the like vnto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reproueſt me, becauſe I go about to roote out all exceſſe and pride out of SPARTA, as though thoſe men did not farre off preuent that theſe ſuperfluous ſtrings of the muſicke, delighting the citizens minds too much with their ſongs, ſhould not cauſe them fall vnto ſuch trade and maner of life, as ſhould make the city at diſcord with it ſelfe. After this contention the common people did ſticke vnto king *Agis*, and the rich men followed *Leonidas*, praying and perſwading him not to forſake them: and further, they did ſo intreate the Senators, in whom conſiſteth the chiefe authority, to determine and diſgeſt all matters before they be propounded vnto the people, that they ouerthrew the law, by the onely voyce of one man more. Wherefore *Lyſander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuſe *Leonidas* by an ancient law, forbidding that none of the race of *Hercules* ſhould marry with any ſtraunge woman, nor beget children of her: and ſaid further, that no man vpon paine of death ſhould dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had inſtructed others to obiect theſe things againſt *Leonidas*, he with other of his colleagues obſerued a ſigne in the element, the ceremony whereof was in this ſort: Euery ninth yeare, the *Ephori* chuſing a bright night without moone-light, did ſit downe in ſome open place, and beheld the ſtarres in the element, to ſee if they ſaw any ſtarre ſhoote from one place to another: if they did, then they accuſed their kings that they had offended the gods, and did depriue them of their kingdom, vntill ſome Oracle came from DELPHES or OLYMPVS, to reſtore them againe. *Lyſander* then declaring that he had ſeene a ſtar flie in the element, did therfore accuſe king *Leonidas*, and brought forth witneſſes againſt him: how he had maried a woman of ASIA, the which one of king *Seleucus* Lieutenants had giuen him in mariage, and that he had two children by her: and afterwards being forſaken of his wife that refuſed him, he returned again into his country againſt his will: and ſo had poſſeſſed the kingdom for lacke of a lawfull heire. So following his accuſation in this maner againſt him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his ſon in law, being alſo of the kings bloud, to make title to the crowne. *Leonidas* being afraid of the ſucceſſe hereof, tooke ſanctuary in the temple of *Iuno*, ſurnamed *Chalceæcos*, & his daughter with him, who forſooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appeare in perſon, & making default, they depoſed him, & made *Cleombrotus* king. In the meane time *Lyſanders* office expired, and the new *Ephori* which ſucceeded him, did deliuer *Leonidas* againe, and accuſed *Lyſander* and *Mandroclidas*, becauſe againſt the law, they had aboliſhed all debts, and had againe made new diuiſion of lands. When they ſaw they were openly accuſed, they incenſed both the kings, that ioyning together, they ſhould make the *Ephores* ordinances of no effect: declaring that their authority was onely erected for the diſcord of the two kings, becauſe they ſhould giue their voyces vnto that king that had the beſt iudgement and reaſon, when the other would wilfully withſtand both right and reaſon: and therefore, they two agreeing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controlment of any perſon: and that to reſiſt the kings, was a breaking of the law, ſith that by right the *Ephori* had no other priuiledge and authority, but to be Iudges and arbitrators betweene them, when there was any cauſe of iarre or controuerſie. Both the kings being caried away by this perſwaſion, went into the market place accompanied with their friends, plucked the *Ephores* from their ſeats, and put others in their roomes, of the which *Ageſilaus* was one. Furthermore, they armed a great number of young men, and opening the priſons, did ſet the priſoners at liberty: the which made their aduerſaries afraid of them, doubting ſome great murther would haue followed vpon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For *Ageſilaus* being bent to kill *Leonidas*, who fled to the

King Leonidas accuſed by Lyſander.

Leonidas deprined of his kingdome.

Leonidas flieth vnto Tegea.

city of TEGEA, and hauing alſo layed men in waite for him by the way: king *Agis* hearing of it, ſent thither other friends of his in whom he put great confidence, and they did accompany *Leonidas*, and brought him ſafely vnto the city of TEGEA. Thus their purpoſe taking effect, and no man contrarying them: one man onely *Ageſilaus* ouerthrew all, and daſhed a noble LACONIAN law by a ſhamefull vice, which was couetouſneſſe. For he being a great landed man, and hauing the beſt lands of any man in the countrey, and owing a great ſumme of money beſides, would neither pay his debts, nor let go his land. Wherefore he perſwaded king *Agis*, that if he went about to ſtabliſh both together, he ſhould raiſe a great vprore in the city, and withall, if he did firſt win them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting off of debts onely: then that they would eaſily and willingly alſo accept the law of partition of lands: *Lyſander* was alſo of this opinion: whereby king *Agis* and he both were deceiued by *Ageſilaus* ſubtilty. So they commaunded all the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bils of debt (which the LACEDÆMONIANS do call Claria) into the market place, and there laying them on a heape together, they did ſet fire on them. When the vſurers and creditors ſaw their writings obligatory on a fire, they departed thence with heruy harts: but *Ageſilaus* mocking them ſaid, he neuer ſaw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands alſo ſhould be preſently deuided, and the kings likewiſe commanding it: *Ageſilaus* ſtill interpoſing ſome cauſe of let, delayed time, vntill oportunity ſerued, that king *Agis* ſhould go to the warres, for that the ACHAIANS their confederates had prayed aide of LACEDÆMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betweene them, becauſe they looked daily that the ÆTOLIANS comming through the countrey of MEGARA, would inuade PELOPONNESVS. *Aratus* Generall of the ACHAIANS had leauied a great army to withſtand their inuaſion, and had alſo written vnto the *Ephores*, that they ſhould ſend them aide. Whereupon they preſently ſent king *Agis*, perceiuing alſo the readineſſe and good will of the ſouldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the moſt of them were young men and needy, who ſeeing themſelues diſcharged of the feare of their debts, and hoping alſo at their returne, that the lands likewiſe ſhould be deuided among them: they went with glad hearts, and were obedient to king *Agis*. So that the cities where through they paſſed, wondred how they came through PELOPONNESVS, from the one ſide to the other, very quietly, without noiſe or offence to any man. Likewiſe many GRECIANS calling to mind the auncient times, told one another, that it was a noble ſight then to ſee the army of LACEDÆMON, when they were led by *Ageſilaus*, *Lyſander*, and *Leonidas*, famous Captaines: ſith now they ſaw ſo great obedience vnto *Agis* by his ſouldiers, who was in manner the yongeſt man of all his campe: who alſo glorying to be content with litle, to away with paines, and not to be more coſtly apparelled, and armed then any priuate ſouldier he had: he wanne himſelfe thereby a maruellous loue of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this change, and were afraid leaſt *Agis* ſhould giue other people example to riſe alſo, and to do the like with theirs, as he had done. *Agis* meeting with *Aratus* by the city of CORINTH, euen as he was conſulting whether he ſhould fight with his enemy, or not: ſhewed himſelfe in his counſell, then no raſh, but a reſolute and valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, and not to ſuffer the warre to come any farther, leauing the entry into PELOPONNESVS free to their enemy: neuertheleſſe, that he would do what *Aratus* thought good, becauſe he was the elder, and Generall alſo of the ACHAIANS, whom he came not to commaund, but to aide them. But *Baton* SINOPIAN writeth that king *Agis* would not fight, though *Aratus* was willing: howbeit he had not read that which *Aratus* had written for his excuſe and iuſtification, alleading there that the farmers and husbandmen hauing brought all the corne into their barnes, he thought it better to ſuffer the enemies to come farther into their countrey, rather then to hazard battell, to the loſſe of the whole countrey of PELOPONNESVS, and that therefore he licenced all the confederates to depart and brake vp his army. So king *Agis* returned home againe, greatly honoured of them that ſerued with him in his iourney, finding the city of SPARTA then in great broile and trouble. For *Ageſilaus* at that time being one of the *Ephores*, finding himſelfe ridde of the feare which before kept him vnder: cared not what iniurie or miſchiefe he did vnto any citizen, ſo he might get money. For amongſt other things, that very yeare he made them pay beyond all reaſon the tallages and taxes due vnto the common wealth for thirteene moneths, adding to the thirteenth moneth aboue the ordinary time of the yeare. Wherefore perceiuing euery man hated him, and being afraid of them he had offended: he kept ſouldiers about him, armed with their ſwords, and ſo came

King Agis deceiued by Ageſilaus.

Newe lawes ſtabliſhed by the Lacedæmonians.

Aratus Generall of the Achaians.

King Agis iurney into Achaia.

King Agis gaue place vnto Aratus.

came downe into the market place among them. And for the two kings, he made no account of the one: but of the other that was *Agis*, he ſeemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindreds ſake, then for his dignity of a king, and furthermore gaue it out abroad, that he would alſobe one of the *Ephores* the next yeare following. Whereupon, his enemies ſpeedily to preuent the danger gathered force together, & openly brought king *Leonidas* from TEGEA, to reſtore him againe to his kingdome. The people were glad to ſee that, becauſe they were angry they had bin mocked in that ſort, for that the lands were not deuided according vnto promiſe. Furthermore *Hippomedon* was ſo well beloued for his valiantneſſe of euery man, that intreating the people for his father *Ageſilaus*, he ſaued his life, and got him out of the city. But for the two kings, *Agis* tooke ſanctuary in the temple of *Iuno Chalceæcos*. And *Cleombrotus* the other king fled into the temple of *Neptune*: for it ſeemed that *Leonidas* being much more offēded with him, did let king *Agis* alone, and went againſt him with certaine ſouldiers armed. Then he ſharply taunted him, that being his ſon in law, he had conſpired againſt him to depriue him of his kingdom, and had driuen him out of his country. But then *Cleombrotus* not hauing a word to ſay, ſate ſtill, and made him no anſwer. Whereupon, his wife *Chelonis*, the daughter of *Leonidas*, who before was offended for the iniury they did her father, & had left her husband *Cleombrotus*, that had vſurped the kingdom from him, to ſerue her father in his aduerſity, and while he was in ſanctuary tooke part with him alſo of his miſery, and afterwards when he went vnto the city of TEGEA, wore blackes for ſorow, being offended with her husband: ſhe contrarily then changing her anger with her husbands fortune and miſery, became alſo an humble ſuter with him, ſitting downe by him, and imbracing him, hauing her two litle ſonnes on either ſide of them. All men wondering, and weeping for pity to ſee the goodneſſe and naturall loue of this Lady, who ſhewing her mourning apparell, and haire of her head flaring about her eyes, bare headed: ſhe ſpake in this maner vnto her father. O father mine, this ſorowfull garment and countenance is not for pity of *Cleombrotus*, but hath long remained with me, lamenting ſore your former miſery and exile: but now, which of the two ſhould I rather chuſe, either to continue a mourner in this pitifull ſtate, ſeeing you againe reſtored to your kingdome, hauing ouercome your enemies: or elſe putting on my princely apparell, to ſee my husband ſlaine, vnto whom you maried me a maide? who if he cannot moue you to take compaſſion on him, and to obtaine mercy, by the teares of his wife and children: he ſhall then abide more bitter paine of his euill counſell, then that which you intend to make him ſuffer. For he ſhal ſee his wife dye before him, whom he loueth more dearly then any thing in the world. Alſo, with what face can I looke vpon other Ladies, when I could neuer bring my father to pity by any interceſſion I could make for my husband, neither my husband, intreate him for my father: and that my hap is to be borne, a daughter and wife alwayes moſt vnfortunate, and deſpiſed of mine owne? And for my husband, if he had any reaſon to do that he did, I then tooke it from him, by taking your part, and proteſting againſt him: and contrarily, your ſelfe doth giue him honeſt colour to excuſe his fault, when he ſeeth in you the deſire of the kingdome ſo great, that for the loue thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your ſons in law; and alſo not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her ſake. *Chelonis* pitifully complaining in this ſort, putting her face vpon *Cleombrotus* head, caſt her ſwollen and blubbering eyes vpon the ſtanders by. Wherefore *Leonidas* after he had talked a litle with his friends, he commaunded *Cleombrotus* to get him thence and to leaue the citie as an exile: and prayed his daughter for his ſake to remaine with him, and not to forſake her father, that did ſo dearely loue her, as for her ſake he had ſaued her husbands life. This notwithſtanding, ſhe would not yeeld to his requeſt, but riſing vp with her husband, gaue him one of his ſons, and her ſelfe tooke the other in her armes: and then making her prayer before the altar of the goddeſſe, ſhe went as a baniſhed woman away with her husband. And truly the example of her vertue was ſo famous, that if *Cleombrotus* mind had not bene too much blinded with vaine glory, he had cauſe to thinke his exile farre more happy, to enioy the loue of ſo noble a wife as he had, then for the kingdome which he poſſeſſed without her. Then *Leonidas* hauing baniſhed king *Cleombrotus* out of the city, and remouing the firſt *Ephores*, had ſubſtituted other in their places: he preſently bethought him how he might craftily come by king *Agis*. Firſt, he perſwaded him to come out of the ſanctuary, and to gouerne the kingdome ſafely with him, declaring vnto him that his citizens had forgiuen him all that was paſt, becauſe they knew he was deceiued, and ſubtilly circumuented by *Ageſilaus* craft, being a young man, ambitious of honour. *Agis* would not leaue the ſanctuarie for *Leonidas* cunning perſwaſion, but miſtruſted

King Leonidas returneth from exile into Sparta.

The naturall loue of Chelonis Leonidas daughter, vnto her father and husband.

The oration of Chelonis the daughter of Leonidas.

The baniſhment of king Cleombrotus.

The great vertue and loue of Chelonis, to her husband Cleombrotus.

all that he ſayd vnto him. Wherefore *Leonidas* would no more beguile him with faire words. But *Amphares*, *Democharis*, and *Arceſilaus*, did oftentimes go to viſite king *Agis*, and otherwhile alſo they got him out of the ſanctuary with them vnto the bath, & brought him backe againe into the tẽple, when he had bathed. But *Amphares* hauing borrowed not long before, certaine rich apparell and plate of *Ageſiſtrata*, becauſe he would not redeliuer them againe, he determined to betray king *Agis*, his mother and grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did ſerue *Leonidas* turne, and prouoked the *Ephores* (of which number he was one) againſt *Agis*. Now therefore, *Agis* keeping all the reſt of his time within the temple, ſauing when he went vpon occaſion to the bath: they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the ſanctuary. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed, and came and ſaluted him as their manner was, and ſeemed to accompany him, ſporting, and being merry with him, as with a young man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a ſtreete that went towards the priſon, *Amphares* laying hold on him, being one of the *Ephores*, ſayd vnto him: I arreſt thee *Agis*, and will bring thee before the *Ephores*, to giue account of thy doings in the cõmonwealth. Then *Democharis*, which was a great mighty man caſt his gowne ouer his eares, & pulled him forward: others alſo thruſted him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being neare them to helpe *Agis*, they got him into priſon. Then came *Leonidas* incontinently with a great number of ſoldiers that were ſtrangers, & beſet the priſon round about. The *Ephores* went into the priſon, and ſent vnto ſome of the Senate to come vnto them, whom they knew to be of their mind: then they commanded *Agis*, as if it had bene iudicially, to giue account of the alteration he had made in the commonwealth. The yong man laughed at their hypocriſie. But *Amphares* told him that it was no laughing ſport, and that he ſhould pay for his folly. Then another of the *Ephores* ſeeming to deale more fauorably with him, and to ſhew him a way how he might eſcape the condemnation for his fault: asked him if he had not bene intiſed vnto it by *Ageſilaus* and *Lyſander*. *Agis* aunſwered, that no man compelled him, but that he onely did it to follow the ſteps of the ancient *Lycurgus*, to bring the common wealth vnto the former eſtate of his graue ordinance and inſtitution. Then the ſame Senator asked him again, if he did not repent him of that he had done. The yong man boldly anſwered him, that he would neuer repent him of ſo wiſe and vertuous an enterpriſe, though he ventured his life for it. Then they condemned him to death, & commanded the Sergeants to cary him into the Decade, which was a place in the priſon where they were ſtrangled that were condẽned to die. *Democharis* perceiuing the Sergeants durſt not lay hold on him, and likewiſe that the ſouldiers which were ſtrangers, did abhor to cõmit ſuch a fact contrary to the law of god and man, to lay violent hands vpon the perſon of a king: he threatned and reuiled them, & dragged *Agis* perforce into that place called the Decade. Now the rumor ran ſtraight through the city, that king *Agis* was taken, and a multitude of people were at the priſon doores with lights and torches. Thither came alſo king *Agis* mother and grandmother ſhreeking out and praying that the king of SPARTA might yet be heard and iudged by the people. For this cauſe they haſtened his death the ſooner, and were afraid beſides, leaſt the people in the night would take him out of their hands by force, if there came any more people thither. Thus king *Agis* being led to his death, ſpied a Sergeant lamenting and weeping for him, vnto whom he ſayd: Good fellow I pray thee weepe not for me, for I am an honeſter man than they that ſo ſhamefully put me to death, & with thoſe words he willingly put his head into the halter. *Amphares* then going out of the priſon into the ſtreet, found *Ageſiſtrata* there king *Agis* mother, who ſtraight fell downe at his feete: but he taking her vp againe, in old familiar manner, as being her very friend, told her that they ſhould do king *Agis* no hurt, and that ſhe might if ſhe would, go and ſee him. Then ſhe prayed, that they would alſo let her mother in with her. *Amphares* ſayd, with a good will: and ſo put them both into the priſon houſe, and made the doores be ſhut after them. But when they were within, he firſt gaue *Archidamia* vnto the Sergeants to be put to death, who was a maruellous old woman, and had liued more honourably vnto that age, then any Lady or Matrone beſide her in the citie. She being executed, he commaunded *Ageſiſtrata* alſo to come in. Who when ſhe ſaw the body of her dead ſon layed on the ground, and her mother alſo hanging on the gallowes: ſhe did her ſelfe helpe the hangman to plucke her downe, and layed her body by her ſonnes. Then hauing couered her in decent maner, ſhe layed her downe on the ground by the corpes of her ſonne *Agis*, and kiſſing his cheeke, ſayd: Out alas my ſonne, thy great modeſty, goodneſſe, and clemency, brought thee and vs vnto this death.

Amphares betrayeth king Agis.

King Agis caried to priſon.

Note the reuerent regard of the heathe vnto the perſon of a king, abhorring to lay violent hands vpon him.

King Agis his mother, and grandmother, all three ſtrangled.

Then

Then *Amphares* peeping in at the doore to see what was done, hearing what she sayd, came in withall in a great rage, and sayd: I perceiue that thou hast also bene of counsell with my son, and sithence it is so, thou shalt also follow him. Then she rising also to be strangled, sayd: The gods graunt yet that this may profit SPARTA. This horrible murther being blowne abroad in the city, and the three dead bodies also brought out of prison: the feare though it were great amongst the people, could not keepe them backe from apparant shew of griefe, and manifest hate against *Leonidas* and *Amphares*, thinking that there was neuer a more wicked and cruell fact committed in SPARTA, since the DORIANS came to dwell in PELOPONNESVS. For the very enemies themselues in battell, would not willingly lay hands vpon the kings of LACEDÆMON, but did forbeare as much as they could possible, both for feare and reuerence they bare vnto their maiesty. For in many great battels and conflicts which the LACEDÆMONIANS had against the GRECIANS, there was neuer any king of LACEDÆMON slaine, before *Philips* time, but *Cleombrotus* only, who was slaine with a dart at the battell of LEVCTRES. Some write also that the MESSINIANS hold opinio, that their *Aristomenes* slue *Theopompus*: howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS sayd, that he was but hurt, not slaine. But hereof there are diuerse opinions: but it is certaine that *Agis* was the first king whom the *Ephores* euer put to death: for that he had layed a plot of a noble deuise, and worthy of SPARTA, being of that age when men do easily pardon them that offend: and was rather to be accused of his friends then of his enemies, because he had saued *Leonidas* life, and had trusted other men, as the best natured yong man that could be.

The enemies did not willingly kill any king of Lacedæmon.

Now *Agis* hauing suffered in this sort, *Leonidas* was not quicke inough to take *Archidamus* his brother also, for he fled presently. Yet he brought *Agis* wife out of her house by force, with a litle boy she had by him, and maried her vnto his sonne *Cleomenes*, who was yet vnder age to marry: fearing least this young Lady should be bestowed else where, being indeed a great heire, and of a rich house, and the daughter of *Gylippus*, called by her name *Agiatis*, besides that she was the fairest woman at that time in all GRECE, and the vertuousest, and best conditioned. Wherefore for diuerse respects she prayed she might not be forced to it. But now being at length maried with *Cleomenes*, she euer hated *Leonidas* to the death, and yet was a good and louing wife vnto her young husband: who immediatly after he was maried vnto her, fell greatly in fancie with her, and for compassions sake (as it seemed) he thanked her for the loue she bare vnto her first husband, and for the louing remembrance she had of him: in so much as he himselfe many times would fall in talke of it, and would be inquisitiue how things had passed, taking great pleasure to heare of *Agis* wise counsell and purpose. For *Cleomenes* was as desirous of honour, and had as noble a mind as *Agis*, and was borne also to temperancie, and moderation of life, as *Agis* in like manner was: howbeit, he had not that shamefast modesty and lenity, which the other had, but was somewhat more stirring of nature, and readier to put any good matter in execution. So he thought it great honesty, to bring the citizens (if he could) to be contented to liue after an honest sort: but contrarily, he thought it no dishonestie to bring them vnto good life, by compulsion also. Furthermore the maners of the citizens of SPARTA, giuing themselues ouer to idlenesse and pleasure, did nothing like him at all: neither that the king did suffer the common wealth to be ruled as they lifted, so no man impeached his pleasure, and that they did let him alone: in so much as no man regarding the profit of the common-wealth, euery man was for himselfe, and his family. And contrarily it was not lawfull for any man to speake for the exercises of the youth, for their education in temperancie, and for the restoring againe of equality of life, the preferment whereof was the onely cause of the late death of *Agis*. They say also, that *Cleomenes* being a young stripling: had heard some disputation of Philosophy, when the Philosopher *Sphærus*, of the country of BORYSTHENES came to LACEDÆMON, and louingly stayed there to teach young men and children. He was one of the chiefest scholers of *Zenon* CITIAN, and delighted (as it seemed) in *Cleomenes* noble mind, and had a great desire to pricke him forward vnto honour. For as it is reported, that the auncient *Leonidas* being demaunded what Poet he thought *Tyrtæus* to be, aunswered he was good to flatter young mens minds: for he set their hearts on fire by his verses, when they began to fight any battell, fearing no daunger, they were so encouraged by them. So the Stoicke discipline is somewhat dangerous, for the stoute and valiant minds, which otherwise doth make desperate: so when they are ioyned vnto a graue and gentle nature, first it lifteth vp his heart, and then maketh him tast the profite thereof. Now *Leonidas* (the father of *Cleomenes*) being deceased, and he himselfe also

Here beginneth Cleomenes life. Cleomenes the sonne of Leonidas.

Agiatis the daughter of Gylippus, and wife of king Agis.

Agiatis king Agis wife, maried vnto Cleomenes.

Sphærus a Philosopher of Boristhenes.

come vnto the crowne finding that the citizens of SPARTA at that time were very dissolute, that the rich men followed their pleasure and profite, taking no care for the common wealth, that the poore men also for very want and need, went with no good life and courage to the warres, neither cared for the bringing vp of their children, and that he himselfe had but the name of a king, and the *Ephori* the absolute authority to do what they lifted: at his first coming to his kingdome, he determined to alter the whole state and gouernement of the common wealth. Who hauing a friend called *Xenares*, that had bene his louer in his youth (which the LACEDÆMONIANS called Empnistæ, as much as inspired) he began to sound his opinion, asking what maner of man king *Agis* had bene, and by what reason, and whose aduice he had followed in his attempt for the reformation of the common wealth. *Xenares* at the first did not willingly rehearse these things vnto him, declaring euery thing what had passed. But when he found that *Cleomenes* was affected vnto king *Agis* intent, and still desired to heare of it: then *Xenares* sharply and angrily reproued him, and told him he was not wise, nor well aduised, and at length would no more come and talke with him as he was wont, yet making no man priuy why he abstained from comming to him, but told them that asked him, he knew a cause well inough why. *Xenares* now hauing thus refused him, and thinking all the rest would do the like: to bring this matter to passe, he tooke this resolution with himselfe. Because he thought he might the rather do it in warre, then in peace, he set the city of SPARTA and the ACHAIANS at variance together: who did themselues giue the first occasion to be complained vpon. For *Aratus* being the president and chiefe of all the ACHAIANS, had practised a long time to bring all PELOPONNESVS into one bodie: and had therefore onely sustained great troubles in warres, and at home in peace: thinking that there was no other way to deliuer them from forraine warres. Now when he had wonne all the other people to be of his opinion: there remained no more but the ELIANS, the LACEDÆMONIANS, and a few of the ARCADIANS, which were subiect to the LACEDÆMONIANS. When king *Leonidas* was dead, *Aratus* began to inuade the ARCADIANS, those specially that bordered vpon the ARGIVES: to proue how the LACEDÆMONIANS would take it, making no account of *Cleomenes*, being but a young king, and had no experience of warres. Thereupon the *Ephori* sent *Cleomenes* vnto ATHÆNIVM (a temple of *Minerua* hard by the city of BELBINA) with an army to take it: because it was a passage and entry into the countrey of LACONIA, howbeit the place at that time was in question betwixt the MEGALIPOLITANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS, *Cleomenes* got it, and fortified it. *Aratus* making no complaint otherwise of the matter, stole out one night with his army to set vpon the TEGEANS, and ORCHOMENIANS, hoping to haue taken those cities by treason. But the traytors that were of his confederacy, their harts failed them when they should haue gone about it: so that *Aratus* returned, hauing lost his iourney, thinking that this secret attempt of his was not discouered. But *Cleomenes* finely wrote vnto him as his friend, and asked him, whither he had led his army by night. *Aratus* returned answer againe, that vnderstanding *Cleomenes* meant to fortifie BELBINA, he went foorth with his army, thinking to haue let him. *Cleomenes* wrote againe vnto him, and sayd, he did beleeue that which he spake was true: howbeit he earnestly requested him (if it were no trouble to him) to aduertise him why he brought scaling ladders and lights after him. *Aratus* smiling at this mocke, asked what this young man was. *Democritus* LACEDÆMONIAN being a banished man out of his countrey answered: If thou hast any thing to do against the LACEDÆMONIANS, thou hadst need make hast, before this young Cockrell haue on his spurres. Then *Cleomenes* being in the field in the countrey of ARCADIA, with a few horsemen and three hundred footmen onely: the *Ephori* being afraid of warres, sent for him to returne againe. His backe was no sooner turned, obeying their commaundement: but *Aratus* suddenly tooke the city of CAPHYES. Thereupon, the *Ephori* incontinently sent *Cleomenes* backe againe with his army: who tooke the fort of Methydrium, and burnt the borders of the ARGIVES. The ACHAIANS came against him with an army of twentie thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen led by *Aristomachus*: *Cleomenes* met with them by the city of PALANTIVM, and offered battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardinesse of this young man, would not suffer *Aristomachus* to hazard battell, but went his way derided by the ACHAIANS, and despised by the LACEDÆMONIANS: who in all were not aboue fiue thousand fighting men. *Cleomenes* courage being now lift vp, and brauely speaking to his citizens: he remembred them of a saying of one of their auncient kings, that the LACEDÆMONIANS neuer enquired what number their enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after,

Cleomenes did set the Lacedæmonians and Achaians together by the eares.

Cleomenes iorney into the countrey of the Argiues.

The victory of Cleomenes against Aratus.

after, the ACHAIANS making warre with the ELIANS, *Cleomenes* was ſent to aide them and met with the army of the ACHAIANS by the mountaine Lyceum, as they were in their returne: he ſetting vpon them, gaue them the ouerthrow, ſlue a great number of them, and tooke many alſo priſoners, that the rumor ran through GRECE, how *Aratus* ſelfe was ſlain. *Cleomenes* wiſely taking the occaſion which this victory gaue him, he went ſtraight to the city of MANTINEA, and taking it vpon a ſudden, when no man knew of his comming, he put a ſtrong garriſon into it. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS hearts failing them, and reſiſting *Cleomenes* enterpriſes, ouer wearying them with warres: he went about to ſend *Archidamus*, king *Agis* brother, being then at MESSINA, vnto whom the kingdome of right belonged by the other houſe, ſuppoſing that he ſhould eaſily weaken the power of the *Ephores*, by the authority of the two kings, if both of them ioyned together. Which when the murtherers of king *Agis* vnderſtood, being afraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be reuenged of them, they ſecretly receiued him into the city, and found the meanes to bring him into SPARTA. But when they had him, they put him ſtraight to death, whether it was vnwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainely teſtifieth) or elſe with his priuitie, ſuffering them to make him away, by perſwaſion of his friends. But it is a cleare caſe, the citie was burdened withall, becauſe probable matter fell out that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to do it. Neuertheleſſe, he holding ſtill his firſt determination, to alter the ſtate of the common wealth of SPARTA, as ſoone as he could poſſible: he ſo fed the *Ephores* with money, that he brought them to be contented he ſhould make warre. He had alſo wonne many other citizens by the meanes of his mother *Crateſiclea*, who furniſht him with money, that he lacked not to honour him withall: and further, maried as it is reported (though otherwiſe ſhe meant not to marry) for her ſons ſake, vnto one of the wealthieſt men of all the city. So *Cleomenes* leading his army into the field, wanne a place within the territory of MEGALIPOLIS, called LEVCTRA. The ACHAIANS alſo being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*: they ſtraight fought a battell by the city ſelfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worſt on the one ſide of his armie. Howbeit *Aratus* would not ſuffer the ACHAIANS to follow them, becauſe of bogges and quauemires, but ſounded the retraite. But *Lyſiadas* a MEGALIPOLITAN being angry withall, cauſed the horſemen he had about him to follow the chaſe, who purſued ſo fiercely, that they came amongſt vines, wals, & ditches, where he was driuen to diſperſe his men, and yet could not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiuing it, ſent the light horſemen of the TARENTINES and CRETANS againſt him: of whom *Lyſiadas* valiantly fighting was ſlaine. Then the LACEDÆMONIANS being couragious for this victory, came with great cries, and giuing a fierce charge vpon the ACHAIANS, ouerthrew their whole army, and ſlue a maruellous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their requeſt ſuffered them to take vp the dead bodies of their men to burie them. For *Lyſiadas* corpes, he cauſed it to be brought vnto him, and putting a purple robe vpon it, and a crowne on his head, ſent it in this array vnto the very gates of the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. It was that ſelfe *Lyſiadas*, who giuing ouer the tyranny and gouernement of MEGALIPOLIS, made it a popular ſtate, and free citie, and ioyned it to the ACHAIANS. After this victory, *Cleomenes* that determined greater matters and attempts, perſwaded himſelfe that if he might once come to ſtabliſh the affaires of the common wealth at SPARTA to his mind, he might then eaſily ouercome the ACHAIANS: brake with his father in law *Megiſtonus*, and told him that it was neceſſary to take away the authority of the *Ephores*, and to make diuiſion of the lands among the SPARTANS, and then being brought to equalitie, to encourage them to recouer the Empire of GRECE againe vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, which their predeceſſours before them held and enioyed. *Megiſtonus* graunting his good will and furtherance, ioyned two or three of his friends more vnto him. It chaunced at that time that one of the *Ephores* lying in the temple of *Paſiphaé*, had a maruellous dreame in the night. For he thought he ſaw but one chaire ſtanding where the *Ephori* did vſe to ſit to giue audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away: and that maruelling at it, he heard a voyce out of the temple that ſayd, that was the beſt for SPARTA. He declaring this dreame the next morning vnto *Cleomenes*, it ſomewhat troubled him at the firſt, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard ſome inckling of his intent. But when he perſwaded himſelfe that the other meant good faith, and lyed not vnto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpoſe, and taking with him vnto the campe all thoſe SPARTANS which he ſuſpected to be againſt his enterpriſe, he went and tooke the cities of HERÆA and ALSEA, confederates of the ACHAIANS, and victualled

The ſaying of the kings of Lacedæmon touching their enemies.

Archidamus king Agis brother ſlaine.

Lyſiadas ſlaine. Cleomenes victory of the Achaians.

Lyſiadas tyrant of Megalipolis gaue ouer his tyranny, and made it a poplar ſtate.

The dreame of one of the Ephores.

ORCHOMENA, and went and camped before the city of MANTINEA. In fine, he ſo wearied and ouerharried the LACEDÆMONIANS by long iourneys, that at length they beſought him he would let them remaine in ARCADIA, to repoſe themſelues there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his ſtraungers which he had hired, returned againe vnto SPARTA, and imparted his intent by the way vnto them he truſted beſt, and marched at his owne eaſe, that he might take the *Ephores* at ſupper. When he came neare vnto the city, he ſent *Eurycliadas* before, into the hall of the *Ephores*, as though he brought them newes out of the campe from him. After him, he ſent alſo *Thericion* and *Phœbis*, and two other that had bene brought vp with him, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS called the SAMOTHRACIANS, taking with them a few ſouldiers. Now whileſt *Eurycliadas* was talking with the *Ephores*, they alſo came in vpon them with their ſwords drawne, and did ſet vpon the *Ephores*. *Ageſilaus* was hurt firſt of all, and falling downe, made as though he had bene ſlaine, but by litle and litle he crept out of the hall, and got ſecretly into a chappell conſecrated vnto *Feare*, the which was wont euer to be kept ſhut, but then by chaunce was left open: when he was come in, he ſhut he doore faſt to him. The other foure of the *Ephores* were ſlaine preſently, and aboue ten moe beſides, which came to defend them. Furthermore, for them that ſate ſtill and ſtirred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was deſirous to go out of the city: but moreouer, they pardoned *Ageſilaus*, who came the next morning out of the chappell of *Feare*. Amongſt the LACEDÆMONIANS in the city of SPARTA, there are not onely temples of feare and death, but alſo of laughter, and of many other ſuch paſſions of the mind. They do worſhip *Feare*, not as other ſpirits and diuels that are hurtfull: but becauſe they are perſwaded that nothing preſerueth a common wealth better than feare. Wherefore the *Ephori* (as *Ariſtotle* witneſſeth) when they are created, do by publicke proclamation commaund all the SPARTANS to ſhaue their chinnes, and to obey the law, leaſt they ſhould make them feele the rigour of the law. They brought in the ſhauing of their chins, in my opinion, to inure young men to obey the Magiſtrates euen in trifles. Moreouer it ſeemes that men in old time did eſteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare and lothneſſe to incurre ſhame. For commonly thoſe that are moſt afraid to offend the law, are in the field moſt valiant againſt their enemy: and ſhun no perill to winne fame and honeſt reputation. And therefore it was wiſely ſayd of one:

Cleomenes ſlue the Ephores.

Diuerſe temples at Sparta, of feare, death, and ſuch other fancies.

The valianteſt men are moſt afraid to offend the lawe.

That feare cannot be without ſhamefaſtneſſe.

And ſo *Homer* in a certaine place made *Hellen* ſay vnto king *Priamus*:

Of truth I do confeſſe deare father in law,
You are the man of whom I ſtand in aw,
And reuerence moſt of all that euer I ſaw.

And in another place, ſpeaking of the GRECIAN ſouldiers, he ſayth thus:

For feare of their Captaines they ſpake not a word.

For men do vſe to reuerence them whom they feare. And this was the cauſe why the chappell of *Feare* was by the hall of the *Ephores*, hauing in maner a princely and abſolute authority. The next morning *Cleomenes* baniſhed by trumpet, foure ſcore citizens of SPARTA, and ouerthrew all the chaires of the *Ephores* but one onely, the which he reſerued for himſelfe to ſit in to giue audience. Then calling the people to counſell, he gaue them an account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had ioyned the Senators with the kings, and how the city had bene gouerned a long time by them, without helpe of any other officers. Notwithſtanding, afterwards the city hauing great warres with the MESSINIANS, the kings being alwayes employed in that warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the commonwealth at home, did chuſe certaine of their friends to ſit in iudgement in their ſteads, to determine controuerſies of law: which were called *Ephores*, and did gouerne long time as the kings miniſters, howbeit that afterwards, by litle and litle, they tooke vpon them abſolute gouernement by themſelues. And, for manifeſt proofe hereof, you ſee that at this preſent time when the *Ephori* do ſend for the king, the firſt and ſecond time, he refuſeth to come, but the third time he riſeth and goeth vnto them. The firſt man that gaue the *Ephores* this authority, was *Aſteropus*, one of the *Ephores* many yeares after the firſt inſtitution of the kings: and yet if they had gouerned diſcreetly, peraduenture they might haue continued longer. But they licentiouſly abuſing their authority, by ſuppreſſing the lawfull gouernours inſtituted of old time, taking vpon them to baniſh ſome of their kings, and putting other of them alſo to death, without law and iuſtice, and threatning others that deſire

The chappell of feare ioyned to the hall of the Ephores.

The oration of king Cleomenes touching the firſt originall of the Ephores.

Aſteropus, the firſt man that gaue authority to the Ephores.

desire to restore that noble and former blessed gouernment vnto SPARTA againe: al these things I say, are in no wise to be suffered any longer. And therefore if it had bene possible to haue banished all these plagues of the commonwealth out of SPARTA, brought from forraine nations: (I meane, pleasures, pastimes, money, debts, and vsuries, and others yet more auncient, pouertie and riches) he might then haue esteemed himselfe the happiest king that euer was, if like a good Phisitian he had cured his country in that infection, without griefe or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to begin with bloud, he followed *Lycurgus* example: who being neither king nor other Magistrate, but a priuate citizen onely, taking vpon him the authoritie of the king, boldly came into the market place with force and armed men, and made king *Charilaus* that then raigned, so affraid, that he was driuen to take sanctuarie in one of the temples. But the king being a Prince of a noble nature, and louing the honour of his countrey, tooke part with *Lycurgus*, adding to his aduice and counsell, for the alteration of the state of the gouernment of the common wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* saw it was a hard thing to alter the commonwealth without force & feare: the which he notwithstanding had vsed with as great modestie and discretion as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profite and wealth of LACEDÆMON, giuing all the lands of the countrie also to be equally deuided amongst them, and setting all men cleare that were in debt. And furthermore, that he would make a choice and proofe of the straungers, to make them free citizens of SPARTA, whom he knew to be honest men, therby to defend their citie the better by force of armes: to the end that from hencefoorth we may no more see our country of LACONIA spoiled by the ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defend themselues against them. Then he began first himselfe to make all his goods common, and after him *Megistonus* his father in law, and consequently all his other friends. Then he caused the lands also to be deuided, and ordained euery banished man apart, whom he himselfe had exiled, promising that he would receiue them againe into the citie, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the citizens of SPARTA, with the choicest honest men their neighbours, he made foure thousand footmen well armed, and taught them to vse their pikes with both hands, in steade of their darts with one hand, and to carie their targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwards he tooke order for the education of children, and to restore the ancient LACONIAN discipline again: and did all these these things in maner by the helpe of *Sphærus* the Philosopher. Insomuch as he had quickly set vp againe schoole-houses for children, and also brought them to the old order of diet: and all, but a very few, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institution of life. Then because the name of one king should not offend any man, he made his brother *Euclidas* king with him. But this was the first time that euer the two kings were of one house but then. Furthermore, vnderstanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus* were of opinion, that he durst not come out of LACEDÆMON, for feare to leaue it in perill of reuolting, because of the late change and alteration in the commonwealth: he thought it an honorable attempt of him, to make his enemies see the readines and goodwill of his army. Thereupon he inuaded the territories of the MEGALIPOLITANS, and brought away a great prey and bootie, after he had done great hurt vnto his enemies. Then hauing taken certaine players and minstrels that came from MESSINA, he set vp a stage within the enemies country, made a game of 40. Minas for the victor, and sate a whole day to looke vpon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the sight of it, but more to despite the enemies withall, in making them see how much he was stronger then they, to make such a Maygame in their own country, in despite of them. For of all the armies otherwise of the GRECIANS, or kings in all GREECE, there was no army but his onely, that was without players, minstrels, fooles, and iuglers: for his campe only was cleane of such rabble and foolerie, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teach them. And if they chaunced to haue any vacant time, then they would pleasantly be one merrie with another, in giuing some pretie fine mocke after the LACONIAN manner. And what profite they got by that kind of exercise, we haue written it at large in *Lycurgus* life. But of all these things, the king himselfe was their schoolemaister and example, shewing himselfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiositie, no more then any priuate souldier of all his campe: the which were great helpes vnto him in his enterprises he made in GREECE. For the GRECIANS hauing cause of sute and negotiation with other kings and princes, did not wonder so much at their pomp and riches, as they did abhor and detest their pride and insolencie: so disdainfully they would answer

Cleomenes reformeth the state of the cõmonwealth of Lacedæmon.

Cleomenes inuadeth the borders of the Megalipolitãs.

King Cleomenes the teacher and example of temperancy.

them that had to do with them. But contrarily when they went vnto *Cleomenes*, who was a king in name and deed as they were, finding no purple robes nor ſtately mantles, nor rich imbrodered beds, nor a Prince to be ſpoken to but by meſſengers, gentlemen vſhers, and ſupplications, and yet with a great ado: and ſeeing him alſo come plainely apparelled vnto them, with a good countenance, and courteouſly anſwering the matters they came for: he thereby did maruellouſly win their hearts and goodwils, that when they returned home, they ſaid he only was the worthie king, that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his diet at his boord, that was very ſtraight and LACONIAN like, keeping onely three boords: and if he chanced to feaſt any Ambaſſadours or other his friends that came to ſee him, he then added too, two other boords, and beſides, made his men ſee that his fare ſhould be amended, not with paſtrie and conſerues, but with more ſtore of meat, and ſome better wine then ordinarie. For he one day reproued one of his friends, that bidding ſtrangers to ſupper, he gaue them nothing but blacke broth, and browne bread only, according to to the LACONIAN manner. Nay, ſaid he, we may not vſe ſtraungers ſo hardly after our manner. The boord being taken vp, another litle table was brought with three feet, whereupon they ſet a bowle of copper full of wine, and two ſiluer cups of a pottle a peece, and certaine other few ſiluer pots beſides: ſo euery man dranke what they liſted, and no man was forced to drinke more then he would. Furthermore, there was no ſport, nor any pleaſant ſong ſung to make the companie merrie, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* ſelfe would entertaine them with ſome pretie queſtions or pleaſant tale: wherby, as his talke was not ſeuere and without pleaſure, ſo was it alſo pleaſant without inſolencie. For he was of opinion, that to win men by gifts or mony, as other kings and princes did, was but baſe and cloynelike: but to ſeeke their good wils by curteous meanes and pleaſantneſſe, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought moſt fit and honorable for a Prince. For this was his mind, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling: but that the one is won with money, and the other with ciuilitie and good entertainment. The firſt therefore that receiued king *Cleomenes* into their city, were the MANTINIANS, who opened him the gates in the night, and helping him to driue out the garriſon of the ACHAIANS, they yeelded themſelues vnto him. But he referring them to the vſe and gouernement of their owne lawes and libertie, departed from thence the ſame day, and went vnto the citie of TEGEA. Shortly after, he compaſſed about ARCADIA, and came vnto PHERES in ARCADIA, determining one of the two, either to giue the ACHAIANS battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of fauour with the people, for that he had ſuffered him to ſpoile and deſtroy their country. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, but *Aratus* did beare all the ſway and authoritie. Then the ACHAIANS comming into the field with all their people armed, and encamping by the city of DYMES, neare vnto the temple of *Hecatombæum*: *Cleomenes* going thither, lay betwixt the city of DYMES that was againſt him, and the campe of his enemies, which men thought a very vnwiſe part of him. Howbeit, valiantly prouoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the battell, ouerthrew them, made them flie, and ſlue a great number in the field, and took many of them alſo priſoners. Departing from thence, he went and ſet vpon the city of LANGON, and draue the garriſon of the ACHAIANS out of it, and reſtored the citie againe vnto the ELIANS. The ACHAIANS being then in very hard ſtate, *Aratus* that of cuſtome was wont to be their Generall (or at the leaſt once in two yeares) refuſed now to take the charge, notwithſtanding the ACHAIANS did ſpecially pray and intreate him: the which was an ill act of him, to let another ſteere the rudder, in ſo dangerous a ſtorme and tempeſt. Therefore the ACHAIANS ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Cleomenes* to treat peace, vnto whom it ſeemed he gaue a very ſharpe anſwer. After that, he ſent vnto them, and willed them only to reſigne the ſigniorie of GRECE vnto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reaſonably with them, and preſently deliuer the vp their townes and priſoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHAIANS being glad of peace with theſe conditions, wrote vnto *Cleomenes* that he ſhould come vnto the city of LERNA, where the diet and generall aſſembly ſhould be kept to conſult thereupon. It chanced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hote, dranke cold water, and fell on ſuch a bleeding withall, that his voice was taken from him, and he almoſt ſtifled. Wherefore he ſent the ACHAIANS their chiefeſt priſoners home againe, proroging the Parliament till another time, and returned backe to LACEDÆMON. It is ſuppoſed certainly, that this let of his comming to the diet, was the only cauſe of the vtter deſtruction of GREECE: the which otherwiſe was in good way to haue riſen againe, and to haue bene deliuered from the preſent miſeries, and extreame pride and couetouſnes

Cleomenes moderate diet.

Cleomenes curteous entertainment at his boord.

Cleomenes leadeth his army againſt Aratus and the Achaians.

The victorie of Cleomenes againſt the Achaians.

touſneſſe of the MACEDONIANS. For *Aratus*, either for that he truſted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was affraid of his power, or that he otherwiſe enuied his honour and proſperitie, to ſee him riſen to ſuch incredible greatneſſe in ſo ſhort a time, and thinking it alſo too great ſhame and diſhonour to him, to ſuffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honour and power which he had poſſeſſed ſo long time, by the ſpace of thirtie yeares together, ruling all GREECE: firſt he ſought by force to terrifie the ACHAIANS, and to make them breake off from this peace. But in fine, finding that they litle regarded his threates, and that he could not preuaile with them, for that they were affraid of *Cleomenes* valiantneſſe and courage, whoſe requeſt they thought reaſonable, for that he ſought but to reſtore PELOPONNESVS vnto her former auncient ſtate againe: he fell then into a practiſe farre vnhoneſt for a GRECIAN, very infamous for himſelfe, but moſt diſhonourable for the former noble actes he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into GREECE, and in his age filled the country of PELOPONNESVS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himſelfe in his youth had driuen thence, had taken from them the caſtle of CORINTH, and had alwaies bene an enemie of the kings (but ſpecially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had ſpoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, ſaying that he tooke maruellous paines, and did put himſelfe into many daungers, to deliuer the citie of ATHENS from the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS) and yet notwithſtanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his countrie onely, but into his owne houſe, yea euen into the Ladies chambers and cloſets: diſdaining that the king of LACEDÆMON, deſcending of the bloud royall of *Hercules* (who ſetting vp againe the ancient manner of life of his countrie, did temper it as an inſtrument of muſicke out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient and ſober diſcipline, and DORICAN life inſtituted by *Lycurgus*) ſhould be called and written king of the SICYONIANS, and of the TRICCÆIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, & with the plain courſe capes of the LACEDEMONIANS, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefeſt matter they did accuſe *Cleomenes* for) and to prouide for the poore: he went and put himſelfe and all ACHAIA vnto the crowne and diademe, the purple robe, and proude imperious commaundement of the MACEDONIANS, fearing leſt men ſhould thinke that *Cleomenes* could commaund him. Furthermore his folly was ſuch, that hauing garlands of flowers on his head, he did ſacrifice vnto *Antigonus*, and ſing ſongs in praiſe of his honor, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man conſumed away. This that we haue written of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, and a worthy GRECIAN) is not ſo much to accuſe him, as to make vs ſee the frailtie and weakneſſe of mans nature: the which, though it haue neuer ſo excellent vertues, cannot yet bring foorth ſuch perfect fruit, but that it hath euer ſome maime and blemiſh. Now when the ACHAIANS were met againe in the citie of ARGOS, to hold the ſeſſion of their parliament before proroged, and *Cleomenes* alſo being come from TEGEA, to be at that parliament: euery man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before of the chiefeſt articles of the capitulations with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by faire words or force would bring the people to grant that he deſired: ſent to let him vnderſtand, that he ſhould but come himſelfe alone into the citie, and for ſafetie of his perſon, they would giue him three hundred hoſtages: or otherwiſe, if he would not leaue his armie, that then they would giue audience without the citie, in the place of exerciſes, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their aunſwer, he told them that they had done him wrong: for they ſhould haue aduertiſed him of it before he had taken his iourney, and not now when he was almoſt hard at their gates, to ſend him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereupon he wrote a letter vnto the Councell of the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaints againſt *Aratus*. On the other ſide alſo, *Aratus* in his Oration to the Councell, inueighed with bitter words againſt *Cleomenes*. Thereupon *Cleomenes* departing with ſpeede, ſent a Herauld to proclaime warres againſt the ACHAIANS, not in the citie of ARGOS, but in the citie of ÆGION, (as *Aratus* writeth) meaning to ſet vpon them being vnprouided. Hereupon all ACHAIA was in an vprore: for diuerſe cities did preſently reuolt againſt the ACHAIANS, becauſe the common people hoped after the diuiſion of lands, and diſcharging of their debts. The Noblemen alſo in many places were offended with *Aratus*, becauſe he practiſed to bring the MACEDONIANS into the country of PELOPONNESVS. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all theſe reſpects, brought his armie into ACHAIA, and at his firſt comming tooke the city of PALLENA, and draue out the garriſon of the ACHAIANS: and after that, wan alſo the cities of PHENEVM, and PENTELIVM. Now the ACHAIANS

Aratus treaſon to his countrie.

fearing ſome treaſon in CORINTH and SYCIONE, ſent certaine horſemen out of the city of ARGOS, to keepe thoſe cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebration of the feaſt at the games Nemeea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he ſhould find the city full of people that were come to ſee the feaſts and games, and that aſſailing them vpon the ſodaine, he ſhould put them in a maruellous feare: brought his armie in the night hard to the wals of the citie of ARGOS, and at his firſt comming wan a place they call Aſpis, a very ſtrong place aboue the Theater, and ill to come vnto. The ARGIVES were ſo amazed at it, that no man would take vpon him to defend the citie, but receiued *Cleomenes* garriſon, and gaue him twenty hoſtages, promiſing thencefoorth to be true confederates vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnder his charge and conduct. The which doubtleſſe wan him great fame, and increaſed his power: for that the auncient kings of LACEDÆMON, could neuer before with any pollicie or deuice, win the citie of ARGOS. For king *Pyrrhus* one of the moſt valianteſt and warlikeſt Princes that euer was, entring the citie of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was ſlaine there, and the moſt part of his armie: whereby euery man wondred greatly at the diligence and counſell of *Cleomenes*. And where euery man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* ſaid that he would follow *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, in making the citizens goods common, and diſcharging all debts: they were then clearely perſwaded that he onely was the cauſe and meane of that great change, which they ſaw in the courage of the SPARTANS: who were before ſo weake and out of hart, that they hauing no courage to defend themſelues, the ÆTOLIANS entring LACONIA with an armie, tooke away at one time fiftie thouſand ſlaues. Whereupon an old man of SPARTA pleaſantly ſaid at that time, that their enemies had done them a great pleaſure, to rid their country of LACONIA of ſuch a rabble of raſcals. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former auncient diſcipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* ſelfe had bene aliue to haue trained them vnto it: they ſhewed themſelues very valiant, and obedient alſo vnto their Magiſtrates, wherby they recouered againe the commandement of all GREECE, and the countrey alſo of PELOPONNESVS. After *Cleomenes* had taken the citie of ARGOS, the cities alſo of CLEONES, and PHLIVNTA, did yeeld themſelues vnto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remained at CORINTH, and there did buſily accuſe them which were ſuſpected to fauour the LACEDÆMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS was taken, and that he perceiued alſo the citie of CORINTH did leane vnto *Cleomenes* part, and draue away the ACHAIANS: he then calling the people to counſell in CORINTH, ſecretly ſtale to one of the gates of the citie, and cauſing his horſe to be brought vnto him, tooke his backe, and gallopped for life vnto the city of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooke their horſebacks alſo, ſtriuing who ſhould be there ſooneſt, and poſted in ſuch haſt vnto *Cleomenes* at the city of ARGOS, that many of them (as *Aratus* writeth) killed their horſes by the way: howbeit *Cleomenes* was very much offended with them, for that they had let him ſcape their hands. But *Aratus* ſaith further, that *Megiſtonus* came vnto him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great ſumme of money to deliuer him the caſtle of CORINTH, wherein there was a great garriſon of the ACHAIANS. But he anſwered againe, that things were not in his power, but rather that he was ſubiect to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the city of ARGOS, ouercame the TROEZENIANS, the EPIDAVRIANS, and the HERMIONIANS. After that, he came vnto CORINTH, and preſently intrenched the caſtle there round about, and ſending for *Aratus* friends and factors, commaunded them to keepe his houſe and goods carefully for him, and ſent *Tritymallus* MESSINIAN againe vnto him, to pray him to be contented that the caſtle might be kept indifferently betwixt the ACHAIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, promiſing him priuately to double the penſion that king *Ptolomy* gaue him. But *Aratus* refuſing it, ſent his ſon vnto *Antigonus* with other hoſtages, and perſwaded the ACHAIANS to deliuer vp the caſtle of CORINTH into *Antigonus* hands. *Cleomenes* vnderſtanding it, entred with his army into the countrie of the SICYONIANS, and deſtroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* goods and money of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by decree. Now *Antigonus* in the mean time, being paſſed the mountaine of Gerania with a great power: *Cleomenes* determined not to fortifie the ISTHMVS or the ſtraight of PELOPONNESVS, but the waies of the mountaines Onienes, determining to keepe euery one of them againſt the MACEDONIANS, with intent to conſume them rather by time, then to fight a battell with an armie, ſo good ſouldiers, and well trained as they were. *Cleomenes* following this determination, did put *Antigonus* to great trouble, becauſe he had not in time prouided for corne: and could not win the paſſage alſo by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with

Cleomenes winneth the city of Argos.

King Pyrrhus ſlaine at the city of Argos.

The force of Lycurgus lawes.

with ſuch guard and ſouldiers. Then *Antigonus* ſtealing ſecretly into the hauen of LECHÆVM, he was ſtoutly repulſed, and loſt a number of his men: whereupon *Cleomenes* and his men being couragious for this victorie, went quietly to ſupper. *Antigonus* on the other ſide fell into diſpaire to ſee himſelfe brought by neceſſitie into ſuch hard tearmes. Wherefore he determined to go to the temple of *Iuno*, and from thence to paſſe his armie by ſea into the citie of SICYONE, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the ſame night there came ſome of *Aratus* friends of the ARGIVES, who comming from ARGOS by ſea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled againſt *Cleomenes*. The practiſer of this rebellion, was one *Ariſtoteles*, who eaſily brought the people vnto it, that were already offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promiſed to paſſe a law for the clearing of debts, but performed it not according to their expectation. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thouſand fiue hundred men which *Antigonus* gaue him, went by ſea vnto EPIDAVRVM. Howbeit *Ariſtoteles* taried not his comming, but taking them of the citie with him, went and beſieged the garriſon of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the caſtell, being aided by *Timoxenus*, with the ACHAIANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receiuing aduertiſement thereof, about the ſecond watch of the night, ſent for *Megiſtonus* in haſt, and commaunded him in anger ſpeedily to go and aide their men that were in the citie of ARGOS. For it was *Megiſtonus* himſelfe that promiſed *Cleomenes* the fidelitie of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driuing them out of the citie, which he ſuſpected. So ſending him away foorthwith with two thouſand men, he attended *Antigonus*, and comforted the CORINTHIANS the beſt he could: aduertiſing them that it was but a litle mutinie of a few, that chaunced in the citie of ARGOS. *Megiſtonus* being come to ARGOS, and ſlaine in battell, fighting for the LACEDÆMONIANS in garriſon there, who (being in great diſtreſſe, & ſcant able to keepe the caſtell againſt the enemies) ſent ſundrie meſſengers vnto *Cleomenes*, to pray him to ſend them immediate aide. *Cleomenes* then being affraid that the enemies hauing taken ARGOS, would ſtoppe his way to returne backe into his countrey, who hauing oportunitie ſafely to ſpoile LACONIA, and alſo to beſiege the citie ſelfe of SPARTA, that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his armie from CORINTH. Immediatly after came *Antigonus*, and tooke it from him, and put a ſtrong garriſon into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the citie of ARGOS, he ſcaled the walles, and breaking the vaults and arches of the place called Aſpis, entred into the citie, and ioyned with his garriſon there, which yet reſiſted the ACHAIANS: and taking other partes of the ſame alſo, aſſaulted the walles, and cleared the ſtreetes in ſuch ſort, that not an enemie durſt be ſeene, for feare of the archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he ſaw *Antigonus* a farre off, comming downe the hilles into the valley with his footemen, and that his horſemen alſo came vpon the ſpurre into the citie: diſpairing then that he could any longer keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and ſafely going downe by the walles, retired without loſſe of anie man. So, when in ſhort time he had conquered much, and had almoſt wonne all within PELOPONNESVS: in ſhorter ſpace alſo, he loſt all againe. For, of the confederates that were in his campe, ſome did preſently forſake him: others alſo immediatly after ſurrendered vp the townes vnto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* being thus oppreſſed with the fortune of warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the reſt of his armie, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieued him as much as the loſſe of all his conqueſts: for he was aduertiſed of the death of his wife *Agiatis*, whome he loued ſo dearely, that in the middeſt of his chiefeſt proſperitie and victories, he made often iourneys to SPARTA to ſee her. It could not be but a marueilous griefe vnto *Cleomenes*, who being a young man, had loſt ſo vertuous and faire a yong Ladie, ſo dearely beloued of him: and yet he gaue not place vnto his ſorow, neither did griefe ouercome his noble courage, but he vſed the ſelfe ſame voice, apparell, and countenance that he did before. Then taking order with his priuate captaines about his affaires, and hauing prouided alſo for the ſafetie of the TEGEANS: he went the next morning by breake of day vnto SPARTA. After he had priuatly lamented the ſorrow of his wiues death, with his mother and children, he preſently bent his mind againe to publike cauſes. Now *Cleomenes* had ſent vnto *Ptolomy* king of ÆGYPT, who had promiſed him aide, but vpon demaund, to haue his mother and children in pledge. So he was a long time before he would for ſhame make his mother priuie vnto it, and went oftentimes of purpoſe to let her vnderſtand it: but when he came he had not the heart to breake it to her. She firſt ſuſpecting the thing, asked *Cleomenes* friends, if her ſonne had not ſomewhat to ſay vnto her, that he durſt not vtter. Whereupon, in fine he gaue the venture,

The Argiues do rebell againſt Cleomenes.

Cleomenes loſt the citie of Corinth.

Cleomenes loſt the city of Argos.

The death of Agiatis king Cleomenes wife.

The noble mind of Cratiſiclea, Cleomenes mother.

and brake the matter to her. When ſhe heard it, ſhe fell a laughing, and told him: Why, how cometh it to paſſe, that thou haſt kept it thus long, and wouldeſt not tell me? Come, come, ſaid ſhe, put me ſtraight into a ſhip, and ſend me whither thou wilt, that this bodie of mine may do ſome good vnto my countrey, before crooked age conſume my life without profite. Then all things being prepared for their iourney, they went by land, accompanied with the armie, vnto the head of Tænarus: where *Crateſiclea* being ready to imbarke, ſhe tooke *Cleomenes* aſide into the temple of *Neptune*, and embracing and kiſſing him, perceiuing that his heart yearned for ſorrow of her departure, ſhe ſaid vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, let no man ſee for ſhame when we come out of the temple, that we haue wept and diſhonored SPARTA: for that onely is in our power, as for the reſt, as it pleaſeth the gods, ſo let it be. When ſhe had ſpoken theſe words, and faſhioned her countenance againe, ſhe went then to take her ſhip with a litle ſonne of *Cleomenes*, and commaunded the maiſter of the ſhippe to hoiſe ſaile. Now when ſhe was arriued in ÆGYPT, and vnderſtood that king *Ptolomy* receiued Ambaſſadours from *Antigonus*, and were in talke to make peace with him: and hearing alſo that *Cleomenes* being requeſted by the ACHAIANS to make peace with them, durſt not hearken to it, and end that warre, without king *Ptolomyes* conſent, and becauſe of his mother: ſhe wrote vnto him, that he ſhould not ſpare to do any thing that ſhould be expedient for the honour of SPARTA, without feare of diſpleaſing *Ptolomy*, or for regard of an old woman, and a young boy. Such was the noble mind of this worthie Lady in her ſonne *Cleomenes* aduerſitie. Furthermore, *Antigonus* hauing taken the city of TEGEA, and ſacked the other cities of ORCHOMENE & MANTINEA, *Cleomenes* ſeeing himſelf brought to defend the borders onely of LACONIA, he did manumiſſe all the ILOTES, (which were the ſlaues of LACEDÆMON) paying fiue Attica Minas a man. With that money he made the ſum of fiue hundred talents, and armed two thouſand of theſe freed ſlaues after the MACEDONIAN faſhion to fight againſt the LEVCASPIDES: (to wit, the white ſhields of *Antigonus*) and then there fell into his mind a maruellous great enterpriſe, vnlooked for of euery man. The citie of MEGALIPOLIS at that time being as great as SPARTA, & hauing the aide of the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* at hand, (whom the ACHAIANS as it ſeemed had brought in, chiefly at the requeſt of the MEGALIPOLITANS) *Cleomenes* determining to ſacke this city, and knowing that to bring it to paſſe, nothing was more requiſite then celerity, he commaunded his ſouldiers to victuall themſelues for fiue daies, and marching with the choiſe of all his armie towards SELASIA, as though he had meant to haue ſpoiled the ARGIVES, ſodainely turning from thence, he inuaded the countrie of the MEGALIPOLITANS, and ſupping by ROBIVM, went ſtraight by ELICVNTA vnto the city. When he was come neare vnto it, he ſent *Panteas* before with ſpeede, with two bands of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commanded him to take a certaine peece of the wall betweene two towers, which he knew was not kept nor guarded, and he followed him alſo with the reſt of his army comming on faire and ſoftly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the wall without guard or watch which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but alſo the moſt part of that ſide without defence: he tooke ſome part of the wall at his firſt comming, and manned it, and ouerthrew another peece of it alſo, putting them all to the ſword that did defend it, and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the citie with his armie, before the MEGALIPOLITANS knew of his comming. At length, the citizens vnderſtanding that the city was taken, ſome fled in haſt, conueying ſuch light things as came to hand, in ſo great a feare: and the others alſo arming themſelues, ran together to reſiſt the enemies. But though they valiantly fought to repulſe them out of the citie, and yet preuailed not: they gaue the reſt leyſure thereby to flie and ſaue themſelues, ſo that there remained not behind, aboue a thouſand men. For all the reſt were fled with their wiues and children, into the citie of MESSINA. The moſt part of them alſo that fought with the enemies, ſaued themſelues, and very few were taken, the chiefeſt whereof, were *Lyſandridas*, and *Thearidas*, the nobleſt perſons that were amongſt the MEGALIPOLITANS: wherefore when the ſouldiers had taken them, they brought them vnto *Cleomenes*. *Lyſandridas*, when he ſaw *Cleomenes* a good way off, cryed out aloud vnto him: O king of LACEDÆMON, this day thou haſt an occaſion offered thee to do a more famous princely act, then that which thou haſt already done, and that will make thy name alſo more glorious. *Cleomenes* muſing what he would requeſt: Well (quoth he) what is that thou requireſt? One thing I will tell thee beforehand, thou ſhalt not make me reſtore your city to you againe. Yet, quoth *Lyſandridas*, let me requeſt thus much then, that ye do not deſtroy it, but rather repleniſh it with friends and confederates,

Cleomenes ſendeth his mother and children hoſtages vnto Ptolomy king of AEgipt.

Cleomenes wan the city of Megalipolis

derates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that ſhall you do, giuing the MEGALIPOLITANS their citie againe, and preſeruing ſuch a number of people as haue forſaken it. *Cleomenes* pawſing awhile, anſwered, it was a hard thing to beleeue that: but yet, quoth he, let honour take place with vs before profite. After that he ſent a Herald ſtraight vnto MESSINA vnto them that were fled thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their citie again, ſo that they would become good friends and confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, forſaking the alliance of the ACHAIANS. *Philopæmen* would by no meanes ſuffer the MEGALIPOLITANS to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor alſo to leaue their alliance with the ACHAIANS: telling them, that he meant not to giue them their citie againe, but to take them alſo with their citie: and therefore draue *Thearidas* and *Lyſandridas* out of MESSINA, that moued this practiſe. It was that *Philopæmen* that afterwards was the chiefeſt man of the ACHAIANS, and that wanne ſuch fame and honour among the GRECIANS, as we haue particularly declared in his life. This word being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the citie from ſpoiling vntill that time: he was then ſo throughly offended, that he gaue the goods in prey to the ſouldiers, ſent away their goodly tables, images, and pictures vnto SPARTA, and defaced the chiefeſt parts of the citie, and then returned home againe, being afraid of *Antigonus* and the ACHAIANS. Howbeit they ſtirred not, becauſe of the parliament that was kept at that time in the city of ÆGIVM, where *Aratus* being in the pulpit for Orations, and holding his gowne a long time before his face, the people maruelling at it, willed him to tell what he ayled: he anſwered them: MEGALIPOLIS is taken, and razed by *Cleomenes*. The ACHAIANS being amazed at the ſodainneſſe of this great loſſe, ſtraight brake off their parliament and aſſembly. But *Antigonus* thinking to aide them, ſent preſently for all his garriſons, who being long a comming, he willed them to ſtay where they were, and he himſelfe taking a few ſouldiers with him, went vnto the citie of ARGOS. Therfore the ſecond enterpriſe of *Cleomenes* ſeemeth at the firſt ſight a very raſh and deſperate attempt: howbeit *Polybius* writeth, that it was an attempt of great wiſedome and pollicie. For *Cleomenes* vnderſtanding that the MACEDONIANS were diſperſed in garriſons in diuerſe places, and that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the city of ARGOS, with a certaine number of footmen that were ſtrangers: he inuaded the country of the ARGIVES with his army, perſwading himſelfe, that either *Antigonus* would for ſhame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then he ſhold put him in diſgrace with the ARGIVES: which indeed came ſo to paſſe. The ARGIVES ſeeing their country ſpoiled by *Cleomenes*, were in a maruellous rage, & gathering together at *Antigonus* lodging, they cryed out vnto him, either to go into the field and fight with the enemie: or elſe if he were affraid, to reſigne his office of Generall of GRECE vnto others that were valianter then himſelfe. But *Antigonus* like a wiſe and excellent Captaine, thinking it a diſhonour to him, raſhly to put himſelfe in daunger, and his friends alſo, though he were prouoked with many iniuries and opprobrious words: would not go into the field, but ſtood conſtant in his firſt determination. Then *Cleomenes* hauing brought his armie hard to the walles of the city of ARGOS, and ſpoiled and deſtroyed the country round about: without let or daunger he ſafely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* being aduertiſed that *Antigonus* was come vnto TEGEA, with intent to inuade the countrie of LACONIA: he going another way with his armie (vnwitting to his enemies) they wondred when they ſaw him in the morning by the city of ARGOS, ſpoiling their countrie, & cutting down their corn, not with ſickles or ſwords as other do vſe, but with long poles in forme of ſithes, wherewith the ſoldiers as they went ſporting wiſe, ouerthrew and ſpoiled it. But when they came to the place of exerciſes in the ſuburbs, called Cyllabaris, certaine of the ſouldiers going about to haue ſet it a fire, *Cleomenes* would not ſuffer them, and told thē, that what he had done at MEGALIPOLIS, it was rather angrily then honeſtly done. Now *Antigonus* preſently returned backe againe, being minded firſt to haue gone directly to the city of ARGOS, but ſodainly altering his mind, did campe vpon the top of hils and mountaines: *Cleomenes* ſeeming not to be afraid of him, ſent Heralds to him to deſire the keyes of the temple of *Iuno*, and then after he had done ſacrifice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking *Antigonus*, after he had ſacrificed vnto the goddeſſe, vnder the temple that was ſhut vp, he ſent his armie vnto PHLIVNTA, and hauing driuen away the garriſon out of OLOGVNTA, he came vnto the citie of ORCHOMENE, hauing not onely encouraged his citizens, but gotten euen amongeſt the enemies themſelues, a fame alſo to be a noble Captaine, and worthie to mannage great affaires. For euery man iudged him to be a skilfull ſouldier, and a valiant Captaine, that with the

Cleomenes noble ſaying.

Cleomenes razed the city of Megalipolis.

Cleomenes ſtratageme.

A wiſe Captaine ſhould not raſhly put himſelfe in hazard.

The moderation of Cleomenes to his enemies.

power of one only citie, did maintain war against the kingdom of MACEDON, against al the people of PELOPONNESVS, and against the treasure of so great a king: and withall, not only to keep his owne countrie of LACONIA vnfoyled, but farre otherwise to hurt his enemies countries, and to take so many great cities of theirs. But he that said first, that money was the sinew of all things, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the warres. *Demades* the Oratour sayed on a time, when the ATHENIANS commaunded certaine gallies should be put out of the arsenall into the sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked money: he that rules the prowe, must first see before him: meaning munition and victuals must be prouided, before the ships be set out. And it is reported also, that the auncient *Archidamus*, when the confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS at the beginning of the warre of PELOPONNESVS required, that they might be sessed at a certaine rate, answered: The charges of war haue no certaine stint. For like as wrestlers that exercise their bodies continually in games, are better able to wrestle, and ouerthrow them with time that haue no strength but onely art and slight: euen so king *Antigonus*, who by the greatnesse of his kingdome did defray the charge of this warre, did wearie and ouercome *Cleomenes* at the length, because he lacked money both to pay the straungers that serued him, and also to maintaine his owne citizens. For otherwise doubtlesse the time serued his turne well, because the troubles that fell vpon *Antigonus* in his Realme, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous people his neighbours, in his absence did spoile and destroy the realme of MACEDON, and specially the ILLYRIANS of the high countrey, that came downe then with a great armie: whereupon the MACEDONIANS being spoiled and harried on all sides by them, they sent post vnto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If these letters had bene brought him but a litle before the battell, as they came afterwards, *Antigonus* had gone his way, and left the ACHAIANS. But fortune that alwaies striketh the stroke in all weightiest causes, gaue such speed and fauour vnto him: that immediatly after the battell was fought at SELASIA, (where *Cleomenes* lost his armie and citie) the very messengers arriued that came for *Antigonus* to come home, the which made the ouerthrow of king *Cleomenes* so much more lamentable. For if he had delayed battell but two daies longer, when the MACEDONIANS had bene gone, he might haue made what peace he would with the ACHAIANS: but for lacke of money, he was driuen (as *Polybius* writeth) to giue battell with twentie thousand men, against thirtie thousand: where he shewed himselfe an excellent and skilfull Captaine, and where his citizens also fought like valiant men, and the straungers in like case did shew themselues good souldiers. But his onely ouerthrow was by the manner of his enemies weapons, and the force of their battell of footemen. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that treason was the cause of his ouerthrow. For *Antigonus* had appointed the ACARNANIANS, and the ILLYRIANS which he had in his armie, to steale vpon the wing of his enemies armie, where *Euclidas*, king *Cleomenes* brother was, to compasse him in behind, whilest he did set the rest of his men in battell. When *Cleomenes* was got vp vpon some hill to looke about him, to see the countenance of the enemie, and seeing none of the ACARNANIANS, nor of the ILLYRIANS: he was then affrayed of *Antigonus*, that he went about some stratageme of warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whose charge was to take heede of stratagemes and secret ambushes, and commaunded him to looke to the rereward of his armie, and to be very circumspect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with money, told him that all was cleare in the rereward, and bad him looke to ouerthrow his enemies before him. *Cleomenes* trusting this report, set forward against *Antigonus*, and in the end, his citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gaue such a fierce charge vpon the squadron of the MACEDONIAN footmen, that they draue them backe fiue furlongs off. But in the meane time, *Euclidas* his brother, in the other wing of his army, being compassed in behind, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and seeing the ouerthrow, cryed out aloud: Alas good brother, thou art but slaine, yet thou diest valiantly, and honestly, and thy death shall be a worthie example vnto all posteritie, and shall be sung by the praises of the women of SPARTA. So *Euclidas* and his men being slaine, the enemies came straight to set vpon *Cleomenes* wing. *Cleomenes* then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer resist the enemie, fled, and saued himselfe. Many of the straungers also that serued him, were slaine at this battell: and of fixe thousand SPARTANS, there were left aliue but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned vnto SPARTA, the citizens comming to see him, he gaue them counsell to yeeld themselues vnto *Antigonus* the conquerour: and for himselfe, if either aliue or dead he could do

any

Money the sinew of wars.

The saying of Archidamus.

Cleomenes ouercome by Antigonus, for lacke of money to pay his soldiers.

The power of fortune. Battell betwixt Cleomenes and Antigonus at Selasia.

The treason of Demoteles.

Cleomenes ouerthrowne by Antigonus.

any thing for the honour and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly do it. The women of the city alſo, comming vnto them that flying had eſcaped with him, when he ſaw them vnarme the men, and bring them drink to refreſh them with: he alſo went home to his owne houſe. Thē a maide of the houſe, which he had taken in the city of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had entertained euer ſince the death of his wife) came vnto him as her maner was, to refreſh him comming hote from the battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame dry, nor ſit being very wearie, but armed as he was, laid his arme a croſſe vpon a pillar, and leaning his head vpon it, repoſed himſelfe a litle, and caſting in his mind all the waies that were to be thought of, he tooke his friends with him, and went to the hauen of Gythium, and there hauing his ſhippes which he had appointed for the purpoſe, he hoiſſed ſaile, and departed his way. Immediatly after his departure, came *Antigonus* into the city of SPARTA, and courteouſly intreated the citizens and inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly deſpiſe the ancient honour and dignity of SPARTA: but referring them to their owne lawes and gouernment, when he had ſacrificed to the gods for his victory, he departed frō thence the third day; newes being brought him that the war was very great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous people did ſpoile his countrie. Now a diſeaſe tooke him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared a tiſicke, mixt with a ſore catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his diſeaſe, and bare it out, that fighting for his countrey, and obtaining a famous victorie, with great ſlaughter of the barbarous people, he might yet dye honorably, as indeed he did, by *Phylarchus* teſtimonie, who ſaith, that with the force of his voice fiercely crying out in the middeſt of his fight, he tare his lungs and lights, worſe then they were before. Yet in the ſchooles it is ſaid, that after he had won the battell, he was ſo ioyfull of it, that crying out, O bleſſed day: he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great feuer took him withall, that he died of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Iſle of CYTHERA, went and caſt anker in another Iland, called ÆGLALIA. Then determining to ſaile ouer to the city of CYRENA, *Therycion*, one of *Cleomenes* friends (a man that in wars ſhewed himſelfe very valiant, but a boaſter beſides of his owne doings) tooke *Cleomenes* aſide, and ſaid thus vnto him: Truly ô king, we haue loſt an honorable occaſion to die in battell, though euery man hath heard vs vaunt and ſay, that *Antigonus* ſhold neuer ouercome the king of SPARTA aliue, but dead. A ſecond occaſion yet is offered vs to dye, with much leſſe honour and fame notwithſtanding then the firſt. Whither do we ſaile to no purpoſe? Why do we flie the death at hand, and ſeeke it ſo farre off? If it be no ſhame nor diſhonor for the poſteritie and race of *Hercules* to ſerue the ſucceſſors of *Philip* and *Alexander*: let vs ſaue then our labour, and long dangerous ſailing, and go yeeld our ſelues vnto *Antigonus*, who in likelihood will better vſe vs then *Ptolomy*, becauſe the MACEDONIANS are far more noble perſons then the ÆGYPTIANS. And if we diſdaine to be commaunded by them which haue ouercome vs in battell, why then will we make him Lord of vs, that hath not ouercome vs: in ſteade of one, to make vs inferiour vnto both, flying *Antigonus*, and ſeruing king *Ptolomy*? Can we ſay that we go into ÆGYPT, in reſpect to ſee your mother there? A ioyfull ſight no doubt, when ſhe ſhall ſhew king *Ptolomies* wiues her ſon, that before was a king, a priſoner and fugitiue now. Were it not better for vs, that hauing yet LACONIA our country in ſight, and our ſwords beſides in our owne hands, to deliuer vs from this great miſery, and ſo doing to excuſe our ſelues with them that are ſlaine at SELASIA for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly loſing our time in ÆGYPT, to enquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenant and Gouernor in LACEDÆMON? *Therycion* ending his oration, *Cleomenes* anſwered him thus: Doeſt thou thinke it a glorie for thee to ſeeke death, which is the eaſieſt matter, and the preſenteſt vnto any man, that can be: and yet, wretch that thou art, thou flyeſt now more cowardly and ſhamefully, then from the battell? For diuerſe valiant men, and farre better then our ſelues, haue often yeelded vnto their enemies, either by ſome misfortune, or compelled by greater number, and multitude of men: but he, ſay I, that ſubmitteth himſelfe vnto paine and miſerie, or to reproach and praiſe of men, he cannot but confeſſe that he is ouercome by his own vnhappineſſe. For when a man will willingly kill himſelfe, he muſt not do it to be rid of paines and labour, but it muſt haue an honourable reſpect and action. For to liue or dye for his owne reſpect, that cannot but be diſhonourable: the which now thou perſwadeſt me vnto, to make me flye this preſent miſerie we are in, without any honour or profite in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we ſhould not yet caſt off the hope, we haue to ſerue our countrey in time to come: but when all hope faileth vs, then we may eaſily make our ſelues away when we

Antigonus wan the city of Sparta.

The death of Antigonus the ſon of Demetrius, king of Macedon.

Cleomenes flyeth out of Peloponneſus.

The oration of Therycion, vnto Cleomenes againſt death.

Cleomenes oration of death

Willing death muſt haue honorable reſpect.

liſt. Thereunto *Therycion* gaue no anſwer, but aſſoone as he found oportunitie to ſlip frõ *Cleomenes*, he went to the ſea ſide, and ſlue himſelfe. *Cleomenes* hoiſſing ſaile from the Ile of Ægialia, went into Africke, and was brought by the kings ſeruants vnto the citie of Alexandria. King *Ptolomy* at his firſt comming, gaue *Cleomenes* no ſpeciall good, but indifferent entertainement: but after that he had ſhewed himſelfe to be of great wiſedome and iudgement, and that *Ptolomy* ſaw in the ſimplicity of his Laconian life he had alſo a noble diſpoſition and courage, nothing degenerating from the princely race and bloud of *Hercules*, and that he yeelded not to his aduerſitie: he tooke more delight in his company, then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly, that he had made no more account of him before, but had ſuffered him to be ouerthrowne by *Antigonus*, who through the victory of him, had maruellouſly enlarged his honour and power. Then he began to comfort *Cleomenes*, and doing him as great honor as could be, promiſed that he would ſend him with ſhips and mony into Grece, and put him againe into his kingdome: and further, gaue him an annuall penſion in the meane time, of foure and twenty talents, with the which he ſimply and ſoberly entertained him ſelfe and his men about him: and beſtowed all the reſt vpon his countrimen that came out of Grece into Ægypt. But now old king *Ptolomy* deceaſing before he could performe the promiſe he made vnto *Cleomenes*, to ſend him into Grece, the realme falling then into great laſciuiouſneſſe, drunkennes, and into the gouernment of women, his caſe and miſerie was cleane forgotten. For the yong king his ſon was ſo giuen ouer to women and wine, that when he was moſt ſober, and in his beſt wits, he moſt diſpoſed himſelfe to make feaſts and ſacrifices, and to haue the taber playing in his Court, to gather people together, like a ſtage player or iugler, whileſt one *Agathoclea* his lemman, and her mother, and *Oenanthes* a baud, did rule all the affaires of the ſtate. But when he came to be king, it appeared he had need of *Cleomenes*: becauſe he was afraid of his brother *Magas*, who by his mothers means, was very well eſteemed of among ſoldiers. Wherfore he called *Cleomenes* to him, and made him of his priuy Councell, where he deuiſed by practiſe, which way to kill his brother. All other his friends that were of counſell with him, did counſell him to do it: but *Cleomenes* only vehemently diſſwaded him from it, and told him, that if it were poſſible, rather more brethren ſhould be begotten vnto the king for the ſafetie of his perſon, and for deuiding of the affaires of the kingdome betweene them. Amongeſt the kings familiars that were chiefeſt about him, there was one *Soſibius* that ſaid vnto *Cleomenes*: So long as his brother *Magas* liued, the ſouldiers that be ſtrangers, whom the king entertained, would neuer be true to him. *Cleomenes* anſwered him, for that matter there was no daunger: for, ſaith he, of thoſe hired ſtrangers, there are three thouſand Peloponnesians, which he knew at the twinckling of an eye would be at his commandement, to come with their armour and weapon where he would appoint them. Theſe words of *Cleomenes* at that time ſhewed his faith and goodwill he bare vnto the king, and the force he was of beſides. But afterwards, *Ptolomies* feareſulneſſe increaſing his miſtruſt: (as it commonly hapneth, that they that lacke wit, thinke it the beſt ſafetie to be feareſull of euery wagging of a ſtraw, & to miſtruſt euery man) the remembrance of *Cleomenes* words made him much ſuſpected of the Courtiers, vnderſtanding that he could do ſo much with the ſoldiers that were ſtrangers: inſomuch as ſome of them ſaid: See (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a Lyon amongſt ſheepe. Indeed conſidering his faſhions and behauior, they might well ſay ſo of him: for he would looke through his fingers as though he ſaw nothing, and yet ſaw all what they did. In fine, he required an army and ſhips of the king: and vnderſtanding alſo that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the Achaians and Ætolians were at great wars together, and that the affairs of his country did call him home, all Peloponnesvs being in armes & vprore, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But neuer a man would giue eare vnto him, & the king alſo heard nothing of it, becauſe he was continually entertained among ladies, with banquets, dancing, and maskes. But *Soſibius* that ruled all the realme, thought that to keepe *Cleomenes* againſt his will, were a hard thing, and alſo daungerous: and to let him go alſo, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a ſtirring mind, and one that knew the vices and imperfections of their gouernment: he thought that alſo no ſafe way, ſith no gifts nor preſents that could be offered him, could ſoften him. For as the holy bull (which they call in Ægypt, Apis) that is full fed in goodly paſture, doth yet deſire to follow his naturall courſe and liberty, to runne and leape at his pleaſure, and plainely ſheweth that it is a griefe to him to be kept ſtill by the Prieſt: euenſo the courtly pleaſures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*, but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

Cleomenes flyeth into Ægypt vnto king Ptolomie.

Cleomenes vertue.

It

It irkt his noble heart to ſit at home in ſlothfull reſt,
When martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked beſt.

Now *Cleomenes* ſtanding in theſe termes, there arriued in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras* MESSINIAN, who maliced *Cleomenes* in his heart, but yet ſhewed as though he loued him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had ſold *Cleomenes* certaine land, but was not payed for it, either becauſe he had no preſent money, or elſe by occaſion of the wars which gaue him no leyſure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chance walking vpon the ſands, he ſaw *Nicagoras* landing out of his ſhip, being newly arriued, and knowing him, he curteouſly welcomed him, and asked what wind had brought him into ÆGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently ſaluting him againe, told him that he had brought the king excellent horſe of ſeruice. *Cleomenes* ſmiling, told him, Thou hadſt bene better haue brought him ſome curtiſans and dancers, for they would haue pleaſed the king better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his anſwer, but within few daies after he did put him in remembrance of the land he ſold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to mony, telling him that he would not haue preſt him for it, but that he had ſuſtained loſſe by merchandiſe. *Cleomenes* anſwered him, that all his penſion was ſpent he had of the king. *Nicagoras* being offended with this anſwer, he went and told *Soſibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gaue the king. *Soſibius* was glad of this occaſion, but yet deſiring further matter to make the king offended with *Cleomenes*, he perſwaded *Nicagoras* to write a letter to the king againſt *Cleomenes*, as though he had conſpired to take the city of CYRENA, if the king had giuen him ſhips, money, and men of warre. When *Nicagoras* had written this letter, he tooke ſhippe, and hoiſſed ſaile. Foure daies after his departure, *Soſibius* brought his letter to the king, as though he had but newly receiued it. The king vpon ſight of it, was ſo offended with *Cleomenes*, that he gaue preſent order he ſhould be ſhut vp in a great houſe, where he ſhould haue his ordinarie diet allowed him, howbeit that he ſhould keepe his houſe. This grieued *Cleomenes* much, but yet he was worſe afraid of that which was to come, by this occaſion: *Ptolomy* the ſon of *Chryſermus*, one of the kings familiars, who had oftentimes before bene very conuerſant and familiar with *Cleomenes*, and did franckly talke together in all matters: *Cleomenes* one day ſent for him, to pray him to come vnto him. *Ptolomy* came at his requeſt, and familiarly diſcourſing together, went about to diſſwade him from all the ſuſpitions he had, and excuſed the king alſo for that he had done vnto him: ſo taking his leaue he left him, not thinking that *Cleomenes* followed him (as he did) to the gate, where he ſharply tooke vp the ſouldiers, ſaying, that they were very negligent and careleſſe in looking to ſuch a fearefull beaſt as he was, and ſo ill to be taken if he once ſcaped their hands. *Cleomenes* heard what he ſaid, and went into his lodging againe, *Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very words againe vnto his friends. Then all the SPARTANS conuerting their good hope into anger, determined to be reuenged of the iniurie *Ptolomy* had done them, and to die like noble SPARTANS not tarying till they ſhould be brought to the ſhambles like fat weathers, to be ſold and killed. For it would be a great ſhame and diſhonor vnto *Cleomenes*, hauing refuſed to make peace with *Antigonus*, a noble Prince and warrier, to tary the kings pleaſure till he had left his drunkenneſſe and dancing, and then to come and put him to death. They being fully reſolued hereof, as you haue heard: king *Ptolomy* by chance went vnto the city of CANOBVS, and firſt they gaue out in ALEXANDRIA, that the king minded to ſet *Cleomenes* at liberty. Then *Cleomenes* friends obſeruing the cuſtome of the kings of ÆGYPT, when they meant to ſet a priſoner at liberty (which was, to ſend the priſoners meat, & preſents before to their ſupper) did ſend vnto him ſuch maner of preſents, and ſo deceiued the ſouldiers that had the keeping of him, ſaying, that they brought thoſe preſents from the king. For *Cleomenes* himſelfe did ſacrifice vnto the gods, and ſent vnto the ſoldiers that kept him, part of thoſe preſents that were ſent vnto him, and ſupping with his friends that night, made merrie with them, euery man being crowned with garlands. Some ſay, that he made the more haſt to execute his enterpriſe, ſooner then he would haue done, by meanes of one of his men that was priuy vnto his conſpiracy: who went euery night to lie with a woman he kept, and therfore was afraid leſt he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noone, perceiuing the ſouldiers had taken in their cups, and that they were aſleepe: he put on his coate, and vnripping it on the right ſhoulder, went out of the houſe with his ſword drawne in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that ſort, which were thirty in all. Amongeſt them there was one called *Hippotas*, who being lame, went very liuely out with them at the firſt: but when he ſaw they went faire & ſoftly becauſe of him, he prayed thē to kil him, becauſe they ſhould not hinder their

Nicagoras Meſſinian, an enemy to Cleomenes.

Cleomenes cōmitted to priſon in Alexandria.

Cleomenes practiſeth to kill king Ptolomy.

enterprise for a lame man, that could do them no seruice. Notwithstanding, by chance they met with a townes man a horseback, that came hard by their doore, whom they pluckt from his horse and cast *Hippotas* vpon him: and then ran through the citie, and cryed to the people, Libertie, libertie. Now the people had no other courage in them, but only commended *Cleomenes*, and wondred at his valiantnesse: but otherwise to follow him, or to further his enterprise, not a man of them had any heart in them. Thus running vp and downe the towne, they met with *Ptolomy* (the same whom we said before was the son of *Chrysermus*) as he came out of the Court: whereupon three of them setting on him, slue him presently. There was also another *Ptolomy* that was Gouernour and Lieutenant of the city of ALEXANDRIA: who hearing a rumour of this stirre, came vnto them in his coach. They went and met him, and first hauing driuen away his guard and soldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his coach, and slue him also. After that they went towards the castle, with intent to set all the prisoners there at liberty to take their part. Howbeit the iaylers that kept them had so strongly locked vp the prison doores, that *Cleomenes* was repulsed and put by his purpose. Thus wandering vp and downe the citie, no man neither came to ioyne with him, nor to resist him, for euery man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being wearie with going vp and downe, he turned him to his friends, and said vnto them: It is no maruell though women commaund such a cowardly people, that flie in this sort from their liberty. Thereupon he prayed them all to die like men, and like those that were brought vp with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his so noble deeds. Then the first man that made himselfe be slaine, was *Hippotas*, who died of a wound one of the young men of his companie gaue him with a sword at his request. After him euery man slue themselues, one after another, without any feare at all, sauing *Panteas*, who was the first man that entred the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. He was a faire young man, and had bene very well brought vp in the LACONIAN discipline, and better then any man of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did loue him dearely, and commaunded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill himselfe last of all. Now they all being layed on the ground, he searched them one after another with the point of his sword, to see if there were any of them yet left aliue: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongst others, and saw that he did yet knit his brows, he kissed him, and sate downe by him. Then perceiuing that he had yeelded vp the ghost, embracing him when he was dead, he also slue himselfe, and fell vpon him. Thus *Cleomenes* hauing raigned king of SPARTA sixteene yeares, being the same manner of man we haue described him to be, he ended his daies in this sort as ye heare. Now his death being presently bruted through the city, *Cratesiclea* his mother, though otherwise she had a noble mind, did notwithstanding a litle forget her greatnes, through the extreame sorrow she felt for the death of her son: and so embracing *Cleomenes* sons, she fell to bitter lamentation. But the eldest of his sonnes, (no man mistrusting any such matter) found means to get out of her hands, and running vp to the top of the house, cast himselfe headlong downe to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted, yet dyed not, but was taken vp crying, and angry with thē, that they would not suffer him to die. This newes being brought to king *Ptolomy*, he commanded they should first flea *Cleomenes*, and then hang vp his body, and also, that they should put his children, his mother, and all her women waiting on her to death: among the which was *Panteas* wife, one of the faireſt and curteousest women in her time. They had not bene long maried before, when these mischiefes lighted vpon them, at what time their loue was then in greatest force. Her parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her husband, but had locked her vp, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit, shortly after she found the meanes to get her a horse, & some mony, and stale away in the night, and galloped towards the hauen of Tænarus, where finding a ship ready bound for ÆGYPT, she imbarked and went to seeke her husband, with whom she gladly and louingly led her life, forsaking her owne country, to liue in a strange Realme. Now when the Sergeants came to take *Cratesiclea* to put her to death, *Panteas* wife led her by the arme, carying vp her traine, and did comfort her, although *Cratesiclea* otherwise was not afraid to dye, but only asked this fauor, that she might die before her litle children. This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the hangman first slue her children before her eyes, and then her selfe afterwards, who in such great griefe and sorrow, sayed no more but thus: Alas my poore children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* wife also, being a mightie tall woman, girding her clothes to her, tooke vp the slaine bodies one after another, and wrapped them vp in such things as she could get, speaking neuer a word, nor shewing

The end and death of Cleomenes and his friends.

The courage of Panteas.

ſhewing any ſigne or token of griefe. And in fine, hauing prepared her ſelfe to dye, and plucked off her attire her ſelfe, without ſuffering any other to come neare her, or to ſee her, but the hangman that was appointed to ſtrike off her head: in this ſort ſhe died as conſtantly, as the ſtouteſt man liuing could haue done, and had ſo couered her body, that no man needed after her death to touch her: ſo carefull was ſhe to her end, to keepe her honeſty, which ſhe had alwayes kept in her life, and in her death was mindfull of her honour, wherewith ſhe decked her body in her life time. Thus theſe LACEDÆMONIAN Ladies playing their parts in this pitifull tragedy, contending at the time of death, euen with the courage of the ſlaine SPARTANS their countrey men, which of them ſhould dye moſt conſtantly: left a manifeſt proofe and teſtimony, that fortune hath no power ouer fortitude and courage. Shortly after, thoſe that were appointed to keepe the body of king *Cleomenes* that hung vpon the croſſe, they ſpied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that couered all his face, in ſo much as no rauening fowle durſt come neare him to eate of it: whereupon the king fell into a ſuperſtitious feare, being afraid that he had offended the gods. Hereupon, the Ladies in his court began to make many ſacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this ſinne: perſwading themſelues, that they had put a man to death beloued of the gods, and that he had ſomething more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRIANS thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers vnto *Cleomenes*, as vnto a demy god, calling him the ſonne of the gods: vntill that the learned men brought them from that errour, declaring vnto them, that like as of oxen being dead and rotten, there breed bees, and of horſe alſo come waſpes, and of aſſes likewiſe bettels: euen ſo mens bodies, when the marow melteth and gathereth together, do bring foorth Serpents.

Cleomenes hanging vpon a croſſe, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.

Liuing things breeding of the corruption of dead beaſts.

The which comming to the knowledge of the auncients in old time, of all other beaſts they did conſecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper vnto man.

Why the Dragon is conſecrated vnto Princes.

The end of the life of Agis and Cleomenes.

TIBERIVS AND CAIVS *Gracchi.*

NOw that we haue declared vnto you the hiſtory of the liues of theſe two GRECIANS, *Agis* and *Cleomenes* aforeſayd: we muſt alſo write the hiſtory of two ROMAINES, the which is no leſſe lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chanced vnto *Tiberius* and *Caius*, both of them the ſonnes of *Tiberius Gracchus*. He hauing bene twiſe Conſull, and once Cenſor, and hauing had the honor of two triumphs: had notwithſtanding more honour and fame onely for his valiantneſſe, for the which he was thought worthy to marry with *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Scipio*, who ouercame *Hannibal* after the death of his father: though while he liued he was neuer his friend, but rather his enemy. It is reported, that *Tiberius* on a time found two ſnakes in his bed, and that the ſoothſayers and wiſards hauing conſidered the ſignification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, & alſo to let them both eſcape, but one onely: aſſuring him that if he killed the male, he ſhould not liue long after: and if he killed the female, that then his wife *Cornelia* ſhould dye. *Tiberius* then louing his wife dearly, thinking it meeter for him alſo, that he being the elder of both, and ſhe yet a young woman, ſhould dye before her: he ſlue the male, and let the female eſcape, howbeit he died ſoone after, leauing twelue children aliue, all of them begotten of *Cornelia*. *Cornelia* after the death of her husband, taking vpon her the rule of her houſe and children, led ſuch a chaſt life, was ſo good to her children, and of ſo noble a mind, that euery man thought *Tiberius* a wiſe man for that he died, and left her behind him. She remaining widow, king *Ptolomy* made ſute vnto her, and would haue made her his wife and Queene: but ſhe refuſed, and in her widowhood loſt all her children, but one daughter (whom ſhe beſtowed vpon the yonger *Scipio African*) and *Tiberius*, and *Caius*, whoſe liues we preſently write. Thoſe ſhe ſo carefully brought vp, that they being become more ciuill, and better conditioned, then any other ROMAINES in their time: euery man iudged, that education preuailed more in them then nature. For, as in the fauours and pictures of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, there is a certaine difference diſcerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for wreſtling, and the other for running: euen ſo betweene theſe two young brethren, amongſt other the great likeneſſe betweene them, being both happily borne to be valiant, to be temperate, to be liberall, to be learned, and to be nobly minded, there grew notwithſtanding great difference in their actions and doings in the common wealth: the which I thinke conuenient to declare, before I proceed any farther. Firſt of all, for the fauour of the face, the looke and mouing of the body, *Tiberius* was much more mild and tractable, and *Caius* more hot and earneſt. For the firſt in his orations was very modeſt, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMAINES was the firſt that in his oration ietted vp and downe the pulpit, and that plucked his gowne ouer his ſhoulders: as they write of *Cleo* ATHENIAN, that he was the firſt of all Orators

The vvorthineſſe of Tiberius Gracchus the father.

Tiberius Gracchus the father, maried Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio African.

The tender loue of Tiberius to his vvife Cornelia.

The praiſe of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

A true deſcription of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi.

Orators that opened his gowne, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his oration. Furthermore, *Caius* words, and the vehemency of his perſwaſion, were terrible and full of paſſion, but *Tiberius* words in contrary maner, were mild, moued men more to compaſſion, being very proper, and excellently applied, where *Caius* words were full of fineneſſe and curioſity. The like difference alſo was betweene them in their fare and diet. For *Tiberius* alwayes kept a conuenient ordinary: and *Caius* alſo in reſpect of other ROMAINES, liued very temperately, but in reſpect of his brothers fare, curiouſly and ſuperfluouſly. Inſomuch as *Druſus* on a time reproued him, becauſe he had bought certaine Dolphins of ſiluer, to the value of a thouſand two hundred and fifty Drachmas for euery pound waight. And now, as touching the maners and naturall diſpoſition of them both agreeing with the diuerſity of their tongues, the one being mild and plauſible, and the other hot and cholericke: in ſo much that otherwhile forgetting himſelfe in his oration, againſt his will he would be very earneſt, and ſtraine his voyce beyond his compaſſe, and ſo with great vncomelineſſe confound his words. Yet finding his owne fault, de deuiſed this remedy. He had a ſeruant called *Licinius*, a good wiſe man, who with an inſtrument of muſicke he had, by the which they teach men to riſe and fall in their tunes, when he was in his oration, he euer ſtood behind him: and when he perceiued that his maiſters voyce was a litle too loud, and that through choler he exceeded his ordinary ſpeech: he played a ſoft ſtop behind him, at the ſound whereof *Caius* immediatly fell from his extremity, and eaſily came to himſelfe againe. And here was the diuerſitie betweene them. Otherwiſe, for their hardineſſe againſt their enemies, the iuſtice vnto their tenants, the care and paines in their offices of charge, and alſo their continency againſt voluptuouſneſſe: in all theſe they were both alike. For age, *Tiberius* was elder by nine yeares, by reaſon whereof their ſeuerall authority & doings in the commonwealth fell out at ſundry times. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes why their doings proſpered not, becauſe they had not both authority in one ſelfe time, neither could they ioyne their power together: the which if it had met at one ſelfe time, had bene of great force, and peraduenture inuincible. Wherefore we muſt write particularly of them both, but firſt of all we muſt begin with the elder. He, when he came to mans ſtate, had ſuch a name & eſtimation, that immediatly they made him fellow in the colledge of the Prieſts, which at ROME are called Augures (being thoſe that haue the charge to conſider of ſignes & predictions of things to come) more for his valiantneſſe, then for nobility. The ſame doth *Appius Clodius* witneſſe vnto vs, one that hath bene both Conſull and Cenſor, and alſo preſident of the Senate, and of greater authority then any man in his time. This *Appius* at a ſupper when all the Augures were together, after he had ſaluted *Tiberius*, and made very much of him, he offered him his daughter in mariage. *Tiberius* was very glad of the offer, and therewithall the mariage was preſently concluded betweene them. Thereupon *Appius* comming home to his houſe, at the threſhold of his doore he called aloud for his wife, and told her: *Antiſtia*, I haue beſtowed our daughter *Clodia*. She wondring at it, O gods ſayd ſhe, & what needed all this haſt? what couldeſt thou haue done more, if thou haddeſt gotten her *Tiberius Gracchus* for her huſband? I know that ſome referre this hiſtory vnto *Tiberius*, father of theſe two men we write of, and vnto *Scipio* the AFRICAN: but the moſt part of writers agree with that we write at this preſent. And *Polybius* himſelfe alſo writeth, that after the death of *Scipio* AFRICAN, his friends being met together, they choſe *Tiberius* before all the other young men of the city, to marry him vnto *Cornelia*, being free, and vnpromiſed, or beſtowed vpon any man by her father. Now *Tiberius* the yonger being in the warres in AFRICKE vnder *Scipio* the ſecond, who had maried his ſiſter, lying in his tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble gifts of nature, to allure mens hearts to deſire to follow his valiantneſſe. So in a ſhort time he did excell all the young men of his time, as well in obedience, as in the valiantneſſe of his perſon: in ſo much that he was the firſt man that ſcaled the wals of the enemies, as *Fannius* reporteth, who ſayth that he ſcaled the wals with him, and did helpe him in that valiant enterpriſe. So that being preſent, all the campe were in loue with him: and when he was abſent, euery man wiſhed for him againe. After this warre was ended, he was choſen Treaſurer, and it was his chance to go againſt the NVMANTIMES, with *Caius Mancinus* one of the Conſuls, who was an honeſt man, but yet had the worſt lucke of any Captaine the ROMAINES had. Notwithſtanding, *Tiberius* wiſdome and valiantneſſe, in this extreme ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glory to him; but alſo moſt wonderfull, the great obedience and reuerence he bare vnto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did ſo trouble and grieue him, that he could not tell himſelfe

Tiberius made Augure.

Tiberius maried Appius Clodius daughter.

Tiberius Gracchus ſouldier-fare.

Tiberius Gracchus choſen Queſtor.

whether he was Captaine, or not. For when he was ouerthrowne in great foughten fields, he departed in the night, and left his campe. The NVMANTINES hearing of it, first tooke his campe, and then ranne after them that fled, and setting vpon the rereward, slue them, and enuironed all his army. So that they were driuen into straight and narrow places, whereout they could by no meanes escape. Thereupon *Mancinus* dispairing that he could get out by force, he sent a Herauld to the enemies to treate of peace. The NVMANTINES made aunswer, that they would trust no man but *Tiberius* onely, and therefore they willed he should be sent vnto them. They desired that, partly for the loue they bare vnto the vertues of the young man, because there was no talke of any other in all this warre but of him: and partly also, as remembring his father *Tiberius*, who making warres in SPAINE, and hauing there subdued many nations, he graunted the NVMANTINES peace, the which he caused the ROMAINES afterwards to confirme and ratifie. Hereupon *Tiberius* was sent to speake with them, and partly obtaining that he desired, and partly also granting them that they required: he concluded peace with them, whereby assuredly he saued the liues of twenty thousand ROMAINE citizens, besides slaues and other stragglers that willingly followed the campe. This notwithstanding, the NVMANTINES tooke the spoile of all the goods they found in the ROMAINES campe, among the which they found *Tiberius* booke of account touching the mony disbursed of the treasure in his charge. *Tiberius* being maruellous desirous to haue his booke againe, returned backe to NVMANTIA with two or three of his friends onely, though the army of the ROMAINES were gone farre on their way. So comming to the towne, he spake vnto the gouernours of the city, and prayed them to redeliuer him his bookes of account, because his malicious enemies should not accuse him, calling him to account for his doings. The NVMANTINES were very glad of this good hap, and prayed him to come into the towne. He standing still in doubt with himselfe what to do, whether he should go into the towne, or not: the gouernours of the city came to him, and taking him by the hand, prayed he would thinke they were not his enemies, but good friends, and that he would trust them. Whereupon *Tiberius* thought best to yeeld to their perswasion, being desirous also to haue his bookes againe, and the rather, for feare of offending the NVMANTINES, if he should haue denied and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the city, they prouided his dinner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dine with them. Then they gaue him his bookes againe, and offered him moreouer to take what he would of all the spoiles they had gotten in the campe of the ROMAINES. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but frankensence, which he vsed, when he did any sacrifice for his countrey: and then taking his leaue of them, with thankes he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was vtterly misliked, as dishonourable to the maiestie of the Empire of ROME. Yet the parents and friends of them that had serued in this warre, making the greatest part of the people: they gathered about *Tiberius*, saying that what faults were committed in this seruice, they were to impute it vnto the Consull *Mancinus*, and not vnto *Tiberius*, who had saued such a number of ROMAINES liues. Notwithstanding, they that were offended with this dishonourable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their forefathers in the like case. For they sent backe their Captaines naked vnto their enemies, because they were contented the SAMNITES should spoile them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreouer, they did not only send them the Captaines and Consuls, but all those also that bare any office in the field, and had consented vnto that condition: to the end they might lay all the periurie and breach of peace vpon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the loue and goodwill the people did beare vnto *Tiberius*: for they gaue order, that the Consull *Mancinus* should be sent naked, and bound vnto the NVMANTINES, and for *Tiberius* sake, they pardoned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in ROME, and was a man of greatest account, did helpe him at that pinch: who notwithstanding was ill thought of, because he did not also saue the Consull *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the NVMANTINES, considering it was made by *Tiberius* his friend and kinsman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* friends, and certaine men, which stirred him vp against *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice betweene them, neither followed there any hurt vpon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had bene present, when he passed those things he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in warres at the siege of NVMANTIA, when *Tiberius* vpon this occasion passed these lawes. When the ROMAINES in old time had ouercome any of their

Tiberius Gracchus concludeth peace with the Numantines.

The peace broken with the Numantines.

Why Tiberius preferred the law Agraria.

their neighbours, for ranſome they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their land from them, part whereof they ſold by the crier, for the benefit of the commonwealth, and part alſo they reſerued to their ſtate as demeane, which afterwards was let out to farme for a ſmall rent yearely, to the poore citizens that had no lands. Howbeit the rich men inhaunced the rents, and ſo began to thruſt out the poore men. Thereupon was an ordinance made, that no citizen of Rome ſhould haue aboue fiue hundred acres of land. This law for a time did bridle the couetouſneſſe of the rich men, and did eaſe the poore alſo that dwelt in the country, vpon the farmes they had taken vp of the commonwealth, and ſo liued with their owne, or with that their anceſtors had from the beginning. But by proceſſe of time, their rich neighbors, by names of other men, got their farmes ouer their heads, and in the end, the moſt of them were openly ſeene in it in their owne names. Whereupon, the poore people being thus turned out of all, went but with faint courage afterwards to the warre, nor cared any more for bringing vp of children. So that in ſhort time, the free men left Italy, and ſlaues and barbarous people did repleniſh it, whom the rich men made to plough thoſe lands, which they had taken from the Romaines. *Caius Lælius*, one of *Scipioes* friends, gaue an attempt to reforme this abuſe: but becauſe the chiefeſt of the city were againſt him, fearing it would breake out to ſome vprore, he deſiſted from his purpoſe, and therefore he was called *Lælius* the wiſe. But *Tiberius* being choſen Tribune, he did foorthwith preferre the reformation aforeſaid, being allured vnto it (as diuerſe writers report) by *Diophanes* the Orator, and *Bloſsius* the Philoſopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was baniſhed from the city of Mitylene, and *Bloſsius* the Italian from the city of Cvmes, who was ſcholer and familiar vnto *Antipater* of Tarsvs at Rome, by whom he was honored for certaine works of Philoſophy he dedicated vnto him. And ſome alſo do accuſe their mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her ſons in the teeth, that the Romaines did yet call her *Scipioes* mother in law, and not the mother of the *Gracchi*. Other ſay it was *Spurius Poſthumius*, a cõpanion of *Tiberius*, & one that contended with him in eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the warres, and finding him farre beyond him in fame and reputation, and well beloued of euery one: he ſought to excell him by attempting this noble enterpriſe and of ſo great expectation. His owne brother *Caius* in a certaine booke, wrote, that as he went to the warres of Nvmantia, paſſing through Thvscan, he found the countrey in maner vnhabited: and they that did folow the plough, or keepe beaſts, were the moſt of them ſlaues, and barbarous people, come out of a ſtrange countrey. Whereupon euer after it ran in his mind to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe, which brought great troubles to their houſe. But in fine, it was the people onely that moſt ſet his hart on fire to couet honor, and that haſtened his determination: firſt bringing him to it by bils ſet vp on euery wall, in euery porch, and vpon the tombes, praying him by them to cauſe the poore citizens of Rome to haue their lands reſtored, which were belonging to the commonwealth. This notwithſtanding he himſelfe made not the law alone of his owne head, but did it by the counſell and aduice of the chiefeſt men of Rome, for vertue and eſtimation: among the which, *Craſſus* the high Biſhop was one, and *Mutius Scæuola* the Lawyer, that then was Conſull, and *Appius Clodius* his father in law. And truly it ſeemeth, that neuer law was made with greater fauour, then that which he preferred againſt ſo great iniuſtice, and auarice. For thoſe that ſhould haue bene puniſhed for tranſgreſſing the law, and ſhould haue had the lands taken from them by force, which they vniuſtly kept againſt the law of Rome, and that ſhould alſo haue bene amerced for it: he ordained that they ſhould be payed by the commonwealth to the value of the lands, which they held vniuſtly, and ſo ſhould leaue them to the poore citizens againe that had no land, and lacked helpe and reliefe. Now, though the reformation eſtabliſhed by this law, was done with ſuch great fauour, the people notwithſtanding were contented, and would forget all that was paſt, ſo that they might haue no more wrong offered them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great poſſeſſions, hated the law for their auarice, and for ſpite and ſelfewill (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly feud with the Lawyer that had preferred the law, and ſought by all deuice they could to diſſwade the people from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this law Agraria againe, to diſturbe the common wealth, and to make ſome alteration in the ſtate. But they preuailed not: for *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it ſelfe was good and iuſt, with ſuch eloquence as might haue iuſtified an euill cauſe, was inuincible: and no man was able to argue againſt him to confute him, when ſpeaking in the behalfe of the poore citizens of Rome (the people being gathered round about the pulpit for orations) he told them, that the wild beaſts through

Iugera.

VVhy Caius Lælius was called the wiſe.

Tiberius Gracchus choſen Tribune of the people.

Counſellors to Tiberius for preferring the law.

Lex Agraria.

Tiberius orations.

ITALY had their dens and caues of abode, and that the men that fought, and were ſlaine for their country, had nothing elſe but aire and light, and ſo were compelled to wander vp and downe with their wiues and children, hauing no reſting place nor houſe to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their ſouldiers, when they encourage them in battell to fight valiantly for the graues, the temples, their owne houſes, and their predeceſſours. For, ſayd he, of ſuch a number of poore citizens as there be, there cannot a man of them ſhew any auncient houſe or tombe of their anceſtors: becauſe the poore men do go to the warres, and be ſlaine for the rich mens pleaſures & wealth: beſides, they falſly call them Lords of the earth, where they haue not a handfull of ground that is theirs. Theſe and ſuch other like words being vttered before all the people with ſuch vehemency and troth, did ſo moue the common people withall, and put them in ſuch a rage, that there was no aduerſary of his able to withſtand him. Therefore, leauing to contrary and deny the law by argument, the rich men did put all their truſt in *Marcus Octauius*, colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in office, who was a graue and wiſe yong man, and *Tiberius* very familiar friend. So that the firſt time they came to him, to oppoſe him againſt the confirmation of this law, he prayed them to hold him excuſed, becauſe *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled vnto it through the great number of the rich men that were importunate with him, he did withſtand *Tiberius* law, the which was inough to ouerthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes ſpeake againſt it, though all the other paſſe with it, he ouerthroweth it: becauſe they all can do nothing, if one of them be againſt it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this firſt fauorable law, & in a rage preferred another more grateful to the cõmon people, as alſo more extreme againſt the rich. In that law he ordained, that whoſoeuer had any lands cõtrary to the ancient lawes of ROME, that he ſhould preſently depart from them. But thereupon there fell out continuall brawles in the pulpit for orations, againſt *Octauius*: in the which, though they were very earneſt and vehement one againſt another, yet there paſſed no fowle words from them (how hot ſoeuer they were one with another) that ſhould ſhame his companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought vp, breedeth ſuch a ſtay and knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleaſure to make him regard his credit, both in word and deed: but in paſſion and anger alſo, and in their greateſt ambition of glory. Thereupon *Tiberius* finding that this law among others touched *Octauius*, becauſe he enioyed a great deale of land that was the commonwealths: he prayed him ſecretly to contend no more againſt him, promiſing him to giue him of his owne, the value of thoſe lands which he ſhould be driuen to forſake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he ſaw *Octauius* would not be perſwaded, he then preferred a law, that all magiſtrates and officers ſhould ceaſe their authority, till the law were either paſt, or reiected, by voyces of the people: and thereupon he ſet his owne ſeale vpon the doores of the temple of *Saturne*, where the coffers of the treaſure lay, becauſe the treaſurers themſelues during that time, ſhould neither take out nor put in any thing, vpon great penalties to be forfeited by the Prætors or any other magiſtrate of authority, that ſhould breake this order. Hereupon, all the magiſtrates fearing this penalty, did leaue to exerciſe their office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great liuings, chaunged their apparell, and walked very ſadly vp and downe the market place, and layed ſecret waite to take *Tiberius*, hauing hired men to kill him: which cauſed *Tiberius* himſelfe, openly before them all, to weare a ſhort dagger vnder his long gowne, properly called in Latine, Dolon. When the day came that this law ſhould be eſtabliſhed, *Tiberius* called the people to giue their voyces: and the rich men on the other ſide, they tooke away the pots by force, wherein the papers of mens voyces were throwne, ſo that there was like to fall out great ſtirre vpon it. For the faction of *Tiberius* was the ſtronger ſide, by the number of people that were gathered about him for that purpoſe: had it not bene for *Manlius* and *Fuluius*, both the which had bene Conſuls, who went vnto him, and beſought him with the teares in their eyes, and holding vp their hands, that he would let the law alone. *Tiberius* thereupon, foreſeeing the inſtant danger of ſome great miſchiefe, as alſo for the reuerence he bare vnto two ſuch noble perſons, he ſtayed a litle, and asked them what they would haue him to do. They made anſwer, that they were not able to counſell him in a matter of ſo great waight, but they prayed him notwithſtanding, he would be contented to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. Thereupon he graunted them preſently. But afterwards perceiuing that the Senate ſate vpon it, and had determined nothing, becauſe the rich men were of too great authority: he entred into another deuice that was neither honeſt nor meete, which was, to depriue *Octauius* of his Tribuneſhip,

Marcus Octauius Tribune, did withſtand Tiberius lawe.

The modeſt contention betwixt Tiberius and Octauius.

Tribuneſhip, knowing that otherwiſe he could not poſſibly come to paſſe the law. But before he tooke that courſe, he openly intreated him in the face of the people with courteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to ſtand no more againſt him, and to do the people this pleaſure, which required a matter iuſt and reaſonable, and onely requeſted this ſmall recompence for the great paines they tooke in ſeruice abroad for their countrey. *Octauius* denied him plainly. Then ſayd *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being brethren in one ſelfe place and authority, and contrary one to another in a matter of ſo great waight, this contention could not be poſſibly ended, without ciuill warre: and that he could ſee no way to remedy it, vnleſſe one of them two were depoſed from their office. Thereupon he bad *Octauius* begin firſt with him, and he would riſe from the bench with a good will, and become a priuate man, if the people were ſo contented. *Octauius* would do nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his mind, vpon a better breath and conſideration: and ſo diſmiſſed the aſſembly for that day. The next morning the people being againe aſſembled, *Tiberius* going vp to his ſeate, attempted againe to perſwade *Octauius* to leane off. In fine, finding him ſtill a man vnremoueable, he referred the matter to the voyce of the people, whether they were contented *Octauius* ſhould be depoſed from his office. Now there were fiue and thirty tribes of the people, of the which ſeuenteen of them had already paſſed their voices againſt *Octauius*, ſo that there remained but one tribe more to put him out of his office. Then *Tiberius* made them ſtay for proceeding any further, and prayed *Octauius* again, imbracing him before all the people, with all the intreatie poſſible: that for ſelfewill ſake he would not ſuffer ſuch an open ſhame to be done vnto him, as to be put out of his office: neither alſo to make him the occaſion and inſtrument of ſo pitifull a deed. They ſay that *Octauius* at this laſt intreaty was ſomewhat moued and won by his perſwaſions, and that weeping, he ſtayed a long time, and made no anſwer. But when he looked vpon the rich men that ſtood in a great company together, he was aſhamed (I thinke) to haue their ill wils, and rather betooke himſelf to the loſſe of his office, & ſo bad *Tiberius* do what he would. Thereupon he being depriued by voyces of the people, *Tiberius* commaunded one of his infranchiſed bondmen to pull him out of the pulpit for Orations: for he vſed his infranchiſed boundmen in ſtead of Sergeants. This made the ſight ſo much more lamentable, to ſee *Octauius* thus ſhamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common people would haue runne vpon him, but the rich men came to reſcue him, and would not ſuffer them to do him further hurt. So *Octauius* ſaued himſelfe running away alone, after he had bene reſcued thus from the fury of the people. Moreouer, there was a faithfull ſeruant of *Octauius*, who ſtepping before his maiſter to ſaue him from hurt, had his eies pulled out againſt *Tiberius* mind, who ranne to the reſcue with all ſpeed when he heard the noiſe. After that, the law Agraria paſſed for diuiſion of lands, and three Commiſſioners were appointed to make inquirie and diſtribution thereof. The Commiſſioners appointed were theſe: *Tiberius* himſelfe: *Appius Clodius* his father in law, and *Caius Gracchus* his brother: who was not at that time in ROME, but in the campe with *Scipio* AFRICAN, at the ſiege of the city of NVMANTIA. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly paſſed ouer theſe matters, and no man durſt withſtand him: and furthermore, he ſubſtituted in *Octauius* place no man of qualitie, but onely one of his followers, called *Mutius*. For which cauſe the noble men were ſore offended with him, and fearing the increaſe of his greatneſſe, they being in the Senate houſe did what they could poſſible to do him deſpite and ſhame. For when *Tiberius* demaunded a tent at the charge of the common wealth, when he ſhould go abroad to make diuiſion of theſe lands, as they vſually graunted vnto others, that many times went in farre meaner commiſſions: they flatly denied him, and through the procurement of *P. Naſica* (who being a great landed man in his countrey, ſhewed himſelfe in this action his mortall enemy, taking it grieuouſly to be compelled to depart from his land) onely graunted him nine of their oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the people on the other ſide were all in an vprore againſt the rich. In ſo much as one of *Tiberius* friends being dead vpon the ſudden, vpon whoſe body being dead there appeared very ill ſignes: the common people ranne ſuddenly to his buriall, and cried out that he was poyſoned. And ſo taking vp the Beere whereon his body lay vpon their ſhoulders, they were preſent at the fire of his funerals, where immediatly appeared certaine ſignes to make them ſuſpect, that indeed there was vehement cauſe of preſumption he was poyſoned. For his belly burſt, whereout there iſſued ſuch abundance of corrupt humors, that they put out the firſt fire, and made

Tiberius depoſeth Octauius of his Tribuneſhip.

Tiberius preferreth the lawe Agraria.

them fetch another, the which alſo they could not make to burne, vntill that they were compelled to cary the body into ſome other place, where notwithſtanding they had much ado to make it burne. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, to make the common people mutine the more, he put on mourning apparell, and brought his ſonnes before them, and beſought the people to be good vnto them and their mother, as one that diſpaired of his health and ſafety. About that time died *Attalus*, ſurnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN brought his will to ROME, in the which he made the people of ROME his heire. Wherefore *Tiberius*, ſtill to increaſe the good will of the common people towards him, preferred a law immediatly, that the ready money that came by the inheritance of this king ſhould be diſtributed among the poore citizens, on whoſe lot it ſhould fall to haue any part of the diuiſion of the lands of the common wealth, to furniſh them towards houſe, and to ſet vp their tillage. Furthermore, he ſayd, that concerning the townes and cities of the kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to do to take any order with them, but that the people were to diſpoſe of them, and that he himſelfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, in ſo much as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that ſtanding vp, ſayd: that he was next neighbour vnto *Tiberius*, and that by reaſon of his neighbourhood he knew that *Eudemus* PERGAMENIAN had giuen him one of king *Attalus* royall bands, with a purple gowne beſides, for a token that he ſhould one day be king of ROME. And *Quintus Metellus* alſo reproued him, for that his father being Cenſor, the ROMAINES hauing ſupped in the towne, and repairing euery man home to his houſe, they did put out their torches and lights, becauſe men ſeeing them returne, they ſhould not thinke they taried too long in company banquetting: and that in contrary maner, the ſeditious and needy rabble of the common people did light his ſon home, and accompany him all night long vp and downe the towne. At that time there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodneſſe nor honeſty in him, howbeit taken for a great reaſoner, and for a ſubtill queſtioner and anſwerer. He prouoked *Tiberius* to anſwer him, whether he had not committed a ſhamefull fact to his companion and brother Tribune, to defame him, that by the lawes of ROME ſhould haue bene holy and vntouched. The people tooke this prouocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* alſo comming out, and hauing aſſembled the people, commanded them to bring this *Annius* before him, that he might be endited in the market place. But he finding himſelfe farre inferiour vnto *Tiberius*, both in dignity and eloquence, ran to his fine ſubtill queſtions, to take a man at his word: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceed to his accuſation, that he would firſt anſwer him to a queſtion he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him ſay what he would. So ſilence being made, *Annius* asked him: If thou wouldeſt defame me, and offer me iniury, and that I called one of thy companions to helpe me, and he ſhould riſe to take my part, and anger thee: wouldeſt thou therefore put him out of his office? It is reported that *Tiberius* was ſo grauelled with this queſtion, that though he was one of the readieſt ſpeakers, and the boldeſt in his Orations of any man: yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to ſpeake, and therefore he preſently diſmiſſed the aſſembly. Afterwards, vnderſtanding that of all the things he did, the depoſing of *Octauius* from his office was thought (not onely of the Nobility, but of the common people alſo) as fowle and wilfull a part as euer he played, for that thereby he had imbaſed, and vtterly ouerthrowne the dignity of the Tribunes, the which was alwayes had in great veneration vntill that preſent time: to excuſe himſelfe therfore, he made an excellent Oration to the people, wherof we wil ſet down ſome ſpecial points, that you may the better diſcerne thereby the force and effect of his eloquence. The Tribuneſhip (ſayd he) indeed was a holy and ſacred thing, as particularly conſecrated to the people, and eſtabliſhed for their benefit and ſafety: where contrariwiſe, if the Tribune do offer the people any wrong, he thereby miniſheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wils by voyces, beſides that he doth alſo imbaſe his owne authority, leauing to do the thing for the which his authority firſt was giuen him. Or otherwiſe we could not chuſe but ſuffer a Tribune, if it pleaſed him, to ouerthrow the Capitoll, or to ſet fire on the arſenall: and yet notwithſtanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he ſhould be Tribune of the people ſtill, though a lewd Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authority and power of the people, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this againſt all reaſon, thinke you, that a Tribune when he liſt, may take a Conſull, and commit him to priſon: and that the people ſhould not withſtand the authoritie of the Tribune, who gaue him the ſame, when he would vſe his authoritie to the preiudice of

King Attalus made the people of Rome his heire.

Tiberius lawe, for deuiding of Attalus money.

Titus Annius a ſubtile queſtioner and anſwerer of things.

The Oration of Tiberius Gracchus, touching the power and authority of the Tribune.

of the people? for the people are they that do chuſe, both Conſull and Tribune. Furthermore, the kingly dignitie (becauſe in the ſame is contained the abſolute authoritie and power of al other kinds of Magiſtrates and offices together) is conſecrated with verie great and holy ceremonies, darwing very neare vnto the godhead: and yet the people expulſed king *Tarquin*, becauſe he vſed his authoritie with crueltie: and for the iniurie he offered one man onely, the moſt auncient rule and gouernement, (by the which the foundation of Rome was firſt laid) was vtterly aboliſhed. And who is there in all the citie of Rome to be reckned ſo holy as the Veſtall Nuns, which haue the cuſtodie and keeping of the euerlaſting fire? and yet if any of theſe be taken in fornication, ſhe is buried aliue for her offence: for when they are not holy to the gods, they loſe the libertie they haue, in reſpect of ſeruing the gods. Euen ſo alſo it is vnmeete, that the Tribune if he offend the people, ſhould for the peoples ſake be reuerenced any more: ſeeing that through his owne folly he hath depriued himſelf of that authoritie they gaue him. And if it be ſo that he was choſen Tribune by the moſt part of the tribes of the people: then by greater reaſon is he iuſtly depriued, that by all the whole tribes together is forſaken and depoſed. There is nothing more holy nor inuiolate, then things offered vp vnto the gods: and yet it was neuer ſeene that any man did forbid the people to take them, to remoue & tranſport them from place to place, as they thought good. Euen ſo, they may as lawfully transferre the office of the Tribune vnto any other, as any other offering conſecrated to the gods. Furthermore, it is manifeſt that any Officer or Magiſtrate may lawfully depoſe himſelfe: For, it hath bene often ſeene, that men in office haue depriued themſelues, or otherwiſe haue ſued to be diſcharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* purgation. Now his friends perceiuing the threats the rich and noblemen gaue out againſt him, they wiſhed him for the ſafetie of his perſon, to make ſute to be Tribune againe the next yeare. Whereupon he began to flatter the common people againe afreſh, by new lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares preſcribed, when euerie citizen of Rome was bound to go to the warres being called, and his name billed. He made it lawfull alſo for men to appeale from ſentence of the Iudges vnto the people, and thruſt in alſo amongſt the Senators (which then had abſolute authoritie to iudge among themſelues) a like number of the Romaine Knights, and by this meanes ſought to weaken and imbaſe the authoritie of the Senate, increaſing alſo the power of the people, more of malice then any reaſon, or for any iuſtice or benefite to the common wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voices of the people for the confirmation of his new lawes, finding that his enemies were the ſtronger in the aſſembly, becauſe all the people were not yet come together: he fell a quarelling with his brethren the Tribunes, alwayes to winne time, and yet in the end brake vp the aſſembly, commaunding them to returne the next morning. There he would be the firſt man in the market place, apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, and looking heauily vpon the matter, praying the people aſſembled to haue compaſſion vpon him, ſaying, that he was afraid leaſt his enemies would come in the night and ouerthrow his houſe to kill him. Thereupon the people were ſo moued withall, that many of them came and brought their tents, and lay about his houſe to watch it. At the breake of the day, the keeper of the chickens, by ſignes of the which they do deuine of things to come, brought them vnto him, and caſt them downe meate before them. None of them would come out of the cage but one onely, and yet with much ado, ſhaking the cage: and when it came out, it would eate no meate, but onely lift vp her left wing, and put forth her leg, and ſo ranne into the cage againe. This ſigne made *Tiberius* remember another he had had before. He had a maruellous faire helmet and verie rich, which he ware in the warres: vnder it were crept two ſnakes vnwares to any, and layed egges, and hatched them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, becauſe of the ill ſignes of the chickens: notwithſtanding, he went out of his houſe when he heard that the people were aſſembled in the Capitoll, but as he went out, he hit his foote ſuch a blow againſt a ſtone at the threſhold of the doore, that he brake the naile of his great toe, which fell in ſuch a bleeding, that it bled through his ſhooe. Againe, he had not gone far, but he ſaw vpon the top of a houſe on his left hand, a couple of rauens fighting together: and notwithſtanding that there paſt a great number of people by, yet a ſtone which one of theſe rauens caſt from them, came and fell hard at *Tiberius* foote. The fall thereof ſtaid the ſtouteſt man he had about him. But *Bloſſius* the Philoſopher of Cvmes that did accompanie him, told him it were a great ſhame for him, and enough to kill the hearts of all his followers, that *Tiberius* being the ſonne of *Gracchus*, and nephew of *Scipio* the African, and the chiefe

Other Lawes made by Tiberius Gracchus.

Vnluckie ſignes vnto Tiberius.

man beſides of all the peoples ſide, for feare of a rauen, ſhould not obey his citizens that called him: and how that his enemies and ill willers would not make a laughing ſport of it, but would plainely tell the people that this was a tricke of a tyrant that raigned indeed, and that for pride and diſdaine did abuſe the peoples good wils. Furthermore, diuers meſſengers came vnto him, and ſaid that his friends that were in the Capitoll, ſent to pray him to make haſte, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably receiued: for the people ſeeing him comming, cried out for ioy to welcome him, and when he was gotten vp to his ſeate, they ſhewed themſelues both carefull and louing towards him, looking warily that none came neare him, but ſuch as they knew well. When *Mutius* began againe to call the tribes of the people to giue their voices, he could not proceed according to the accuſtomed order in the like caſe, for the great noiſe the hindmoſt people made, thruſting forward, and being driuen backe, and one mingling with another. In the meane time *Flauius Flaccus*, one of the Senators, got vp into a place where all the people might ſee him, and when he ſaw that his voice could not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a ſigne with his hand that he had ſome matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* ſtraight bad them make a lane through the preaſe. So, with much ado, *Flauius* came at length vnto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Conſull to their wils, determined themſelues to come and kill him, hauing a great number of their friends and bond-men armed for the purpoſe. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conſpiracie vnto his friends and followers: who ſtraight girt their long gownes vnto them, and brake the ſergeants iauelins which they caried in their hands to make roome among the people, and tooke the trunchions of the ſame to reſiſt thoſe that would ſet vpon them. The people alſo that ſtood furtheſt off, maruelled at it, and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a ſigne to tell them the daunger he was in, laid both his hands on his head, becauſe they could not heare his voice for the great noiſe they made. His enemies ſeeing the ſigne he gaue, ranne preſently to the Senate, crying out, that *Tiberius* required a royall band or diadeame of the people, and that it was an euident ſigne, becauſe they ſaw him clap his hands vpon his head. This tale troubled all the companie. Whereupon *Naſica* beſought the Conſull, chiefe of the Senate, to helpe the common-wealth, and to take away this tyrant. The Conſull gently anſwered againe, that he would vſe no force, neither put any citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as alſo he would not receiue *Tiberius*, nor protect him, if the people by his perſwaſion or commaundement, ſhould commit any act contrarie to the law. *Naſica* then riſing in anger, Sith the matter is ſo (ſaid he) that the Conſull regardeth not the common-wealth: all you then, that will defend the authoritie of the law, follow me. Thereupon he caſt the skirt of his gowne ouer his head, and went ſtraight to the Capitoll. They that followed him alſo tooke their gownes, and wrapped them about their armes, and laid at as many as they might, to make them giue way: and yet verie few of the people durſt meete with ſuch ſtates as they were to ſtay them, becauſe they were the chiefeſt men of the citie, but euerie man flying from them, they fell one on anothers necke for haſt. They that followed them, had brought from home great leauers and clubs, and as they went, they tooke vp feete of treſtles and chaires which the people had ouerthrowne and broken, running away, and hied them a pace to meete with *Tiberius*, ſtriking at them that ſtood in their way: ſo that in ſhort ſpace they had diſperſed all the common people, and many were ſlaine flying. *Tiberius* ſeeing that, betooke him to his legges to ſaue himſelfe; but as he was flying, one tooke him by the gowne and ſtayed him: but he leauing his gowne behind him, ranne in his coate, and running fell vpon them that were downe before. So, as he was riſing vp againe, the firſt man that ſtrake him, and that was plainely ſeene ſtrike him, was of one of the Tribunes his brethren, called *Publius Satureius*: who gaue him a great rap on the head with the foote of a chaire, and the ſecond blow he had, was giuen him by *Lucius Rufus* that boaſted of it, as if he had done a notable act. In this tumult, there were ſlaine aboue three hundred men, and were all killed with ſtaues and ſtones, and not one man hurt with any iron. This was the firſt ſedition among the citizens of Rome, that fell out with murther and bloudſhed, ſince the expulſion of the kings. But for all other former diſſentions (which were no trifles) they were eaſily pacified, either partie giuing place to other: the Senate for feare of the Commoners, and the people for reuerence they bare to the Senate. And it ſeemeth that *Tiberius* himſelf would eaſily haue yeelded alſo, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perſwaſion, ſo they had meant good faith, and would haue killed no man: for at that time he had

Flauius Flaccus bewrayeth the conſpiracie againſt Tiberius.

Naſica doth ſet vpon Tiberius Gracchus.

Tiberius Gracchus the Tribune ſlaine.

had not in all aboue 3000. men of the people about him. But ſurely it ſeemes this conſpiracie was executed againſt him, more for very ſpite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparant cauſe they preſuppoſed againſt him. For proofe hereof may be alleaged, the barbarous crueltie they vſed to his bodie being dead. For they would not ſuffer his owne brother to haue his bodie to burie it by night, who made earneſt ſute vnto them for it: but they threw him amongſt the other bodies into the riuer, and yet this was not the worſt. For, ſome of his friends they baniſhed without forme of law, and others they put to death which they could meet withal. Among the which they ſlue *Diophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Billius*, whom they incloſed in a pipe among ſnakes and ſerpents, and put him to death in this ſort. *Bloſſius* alſo the Philoſopher of CVMES, was brought before the Conſuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confeſſed vnto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commaunded him. When *Naſica* did aske him, And what if he had commaunded thee to ſet fire on the Capitoll? He made him anſwer, that *Tiberius* would neuer haue giuen him any ſuch commandement. And when diuers others alſo were ſtill in hand with him about that queſtion: But if he had commaunded thee? I would ſure haue done it, ſaid he: for he would neuer haue commanded me to haue done it, if it had not bin for the commoditie of the people. Thus he ſcaped at that time, and afterwards fled into ASIA vnto *Ariſtonicus*, whom misfortune hauing ouerthrowne, he ſlue himſelfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the people at that preſent time, did no more withſtand the law Agraria, for diuiſion of the lands of the common wealth, but ſuffered the people to appoint another Commiſſioner for that purpoſe in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Craſſus* was choſen, being allied vnto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* brother) had maried his daughter *Licinia*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* ſaith, that it was not *Craſſus* daughter *Caius* maried, but the daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the LVSITANIANS. Howbeit the beſt writers and authoritie, agree with that we write. But whatſoeuer was done, the people were maruellouſly offended with his death, and men might eaſily perceiue, that they looked but for time and oportunitie to be reuenged, and did preſently threaten *Naſica* to accuſe him. Whereupon the Senate fearing ſome trouble towards him, deuiſed a way (vpon no occaſion) to ſend him into ASIA. For the cõmon people did not diſſemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were very round with him, and called him tyrant, and murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the bloud of the holy Tribune, and within the moſt ſacred Temple of all the citie. So in the end he was inforced to forſake ROME, though by his office he was bound to ſolemnize all the greateſt ſacrifices, becauſe he was then chiefe Biſhop of ROME. Thus, trauelling out of his countrey like a meane man, and troubled in his mind: he died ſhortly after, not farre from the citie of PERGAMVS. Truly it is not greatly to be wondred at, though the people ſo much hated *Naſica*, conſidering that *Scipio* the AFRICAN himſelfe (whom the people of ROME for iuſter cauſes had loued better then any man elſe whatſoeuer) was like to haue loſt all the peoples good will they bare him, becauſe that being at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, when news was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this verſe of *Homer*:

Such end vpon him euer light,
Which in ſuch doings doth delight.

Furthermore, being asked in the aſſembly of the people, by *Caius* and *Fuluius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he anſwered them, that he did not like his doings. After that the people handled him verie churliſhly, and did euer breake off his Oration, which they neuer did before: and he himſelfe alſo would reuile the people euen in the aſſembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the firſt becauſe he feared the enemies of his dead brother, or otherwiſe, for that he ſought meanes to make them more hated of the people: he abſented himſelfe for a time out of the common aſſembly, and kept at home and medled not, as a man contented to liue meanely, without buſying himſelfe in the common wealth: inſomuch as he made men thinke and report both, that he did vtterly miſlike thoſe matters which his brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a yong man, and nine yeares yonger then his brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirtie yeares old when he was ſlaine. But in proceſſe of time, he made his manners and conditions (by litle and litle) appeare, who hated ſloth and curioſitie, and was leaſt of all giuen vnto any couetous mind of getting: for he gaue himſelfe to be eloquent, as preparing him wings afterwards to practiſe in the common-wealth. So that it appeared plainely, that when time came he would not ſtand ſtil and looke on. When one *Vectius* a friend of his was ſued, he tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe in court. The people that were preſent, and heard him ſpeake, they leaped for ioy

Tiberius friends ſlaine.

The cruell death of Caius Billius.

Naſica chiefe Biſhop of Rome

Scipioes ſentence of the death of Tiberius Gracchus.

Caius Gracchus manners.

to see him: for he had such an eloquent tongue, that all the Orators besides were but children to him. Hereupon the rich men began to be afraid againe, and whispered among themselues, that it behoued them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chaunced so that he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his fortune to go into the Ile of SARDINIA, with the Consull *Orestes*. His enemies were glad of that, and he himselfe was not sorie for it. For he was a martiall man, and as skilfull in armes as he was else an excellent Orator: but yet he was affraid to come into the pulpit for Orations, and misliked to deale in matters of state, albeit he could not altogether denie the people, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cause therefore he was verie glad of this voyage, that he might absent himselfe for a time out of ROME: though diuers were of opinion, that he was more popular, and desirous of the common peoples good will and fauour, then his brother had bene before him. But indeed he was cleane contrarie: for it appeared that at the first he was drawne rather against his will, then of any speciall desire he had to deale in the common-wealth. *Cicero* the Orator also saith, that *Caius* was bent altogether to flie from office in the common-wealth, and to liue quietly as a priuate man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* brother) appeared to him in his sleepe, and calling him by his name, said vnto him: Brother, why doest thou prolong time, for thou canst not possiblie escape? For we were both predestined to one manner of life and death, for procuring the benefite of the people. Now when *Caius* arriued in SARDINIA, he shewed all the proofes that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the yong men of his age in hardinesse against his enemies, in iustice to his inferiors, and in loue and obedience towards the Consull his Captaine: but in temperance, sobrietie, and in painefulnesse, he excelled all them that were elder then he. The winter by chance fell out verie sharpe, and full of sickenesse in SARDINIA: whereupon the Consull sent vnto the cities to helpe his souldiers with some clothes: but the townes sent in post to ROME, to pray the Senate they might be discharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reasonable, whereupon they wrote to the Consull to find some other meanes to clothe his people. The Consull could make no other shift for them, and so the poore souldiers in the meane time smarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went himselfe vnto the cities and so perswaded them, that they of themselues sent to the ROMAINES campe such things as they lacked. This being caried to ROME, it was thought straight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the peoples fauour, and indeed it made the Senate also afraid. In the necke of that, there arriued Ambassadors of AFRICKE at ROME, sent from King *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the King their maister, for *Caius Gracchus* sake, had sent their armie corne into SARDINIA. The Senators were so offended withall, that they thrust the Ambassadors out of the Senate, and so gaue order that other souldiers should be sent in their places that were in SARDINIA: and that *Orestes* should still remaine Consull there, meaning also to continue *Caius* their Treasurer. But when he heard of it, he straight tooke sea, and returned to ROME in choller. When men saw *Caius* returned to ROME vnlooked for, he was reproued for it not onely by his enemies, but by the common people also: who thought his returne verie strange before his Captaine, vnder whom he was Treasurer. He being accused hereof before the Censors, prayed he might be heard. So, answering his accusation, he so turned the peoples minds that heard him, that they all said he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had serued twelue yeares in the warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeares: and that he had continued Treasurer vnder his Captaine the space of three yeares, where the law gaue him libertie to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men else that had bene in the wars, had caried his purse full, and brought it home emptie: where others hauing drunke the wine which they caried thither in vessels, had afterwards brought them home full of gold and siluer. Afterwards they went about to accuse him as accessarie to a conspiracie that was reuealed in the citie of FREGELLES. But hauing cleared all that suspition, and being discharged, he presently made sute to be Tribune: wherin he had all the men of qualitie his sworn enemies. On the other side also he had so great fauor of the common people, that there came men out of all parts of ITALY to be at his election, and that such a number of them, as there was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold such a multitude of people, there were that gaue their voices vpon the top of houses. Now the noblemen could no otherwise let the people of their will, nor preuent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the first Tribune, he was onely pronounced the fourth. But when he was once possest officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, because he was as eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occasion of

Caius Gracchus Questor in Sardinia.

Caius Gracchus vision and dreame.

Caius Gracchus returneth out of Sardinia vnto Rome.

Caius Gracchus, Tribune of the people.

calamitie

calamitie offered him: which made him bold to ſpeake, bewailing the death of his brother. For what matters ſoeuer he ſpake of, he alwayes fell in talke of that, remembring them what matters had paſſed: and laying before them the examples of their aunceſters: who in old time had made war with the PHALISCES, by the means of one *Genutius* Tribune of the people, vnto whom they had offered iniurie: who alſo did condemne *Caius Veturius* to death, becauſe that he onely would not giue a Tribune place, comming through the market place. Where theſe, ſaid he, in your preſence, & before your faces, haue ſlaine my brother *Tiberius* with ſtaues, & haue dragged his bodie from the mount of the Capitoll, all the citie ouer, to throw it into the riuer: and with him alſo haue moſt cruelly ſlaine all his friends they could come by, without any law or iuſtice at all. And yet by an auncient cuſtome of long time obſerued in this citie of ROME, when any man is accuſed of treaſon, and that of dutie he muſt appeare at the time appointed him, they do notwithſtanding in the morning ſend a trumpet to his houſe, to ſummon him to appeare; and moreouer the Iudges were not wont to condemne him, before this ceremonie was performed: ſo carefull and reſpectiue were our predeceſſors, where it touched the life of any ROMAINE. Now *Caius* hauing firſt ſtirred vp the people with theſe perſwaſions (for he had a maruellous loud voice) he preferred two lawes.

Caius Gracchus lawes.

The firſt, that he that had once bene put out of office by the people, ſhould neuer after be capable of any other office.

The ſecond, that if any Conſull had baniſhed any citizen without lawfull accuſation, the ſentence and hearing of the matter ſhould pertaine to the people.

The firſt of theſe two lawes did plainely defame *Octauius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depoſed from the Tribuneſhip. The ſecond alſo touched *Popilius*, who being Prætor, had baniſhed his brother *Tiberius* friends: whereupon he ſtaid not the triall, but willingly exiled himſelfe out of ITALIE. And touching the firſt law, *Caius* himſelfe did afterwards reuoke it, declaring vnto the people that he had ſaued *Octauius* at the requeſt of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were verie glad of it, and confirmed it, honouring her no leſſe for reſpect of her ſonnes, then alſo for *Scipioes* ſake her father. For afterwards they caſt her image in braſſe, and ſet it vp with this inſcription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many common matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, and eloquently pleaded in her behalf, by *Caius* againſt her aduerſaries. As when he ſaid vnto one of them: How dareſt thou preſume to ſpeake euill of *Cornelia*, that had *Tiberius* to her ſonne? And the other partie alſo that ſlaundered her, being ſorely ſuſpected for a Sodomite: And art thou ſo impudent, ſaid he, to ſhew thy face before *Cornelia*? Haſt thou brought foorth children as ſhe hath done? And yet it is well knowne to all men in ROME, that ſhe being but a woman, hath liued longer without a man, then thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words ſharpe and ſtinging, and many ſuch like are to be gathered out of his writings. Furthermore, he made many other lawes afterwards to increaſe the peoples authoritie, and to imbaſe the Senates greatneſſe.

Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, honoured of the people of Rome.

Other lawes preferred by Caius Gracchus.

The firſt was, for the reſtoring of the Colonies to ROME, in deuiding the lands of the common wealth vnto the poore citizens that ſhould inhabite there.

The other, that they ſhould apparell the ſouldiers at the charge of the common wealth, and that it ſhould not be deducted out of their pay: and alſo, that no citizen ſhould be billed to ſerue in the warres, vnder ſeuenteene yeares of age at the leaſt.

Another law was, for their confederates of ITALIE: that through all ITALIE they ſhould haue as free voices in the election of any Magiſtrate, as the naturall citizens of ROME it ſelfe.

Another ſetting a reaſonable price of the corne that ſhould be diſtributed vnto the poore people.

Another touching iudgement, whereby he did greatly miniſh the authoritie of the Senate. For before, the Senators were onely Iudges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honoured and feared of the people, and the ROMAINE Knights: and now he ioyned three hundred ROMAINE Knights vnto the other three hundred Senators, and brought it ſo to paſſe, that all matters iudiciall ſhould be equally iudged among thoſe ſixe hundred men. After he had paſſed this law, it is reported he was verie curious in obſeruing all other things, but this one thing ſpecially: that where all other Orators ſpeaking to the people turned them towards the pallace where the Senators ſate, and to that ſide of the market place which is called Comitium: he in contrarie maner when he made his Oration, turned him outwards towards the other ſide of the

market place, and after that kept it constãtly, and neuer failed. Thus by a litle turning and altering of his look only, he remoued a great matter. For he so transferred all the gouernment of the commonwealth from the Senate, vnto the iudgement of the people: to teach the Orators by his example, that in their orations they should behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people hauing not onely confirmed the law he made touching the Iudges, but giuen him also full power and authoritie to chuse among the ROMAINE Knights such iudges as he liked of: he found thereby he had absolute power in his owne hands, insomuch as the Senators themselues did aske counsel of him. So did he euer giue good counsell, and did preferre matters meete for their honour. As amongst others, the law he made touching certaine wheate that *Fabius* Vice-prætor had sent out of SPAINE: which was a good and honourable act. He perswaded the Senate that the corne might be sold, and so to send backe againe the money thereof vnto the townes and cities from whence the corne came: and therewithall to punish *Fabius* for that he made the Emire of ROME hatefull and intollerable vnto the prouinces and subiects of the same. This matter wan him great loue and commendation of all the prouinces subiect to ROME. Furthermore, he made lawes for the restoring of the decayed townes, for mending of high wayes, for building of garners for prouision of corne. And to bring all these things to passe, he himselfe tooke vpon him the onely care and enterprise, being neuer wearied with any paines taken in ordering of so great affaires. For, he followed all those things so earnestly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: insomuch that they who most hated and feared him, wondred most to see his diligence and quicke dispatch in matters. The people also wondred much to behold him onely, seeing alwayes such a number of labourers, artificers, ambassadors, officers, souldiers, and learned men, whom he easily satisfied and dispatched, keeping still his estate, and yet vsing great courtesie and ciuilitie, entertaining euerie one of them priuatly: so that he made his accusers to be found liers, that said he was a stately man and verie cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conuersation and deeds, then he was otherwise in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke vpon him was, in seeing the high wayes mended, the which he would haue as well done, as profitably done. For he would cast the causies by the line in the softest ground in the fields, and then would paue them with hard stone, and cast a great deale of grauell vpon it, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or waterie places which the riuers had eaten into, he raised them vp, or else made bridges ouer them, with an euen height equall to either side of the causie: so that all his worke caried a goodly leuell withall, euen by the line or plummet, which was a pleasure to behold. Furthermore, he deuided these high wayes by miles, euerie mile containing eight furlongs, and at euerie miles end he set vp a stone for a marke. At either end also of these high wayes thus paued, he set certaine stones of conuenient height, a pretie way asunder, to help the trauellers by to take their horse backs again without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising and extolling him, and being readie to make shew of their loue and good will to him any maner of way: he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make vnto them, the which if it would please to graunt him, he would thinke they did him a maruellous pleasure: and if they denied him also, he cared not much. Then euerie man thought it was the Consulship he meant to aske, and that he would sue to be Tribune and Consull together. But when the day came to chuse the Consuls, euerie man looking attentiuely what he would do: they maruelled when they saw him come downe the field of *Mars*, and brought *Caius Fannius* with his friends, to further his sute for the Consulship. Therein he serued *Fannius* turne, for he was presently chosen Consull: and *Caius Gracchus* was the second time chosen Tribune againe, not at his owne sute, but by the good wil of the people. *Caius* perceiuing that the Senators were his open enemies, and that *Fannius* the Consull was but a slack friend vnto him, he began againe to currie fauour with the common people, and to prefer new laws, setting forth the law of the Colonies, that they should send of the poore citizens to repleniſh the cities of TARENTVM and CAPVA, and that they should graunt all the LATINS the freedome of ROME. The Senate perceiuing his power grew great, and that in the end he would be so strong that they could not withstand him: they deuised a new and strange way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in graunting them things not altogether verie honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with *Caius* called *Liuius Drusus*, a man nobly borne, and as well brought vp as any other ROMAINE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferior to the greatest men of estimation in ROME. The chiefest Senators went vnto him, and perswaded him

Caius Gracchus power.

Other lawes of Caius Gracchus.

The Italian mile containeth eight furlongs.

Caius Gracchus chosen Tribune the second time.

Liuius Drusus one of the Tribunes.

him to take part with them againſt *Caius*, not to vſe any force or violence againſt the people to withſtand them in any thing, but contrarily to graunt them thoſe things which were more honeſtie for them to deny them with their il wil. *Liuius* offering to pleaſure the Senate with his authoritie, preferred lawes neither honourable nor profitable to the common-wealth, and were to no other end, but contending with *Caius*, who ſhould moſt flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their common playes, to ſhew the people paſtime. Whereby the Senate ſhewed that they did not ſo much miſlike *Caius* doings, as for the deſire they had to ouerthrow him and his great credit with the people. For where *Caius* preferred but the repleniſhing of the two cities, and deſired to ſend the honeſteſt citizens thither: they obiected againſt him that he did corrupt the common people. On the other ſide alſo they fauoured *Druſus*, who preferred a law that they ſhould repleniſh twelue Colonies, and ſhould ſend to euerie one of them three thouſand of the pooreſt citizens. And where they hated *Caius* for that he had charged the poore citizens with an annuall rent for the lands that were deuided vnto them: *Liuius* in contrarie manner did pleaſe them by disburdening them of that rent and paiment, letting them haue the lands ſcotfree. Furthermore alſo, where *Caius* did anger the people, becauſe he gaue all the Latines the freedom of Rome to giue their voices in chuſing of Magiſtrates as freely as the naturall Romaines: when *Druſus* on the other ſide had preferred a law that thenceforth no Romaine ſhould whip any ſouldier of the Latins with rods to the wars, they liked the law, and paſt it. *Liuius* alſo in euery law he put forth, ſaid in all his orations, that he did it by the counſell of the Senate, who were verie carefull for the profit of the people: and this was al the good he did in his office vnto the commonwealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleaſed with the Senate, and where they did before hate all the noblemen of the Senate, *Liuius* tooke away that malice, when the people ſaw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment & benefit of the common-wealth, with the conſent and furtherance of the Senate. The onely thing alſo that perſwaded the people to thinke that *Druſus* meant vprightly, and that he onely reſpected the profit of the common people, was, that he neuer preferred any law for himſelfe, or for his owne benefit. For in the reſtoring of theſe Colonies which he preferred, he alwayes ſent other Commiſſioners, and gaue them the charge of it, and would neuer finger any money himſelfe: where *Caius* tooke vpon him the charge and care of all things himſelfe, and ſpecially of the greateſt matters. *Rubrius* alſo another Tribune, hauing preferred a law for the reedifying and repleniſhing of Carthage againe with people, the which *Scipio* had razed & deſtroyed: it was *Caius* hap to be appointed one of the Commiſſioners for it: whereupon he took ſhip and ſailed into Afrike. *Druſus* in the meane time taking occaſion of his abſence, did as much as might be to ſeeke the fauour of the common people, and ſpecially by accuſing *Fuluius* who was one of the beſt friends *Caius* had, and whom they had alſo choſen Commiſſioner with him for the diuiſion of theſe lands among the citizens whom they ſent to repleniſh theſe Colonies. This *Fuluius* was a ſeditious man, and therefore maruellouſly hated of the Senate, and withall ſuſpected alſo of them that tooke part with the people, that he ſecretly practiſed to make their confederates of Italie to rebell. But yet they had no euident proofe of it to iuſtifie it againſt him, more then that which he himſelfe did verifie, becauſe he ſeemed to be offended with the peace and quietnes they enioyed. And this was one of the chiefeſt cauſes of *Caius* ouerthrow, becauſe that *Fuluius* was partly hated for his ſake. For when *Scipio* African was found dead one morning in his houſe, without any manifeſt cauſe how he ſhould come to his death ſo ſodainly, (ſauing that there appeared certaine blind markes of ſtripes on his bodie that had bene giuen him: as we haue delared at large in his life) the moſt part of the ſuſpition of his death was laid to *Fuluius*, being his mortall enemie, and becauſe the ſame day they had bene at great words together in the pulpit for Orations. So was *Caius Gracchus* alſo partly ſupected for it. Howſoeuer it was, ſuch a horrible murther as this, of ſo famous and worthie a man as any was in Rome, was yet notwithſtanding neuer reuenged, neither any inquirie made of it: becauſe the common people would not ſuffer the accuſation to go forward, fearing leaſt *Caius* would be found in fault, if the matter ſhould go forward. But this was a great while before. Now *Caius* at that time being in Africke about the reedifying and repleniſhing of the citie of Carthage againe, the which he named Ivnonia: the voice goeth that he had many ill ſignes and tokens appeared vnto him. For the ſtaffe of his enſigne was broken with a vehement blaſt of wind, and with the force of the enſigne bearer that held it faſt on the other ſide. There came a flaw of wind alſo that caried away the ſacrifices vpon the altars and blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the

Lawes preferred by Liuius Druſus.

Liuius Druſus pacifieth the people againſt the Senate.

Fuluius Commiſſioner with Caius, a verie ſeditious man.

The death of Scipio African the leſſe.

Vnluckie ſignes appearing vnto Caius.

compaſſe of the citie. Furthermore, the wolues came and tooke away the markes which they had ſet downe to limit the bounds of their circuite, and caried them quite away. This notwithſtanding, *Caius* hauing diſpatched all things in the ſpace of three ſcore and ten daies, he returned incontinently to ROME, vnderſtanding that *Fuluius* was oppreſſed by *Druſus*, and that thoſe matters required his preſence. For *Lucius Hoſtilius* that was all in all for the Nobilitie, and a man of great credite with the Senate, being the yeare before put by the Conſulſhip by *Caius* practiſe, who cauſed *Fannius* to be choſen: he had good hope this yeare to ſpeed, for the great number of friends that furthered his ſute. So that if he could obtaine it, he was fully bent to ſet *Caius* beſide the ſaddle, and the rather, becauſe his eſtimation and countenance he was wont to haue among the people, began now to decay, for that they were full of ſuch deuiſes as his were: becauſe there were diuers others that preferred the like to pleaſe the people withall, and yet with the Senates great good will and fauour. So *Caius* being returned to ROME, he remoued from his houſe, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a houſe vnder the market place, to ſhew himſelfe thereby the lowlier and more popular, becauſe many of the meaner ſort of the people dwelt thereabouts. Then he purpoſed to go forward with the reſt of his lawes, and to make the people to eſtabliſh them, a great number of people repairing to ROME out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counſelled the Conſull *Fannius* to make proclamation, that all thoſe which were no natural ROMAINES, reſident and abiding within the citie ſelfe of ROME, that they ſhould depart out of ROME. Beſides all this there was a ſtrange proclamation made, and neuer ſeene before: that none of all the friends and confederates of the ROMAINES for certaine daies ſhould come into ROME. But *Caius* on the other ſide ſet vp bils on euery poſt, accuſing the Conſul for making ſo wicked a proclamation: and further, promiſed the confederates of ROME to aide them, if they would remaine there againſt the Conſuls proclamation. But yet he performed it not: for when he ſaw one of *Fannius* ſergeants carie a friend of his to priſon, he held on his way, and would ſee nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelihood becauſe he feared his credite with the people, which began to decay, or elſe becauſe he was loth (as he ſaid) to picke any quarrell with his enemies, which ſought it of him. Furthermore, he chaunced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occaſion. The people were to ſee the paſtime of the ſword-players or fencers at the ſharpe, within the verie market place, and there were diuers of the officers that to ſee the ſport, did ſet vp ſcaffolds round about, to take money for the ſtanding. *Caius* commaunded them to take them downe againe, becauſe the poore men might ſee the ſport without any coſt. But not a man of them would yeeld to it. Wherefore he ſtaied till the night before the paſtime ſhould be, and then he tooke all his labourers he had vnder him, and went and ouerthrew the ſcaffolds euerie one of them: ſo that the next morning all the market place was cleare for the common people to ſee the paſtime at their pleaſure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him maruellouſly, and tooke him for a worthie man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were verie much offended with him, and tooke him for a bold preſumptuous man. This ſeemeth to be the chiefe cauſe why he was put from his third Tribuneſhip, where he had the moſt voices on his ſide: becauſe his colleagues, to be reuenged of the part he had played them, of malice and ſpite, made falſe report of the voices. Howbeit there is no great troth in this. It is true that he was verie angrie with this repulſe, and it is reported he ſpake ſomewhat too proudly to his enemies, that were merrie with the matter, and laughed him to ſcorne: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkely his deedes were intangled. Furthermore, his enemies hauing choſen *Opimius* Conſull, they began immediatly to reuoke diuers of *Caius* lawes: as among the reſt, his doings at CARTHAGE for the reedifying of that citie, procuring thus all the wayes they could to anger him, becauſe they might haue iuſt occaſion of anger to kill him. *Caius* notwithſtanding did patiently beare it at the firſt: but afterwards his friends, and ſpecially *Fuluius*, did incourage him ſo, that he began againe to gather men to reſiſt the Conſull. And it is reported alſo, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in it, ſecretly hiring a great number of ſtrangers which ſhe ſent vnto ROME, as if they had bin reapers, or harueſt men. And this is that ſhe wrote ſecretly in her letter vnto her ſon in ciphers. And yet other write to the contrarie, that ſhe was verie angrie he did attempt thoſe things. When the day came that they ſhould proceed to the reuocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There, when the Conſull *Opimius* had done ſacrifice, one of *Caius* ſergeants called *Quintus Antyllius*, carying the intrailes of the beaſt ſacrificed, ſaid vnto *Fuluius*, and others of his tribe

This man is named afterwards Opimius

Caius Gracchus fell out with the Tribunes.

Caius Gracchus repulſed from the third Tribuneſhip.

Sedition betwixt Caius Gracchus and the Senate.

tribe that were about him: giue place to honeſt men, vile citizens that ye be. Some ſay alſo, that beſides theſe iniurious words, in ſcorne and contempt he held out his naked arme to make them aſhamed: whereupon they ſlue him preſently in the field with great bodkins to write with, which they had purpoſely made for that intent. So the common people were maruellouſly offended for this murther, and the chiefe men of both ſides alſo were diuerſly affected. For *Caius* was verie ſorie for it, and bitterly reproued them that were about him, ſaying, that they had giuen their enemies the occaſion they looked for, to ſet vpon them. *Opimius* the Conſull in contrarie manner, taking this occaſion, roſe vpon it, and did ſtirre vp the people to be reuenged. But there fell a ſhowre of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Conſull hauing aſſembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was diſpatching cauſes within, ſome had taken the bodie of *Antyllius* and laid it naked vpon the beere, and ſo caried it through the market place (as it was agreed vpon before amongſt them) and brought it to the Senate doore: where they began to make great mone and lamentation, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it, but yet he diſſembled it, and ſeemed to wonder at it. Wherupon the Senatours went out to ſee what it was, and finding this Beere in the market place, ſome fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cryed out that it was a ſhamefull act, and in no wiſe to be ſuffered. But on the other ſide, this did reuiue the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickedneſſe of the ambitious Noblemen: who hauing themſelues before ſlaine *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune and within the Capitoll it ſelfe, and had alſo caſt his body into the riuer, did now make an honourable ſhew openly in the market place, of the bodie of the Sergeant *Antyllius* (who though he were wrongfully ſlaine, yet had himſelfe giuen them the cauſe that ſlue him, to do that they did) and all the whole Senate were about the Beere to bewaile his death, and to honor the funerals of a hireling, to make the people alſo kill him, that was only left the protector and defender of the people. After this, they went againe vnto the Capitoll, and there made a decree, whereby they gaue the Conſull *Opimius* extraordinarie power and authoritie, by abſolute power to prouide for the ſafetie of the commonwealth, to preſerue the citie, and to ſuppreſſe the tyrants. This decree being eſtabliſhed, the Conſull preſently commanded the Senators that were preſent there, to go arme themſelues: and appointed the Romaine Knights, that the next morning betimes euery man ſhould bring two of their men armed with them. *Fuluius* on the other ſide, he prepared his force againſt them, and aſſembled the common people together. *Caius* alſo returning from the market place, ſtaid before the image of his father, and looked earneſtly vpon it without euer a word ſpeaking, only he burſt out a weeping, and fetching a great ſigh, went his way. This made the people to pitie him that ſaw him: ſo that they talked among themſelues, that they were but beaſts and cowards at ſuch a ſtraight to forſake ſo worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his houſe, ſtayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as they did that watched with *Fuluius*, that paſſed away the night in guzling and drinking drunke, crying out, and making noiſe, *Fuluius* himſelfe being drunke firſt of all, who both ſpake and did many things farre vnmeete for his calling. For they that watched *Caius* on the other ſide, were very ſorowfull, and made no noiſe, euen as in a common calamitie of their countrey, deuiſing with themſelues what would fall out vpon it, waking and ſleeping one after another by turnes. When the day brake, they with *Fuluius* did awake him, who ſlept yet ſoundly for the wine he dranke ouer night, and they armed themſelues with the ſpoiles of the Gavles that hung round about his houſe, whom he had ouercome in battell the ſame yeare he was Conſull: and with great cries, and thundering threats they went to take the mount Auentine. But *Caius* would not arme himſelfe, but went out of his houſe in a long gowne, as if he would haue gone ſimply into the market place according to his wonted maner, ſauing that he caried a ſhort dagger at his girdle vnder his gowne. So as he was going out of his houſe, his wife ſtaid him at the doore, and holding him by the one hand, and a litle child of his in her other hand, ſhe ſaid thus vnto him: Alas *Caius*, thou doeſt not now go as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the market place to ſpeake to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doeſt thou go vnto an honeſt warre, that if vnfortunately that ſhould happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the leaſt mourne for thy death with honor. But thou goeſt to put thy ſelfe into bloudie butchers hands, who moſt cruelly haue ſlaine thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goeſt, a naked man vnarmed, intending rather to ſuffer, then to do hurt. Beſides, thy death can bring no benefite to the Commonwealth. For the worſer part hath now the vpper hand, conſidering that ſentence paſſeth by force of ſword. Had thy brother

Antyllius, C. Gracchus Sergeant ſlaine.

An ordinance made by the Senate, againſt C. Gracchus.

The people defended C. Gracchus.

The words of Licinia to her husband Caius Gracchus.

" bene ſlaine by his enemies, before the citie of NVMANTIA: yet had they giuen vs his bodie to
" haue buried him. But ſuch may be my misfortune, that I may preſently go to pray the riuer or
" ſea to giue me thy bodie, when as thy brothers it ſhall likewiſe be throwne into the ſame. Alas,
" what hope or truſt is left vs now in lawes or gods, ſithence they haue ſlaine *Tiberius*? As *Licinia* was making this pitifull mone vnto him, *Caius* faire and ſoftly pulled his hand from her, and left her, giuing her neuer a word, but went on with his friends. But ſhe reaching after him to pull him by the gowne, fell to the ground, and lay flatling there a great while, ſpeaking neuer a word, vntill at length her ſeruants tooke her vp in a ſwoune, and caried her ſo vnto her brother *Craſſus*. Now *Fuluius*, by the perſwaſion of *Caius*, when all their faction were met: ſent his yonger ſon (which was a pretie faire boy) with an Heraulds rod in his hand for his ſafetie. This boy humbly preſenting his dutie, with the teares in his eyes, before the Conſull and Senate, offered them peace. The moſt of them that were preſent thought very well of it. But *Opimius* made anſwer, ſaying, that it became them not to ſend meſſengers, thinking with faire words to win the Senate: but it was their dutie to come themſelues in perſon, like ſubiects and offenders to make their triall, and ſo to craue pardon, and to ſeeke to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commaunded the boy he ſhould not returne againe to them, but with this condition he had preſcribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was readie to go and cleare himſelfe vnto the Senate: but the reſidue would not ſuffer him to go. Whereupon *Fuluius* ſent his ſonne backe againe vnto them, to ſpeake for them as he had done before. But *Opimius* that was deſirous to fight, cauſed the boy to be taken, and committed him to ſafe cuſtody, and then went preſently againſt *Fuluius* with a great number of footmen well armed, and of CRETAN archers beſides: who with their arrowes did more trouble and hurt their enemies, then with any thing elſe, that within a while they all began to flie. *Fuluius* on the other ſide fled into an old hot-houſe that no bodie made reckening of, and there being found ſhortly after, they ſlue him and his eldeſt ſonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being mad with himſelfe, and grieued to ſee ſuch bloudſhed: he got him into the temple of *Diana*, where he would haue killed himſelfe, had not his very good friends *Pomponius* and *Licinius* ſaued him. For both they being with him at that time, tooke his ſword from him, and counſelled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding vp both his hands vnto the goddeſſe, he beſought her that the people might neuer come out of bondage, to be reuenged of this their ingratitude and treaſon. For the common people (or the moſt part of them) plainely turned their coates, when they heard proclamation made that all men had pardon granted them that would returne. So *Caius* fled vpon it, and his enemies followed him ſo neare, that they ouertooke him vpon the woodden bridge, where two of his friends that were with him ſtaid, to defend him againſt his purſuers, and bad him in the meane time make ſhift for himſelfe, whilſt they fought with them vpon the bridge: and ſo they did, and kept them that not a man got the bridge of them vntil they were both ſlaine. Now there was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithſtanding, euery man did ſtill encourage and counſell him, as they do men to win a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horſe though he often required it, becauſe he ſaw his enemies ſo neare vnto him. This notwithſtanding, by their defence that were ſlaine vpon the bridge, he got ground of them ſo, that he had leyſure to creepe into a litle groue of wood which was conſecrated to the Furies. There his ſeruant *Philocrates* ſlue him, and then ſlue himſelfe alſo, and fell dead vpon him. Other write notwithſtanding, that both the maiſter and ſeruant were ouertaken, and taken aliue: and that his ſeruant did ſo ſtraight embrace his maiſter that none of the enemies could ſtrike him for all the blowes they gaue, before he was ſlaine himſelfe. So one of the murtherers ſtrake off *Caius Gracchus* head to carie to the Conſull. Howbeit one of *Opimius* friends called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, becauſe proclamation was made by trumpet before they fought, that whoſoeuer brought the heads of *Fuluius* and *Caius*, they ſhould be paid the waight of them in gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* caried *Caius* head vpon the top of his ſpeare vnto *Opimius*: whereupon the ſcales being brought to weigh it, it was found to weigh ſeuenteene pound weight and two third parts of a pound: becauſe *Septimuleius* beſides the horrible murder he had committed, had alſo holpen it with this villanie, that he had taken out his braine, and in lieu thereof had filled his ſcull with Lead. Now the other alſo that brought *Fuluius* head, becauſe they were pore men, they had nothing. The bodies of theſe two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fuluius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thouſand that were ſlaine) were all throwne into the riuer, their

Fuluius ſent his ſon to the Conſull with an Heraulds rod to offer peace.

The death of Fuluius and his eldeſt ſonne.

The flight of Caius.

The faithfulneſſe of Caius Gracchus ſeruant.

their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they took from *Licinia Caius* wife, her ioynter: but yet they dealt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, *Fulvius* sonne: who had neither lift vp his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but onely came to them to make peace before they fought, whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battell ended they put him to death. But yet that which most of all grieued the people was the temple of Concord, the which *Opimius* caused to be built: for it appeared that he boasted, and in maner triumphed, that he had slaine so many citizens of ROME. And therefore there were that in the night wrote vnder the inscription of the temple these verses:

The temple of Concord built by Opimius the Consull.

A furious fact and full of beastly shame
This temple built, that beareth Concords name.

This *Opimius* was the first man at ROME, that being Consull, vsurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or iustice condemned three thousand citizens of ROME, besides *Fulvius Flaccus*, (who had also bene Consul, and had receiued the honour of triumph) and *Caius Gracchus* a young man in like case, who in vertue and reputation excelled all the men of his years. This notwithstanding could not keepe *Opimius* from theeuerie and extortion. For when he was sent ambassador vnto *Iugurth* king of NVMIDIA, he was bribed with money: and thereupon being accused, he was most shamefully conuicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his daies with this reproch and infamie, hated and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the ouerthrow he dealt beastly with them that fought for his quarrell. But shortly after it appeared to the world how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set vp in an open and honourable place, consecrating the places where they had bene slaine: and many of them also came and offered to them of their first fruites and flowers, according to the time of the yeare, and went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as vnto the temples of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamitie with a noble heart: and as for the chappels which they built and consecrated vnto them in the place where they were slaine, she said no more, but that they had such graues as they had deserued. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the mount of Misene, and neuer chaunged her manet of life. She had many friends, and because she was a noble Ladie, and loued euer to welcome straungers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwaies great repaire vnto her, of GRECIANS and learned men: besides, there was no king nor prince but both receiued gifts from her, and sent her again. They that frequented her cõpany delighted maruellously to heare her report the deeds and maner of her fathers life, *Scipio* AFRICAN: but yet they wondred more, to heare her tell the acts and death of her two sonnes, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without shedding teare, or making any shew of lamentation or griefe, no more then if she had told an historie vnto them that had requested her. Insomuch as some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had ouercome and taken her reason and sense from her to feele any sorow. But indeed they were senslesse to say so, not vnderstanding how that to be nobly borne and vertuously brought vp, doth make men temperatly to disgest sorow: and that fortune oftentimes ouercomes vertue, which regardeth honestie in all respects, but yet with any aduersitie she cannot take away the temperance from them whereby they patiently beare it.

Opimius the first Consull, vsurping the power of the Dictator.

Opimius bribed with mony of Iugurth, & condemned.

The Gracchi were maruellously desired of the people.

The magnanimitie of Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi.

The power of learning to ouercome sorow

THE COMPARISON OF *Tiberius and Caius Gracchi, with Agis and Cleomenes.*

The wisdome of the Gracchi.

NOw that we be come to the end of this hiſtorie, we are to compare the liues of theſe two men the one with the other. Firſt, as touching the two *Gracchi*: their enemies that moſt hated them, and ſpake the worſt they could of thē, could not deny but that they were the beſt giuen to vertue, and as well taught and brought vp, as any Romaines that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the vpper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they hauing bene very ill brought vp, both for learning and good manners, for lacke whereof the oldeſt men were almoſt ſpoiled: yet did they notwithſtanding make themſelues the firſt maiſters and example of ſobrietie, temperance, and ſimplicitie of life. Furthermore, the two firſt hauing liued in that time, when Rome flouriſhed moſt in honour and vertuous deſires: they were more then aſhamed to forſake the vertues inherited frō their anceſtors. Theſe two laſt alſo being borne of fathers that had a cleane contrary diſpoſition, & finding their country altogether without any order, & infected with diſſolute life: were not therfore any whit the more ſlack in their deſire to do well. Furthermore, the greateſt praiſe they gaue vnto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abſtinence & integrity from taking of mony all the time they were in office, & dealt in matters of ſtate, euer keeping their hands cleane, and tooke not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on the other ſide was offended if any man praiſed him: for that he took nothing frō another man: ſeeing that he diſpoſſeſſed himſelfe of his owne goods, and gaue it to his citizens, which amounted in readie coyne to the value of ſixe hundred talents. Whereby men may eaſily iudge, how grieuous a ſinne he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man: ſeeing that he thought it a kind of auarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was maruellous great difference in their alterations, and renewing of the ſtate, which they did both preferre. For the acts of the two Romaines were to mend high waies and to reedifie and repleniſh decayed townes: and the worthieſt act *Tiberius* did, was the law Agraria, which he brought in for diuiding of the lands of the commonwealth amongſt the poore citizens. And the beſt act his brother *Caius* alſo did, was the mingling of the Iudges, adding to the three hundred Senators

three

three hundred ROMAINE Knights to be indifferent Iudges with them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrarie maner were of opinion, that to reforme ſmall faults, and to redreſſe them by litle and litle, was (as *Plato* ſaid) to cut off one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards ſeuen in the place: and therefore they tooke vpon them a chaunge and innouation, euen at once to root out all the miſchiefes of their countrie, (or to ſpeake more truly, to take away the diſorder which brought in all vice and miſchiefe to the commonwealth) and ſo to reſtore the city of SPARTA againe to her former auncient honourable eſtate. Now this may be ſaid againe for the gouernment of the *Gracchi*: that the chiefeſt men of ROME euer were againſt their purpoſes. Where, in that *Agis* attempted, and *Cleomenes* ended, they had the nobleſt ground that could be, and that was the auncient lawes and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equalitie: the firſt, inſtituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alterations of the firſt, ROME became no greater then it was before. Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, all GREECE in ſhort time ſaw that SPARTA commaunded all the reſt of PELOPONNESVS, and fought at that time againſt thoſe that were of greateſt power in all GREECE, for the ſigniorie thereof. Whereby their onely marke and purpoſe was, to rid all GREECE from the wars of the GAVLES and ILLYRIANS, and to reſtore it againe to the honeſt gouernement of the race and line of *Hercules*. Their deaths (me thinkes) do ſhew great difference of their courages. For the *Gracchi* fighting with their owne citizens, were ſlaine flying. Of theſe two alſo, *Agis*, becauſe he would put neuer a citizen to death, was ſlaine in maner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiuing iniurie ſtood to his defence, and when he had no oportunititie to do it, he ſtoutly killed himſelf. And ſo may it be ſaid on the other ſide, that *Agis* did neuer any noble act of a Captaine or ſouldier, becauſe he was ſlaine before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, may be oppoſed the ſcaling of the wals of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the firſt man that at the aſſault got vp vpon the wall, which was no ſmall exploit: and the peace which he made alſo at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, whereby he ſaued twentie thouſand fighting men of the ROMAINES, the which had no meanes otherwiſe to ſaue their liues. And *Caius* alſo in the ſelfe ſame warre, at the ſiege of NVMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feates of war: ſo that there is no doubt, but if they had not bene ſlaine ſo ſoone as they were, they might haue bene compared with the excellenteſt Captaines that euer were in ROME. Againe, touching their doings in ciuill pollicie, it appeareth that *Agis* dealt more ſlackly, being abuſed by *Ageſilaus*: who likewiſe deceiued the poore citizens of the diuiſion of the lands which he had promiſed them. In fine, for lacke of courage, becauſe he was very young, he left the things vndone which he had purpoſed to haue performed. On the other ſide, *Cleomenes* went too roundly to worke to renew the auncient gouernment of the commonwealth againe, by killing the Ephores with too much crueltie, whom he might eaſily haue won, or otherwiſe by force haue gotten the vpper hand. For it is not the part of a wiſe Phiſitian, nor of a good gouernor of a commonwealth to vſe the ſword, but in great extremitie, where there is no other helpe nor remedie: and there lacked iudgement in them both, but worſt of all in the one, for iniurie is euer ioyned with crueltie. The *Gracchi* on the other ſide, neither the one nor the other, began to imbrue their hands in the bloud of their citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would neuer defend himſelfe: and where it was knowne that he was very valiant in battell with his ſword in his hand againſt the enemie, he ſhewed himſelfe as cold againe in the vprore againſt his citizens. For he went out of his houſe vnarmed, and fled when he ſaw them fight: being more circumſpect not to do hurt, then not to ſuffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearefull to offend any man. For they were driuen either to yeeld to them that followed them, or elſe if they ſtayed, to ſtand to their defence, becauſe they might keepe themſelues from hurt. And where they accuſe *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greateſt that euer he did, was when he depoſed *Octauius* his colleague from the Tribuneſhip, and that he himſelfe made ſute for the ſecond. And as for *Caius*, they falſly accuſed him for the death of *Antyllius* the Sergeant, who indeed was ſlaine vnknowne to him, and to his great griefe. Where *Cleomenes* on the other ſide, although we ſhould forget the murther he committed vpon the Ephores, yet he ſet ſlaues at liberty, and ruled the kingdome in maner himſelfe alone: but yet for manners ſake onely he ioyned his owne brother with him, which was of the ſelf ſame houſe. And when he had perſwaded *Archidamus*, (who was next heire to the kingdome of the other royall houſe) to be bold to returne home from MESSINA vnto SPARTA: he ſuffered him to be

The acts of the Gracchi did litle profite Rome.

The end of the Gracchi vnfortunate.

The faults of the Gracchi.

ſlaine, and becauſe he did not reuenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was conſenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other ſide, whoſe example he did counterfeit to follow, becauſe he did willingly reſigne the kingdome vnto his brothers ſon *Charilaus*, and being afraid alſo, that if the young child ſhould chaunce to miſcarrie, they would ſuſpect him for his death: he exiled himſelfe out of his owne countrie a long time, trauelling vp and downe, and returned not to SPARTA againe, before *Charilaus* had gotten a ſon to ſucceed him in his kingdom. But we cannot ſet another GRECIAN by *Lycurgus* comparable vnto him. We haue declared alſo that amongſt *Cleomenes* deeds, there were many other greater alterations then theſe, and alſo many other breaches of the law. So they that do condemne the manners of the one and the other, ſay, that the two GRECIANS from the beginning had an aſpiring mind to be tyrants, ſtill practiſing warres: whereas the two ROMAINES onely, euen by their moſt mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing elſe, but for an extreame ambition, and did confeſſe that they were too earneſt and vehement aboue their nature, in any ſtrife or contention they had with their aduerſaries, and that they yeelded vnto that choler and paſſion, as vnto ill winds, which brought them to do thoſe things they did in the end. For what more iuſt and honeſt intent could they haue had, then the firſt was: had not the rich men (euen through ſtoutneſſe and authoritie to ouerthrow the lawes) brought them againſt their wils into quarrell: the one to ſaue his life, the other to reuenge his brothers death, who was ſlaine without order, iuſtice, or the authoritie of any Officer? Thus thou mayeſt thy ſelfe ſee the difference that was betwixt the GRECIANS and the ROMAINS: and now to tell you plainely my opinion of both, I thinke that *Tiberius* was the ſtouteſt of the foure, that the young king *Agis* offended leaſt, and that for boldneſſe and courage, *Caius* came nothing neare vnto *Cleomenes*.

THE LIFE OF *Demoſthenes.*

True happines conſiſteth in the mind and manners of man, not in any place or countrey.

HE that made the litle booke of the praiſe of *Alcibiades*, touching the victorie he wanne at the horſe race of the Olympian games, (were it the Poet *Euripides* as ſome thinke, or any other) my friend *Soſius*: ſaid, that to make a man happie, he muſt of neceſſitie be borne in ſome famous citie. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, doubtleſſe, true happineſſe chiefly conſiſteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous citie: no more then it is for one to be borne of a faire or foule mother. For it were a madneſſe to thinke that the litle village of IVLIDE, being the leaſt part of the Ile of CEO (the whole Iland of it ſelfe being but a ſmal thing) and

and that the Isle of ÆGINA (which is of so small a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, because it was but as a straw in the sight of the hauen of Piræa) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comedians: and not breed an honest, iust, and wise man, and of noble courage. For, as we haue reason to thinke that arts and sciences which were first deuised and inuented to make some things necessarie for mens vse, or otherwise to winne fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in litle poore villages: so are we to iudge also, that vertue, like a strong and fruitfull plant, can take roote, and bring foorth in euery place, where it is graffed in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with paines. And therefore if we chaunce to offend, and liue not as we should: we cannot accuse the meannesse of our countrey where we were borne, but we must iustly accuse our selues. Surely he that hath taken vpon him to put foorth any worke, or to write any historie, into the which he is to thrust many straunge things vnknowne to his countrey, and which are not readie at his hand to be had, but dispersed abrode in diuerse places, and to be gathered out of diuerse bookes and authorities: first of all, he must needes remaine in some great and famous citie throughly inhabited, where men do delight in good and vertuous things, because there are commonly plentie of all sorts of bookes: and that perusing them, and hearing talke also of many things besides, which other Historiographers peraduenture haue not written of, and which will carie so much more credit, because men that are aliue may presently speake of them as of their owne knowledge, whereby he may make his worke perfect in euery point, hauing many and diuerse necessarie things contained in it. But I my selfe that dwell in a poore litle towne, and yet do remaine there willingly lest it should become lesse: whilest I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leysure to studie and exercise the Latine tongue, aswell for the great businesse I had then to do, as also to satisfie them that came to learne Philosophie of me: so that euen somwhat too late and now in my latter time, I beganne to take Latine bookes in hand. And thereby (a straunge thing to tell you, but yet true) I learned not, nor vnderstood matters so much by the words, as I came to vnderstand the words, by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to speake it readily, or to vnderstand the figures, translations, and fine ioyning of the simple wordes one with another, which do beautifie and set foorth the tongue: surely I iudge it to be a maruellous pleasant and sweet thing, but withall it requireth a long and labourſome studie, meet for those that haue better leysure then I haue, and that haue young yeares on their backes to follow such pleasure. Therfore in this present booke, which is the fifth of this worke, where I haue taken vpon me to compare the liues of Noble men one with another: vndertaking to write the liues of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deedes in the gouernment of the commonwealth, not meaning otherwise to confer their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were sharper or sweeter in his Oration. For as the Poet *Ion* saith:

Expedient for an historiographer to be in a famous city.

Plutarchs country very litle.

In this behalfe a man may rightly say,
The Dolphines in their proper soyle do play.

The which *Cæcilius* litle vnderstanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath vnaduisedly written and set foorth in print, a comparison of *Demosthenes* eloquence with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an easie matter for euery man to know himselfe, then the gods needed haue giuen vs no commaundement, neither could men haue said that it came from heauen. But for my opinion, me thinks Fortune euen from the beginning hath framed in maner one self mold of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as, both of thē to be ambitious, both of them to loue the liberty of their country, and both of them very fearefull in any danger of wars. And likewise their fortunes seeme to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to find two Orators againe, that being so meanely borne as they, haue come to be of so great power and authoritie as they two, nor that haue deserued the ill will of kings & noblemen so much as they haue done, nor that haue lost their daughters, nor that haue bene banished their countries, and that haue bene restored again with honor, and that againe haue fled, and haue bene taken againe, nor that haue ended their liues with the libertie of their country. So that it is hard to be iudged, whether Nature haue made them liker in maners, or Fortune in their doings: as if they had both like cunning workmaisters striued one with the other, to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

Demosthenes compared with Cicero.

The parentage of Demosthenes

Demosthenes the father of this Orator *Demosthenes*, was (as *Theopompus* writeth) one of the chiefe men of the city, and they called him *Machæropœus*, to wit, a maker of sword blades, because he had a great shop where he kept a number of slaues to forge them. But touching *Æschines* the Orators report of his mother, who said that she was the daughter of one *Gelon*, (that fled from ATHENS being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother: I am not able to say whether it be true, or deuised of malice to do him despite. Howsoeuer it was, it is true that his father died, leauing him but seuen yeares old, and left him reasonable well: for his goods came to litle lesse then the value of fifteene talents. Howbeit his guardians did him great wrong: for they stale a great part of his goods themselues, and did let the rest runne to naught, as hauing litle care of it, for they would not pay his schoolemaisters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learne the liberall sciences which are vsually taught vnto honest mens sons: and to further that want also, he was but a weakling, and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to schoole, neither his maisters also durst keepe him too hard to it, because he was but a sickly child at the first, and very weake. And it is reported also, that the surname of *Battalus* was giuen him in mockerie by other schoole boyes his companions, because of his weakenesse of bodie. This *Battalus* (as diuerse men do report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to mocke him, deuised a litle play. Others also do write of one *Battalus*, a dissolute Orator, and that wrote lasciuious verses: and it seemeth that the ATHENIANS at that time did call a certaine part of mans body vncomely to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argas* (which surname men say was also giuen him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly manners (because some Poets do call a snake *Argas*) or else for his manner of speech: which was very vnpleasant to the eare, for *Argas* is the name of a Poet that made alwaies bawdie and il-fauored songs. But hereof enough as *Plato* said. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moued him to giue himselfe to eloquence, was this. *Callistratus* the Oratour was to defend the cause of one *Oropus* before the Iudges, & euery man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellencie of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly knowne to all. *Demosthenes* hearing his schoolemaisters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his schoolmaster to be so good as to let him go with him. His maister graunted him, & being acquainted with the keepers of the hall doore where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated them, that they placed their scholer in a very good place, where being set at his ease, he might both heare and see all that was done and no man could see him. Thereupon when *Demosthenes* had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in loue with the honor which the Orator had gotten, when he saw how he was waited vpon home with such a traine of people after him: but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence, that could so turne and conuey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the studie of all other sciences, and all other exercises of wit and body, which other children are brought vp in: and began to labour continually, and to frame himselfe to make orations, with intent one day to be an Orator among the rest. His maister that taught him Rhetoricke was *Isæus*, notwithstanding that *Isocrates* also kept a schoole of Rhetoricke at that time: either because that being an orphane he was not able to pay the wages that *Isocrates* demaunded of his scholers, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he found *Isæus* maner of speech more proper for the vse of the eloquence he desired, because it was more fine and subtil. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithstanding, that he had read certaine bookes, hauing no name of any authour, which declared that *Demosthenes* had bene *Platoes* scholer, & that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one *Ctesibius*, who reporteth that *Demosthenes* had secretly read *Isocrates* works of Rhetoricke, and also *Alcidamus* bookes, by meanes of one *Callias* SYRACVSAN, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardship, he beganne to put his guardians in sute, and to write Orations and pleas against them: who in contrarie manner did euer vse delayes and excuses, to saue themselues from giuing vp any account vnto him, of his goods and patrimonie left him. And thus, following this exercise (as *Thucydides* writeth) it prospered so well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great paines and danger: and yet with all that he could do, he could not recouer all that his father left him, by a good deale. So hauing now gotten some boldnes, and being vsed also to speake in open presence, and withall, hauing a feeling and delight of the estimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading: afterwards he attempted to put forward himselfe, and to practise in matters of state. For, as there goeth

The patrimony of Demosthenes

Demosthenes why he was called Battalus

Demosthenes why surnamed Argas.

Callistratus the Orator.

The earnest desire of Demosthenes to learn eloquence.

Isæus Demosthenes schoolemaister of Rhetoricke.

Demosthenes first practise in drawing and penning of Orations.

goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an Orchomenian, who hauing a grieuous paine in the ſplene, by aduiſe of the Phiſitions was willed to run long courſes to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end ſo luſty and nimble of body, that afterwards he would needs make one to run for games, and indeed grew to be the ſwifteſt runner of all men in his time. Euen ſo the like chanced vnto *Demoſthenes*. For at the firſt, beginning to practiſe Oratory for recouery of his goods, and thereby hauing gotten good skill and knowledge how to pleade: he afterwards tooke vpon him to ſpeake to the people in aſſemblies, touching the gouernment of the comon wealth, euen as he ſhould haue contended for ſome game of price, and at length did excell all the Orators at that time that got vp into the pulpit for Orations: notwithſtanding that when he firſt ventured to ſpeake openly, the people made ſuch a noiſe, that he could ſcant be heard, & beſides they mocked him for his maner of ſpeech that was ſo ſtrãge, becauſe he vſed ſo many long confuſed periods, and his matter he ſpake of was ſo intricate with arguments one vpon another, that they were tedious, and made men weary to heare him. And furthermore, he had a very ſoft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had alſo a ſhort breath, the which made that men could not well vnderſtand what he meant, for his long periods in his oration were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the end of his ſentẽce. So that at length perceiuing he was thus reiected, he gaue ouer to ſpeake any more before the people, and halfe in deſpaire withdrew himſelfe into the hauen of Piræa. There *Eunomus* the Theſſalian being a very old man, found him, and ſharply reproued him, and told him, that he did himſelfe great wrong, conſidering, that hauing a maner of ſpeech much like vnto *Pericles*, he drowned himſelfe by his faint heart, becauſe he did not ſeeke the way to be bold againſt the noiſe of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burthen of publicke orations, but ſuffering it to grow feebler, for lacke of vſe and practiſe. Furthermore, being once againe repulſed & whiſtled at, as he returned home hanging downe his head for ſhame, and vtterly diſcouraged, *Satyrus* an excellent player of comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went and ſpake with him. *Demoſthenes* made his complaint vnto him, that where he had taken more paines then all the Orators beſides, and had almoſt euen worne himſelfe to the bones with ſtudy, yet he could by no meanes deuiſe to pleaſe the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bib all day long, and marriners that vnderſtood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the pulpit with Orations: and on the other ſide that they made no account of him. *Satyrus* then anſwered him, Thou ſayeſt true *Demoſthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it ſtraight, and take away the cauſe of all this: ſo thou wilt but tell me without booke certaine verſes of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*. Thereupon *Demoſthenes* preſently rehearſed ſome vnto him, that came into his mind. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gaue them quite another grace, with ſuch a pronunciation, comely geſture, and modeſt countenance becomming the verſes, that *Demoſthenes* thought them cleane changed. Whereby perceiuing how much the action (to wit, the comely maner and geſture in his oration) doth giue grace and comelineſſe in his pleading: he then thought it but a trifle, and almoſt nothing to ſpeake of, to exerciſe to pleade well, vnleſſe therewithall he do alſo ſtudy to haue a good pronunciation and geſture. Thereupon he built him a celler vnder the ground, the which was whole euen in my time, and he would daily go downe into it, to faſhion his geſture and pronunciation, and alſo to exerciſe his voice, and that with ſuch earneſt affection, that oftentimes he would be there two or three moneths one after another, and did ſhaue his head of purpoſe, becauſe he durſt not go abroad in that ſort, although his will was good. And yet he tooke his theame and matter to declaime vpon, and to practiſe to pleade of the matters he had had in hand before, or elſe vpon occaſion of ſuch talke as he had with them that came to ſee him, while he kept his houſe. For they were no ſooner gone from him, but he went downe into his celler, and repeated from the firſt to the laſt all matters that had paſſed betweene him and his friends in talke together, and alleaged alſo both his owne and their anſwers. And if peraduenture he had bene at the hearing of any long matter, he would repeate it by himſelfe: and would finely couch and conuey it into proper ſentences, and thus change and alter euery way any matter that he had heard, or talked with others. Thereof came the opinion men had of him, that he had no very quicke capacity by nature, and that his eloquence was not naturall, but artificially gotten with extreame labour. And for proofe hereof, they make this probable reaſon. That they neuer ſaw *Demoſthenes* make any oration on the ſudden, and that oftentimes when he was ſet in the aſſembly, the people would call him by his name, to ſay his opinion touching the matter

A remedy for the paine of the ſplene.

Demoſthenes mocked of the people for his long orations.

Demoſthenes impediments of nature.

Demoſthenes celler.

Demoſthenes ſeldome pleaded on the ſudden.

of counſell then in hand: howbeit that he neuer roſe vpon their call vnleſſe he had firſt ſtudied the matter well he would ſpeake of. So that all the other Orators would many times giue him a taunt for it: as *Pytheas* among other, that taunting him on a time, told him, his reaſons ſmelled of the lampe. Yea, replied *Demoſthenes* ſharply againe: ſo is there great difference, *Pytheas*, betwixt thy labour and mine by lampe-light. And himſelfe alſo ſpeaking to others, did not altogether deny it, but told thē plainly, that he did not alwaies write at length all that he would ſpeake, neither did he alſo offer to ſpeake, before he had made briefes of that he would ſpeake. He ſayd furthermore, that it was a token the man loued the people well, that he would be carefull before what he would ſay to them. For this preparatiue (quoth he) doth ſhew that he doth honor and reuerence them. In contrary maner alſo, he that paſſeth not how the people take his words, it is a plaine token that he deſpiſeth their authority, and that he lacketh no good will (if he could) to vſe force againſt them, rather then reaſon & perſwaſion. But yet further to enlarge the proofes, that *Demoſthenes* had no hart to make any oration on the ſudden, they do alleadge this reaſon: That *Demades* many times roſe vp on the ſudden to maintaine *Demoſthenes* reaſons, when the people otherwhile did reiect him: and that *Demoſthenes* on the other ſide, did neuer riſe to make *Demades* words good, which he had ſpoken in his behalfe. But now might a man aske againe: If *Demoſthenes* was ſo timorous to ſpeake before the people vpon the ſudden: what meant *Æſchines* then to ſay, that he was maruellous bold in his words: and how chanceth it, that he riſing vpon the ſudden, did preſently anſwer the Orator *Python* BIZANTINE in the field, that was very luſty in ſpeech (and rough like a vehement running ſtreame) againſt the ATHENIANS: and how chanced it that *Lamachus* MYRRHENIAN, hauing made an oration in the praiſe of *Philip* and *Alexander* kings of MACEDON, in the which he ſpake all the ill he could of the THEBANS, and of the OLYNTHIANS, & when he had read and pronounced it in the open aſſembly of the Olympian games: *Demoſthenes* vpon the inſtant riſing vp on his feete, declared, as if he had read ſome hiſtory, and pointed as it were with his finger vnto all the whole aſſembly, the notable great ſeruice and worthy deeds the which the CHALCIDIANS had done in former times, for the benefit and honor of GREECE? And in contrary maner alſo, what miſchiefe and inconuenience came by meanes of the flatterers that altogether gaue themſelues to curry fauour with the MACEDONIANS? With theſe and ſuch like perſwaſions, *Demoſthenes* made ſuch ſtirre amongſt the people, that the Orator *Lamachus* being afraid of the ſudden vprore, did ſecretly conuey himſelfe out of the aſſembly. But yet to tell you what I thinke, *Demoſthenes* in my opinion faſhioning himſelfe euen from the beginning, to follow *Pericles* ſteps and example, he thought that for other qualities he had, they were not ſo requiſite for him, and that he would counterfeit his grauity and ſober countenance, and to be wiſe, not to ſpeake ouer lightly to euery matter at all aduentures: iudging, that by that maner of wiſedome he came to be great. And like as he would not let ſlip any good occaſion to ſpeake, where it might be for his credite: ſo would he not likewiſe ouer raſhly hazard his credit & reputatiō to the mercy of fortune. And to proue this true, the orations which he made vpon the ſudden without premeditation before, do ſhew more boldneſſe and courage, then thoſe which he had written, and ſtudied long before: if we may beleeue the reports of *Eratoſthenes*, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, and of the other comicall Poets. For *Eratoſthenes* ſayd, that he would be often caried away with choler and fury. *Demetrius* alſo ſayth, that ſpeaking one day to the people, he ſware a great oath in rime, as if he had bene poſſeſſed with ſome diuine ſpirit, and ſayd:

By ſea and land, by riuers, ſprings and ponds.

There are alſo certaine comicall Poets that do call him *Ropoperperethra*, as who would ſay, a great babbler that ſpeaketh all things, that commeth to his tongues end. Another mocked him for too much affecting a figure of Rhetoricke called Antitheton: which is, oppoſition, with ſaying, *Sic recepit ſicut cepit*, (which ſignifieth, he tooke it as he found it.) In the vſe of this figure *Demoſthenes* much pleaſed himſelfe, vnleſſe the poet *Antiphanes* ſpeaketh it of pleaſure, deriding the counſell he gaue the people, not to take the Ile of HALONESVS of king *Philip*, as of gift: but to receiue it as their owne reſtored. And yet euery body did graunt, that *Demades* of his owne naturall wit, without art, was inuincible: and that many times ſpeaking vpon the ſudden, he did vtterly ouerthrow *Demoſthenes* long ſtudied reaſons. And *Ariſto* of the Ile of CHIO, hath written *Theophraſtus* iudgement of the Orators at that time. Who being asked what maner of Orator he thought *Demoſthenes*: he anſwered, worthy of this city. Then againe, how he thought

Demoſthenes in his oration ſtudieth to pleaſe the people

Demoſthenes terrified Lamachus in his oration.

Οὗτος ἀντίλαβεν ὥσπερ ἔλαβεν. Μὴ λαμβάνειν ἀλλὰ ἀπολαμβάνειν παρὰ Φιλίππου.

The naturall eloquence of Demades the Orator.

Theophraſtus iudgement of Orators.

thought of *Demades*: aboue this city, ſaid he. The ſame Philoſopher writeth alſo, that *Polyeuctus* SPHETTIAN (one of thoſe that practiſed at that time in the commonwealth) gaue this ſentence: that *Demoſthenes* indeed was a great Orator, but *Phocions* toung had a ſharper vnderſtanding, becauſe in few words, he comprehended much matter. And to this purpoſe, they ſay that *Demoſthenes* himſelfe ſayd alſo, that as oft as he ſaw *Phocion* get vp into the pulpit for Orations to ſpeake againſt him, he was wont to ſay to his friends: See, the axe of my words riſeth. And yet it is hard to iudge, whether he ſpake that in reſpect of his toung, or rather for the eſtimation he had gotten, becauſe of his great wiſdome: thinking (as indeed it is true) that one word onely, the twickling of an eye, or a nod of the head, of ſuch a man (that through his worthineſſe is attained to that credite) hath more force to perſwade, then all the fine reaſons and deuices of Rhetorike. But now for his bodily defects of nature, *Demetrius* PHALERIAN writeth, that he heard *Demoſthenes* himſelfe ſay, being very old, that he did helpe them by theſe meanes. Firſt touching the ſtammering of his toung, which was very fat, & made him that he could not pronounce all ſyllables diſtinctly: he did helpe it by putting of litle pibble ſtones into his mouth, which he found vpon the ſands by the riuers ſide, & ſo pronounced with open mouth the orations he had without booke. And for his ſmall and ſoft voice, he made that louder, by running vp ſteepe & high hils, vttering euen with full breath ſome orations or verſes that he had without booke. And further it is reported of him, that he had a great looking-glaſſe in his houſe, & euer ſtanding on his feet before it, he would learne & exerciſe himſelfe to pronounce his orations. For proofe hereof it is reported, that there came a man vnto him on a time, & prayed his helpe to defend his cauſe, & told him that one had beaten him: & that *Demoſthenes* ſayd againe vnto him, I do not beleeue this is true thou telleſt me, for ſurely the other did neuer beate thee. The plaintife then thruſting out his voice aloud, ſayd: What, hath he not beaten me? Yes indeed quoth *Demoſthenes* then: I beleeue it now, for I heare the voice of a man that was beaten indeed. Thus he thought that the ſound of the voice, the pronunciation or geſture in one ſort or other, were things of force to credite or diſcredite that a man ſaith. His countenance when he pleaded before the people, did maruellouſly pleaſe the common ſort: but the noble men & men of vnderſtanding, found it too baſe & meane, as *Demetrius Phalerius* ſaid, amongſt others. And *Hermippus* writeth, that one called *Æſion*, being asked of the ancient Orators, and of thoſe of his time, anſwered: that euery man that had ſeene them, would haue wondred with what honor, reuerence & modeſty, they ſpake vnto the people: howbeit that *Demoſthenes* orations (whoſoeuer read thē) were too artificiall & vehemēt. And therfore we may eaſily iudge, that the orations *Demoſthenes* wrote are very ſuere & ſharpe. This notwithſtanding, otherwhiles he wold giue many pleaſant & witty anſwers vpō the ſudden. As whē *Demades* one day ſaid vnto him, *Demoſthenes* wil teach me: after the cōmon prouerbe, the Sow will teach *Minerua*. He anſwered ſtraight again: This *Minerua* not long ſince was in Collitus ſtreet, taken in adultery. A certaine theefe alſo called *Chalcus* (as much to ſay, as of copper) ſtepping forth to ſay ſomwhat of *Demoſthenes* late ſitting vp a nights, & that he wrote & ſtudied the moſt part of the night by lamp-light: Indeed, quoth *Demoſthenes*, I know it grieues thee to ſee my lampe burne all nigh: and therfore my Lords of ATHENS, me thinkes you ſhould not wonder to ſee ſuch robberies in your city, conſidering we haue theeues of copper, and the wals of our houſes be but of clay. We could tell you of diuers others of his like pleaſant and witty anſwers, but theſe may ſuffice for this preſent: and therefore we will proceed to conſider further of his nature and conditions, by his acts and deeds in the affaires of the common wealth. Now *Demoſthenes* firſt beginning when he came to deale in the affaires of the ſtate, was in the time of the warre made with the PHOCIANS, as himſelfe reporteth: and as appeareth further in his orations which he made againſt *Philip*: of the which, the laſt were made after the warre was ended, and the firſt do touch alſo ſome particular doings of the ſame. He made the oration againſt *Midias*, when he was but 32 yeares old, and was of ſmall countenance and reputation in the commonwealth: the want whereof was the chiefeſt cauſe (as I thinke) that induced him to take money for the iniury he had done him, and to let his action fall againſt him:

Phocion called the axe of Demoſthenes orations.

Demoſthenes by induſtry reformeth his defects of nature.

Demoſthenes countenance and geſture miſliked of the nobility.

Demoſthenes witty anſwers.

The time of Demoſthenes comming to practiſe in the affaires of the ſtate.

Diſpleaſure betwixt Demoſthenes, and Midias.

He was not of a mild and gentle mind,
But fierce and haſty to reuenge by kind.

But, knowing that it was no ſmall enterpriſe, nor that could take effect by a man of ſo ſmall power and authority as himſelfe, to ouerthrow a man ſo wealthy, ſo befriended, and ſo eloquent as *Midias*: he therefore yeelded himſelfe vnto thoſe that did ſpeake and intreate for him. Neither

do I thinke that the three thousand Drachmas which he receiued, could haue bridled the bitternesse of his nature, if otherwise he had seene any hope or likelihood that he could haue preuailed against him. Now at his first comming vnto the commonwealth, taking a noble matter in hand, to speake against *Philip*, for the defence and maintenance of the lawes and liberties of the GRECIANS, he behaued himselfe so worthily, that in short space he wan him maruellous fame for his great eloquence and plaine maner of speech. Thereby he was maruellously honored also through all GRECE, & greatly esteemed with the king of PERSIA: & *Philip* himselfe made more account of him, then of all the Orators in ATHENS, & his greatest foes which were most against him, were driuen to confesse that they had to do with a famous man. For, in the orations which *Æschines* & *Hyperides* made to accuse him, they write thus of him. And therfore I maruell what *Theopompus* meant, when he wrote that *Demosthenes* had a subtill vnconstant mind, & could not long continue with one kind of men, nor in one mind for matters of state. But in cõtrary maner, in my iudgement he continued constant still to the end, in one selfe maner and order, vnto the which he had betaken himselfe at the beginning: and that not only he neuer changed all his life time, but to the contrary he lost his life, because he would be no changeling. For he did not like *Demades*, who to excuse himselfe for that he had oft turned coate in matters of gouernment, said that he went oftentimes against his owne sayings, as matters fell out: but neuer against the benefit of the commonwealth. And *Melanopus* also, who was euer against *Callistratus*, hauing his mouth many times stopped with mony, he would vp to the pulpit for orations, and tell the people, that indeed *Callistratus*, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is my enemy, and yet I yeeld vnto him for this time: for, the benefit of the commonwealth must cary it. And another also, *Nicodemus* MESSENIAN, who being first of *Cassanders* side, tooke part afterwards with *Demetrius*, and then sayd, that he did not speake against himselfe, but that it was meete he should obey his superiors. They cannot detect *Demosthenes* with the like, that he did euer halt or yeeld, either in word or deed. For he euer continued firme and constant in one mind in his orations. Insomuch that *Panætius* the Philosopher saith, that the most part of all his orations are grounded vpon this maxime and principle: that for it selfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the oration of the crowne, the which he made against *Aristocrates*: that also which he made for the franches & freedome: and in fine, all his orations against *Philip* of MACEDON. And in all those he doth not perswade his countrimen to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proueth that oftentimes honesty is to be preferred aboue safety or health. So that, had he in all his orations & doings, ioyned to his honesty, courtesie, and franke speech, valiantnesse in warres, & cleane hands from bribery: he might deseruedly haue bene compared, not with *Myrocles*, *Polyeuctus*, *Hyperides* and such other Orators: but euen with the highest, with *Cimon*, *Thucidides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worst way in gouernment of the commonwealth, because he was suspected that he tooke part with the MACEDONIANS: yet for valiantnesse, wisedome and iustice, he was euer thought as honest a man, as *Ephialtes*, and *Aristides*. But *Demosthenes* on the other side (as *Demetrius* saith) was no man to trust to for warres, neither had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For though he would neuer be corrupted by *Philip* king of MACEDON, yet he was bribed with gold and siluer that was brought from the cities of SVSA and ECBATANA, and was very ready to praise and commend the deeds of their ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And besides he did euer speake more boldly and plainly vnto the people then any man else, and would openly contrary their minds, and sharply reproue the ATHENIANS for their faults, as appeareth by his orations. *Theopompus* also writeth, that the people on a time would haue had him to accuse a man, whom they would needs haue condemned. But he refusing to do it, the people were offended, and did mutine against him. Thereupon he rising vp sayd openly vnto them: My Lords ATHENIANS, I will alwayes counsell you to that which I thinke best for the benefit of the common wealth, although it be against your minds: but falsly to accuse one to satisfie your minds, though you commaund me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against *Antiphon*, sheweth plainly, that he was no people-pleaser, and that he did leane more vnto the authority of the Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the people in an assembly of the city: *Demosthenes* notwithstanding tooke him and called him againe into the court of the Areopagites, and did not passe for the peoples ill will, but there conuinced him for promising *Philip* of MACEDON to burne the arsenall of ATHENS:

Demosthenes, an enemy to the Macedonians.

The constancy of Demosthenes against Theopompus.

Note the inconstancy and subtill euasion of these Orators.

Demosthenes preferreth honesty as a speciall rule in his Orations.

Demosthenes a timorous man, and giuen to bribes.

Demosthenes franke speech in his orations.

so

ſo by ſentence of that court he was condemned, and ſuffered for it. He did alſo accuſe the Nun *Theorides* for many leud parts cõmitted,& amongſt others, for that ſhe taught ſlaues to deceiue their maiſters: & ſo following the matter againſt her to death, ſhe was condemned, and executed. It is thought alſo, that he made the oration *Apollodorus* ſpake againſt the Prætor *Timotheus*, & proued thereby that he was a debtor to the commonwealth, and ſo a naughty man: & that he wrote thoſe orations alſo intituled to *Formio* & *Stephanus*, for the which he was iuſtly reproued. For *Formio* pleaded againſt *Apollodorus* with the oration which *Demoſthenes* ſelfe had made for him: which was euen alike, as if out of one ſelfe cutlers ſhop he had ſold his enemies ſwords one to kill another: and for his knowne orations, thoſe which he made againſt *Androcion*, *Timocrates* and *Ariſtocrates*: he cauſed them to giue them vnto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of ſtate. For indeed when he did put them forth, he was not paſſing ſeuen or eight and twentie yeares old. The oration which he made againſt *Ariſtogiton*, and the other alſo of liberty, againſt *Cteſippus* the ſon of *Chabrias*, he ſpake them, as he ſaith himſelfe (or as others write) openly vnto the people, becauſe he intended to marry *Chabrias* mother. Howbeit he did not, but maried a Samian woman, as *Demetrius* Magnesian writeth in his book he made, intituled *Synonyma*, & in that he wrote againſt *Æſchines*: where he accuſeth him that he dealt falſly when he was Ambaſſador. It is not knowne whether it was recited or not, although *Idomeneus* writeth, that there lacked but thirty voices only to haue quit *Æſchines*. But in this me thinkes he ſpake not truly, & doth but cõiecture it by that the one & the other haue ſaid in their Orations againſt the crowne, in the which neither the one nor the other do ſay preciſely, that this accuſation proceeded to iudgement. But let other that liſt decide this doubt. Now before the war began, it was euident inough, to which part *Demoſthenes* would incline in the commonwealth. For, he would neuer leaue to reproue & withſtand *Philips* doings. Therfore he being more ſpoken of in *Philips* court, then any man elſe, he was ſent vnto him the tenth perſon with nine others in ambaſſade. *Philip* gaue thẽ all audience one after another: howbeit he was more carefull & circumſpect to anſwer *Demoſthenes* Oration then all the reſt. But otherwiſe out of that place, he did not *Demoſthenes* ſo much honor, nor gaue him ſo good entertainment, as to his other cõpanions: for *Philip* ſhewed more kindneſſe, & gaue better countenance vnto *Æſchines*, & *Philocrates*, then vnto him. Wherfore when they did highly praiſe *Philip*, & ſayd that he was a well ſpoken Prince, a faire man, and would drinke freely, and be pleaſant in company: *Demoſthenes* ſmiled at it, and turned all things to the worſt, ſaying, that thoſe qualities were nothing cõmendable nor meet for a king. For the firſt was a quality meet for a pleader, the ſecond for a woman, and the third for a ſponge. In fine, warres falling out betweene them, becauſe *Philip* of the one ſide could not liue in peace, and the Athenians on the other ſide were ſtill incenſed and ſtirred vp by *Demoſthenes* daily Orations, the Athenians firſt ſent into the Ile of Eveoea (the which by meanes of certaine priuate tyrants that had taken the townes, became ſubiect againe vnto *Philip*) following a decree *Demoſthenes* had preferred, & ſo went to expulſe the Macedonians againe. After that alſo he cauſed them to ſend ayd vnto the Bizantines, & to the Perinthians, with whom *Philip* made war. For he ſo perſwaded the Athenians, that he made them forget the malice they did beare vnto thoſe two nations, and the faults which either of both the cities had cõmitted againſt them in the warres, touching the rebellion of their confederates: & he cauſed them to ſend them aide, which kept them from *Philips* force & power. Furthermore, going afterwards vnto all the great cities of Greece as Ambaſſadour, he did ſo ſolicite and perſwade them, that he brought them all in maner to be againſt *Philip*. So that the army which their tribe ſhould find at their common charge, was 15000 footmen, all ſtrangers, and 2000 horſemen, beſides the citizens of euery city which ſhould alſo ſerue in the warres at their charge, and the money alſo leauied for the maintenance of this warre, was very willingly diſburſed. *Theophraſtus* writeth, that it was at that time their confederates did pray that they would ſet downe a certaine ſumme of money, what euery citie ſhould pay: and that *Crobylus* an Orator ſhould make anſwer, that the warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of warre was infinite. Now all Greece being in armes, attending what ſhould happen, and all theſe people and cities being vnited in one league together: as the Eveoeians, the Athenians, the Corinthians, the Megarians, the Levcadians, and thoſe of Corfv: the greateſt matter *Demoſthenes* had to do, was to perſwade the Thebans alſo to enter into this league, becauſe their countrey confined and bordered with Attica, beſides their force and power

Demoſthenes orations which were true and which falſe.

Demoſthenes doings againſt Philip.

Demoſthenes ſtirreth vp Grece againſt the Macedonians.

was of great importance, for that they caried the fame of all Greece at that time, for the valiantest souldiers. But it was no trifling matter to win the Thebans, and to make them breake with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them vnto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them in the warre of the Phocians: besides also that betwixt Athens and Thebes, by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with euery litle thing were soone renued. This notwithstanding *Philip* being proud of the victory he had won by the city of Amphissa, when he came and inuaded the countrey of Elatia, and was entred into Phocide: the Athenians were then so amazed with it, that no man durst occupy the pulpit for orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole assembly standing in a doubt with great silence, *Demosthenes* only stept vp, and did againe giue them counsell to seeke to make league and alliance with the Thebans: and so did further encourage the people, & put them in good hope, as he was alwayes wont to do. Then with others he was sent Ambassadour vnto Thebes: and *Philip* also for his part, sent Ambassadors vnto the Thebans, *Amyntas* & *Clearchus*, two gentlemen Macedonians, and with them *Daochus*, *Thessalus* and *Thracydæus*, to answer and withstand the perswasions of the Athenian Ambassadors. Thereupon the Thebans began to aduise themselues for the best, & layed before their eyes the miserable fruits and calamities of warre, their wounds being yet greene and vncured, which they got by the warres of Phocide. Notwithstanding, the great force of *Demosthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did so inflame the Thebans courage with desire of honor, that it trode vnder their feete all maner of considerations, and did so rauish them with the loue and desire of honesty: that they cast at their heeles, all feare of danger, all remembrance of pleasures receiued, and all reason perswading the contrary. This act of an Orator was of so great force, that *Philip* forthwith sent Ambassadors vnto the Grecians, to intreat for peace, and all Greece was vp to see what would become of this stirre. Thus, not onely the Captaines of Athens obeyed *Demosthenes*, doing all that he commaunded them: but the gouernors also of Thebes, and of all the countrey of Boeotia besides. And the assemblies also of the councell of Thebes were as well gouerned by him, as the assemblies of Athens, being alike beloued both of the one and the other, and hauing alike authority to command both, and not vndeseruedly, as *Theopompus* saith, but by iust desert. But some fatall destiny, and the reuolution of times had determined the finall end of the liberty of Greece at that time, cleane contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes that did foreshew and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And amongst others, *Apolloes* Nunne gaue these dreadfull Oracles: and this old prophecy of the Sibyls was commonly sung in euery bodies mouth:

Demosthenes force of eloquence ioyned the Thebans with the Athenians, and wan them from Philip king of Macedon.

The ouerthrow of the Grecians foreshewed at Chæronea, by signes and ancient Oracles.

What time the bloudy battell shall be fought at Thermodon,
God graunt I may be farre away, or else (to looke thereon)
Haue Eagles wings to soare aboue, among the cloudes on high:
For there the vanquisht side shall weepe, and Conquerer shall dye.

Men do report that this Thermodon is a litle riuer of our country of Chæronea, which falleth into the riuer of Cephisus: howbeit at this present time there is neuer a riuer nor brooke in all our country, that I know called Thermodon. And I thinke, that that riuer which we call now Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the temple of *Hercules*, where the Grecians lay in campe. And it may be, that beeause it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ranne bloud at the day of the battell, it changed her name and was surnamed Hæmon, becausse Hæma in the Greeke tongue, signifieth bloud. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithstanding, that this Thermodon was no riuer, but that certaine men setting vp their tent, and trenching it about, found a litle image of stone, whereupon were engrauen these letters, whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who caried an Amazon hurt in his armes, & that for this image of *Thermodon*, they do sing such another old Oracle as this:

The riuer of Thermodon or Hæmon in the country of Chæronea.

Another opinion of Thermodon.

Ye Ernes and Rauens tarry till the field of Thermodon:
There will be store of carkasses of men to feede vpon.

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the troth of these things. But *Demosthenes* trusting to the valiantnesse and power of the Grecians, and being maruellously incouraged to see such a great number of valiant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the enemy: he bad them be of good courage, and not to buzze about such Oracles, and to giue eare to such prophecies. And furrhermore he told them plainely, that he did mistrust the Nunne *Pythea* did leane

vnto

vnto *Philip*, as fauouring him, and did put the THEBANS in mind of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, and the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*, and perſwaded them, that thoſe two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that ſuch prophecies were no other, but a fine cloake for cowards, and that taking no heed to them, they did diſpatch their matters according to their owne diſcretion. Vntill this preſent time, *Demoſthenes* ſhewed himſelfe alwayes an honeſt man. But when it came to the battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act any thing anſwerable to the orations whereby he had perſwaded the people. For he left his ranke, and cowardly caſt away his weapons to runne the lighter, and was not aſhamed at all (as *Pythias* ſayd) of the words written vpon his ſhield in golden letters, which were, *Good fortune*. Now *Philip* hauing won the battell, he was at that preſent ſo ioyfull, that he fell to commit many fond parts. For after he had drunke well with his friends, he went into the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, and there in mockery began to ſing the beginning of the decree which *Demoſthenes* had preferred (by the which the ATHENIANS accordingly ploclaimed warres againſt him) riſing and falling with his voice, and dancing it in meaſure with his foote:

Demoſthenes the ſonne of Demoſthenes Paeanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to waxe ſober, and leauing his drunkenneſſe, and that he had remembred himſelfe what danger he had bene in: then his haire ſtood bolt vpright vpon his head, conſidering the force and power of ſuch an Orator, that in a peece of a day had inforced him to hazard his Realme and life at a battell. Now *Demoſthenes* fame was ſo great, that it was caried euen to the great king of PERSIAES court, who wrote vnto his Lieutenants and gouernors, that they ſhould feed *Demoſthenes* with mony, and ſhould procure to entertaine him aboue all the men in GREECE, as he that could beſt withdraw *Philip* and trouble him with the warres and tumults of GREECE. And this was afterwards proued by letters found of *Demoſthenes* himſelfe, the which came to king *Alexanders* hands in the city of SARDIS, and by other writings alſo of the gouernors and Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA: in the which were named directly the expreſſe ſummes of money which had bene ſent and giuen vnto him. Now the GREEKIANS being thus ouerthrowne by battell, the other Orators, aduerſaries vnto *Demoſthenes* in the commonwealth, began to ſet vpon him, and to prepare to accuſe him. But the people did not onely cleare him of all the accuſations obiected againſt him, but did continue to honor him more then before, and to call him to aſſemblies, as one that loued the honor and benefit of his countrey. So that when the bones of their countrimen which were ſlaine at the battell of CHÆRONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the cuſtome: the people gaue him the honor to make the funerall oration in praiſe of the dead, and made no ſhew of ſorow or griefe for the loſſe they had receiued (as *Theopompus* witneſſeth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary maner ſhewed that they did not repent them in following of his counſell, but did honor him that gaue it. *Demoſthenes* then did make the funerall oration. But afterwards in all the decrees he preferred to the people, he would neuer ſubſcribe any, to preuent the ſiniſter lucke and misfortune of his name, but did paſſe it vnder his friends names one after another, vntill he grew couragious againe, ſhortly after that he vnderſtood of the death of *Philip*, who was ſlaine immediatly after the victory he wan at CHÆRONEA. And it ſeemeth this was the meaning of the prophecy or Oracle in the two laſt verſes:

Demoſthenes flieth from the battell.

Demoſthenes word and deuiſe vpon his ſhield.

Demoſthenes corrupted with money of the king of Perſia.

Demoſthenes praiſeth them that were ſlain at the battell of Chæronea.

The death of Philip king of Macedon.

The vanquiſhed bewailes his luckleſſe lot,
And he that winnes, with life eſcapeth not.

Now *Demoſthenes* hearing of *Philips* death, before the newes were openly knowne, to preuent them, he would put the people againe into a good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he went with a chearfull countenance into the aſſembly of the councell, and told them there, that he had a certaine dreame that promiſed great good hap, and that out of hand vnto the ATHENIANS: and immediatly after, the meſſengers arriued and brought certaine newes of king *Philips* death. Therupon the ATHENIANS made ſacrifices of ioy to the gods for this happy newes, and appointed a crowne vnto *Pauſanias* that had ſlaine him. *Demoſthenes* alſo came abroad in his beſt gowne, and crowned with flowers, ſeuen dayes after the death of his daughter, *as Æſchines* reporteth: who reproueth him for it, and noteth him to be a man hauing litle loue or charitie vnto his owne children. But indeed *Æſchines* ſelfe deſerueth more blame, to haue ſuch a tender womaniſh heart, as to beleeue, that weeping and lamenting, are ſignes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that with patience and conſtancie do paſſe away ſuch miſ-

Demoſthenes preferreth the ioy of his country, before the ſorow for his owne daughter.

Æſchines reproued by Plutarch for his fond beleefe, that blubbering and ſorowing are ſignes of loue and charitie.

fortunes. But now to the ATHENIANS againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of ioy as to weare crownes and garlands vpon their heads, nor also to sacrifice vnto the gods for the death of a Prince, that behaued himselfe so princely and curteously vnto them in the victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be subiect to the reuenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base mind, to honor a man while he liued, and to make him free of their city, and now that another hath slaine him, they to be in such an exceeding iolity withall, & to exceed the bounds of modesty so farre, as to rampe in maner with both their feete vpon the dead, and to sing songs of victory, as if they themselues had bene the men that had valiantly slaine him. In contrary maner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of *Demosthenes*, that he leauing the teares and lamentation of his home trouble vnto women, did himselfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefit of the commonwealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a gouernor of a commonwealth, neuer to stoupe nor yeeld, but alwayes to be found stable and constant, for the benefite of the common wealth, reiecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the seruice of his countrey, and to keepe his honour much more carefully, then common players vse to do, when they play the parts of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they list, though they be on the stage: but when the matter of the play falleth out to giue them iust occasion. But omitting those reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leaue and forsake a man in his sorow and trouble, without giuing him some words of comfort, and rather to deuise some matter to asswage his sorow, and to withdraw his mind from that, to thinke vpon some pleasanter things: euen as they should keepe sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefes at home, when the common wealth doth well: then to ioyne their priuate griefes with common ioyes, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worse. But thus farre I digressed from my history, enlarging this matter, because *Æschines* in his oration touching this matter, did moue the peoples harts too much vnto womanish sorow. But now to the rest. The cities of GREECE being againe stirred vp by *Demosthenes*, made a new league againe together: and the THEBANS also hauing armed themselues by his practise, did one day set vpon the garrison of MACEDONIANS within their city, and slue many of them. The ATHENIANS prepared also to maintaine warre on the THEBANS behalfe, and *Demosthenes* was daily at all the assembles of councell, in the pulpit, perswading the people with his orations: and he wrote also into ASIA vnto the king of PERSIAES Lieutenants and Captaines, to make warre with *Alexander* on their side, calling him child, and Margites, as much to say, as foole. But after that *Alexander* hauing set all his things at stay within his Realme, came himselfe in person with his army, and inuaded the country of BOEOTIA: then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, and *Demosthenes* also plied the pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poore THEBANS being left vnto themselues forsaken of euery man: they were compelled themselues alone to beare the brunt of this warre, and so came their city to vtter ruine and destruction. Thereby the ATHENIANS being in a maruellous feare and perplexity, did suddenly chuse Ambassadors to send vnto this yong king, and *Demosthenes* chiefly among others: who being afraid of *Alexanders* fury and wrath, durst not go to him, but returned from mount Cythæron, and gaue vp the Ambassade. But *Alexander* sent to summone the ATHENIANS, to send vnto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both do write: or eight as the most writers and best historiographers do report, which were these: *Demosthenes*, *Polyeuctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Callisthenes* and *Charidemus*. At which time, they write that *Demosthenes* told the people of ATHENS, the fable of the Sheepe and Wolues, how that the Wolues came on a time, and willed the Sheepe, if they would haue peace with them, to deliuer them their mastiues that kept them. And so he compared himselfe and his companions that trauelled for the benefit of the people, vnto the dogges that keepe the flockes of sheepe, and called *Alexander* the Wolfe. Moreouer, sayd he, like as you see these corne maisters bringing a sample of their corne in a dish or napkin to shew you, and by that litle do sell all that they haue: so I thinke you will all wonder, that deliuering of vs, you shall also deliuer your selues into the hands of your enemies. *Aristobulus* of CASSANDRIA reporteth this matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in consultation, not knowing how to resolue, *Demades* hauing taken fiue talents of them whom *Alexander* demaunded, did offer himselfe, and promised

Plutarch praiseth Demosthenes constancy for leauing of his mourning to reioyce for his common country benefit

Demosthenes raiseth vp the Grecians against Alexander.

Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens.

Demosthenes tale of the sheepe and woolues.

promiſed to go in this Ambaſſage vnto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them, either becauſe he truſted in the loue the king did beare him, or elſe for that he thought he hoped he ſhould find him pacified, as a Lyon glutted with the bloud of beaſts which he had ſlaine. Howſoeuer it happened, he perſwaded the people to ſend him vnto *Alexander*, whom he ſo handled, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the city of ATHENS. Thereupon *Alexander* being retired, *Demades* and his fellows bare all the ſway and authority, and *Demoſthenes* was vnder foot. Indeed when *Agis* king of LACEDÆMON, came with his army into the field, he began a litle to rouſe himſelfe, and to lift vp his head: but he ſhrunke collar againe ſoone after, becauſe the ATHENIANS would not riſe with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who were ouerthrowne, and *Agis* ſlaine in battell. At that time was the cauſe of the trowne pleaded againſt *Cteſiphon*, and the plea was written a litle before the battell of CHÆRONEA, in the yeare when *Charondas* was Prouoſt of ATHENS: howbeit no ſentence was giuen till ten yeares after, when *Ariſtophon* was Prouoſt. This was ſuch an open iudgement, and ſo famous, as neuer was any, as well for the great fame of the Orators that pleaded in emulation one of the other, as alſo for the worthineſſe of the Iudges that gaue ſentence thereof: who did not leaue *Demoſthenes* to his enemies, although indeed they were of greater power then he, and were alſo ſupported with the fauour and good will of the MACEDONIANS: but they did notwithſtanding ſo well quit him, that *Æſchines* had not ſo much as the fifth part of mens voices and opinions on his ſide. Wherefore immediatly after the ſentence giuen, he went out of ATHENS for ſhame, and trauelled into the country of IONIA, and vnto the RHODES, where he did teach Rhetoricke. Shortly after, *Harpalus* flying out of *Alexanders* ſeruice, came vnto ATHENS, being to be charged with many foule matters he had committed by his exceeding prodigality: and alſo becauſe he feared *Alexanders* fury, who was growne ſeuere and cruell vnto his chiefeſt ſeruants. He comming now amongſt the ATHENIANS with ſtore of gold and ſiluer, the Orators being greedy and deſirous of the gold and ſiluer he had brought: began ſtraight to ſpeake for him, and did counſell the people to receiue and protect a poore ſuter that came to them for ſuccour. But *Demoſthenes* gaue counſell to the contrary, and bad them rather driue him out of the city, and take heed they brought not warres vpon their backes, for a matter that not onely was not neceſſary, but furthermore meerly vniuſt. But within few dayes after, inuentory being taken of all *Harpalus* goods, he perceiuing that *Demoſthenes* tooke great pleaſure to ſee a cup of the kings, and conſidered very curiouſly the faſhion and workemanſhip vpon it: he gaue it him in his hand, to iudge what it weyed. *Demoſthenes* peyzing it, wondered at the great waight of it, it was ſo heauy: ſo he asked how many pound waight it weyed. *Harpalus* ſmiling, anſwered him: It will bring thee twenty talents. So when night was come, he ſent him the cup, with the twenty talents. This *Harpalus* was a very wiſe man, and found ſtraight by *Demoſthenes* countenance that he loued money, and could preſently iudge his nature by ſeeing his pleaſant countenance, and his eyes ſtill vpon the cup. So *Demoſthenes* refuſed not his gift, and being ouercome withall, as if he had receiued a garriſon into his houſe, he tooke *Harpalus* part. The next morning, he went into the aſſembly of the people, hauing his necke bound vp with wooll and roles. So when they called him by his name to ſtep vp into the pulpit, to ſpeake to the people as he had done before: he made a ſigne with his head, that he had an impediment in his voyce, and that he could not ſpeake. But wiſe men laughing at his fine excuſe, told him it was no ſquinance that had ſtopped his weſill that night, as he would make them beleeue: but it was *Harpalus* money which he had receiued, that made him in that caſe. Afterwards when the people vnderſtood that he was corrupted, *Demoſthenes* going about to excuſe himſelfe, they would not abide to heare him: but made a noiſe and exclamation againſt him. Thereupon there roſe vp a pleaſant conceited man, and ſayd: Why my maſters, do ye refuſe to heare a man that hath * ſuch a golden tongue? The people thereupon did immediatly baniſh *Harpalus*, and fearing leaſt king *Alexander* would require an account of the gold and ſiluer which the Orators had robbed and pilfered away among them: they made very diligent ſearch and inquirie in euery mans houſe, excepting *Callicles* houſe, the ſonne of *Arrenidas*, whoſe houſe they would by no meanes haue ſearched, becauſe he was but newly maried, and had his new ſpouſe in his houſe, as *Theopompus* writeth. Now *Demoſthenes* deſiring to ſhew that he was in no fault, preferred a decree that the court of the Areopagites ſhould heare the matter, and puniſh them that were found faultie, and therewithall ſtraight offered himſelfe to be tried. Howbeit he was one of the firſt whom the court condemned in the ſum

The iudgement of the crowne vnto Cteſiphon.

Harpalus a great monied man came to Athens flying from Alexander.

Demoſthenes bribed by Harpalus with twenty talents

* *This conceipt can hardly be expreſſed in any other language, then in Greeke. For he ſaith,* ὡς ἀκούσεται τὴν κυλίκα ἐροῦντος, *alluding to the verbe* κυλίειν, *which ſignifieth to delight by pleaſant ſpeech or ſound.*

of fiftie talents, and for lacke of payment, they put him in prison: where he could not endure long, both for the shame of the matter for the which he was condemned, as also for his sickly body. So he brake prison, partly without the priuity of his keepers, and partly also with their consent: for they were willing he should make a scape. Some do report, that he fled not farre from the city: where it was told him that certaine of his enemies followed him, wherupon he would haue hidden himselfe from them. But they themselues first called him by his name, and comming to him, prayed him to take mony of them, which they had brought him from their houses to helpe him in his banishment: and that therefore they ran after him. Then they did comfort him the best they could, & perswaded him to be of good cheere, and not to dispaire for the misfortune that was come vnto him. This did pierce his heart the more for sorow, that he answered them: Why, would you not haue me be sory for my misfortune, that compelleth me to forsake the city where indeed I haue so courteous enemies, that it is hard for me to find any where so good friends? So he tooke his banishment vnmanly, and remained the most part of his banishment in the city of Ægina, or at the city of Troezen, where oftentimes he would cast his eyes towards the country of Attica, and weepe bitterly. And some haue written certaine words he spake, which shewed no mind of a man of courage, nor were answerable to the noble things he was wont to perswade in his orations. For it is reported of him, that as he went out of Athens, he looked backe againe, and holding vp his hands to the Castle, sayd in this sort: O Lady *Minerua*, Lady patroneſſe of this city: why doest thou delight in three so mischieuous beasts: the Owle, the Dragon, & the People? Besides, he perswaded the yong men that came to see him, and that were with him, neuer to meddle in matters of state, assuring them, that if they had offered him two wayes at the first, the one to go into the assembly of the people, to make orations in the pulpit, and the other to be put to death presently, and that he had knowne as he did then, the troubles a man is compelled to suffer that medleth with the affaires of the state, the feare, the enuy, the accusations, and troubles in the same: he would rather haue chosen the way to haue suffered death. So, *Demosthenes* continuing in his exile, king *Alexander* died, and all Greece was vp againe: insomuch as *Leosthenes* being a man of great valour, had shut vp *Antipater* in the city of Lamea, and there kept him straightly besieged. Then *Pytheas* and *Callimedon*, surnamed *Carabos*, two Orators, and both of them banished from Athens, they tooke part with *Antipater*, & went from towne to towne with his Ambassadors and friends, perswading the Grecians not to stirre, neither to take part with the Athenians. But *Demosthenes* in contrary maner, ioyning with the Ambassadors sent from Athens into euery quarter to solicite the cities of Greece, to seeke to recouer their liberty: he did aide them the best he could, to solicite the Grecians, to take armes with the Athenians, to driue the Macedonians out of Greece. And *Phylarchus* writeth, that *Demosthenes* encountered with *Pytheas* words in an open assembly of the people in a certaine towne of Arcadia. *Pytheas* hauing spoken before him, had sayd: Like as we presume alwayes that there is some sickneſſe in the house whither we do see Asses milke brought: so must that towne of necessity be sicke, wherein the Ambassadors of Athens do enter. *Demosthenes* aunswered him againe, turning his comparison against him: That indeed they brought Asses milke, where there was need to recouer health: and euen so, the Ambassadours of Athens were sent to heale and cure them that were sicke. The people at Athens vnderstanding what *Demosthenes* had done, they so reioyced at it, that presently they gaue order in the field, that his banishment should be reuoked. He that perswaded the decree of his reuocation, was called *Dæmon* Pæanian, that was his nephew: and thereupon the Athenians sent him a galley to bring him to Athens, from the citie of Ægina. So *Demosthenes* being arriued at the hauen of Piræa, there was neither gouernor, Priest, nor almost any townes man left in the citie, but went out to the hauen to welcome him home. So that *Demetrius* Magnesian writeth, that *Demosthenes* then lifting vp his hands vnto heauen sayd, that he thought himselfe happie for the honour of that iourney, that the returne from his banishment was farre more honourable, then *Alcibiades* returne in the like case had bene. For *Alcibiades* was called home by force: and he was sent for with the good will of the citizens. This notwithstanding, he remained still condemned for his fine: for by the law, the people could not dispence withall, nor remit it. Howbeit they deuised a way to deceiue the law: for they had a manner to giue certaine money vnto them that did prepare and set out the Altar of *Iupiter* sauiour, for the day of the solemnity of the sacrifice, the which they did yearely celebrate vnto him:

Demosthenes banishment.

Demosthenes tooke his banishment grieuously.

Three mischieuous beasts.

Antipater besieged of the Athenians.

Demosthenes called home from exile.

Demosthenes fine of fiftie talents remitted.

him: ſo they gaue him the charge to make this preparation for the ſumme of fifty talents, being the ſumme of the fine aforeſayd wherein he was condemned. Howbeit, he did not long enioy the good hap of his reſtitution to his country and goods: for the affaires of the GRECIANS were immediatly after brought to vtter ruine. For the battell of CRANON which they loſt, was in the moneth Munychion (to wit, Iuly:) and in the moneth Bœdromion next enſuing (to wit, Auguſt) the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS entred into the fort of Munychia. And in the moneth Pyanepſion (to wit, the October following) *Demoſthenes* died in this maner. When newes came to ATHENS, that *Antipater* and *Craterus* were comming thither with a great army, *Demoſthenes* and his friends got out of the towne a litle before they entred, the people by *Demades* perſwaſion, hauing condemned them to dye. So, euery man making ſhift for himſelfe, *Antipater* ſent ſouldiers after them to take them: and of them *Archias* was Captaine, ſurnamed *Phygadotheras*, as much to ſay, as a hunter of the baniſhed men. It is reported that this *Archias* was borne in the city of THVRIES, and that he had bene ſometimes a common player of tragedies: and that *Polus* alſo who was borne in the city of ÆGINA, the excelleteſt crafts-maiſter in that faculty of all men) was his ſcholer. Yet *Hermippus* doth place him amongſt the number of the ſcholers of *Lacritus* the Orator. And *Demetrius* alſo writeth, that he had bene at *Anaximenes* ſchoole. Now this *Archias* hauing found the Orator *Hyperides* in the city of ÆGINA, *Ariſtonicus* MARATHONIAN, & *Himeræus* the brother of *Demetrius* the PHALERIAN, which had taken ſanctuary in the temple of *Aiax*: he tooke them out of the temple by force, and ſent them vnto *Antipater*, who was at that time in the city of CLEONES, where he did put them all to death: and ſome ſay, that he did cut off *Hyperides* tongue. Furthermore, hearing that *Demoſthenes* had taken ſanctuary in the Ile of CALAVRIA, he tooke litle pinnaces, with a certaine number of THRACIAN ſouldiers, & being come thither, he ſought to perſwade *Demoſthenes* to be contented to go with him vnto *Antipater*, promiſing him that he ſhould haue no hurt. *Demoſthenes* had a ſtraunge dreame the night before, and thought that he had played a tragedie contending with *Archias*, and that he handled himſelfe ſo well, that al the lookers on at the Theater did commend him, and gaue him the honor to be the beſt player: howbeit that otherwiſe, he was not ſo well furniſhed as *Archias* and his players, and that in all manner of furniture he did farre exceed him. The next morning when *Archias* came to ſpeake with him, and vſing gentle words vnto him, thinking thereby to win him by faire meanes to leaue the ſanctuary: *Demoſthenes* looking him full in the face, ſitting ſtill where he was, without remouing, ſayd vnto him: O *Archias* thou diddeſt neuer perſwade me when thou playedſt a play, neither ſhalt thou now perſwade me, though thou promiſe me. Then *Archias* began to be angry with him, and to threaten him. O ſayd *Demoſthenes*, now thou ſpeakeſt in good earneſt, without diſſimulation, as the Oracle of MACEDON hath commaunded thee: for before, thou ſpakeſt in the clouds, and farre from thy thought: but I pray thee ſtay a while, till I haue written ſomewhat to my friends. After he had ſayd ſo, he went into the temple as though he would haue diſpatched ſome letters, and did put the end of the quill in his mouth which he wrote withall, and bit it as his maner was when he did vſe to write any thing, and held the end of the quill in his mouth a prety while together: then he caſt his gowne ouer his head, & layed him downe. *Archias* ſouldiers ſeeing that, being at the doore of the temple, laughed him to ſcorne (thinking he had done ſo for that he was afraid to dye) calling him coward, and beaſt. *Archias* alſo comming to him, prayed him to riſe, & began to vſe the former perſwaſions to him, promiſing him that he would make *Antipater* his friend. Then *Demoſthenes* feeling the poyſon worke, caſt open his gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, ſayd vnto him: Now when thou wilt, play *Creons* part, and throw my body to the dogs, without further graue or buriall. For my part, ô god *Neptune*, I do go out of thy temple being yet aliue, becauſe I will not prophane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS, haue not ſpared to defile thy ſanctuary with bloud and cruell murther. Hauing ſpoken theſe words, he prayed them to ſtay him vp by his arme-holes, for his feet began already to faile him, & thinking to go forward, as he paſt by the Altar of *Neptune*, he fell downe, and giuing one gaſpe, gaue vp the ghoſt. Now touching the poyſon, *Ariſto* reporteth, that he ſucked and drew it vp into his mouth out of his quill, as we haue ſayd before. But one *Pappus* (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his hiſtorie) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the Altar, they found the beginning of a letter which ſaid: *Demoſthenes* vnto *Antipater*, but no more. Now his death being thus ſudden, the THRACIAN ſouldiers that were at the temple doore, reported that they ſaw him plucke the poyſon which he

Archias Phygadotheras, a hunter of the baniſhed men.

Demoſthenes dreame.

Demoſthenes taketh poyſon to kill himſelfe in the temple of Neptune, in the Ile of Calauria.

The death of Demoſthenes.

put into his mouth, out of a litle cloth he had, thinking to them that it had bene a peece of gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a maide of the house that serued him, being examined about it, told him that he had caried it about him a long time for a preseruatiue for him. *Eratosthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyson in a litle boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many writers also that do report his death diuersly, but to recite them all it were in vaine: sauing that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demosthenes* very friend said) who sayd that he died not so suddenly by poyson, but that it was the speciall fauor of the gods (to preserue him from the cruelty of the MACEDONIANS) that so suddenly tooke him out of his life, and made him feele so litle paine. *Demosthenes* died the sixteenth day of the moneth Pynepsion (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at ATHENS the feast of *Ceres*, called Tesmophoria, which is the dolefullest feast of all the yeare: on the which day also, the women remaine all day long in the temple of the goddesse, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the ATHENIANS to honor him according to his deserts, did cast his image in brasse, and made a law besides, that the oldest man of his house should for euer be kept within the pallace, at the charge of the commonwealth: and ingraued these verses also vpon the base of his image:

The time of Demosthenes death.

The Athenians honoured Demosthenes after his death.

Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy hart,
The Macedons should not haue wrought the Greckes such woe and smart.

For they that thinke that it was *Demosthenes* himselfe that made the verses in the Ile of CALAVRIA, before he tooke his poyson: they are greatly deceiued. But yet a little before my first comming to ATHENS, there went a report that such a thing happened. A certaine souldier being sent for to come vnto his Captaine, did put such peeces of gold as he had into the hands of *Demosthenes* statue, which had both his hands ioyned together: and there grew hard by it a great Plane tree, diuers leaues whereof either blowne off by wind by chance, or else put there of purpose by the souldier, couered so this gold, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: vntill such time as the souldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereupon this matter running abroad in euery mans mouth, there were diuerse wise men that tooke occasion of this subiect, to make Epigrams in the praise of *Demosthenes*, as one who in his life was neuer corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enioy the honor he thought he had newly gotten. For the iustice of the gods, reuenger of the death of *Demosthenes*, brought him into MACEDON, to receiue iust punishment by death of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before growne hatefull to them, and afterwards committed a fault wherby he could not escape. For there were letters of his taken, by the which he did perswade, and pray * *Perdiccas*, to make himselfe king of MACEDON, and to deliuer GREECE from bondage, saying that it hung but by a threed, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby, *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN accused him, that he wrote these letters: the which so grieuously offended *Cassander*, that first he slue his owne sonne in his armes, & then commanded they should afterwards kil *Demades*, making him feele then by those miseries (which are the cruellest that can happen vnto man) that traytors betraying their owne countrey do first of all betray themselues. *Demosthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would neuer beleeue him. Thus, my friend *Sosius*, you haue what we can deliuer you, by reading, or report, touching *Demosthenes* life and doings.

* *He saith Antigonus, in the life of Phocion.*

Demades death and reward for his treason.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Tullius Cicero.

AS touching *Ciceroes* mother, whoſe name was *Heluia*, it is reported ſhe was a Gentlewoman borne, and liued alwaies very honeſtly: but for his father, the reports of him are diuerſe and infinite. For ſome ſay that he was borne and brought vp in a Fullers ſhop: others report that he came of *Tullius Actius*, who while he liued was honoured among the VOLSCES as king, and made very ſharpe and cruell warres with the ROMAINES. But ſurely it ſeemes to me, that the firſt of that name called *Cicero*, was ſome famous man, and that for his ſake his offſpring continued ſtill that ſurname, and were glad to keepe it, though many men ſcorned it, becauſe *Cicer* in Engliſh ſignifieth a cich peaſe. That *Cicero* had a thing vpon the tip of his noſe, as it had bene a litle wart, much like to a cich peaſe, whereupon they ſurnamed him *Cicero*. But this *Cicero*, whoſe life we write of now, nobly anſwered certaine of his friends on a time giuing him counſell to chaunge his name, when he firſt made ſute for office, and began to practiſe in matters of ſtate: that he would endeuour himſelfe to make the name of *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, then the *Scauri* or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* being made Treaſurer in SICILE, he gaue an offering of certaine ſiluer plate vnto the gods, and at large engraued on it his two firſt names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his third name, he pleaſantly commaunded the workman to cut out the forme and faſhion of a cich peaſe. Thus much they write of his name. Now for his birth, it was ſaid that his mother was brought to bed of him without any paine, the third day of Ianuarie: on which day the Magiſtrates and Gouernours of ROME do vſe at this preſent, yearely to make ſolemne prayers and ſacrifices vnto the goddes, for the health and proſperitie of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an image to his nurſe, that did prognoſticate vnto her, ſhe gaue a child ſucke, which in time to come ſhould do great good vnto all the ROMAINES. Now though ſuch things may ſeeme but dreames and fables vnto many, yet *Cicero* himſelfe ſhortly after prooued this Propheſie true: becauſe that when he came of age to learne, he grew ſo toward, and wanne ſuch fame among the boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacitie. For thereupon came the other boyes fathers themſelues to the ſchoole to ſee his face, & to be eye-witneſſes of the report that went of him, of his ſharp & quicke

Ciceroes parentage.

Cicero, why ſo called.

Cicero Quæſtor.

Ciceroes birth.

An image appeared to Ciceroes nurſe.

Ciceroes towardneſſe and wit.

wit to learne. But others of the rude and baſer ſort of men were offended with their ſonnes, becauſe to honour *Cicero*, they did alwaies put him in the midſt betweene them, as they went in the ſtreets. *Cicero* indeed had ſuch a naturall wit and vnderſtanding as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the ſtudie of Philoſophie. For he gaue himſelf to all kind of knowledge, and there was no Art nor any of the liberall ſciences that he diſdained: notwithſtanding in his firſt young yeares he was apter, and better diſpoſed to the ſtudie of Poetrie then any other. There is a pretie Poeme of his in verſes of eight ſtaues, called *Pontius Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being giuen more earneſtly vnto this ſtudie, he was not only thought the beſt Oratour, but the beſt Poet alſo of all the ROMAINES in his time: and yet doth the excellencie of his eloquence, and commendation of his tong continue euen to this day, notwithſtanding the great alteration and change of the Latine tongue. But his Poetrie hath loſt the name and eſtimation of it, becauſe there were many after him that became farre more excellent therein then he. After he had left his childiſh ſtudies, he became then *Philoes* ſcholer, the Academicke Philoſopher, the only ſcholer of all *Clitomachus* ſcholers, whome the ROMAINES eſteemed ſo much for his eloquence, and loued more for his gentle behauiour and conuerſation. He gaue himſelfe alſo to be a follower of *Mutius Scænola*, who at that time was a great man in ROME, and Prince of the Senate, and who did alſo inſtruct *Cicero* in the lawes of ROME. He did alſo follow *Sylla* for a time, in the wars of the MARSIANS. But when he ſaw that the Commonwealth of ROME fell to ciuill wars, and from ciuill wars to a Monarchie: then he returned againe to his booke and contemplatiue life, and frequented the learned men of GREECE, and alwaies ſtudied with them, vntill *Sylla* had gotten the vpper hand, and that he ſaw all the Commonwealth againe at ſome ſtay. About that time, *Sylla* cauſing the goods of one that was ſaid to be ſlaine, to be ſold by the Crier: (being one of the outlawes and proſcripts, to wit, baniſhed by bils ſet vp on poſtes) *Chryſogonus*, one of *Syllaes* freed bondmen, and in great fauour with his maiſter, bought them for the ſumme of two thouſand Drachmes. Therewithall the ſonne and heire of the dead perſon called *Roſcius*, being maruellouſly offended, he ſhewed that it was too ſhamefull an abuſe: for his fathers goods amounted to the ſumme of two hundred and fiftie talents. *Sylla* finding himſelfe thus openly touched with publike fraud and deceipt, for the only gratifying of his man: he procured *Chryſogonus* to accuſe him, that he had killed his owne father. Neuer an Oratour durſt ſpeake in *Roſcius* behalfe to defend his cauſe, but ſhrunke backe, fearing *Syllaes* crueltie and ſeueritie. Wherefore poore *Roſcius* the young man, ſeeing euery man forſake him, had no other refuge but to go to *Cicero*, whom his friends did counſell and perſwade boldly to take vpon him the defence of *Roſcius* cauſe: for he ſhould neuer haue a happier occaſion, nor ſo noble a beginning to bring himſelfe into eſtimation, as this. Thereupon *Cicero* determined to take his cauſe in hand, and did handle it ſo well, that he obtained the thing he ſued for: wherby he wan him great fame and credit. But yet being afraid of *Syllaes* diſpleaſure, he abſented himſelfe from ROME, and went into GREECE, giuing it out that his trauell was for a diſeaſe he had vpon him. Indeed *Cicero* was dog-leane, a litle eater, and would alſo eate late, becauſe of the great weakneſſe of his ſtomacke: but yet he had a good loud voice, though it was ſomewhat harſh, and lacked grace and comelineſſe. Furthermore, he was ſo earneſt and vehement in his Oration, that he mounted ſtill with his voice into the higheſt tunes: inſomuch that men were affraid it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to ATHENS, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the citie of ASCALON, and fell in great liking with his ſweet tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwiſe he miſliked his new opinions in Philoſophie. For *Antiochus* had then forſaken the opinions of the new Academicke Philoſophers, and the ſect of the Carneades: being moued thereunto, either through the manifeſt proofe of things, or by his certaine iudgement, or (as ſome ſay) for that of an ambition or diſſention againſt the ſcholers and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reproued the reſolutions of the Academickes, which he had of long time defended, only to leane for the moſt part to the Stoickes opinions. Howbeit *Cicero* had moſt affection vnto the Academickes, and did ſtudie that ſect more then all the reſt, of purpoſe, that if he ſaw he were forbidden to practiſe in the commonwealth at ROME, he would then go to ATHENS (leauing all pleas and affaires of the commonwealth) to beſtow the reſt of his time quietly in the ſtudie of Philoſophie. At length, when he heard newes of *Syllaes* death, and ſaw that his bodie was growne to good ſtate and health by exerciſe, and that his voice became daily more and more to fill mens eares with a ſweet and pleaſant ſound, and yet was loud enough for the conſtitution of his body:

receiuing

Cicero a notable Poet.

Cicero Philoes ſcholer, the Academicke Philoſopher.

Cicero a follower of Mutius Scænola.

Roſcius put in ſute.

Cicero a weake man.

Cicero, Antiochus ſcholer.

The commoditie of exerciſe.

receiuing letters daily from his friends at Rome, that prayed him to returne home, and moreouer, *Antiochus* selfe also earnestly perswading him to practise in the commonwealth, he began againe to fall to the studie of Rhetoricke, and to frame himselfe to be eloquent, being a necessarie thing for an Oratour, and did continually exercise himselfe in making Orations vpon any speech or proposition, and so frequented the chiefe Oratours and maisters of eloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into Asia vnto Rhodes, and amongst the Oratours of Asia he frequented *Xenocles* Adramettin, and *Dionysius* Magnesian, and studied also with *Menippus* Carian: at Rhodes he heard *Apollonius Molon*, and the Philosopher *Posidonius*. And it is reported also, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latin toung, he did pray *Cicero* for exercise sake to declame in Greeke. *Cicero* was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his declamation, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and euery man praised him one after another. Howbeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* spake, did neuer shew any glad countenance: and when he had ended, he stayed a great while and said neuer a word. *Cicero* misliking withall, *Apollonius* at length said vnto him: As for me *Cicero*, I do not onely praise thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorie for poore Greece, to see that learning and eloquence (which were the two onely gifts and honours left vs) are by thee obtained with vs, and caried vnto the Romaines. Now *Cicero* being very well disposed to go with good hope to practise at Rome, he was a litle discouraged by an Oracle that was told him. For inquiring of the god *Apollo* Delphian, how he might do to winne fame and estimation: the Nunne *Pythias* answered him he should obtaine it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his owne nature, then the opinion of the common people. Wherfore when he came to Rome, at the first he proceeded very warily, and discreetly, and did vnwillingly seek for any Office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the Grecian, and scholer, which are two words the which the Artificers (and such base Mechanicall people at Rome) haue euer readie at their tongues end. Now he being by nature ambitious of honour, and prickt forward also by the perswasion of his father and friends: in the end he began to pleade, and there obtained not the chiefest place by litle and litle, but so soone as he fell to practise, he was immediatly esteemed aboue all the other Oratours and pleaders in his time, and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciation, hauing the self same defects of nature at the beginning, which *Demosthenes* had: to reform them, he carefully studied to counterfeit *Roscius*, an excellent Comedian, and *AEsope* also a Player of Tragedies. Of this *AEsope* men write, that he playing one day *Atreus* part vpon a stage (who determined with himselfe how he might be reuenged of his brother *Thyestes*) a seruant by chaunce hauing occasion to runne sodainly by him, he forgetting himselfe, striuing to shew the vehement passion and furie of this king, gaue him such a blow on his head with the scepter in his hand, that he slue him dead in the place. Euen so *Ciceroes* words were of great force to perswade, by meanes of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the Oratours that thrust out their heads, and cried in their orations, was wont to say that they were like to lame men, who were driuen to ride, because they could not go on foote: euen so (said he) they cry out because they cannot speake. Truly pleasant taunts do grace an Oratour, and sheweth a fine wit: but yet *Cicero* vsed them so commonly, that they were offensiue vnto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spitefull man. He was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcitie of corne at Rome: and the Prouince of Sicile fell to his lot. At his first comming thither, the Sicilians misliked him very much, because he compelled them to send corne vnto Rome: but after they had found his diligence, iustice, and lenitie, they honoured him aboue any Gouernour that euer was sent from Rome. Now there were diuerse young Gentlemen of Rome of noble houses, who being accused for sundrie faults committed in warres against their honour and martiall discipline, had bene sent backe againe vnto the Prætor of Sicile: for whom *Cicero* pleaded, and did so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned euery man. Thereupon, thinking well of himselfe, when his time was expired, he went to Rome, and by the way there hapned a pretie ieast vnto him. As he passed through the countrey of Campania (otherwise called the land of labour) he met by chance with one of the chiefest Romains of all his friends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they said of him at Rome, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all Rome had bene full of the glorie of his

Cicero goeth into Asia, and to Rhodes.

Cicero declamed in Greeke.

Apollonius testimonie of Cicero.

An oracle giuen to Cicero.

Ciceroes first practising in the commonwealth.

Roscius and AEsope common Players.

Cicero, a fine Taunter.

Cicero chosen Queestor.

Ciceroes diligence, iustice, and lenity.

name and deedes. His friend asked him againe: And where hast thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we haue not seene thee at Rome? This killed his heart straight, when he saw that the report of his name and doings, entring into the citie of Rome as into an infinite sea, was so suddenly vanished away againe, without any other fame or speech. But after that, when he looked into himself, and saw that in reason he tooke an infinit labour in hand to attaine to glorie, wherein he saw no certaine end whereby to attaine vnto it: it cut off a great part of the ambition he had in his head. And yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare his owne praise, and to be ouermuch giuen to desire of honour and estimation: these two things continued with him euen to his dying day, and did eftsoones make him swarue from iustice. Furthermore, when he began throughly to practise in the affaires of the state, he thought it an ill thing that Artificers and crafts men should haue many sorts of instruments and tools without life, to know the names of euery one of them, the places where they should take them, and the vse whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and qualitie (who doth all things with the helpe and seruice of men) should be slouthfull and carelesse to learne to know the names of his citizens. Therefore he gaue himselfe to know, not onely mens names of qualitie, but the streets also they dwelt in, what part of the citie soeuer it was: their goodly houses in the countrey, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when he went abroad into Italy, whersoeuer he became, *Cicero* could shew and name his friends houses. He was not very rich, and yet he had enough to serue his turne: the which made men muse the more at him, and they loued him the better, because he tooke no fee nor gift for his pleading, what cause soeuer he tooke in hand, but then specially, when he defended a matter against *Verres*. This *Verres* had bene Prætor of Sicilia, and had committed many lewd parts there, for the which the Sicilians did accuse him. *Cicero* taking vpon him to defend their cause, made *Verres* to be condemned, not by pleading, but in maner without pleading, and in this sort. The Prætors being his Iudges, and fauouring *Verres*, had made so many reiornements and delayes, that they had driuen it off to the last day of hearing. *Cicero* perceiuing then he should not haue time to speake all that he had to say against him, and that thereby nothing should be done and iudged: he rose vp and said, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought foorth the witnesses before the Iudges, and hauing caused their depositions to be taken, he prayed they would proceed to sentence, according to their euidence giuen on that behalfe. Yet some do report, that *Cicero* gaue many pleasant taunts and girds, in pleading the accusation of the Sicilians against *Verres*. The Romaines do call a Bore, *Verres*. There was one *Cæcilius*, the son of a freed bondman, who was suspected to hold with the superstition of the Ievves. This *Cæcilius* would haue put by the Sicilians from following the accusation of *Verres*, and would haue had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. *Cicero* scorning his sute, said vnto him: What hath a Ievve to do with a Bore? This *Verres* had a sonne somwhat aboue twentie yeares of age, who (as the report went) had a very ill name for his beautie. And therefore when *Verres* one day thought to mocke *Cicero*, saying, that he was too effeminate: Thy children (said he) are to be reproued of that secretly at home. In this accusation, *Hortensius* the Oratour durst not directly defend *Verres*: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to answer for him, for he had a *Sphinx* of Yuorie giuen him by *Verres* for his reward. Thereupon *Cicero* gaue him a pretie nip by the way: but *Hortensius* not vnderstanding him: said he could no skill of dark speeches. Well, said *Cicero*, yet hast thou a *Sphinx* in thy house. In the end *Verres* being condemned, and a fine set on his head to the value of threescore and fifteene Myriades, *Cicero* notwithstanding was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But yet when he came to be Ædilis, the Sicilians to shew themselues thankfull to him, both brought and sent him many presents out of Sicile. Of all that he tooke nothing to his owne vse, but only bestowed their liberality in bringing downe the prices of victuals at Rome. He had a goodly house within the confines of the citie of Arpos, a farme also by Naples, and another about the citie of Pompeii: but all these were no great things. Afterwards he had also the ioynter of his wife *Terentia*, which amounted to the summe of twelue Myriades, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, eleuen Myriades of their Denarij. Thereupon he liued very honestly and soberly, without excesse, with his familiar friends that loued him, both Grecians and Romaines, and would neuer go to supper till after Sunne set, not so much for any great businesse he had, as for the weakenesse of his stomacke. But otherwise he was very curious, and carefull

Cicero ambitious, and desirous of praise.

Cicero giuen to know mens names, their kinds and friends.

Ciceroes doings against Verres.

He spake it, because the Iewes do eate no swines flesh

Cicero chosen AEdilis.

Ciceroes riches.

full of his perſon, and would be rubbed and nointed, and he would vſe alſo to walke a certaine number of turnes by proportion: and ſo exerciſing his bodie in that ſort, he was neuer ſicke, and beſides was alſo very ſtrong and luſtie of bodie, able to abide great paines and ſorrowes which he fel into afterwards. He gaue his fathers chiefe manſion houſe to his brother, and went to dwel himſelfe in the mount Palatine: becauſe ſuch as came to wait vpon him to do him honor, ſhould not take the paines to go ſo farre to ſee him. For he had as many men daily at his gate euery morning, as either *Craſſus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his eſtimation among the ſouldiers, both of them being at that time the chiefeſt men of Rome. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* ſelfe came vnto *Cicero*, becauſe his Orations ſtood him to great purpoſe, for the increaſe of his honor and authoritie. Now when *Cicero* came to make ſute to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinarie Iudge) though he had many competitors, and fellow ſuters with him, yet was he firſt choſen afore them all: and he did ſo honeſtly behaue himſelfe in that Office, that they did not ſo much as once ſuſpect him of briberie or extortion. And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that *Licinius Macer* (a man that of himſelf was of great power, and yet fauoured and ſupported beſides by *Craſſus*) was accuſed before *Cicero* of theft and extortion in his Office: but he truſting much to his ſuppoſed credit, and to the great ſute and labour his friends made for him, went home to his houſe before ſentence pronounced againſt him, (the Iudges being yet to giue their opinions) and there ſpeedily trimmed his beard, and put a new gowne vpon his backe, as though he had bene ſure to haue bene quit of his accuſation, and then returned againe into the market place. But *Craſſus* went to meet him, and told him all the Iudges had condemned him. *Licinius Macer* tooke ſuch a griefe and conceit vpon it, that he went home to his houſe againe, laid him downe on his bed, and neuer roſe after. This iudgement wan *Cicero* great fame, for they praiſed him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to ſee iuſtice duly executed. Another called alſo *Vatinius*, (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaued himſelfe very vnreuerently to the Magiſtrates in his pleading, and beſides had a ſwollen necke) came very arrogantly one day vnto *Cicero* being in his Prætoriall ſeat, and asked him a thing which *Cicero* would not graunt him there, but would thinke of it at better leyſure. Thereupon *Vatinius* told him, that he would not be ſcrupulous to graunt that, if he were Prætor. *Cicero* turning to him, anſwered him againe: No more haue I (ſaid he) ſuch a ſwollen necke as thou haſt. Towards the end of his Office, two or three daies before his time expired, there was one accuſed *Manilius* before him, that he alſo had robbed the commonwealth. This *Manilius* was very well beloued of the common people, who were perſwaded that he was put in ſute, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to deſpite *Pompey* with, whoſe familiar friend he was. So he required certaine dayes to anſwer the matter he was accuſed of: but *Cicero* would giue him no further reſpite, but to anſwer it the next day. The people therewith were marueilouſly offended, becauſe the other Prætors in ſuch like caſes, were wont to giue ten daies reſpite vnto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Iudges, and alſo accuſed him vnto them: he beſought *Cicero* to heare him patiently. *Cicero* made him anſwer, that hauing alwaies vſed as much fauour and courteſie as he poſſibly might by law, vnto thoſe that were accuſed, he thought he ſhould offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if he ſhould not do the like to him: wherefore, becauſe he had but one day more to continue Prætor in office, he had purpoſely giuen him that day to make his anſwer before him. For he thought that to leaue his accuſation to the hearing of an other Prætor, he could not haue bene thought a man that had borne him goodwill, and meant to pleaſure him. Theſe wordes did maruellouſly chaunge the peoples opinion and affection towardes him, and euery man ſpeaking well of him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cauſe. He willingly graunted them: and comming from the bench, ſtanding at the barre like an Oratour to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and ſpake both boldly and ſharpely againſt the chiefe men of the citie, and thoſe ſpecially that did enuie *Pompey*. This notwithſtanding, when he came to ſue to be Conſull, he found as great fauour amongſt the Nobilitie, as he did with the communaltie. For they did further his ſute, for the commonwealths ſake, vpon this occaſion. The chaunge and alteration of gouernement the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought ſtraunge at the firſt among the people: but now men by proceſſe of time being vſed to it, it was throughly eſtabliſhed, and no man miſliked it. At that time many men practiſed to ſubuert the gouernment, not for the benefit of the commonwealth, but to ſerue their owne couetous minds. For *Pompey* being then in the Eaſt parts, made warres with the kings of Pontvs and Armenia, and had not left ſufficient force at Rome to reſiſt

Ciceros great courteſie and reſort.

Cicero choſen Prætor.

Licinius Macer condemned.

Cicero with one word pacified the offended Tribunes.

Cicero made Conſull.

The conſpiracie of Catiline.

Catilines wickednesse.

theſe ſeditious perſons, that ſought nothing but rebellion. Theſe men had made *Lucius Catilin* their Captaine: a deſperate man to attempt any great enterpriſe, ſubtill and malicious of nature. He was accuſed before (beſides many other vile faults) for deflouring of his owne daughter, and killing his brother: and being afraid to be put in ſute for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his brother amongſt the number of the outlawes (or proſcripts) as if he had bene then aliue. Theſe wicked rebels hauing choſen them ſuch a Captaine, were ſworne and bound one to another in this maner. They killed a man, and did eate of his fleſh together, and had beſides corrupted the moſt part of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine ſuffered euery man to take his pleaſure, as his youth was inclined vnto: as to banquet, to follow harlots, and gaue them money largely to beſtow in theſe vaine expences. Furthermore, all THVSCAN began to riſe, and the moſt part of GAVLE alſo, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALIE. The citie of ROME it ſelfe was alſo in great daunger of riſing, for the inequalitie of the goods of the inhabitants. For the Noblemen and of greateſt courage, had ſpent all their lands in playes and feaſts, or in buildings and common works, which they built at their owne charge, to curry fauor with the common people, that they might obtaine the chiefe offices: ſo that thereby they became very poore, and their goods were in the hands of the meane men and wretches. Thus the ſtate of ROME ſtood in great hazard of vprore, the which any man might eaſily haue procured, that durſt haue taken vpon him any chaunge or alteration of gouernment, there was then ſuch diuiſion among them in the ſtate. *Catiline* notwithſtanding, to prouide him of a ſtrong bulwarke to proſecute his intent, came to ſue to be Conſull, hoping that he ſhold be choſen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of himſelfe was apt neither to do any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that could be a great ſtrength and aide vnto him that wold attempt any thing. Diuers noble and wiſe men foreſeeing that, did procure *Cicero* to ſue for the Conſulſhip. The people accepted him, and reiected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereupon were created Conſuls, although that *Cicero* of al the ſuters for the Conſulſhip was but onely a Knights ſon, and not the ſon of a Senatour of ROME. Now, though the common people vnderſtood not the ſecret practiſe and meaning of *Catiline*: yet at the beginning of *Ciceroes* Conſulſhip, there fell out great trouble and contention in the commonwealth. For they of the one ſide, whom *Sylla* had by his ordinances depoſed from their dignities and offices in ROME (who were no ſmall men, neither few in number) began to creepe into the peoples good will, alleadging many true and iuſt reaſons againſt the tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howbeit ſpoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any chaunge or alteration in the commonwealth. The Tribunes on the other ſide preferred lawes and ordinances to further this deuice. They preferred the law to chooſe the Decemuiri, with ſoueraigne power and authoritie through all ITALY and SYRIA, and alſo through all the countries and prouinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of ROME: to ſell, and releaſe all the lands belonging to the ſtate of ROME, to accuſe any man whom they thought good, to baniſh any man, to reſtore the Colonies with people, to take what money they would out of the Treaſurie, to leauie men of warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and abſolute power of the Decemuiri, there were many men of great accompt that fauoured this law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being colleague and fellow Conſull with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be choſen one of theſe ten Commiſſioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was priuie vnto *Catilines* conſpiracie, and that he miſliked it not, becauſe he was ſo much in debt. And this was it that the Noblemen moſt feared of all other things. Thereupon *Cicero*, to prouide firſt to preuent this daunger, graunted him the Prouince of the Realme of MACEDON: and the Prouince of GAVLE being offered vnto himſelfe, he refuſed it. By this good turne, he wan *Antonius* like a hired player making him to promiſe him that he would aſſiſt and aide him for the benefite of the commonwealth, and that he would ſay no more, then he ſhould will him. When he had brought him to this, and had won him to his mind: he then began to be the bolder, and more ſtoutly to reſiſt them that were authors of this innouation and new lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day ſharply reproue and inueigh againſt this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes would haue eſtabliſhed. And thereby he did ſo terrifie the authours thereof, that there was not one man durſt ſpeake againſt him. This notwithſtanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once againe to haue it to paſſe, and appointed the Conſuls to appeare before the people. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abaſhed at it, he commanded the Senate to follow him. So he did not only ouerthrow this law of the Decemuiri, which the Tribunes did preferre: but furthermore they were vtterly diſcouraged

C. Antonius, and M. T. Cicero created Conſuls.

Great troubles at Rome in the time of Ciceroes Conſulſhip.

A law preferred for the creation and authoritie of the Decemuiri.

Cicero by his eloquence ouerthrew the lawe of the Decemuiri.

discouraged & out of hope to bring any of their matters to passe they intended, he strooke them so dead with his eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in Rome made the Romaines know, how much eloquence doth grace and beautifie that which is honest, & how inuincible right and iustice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise gouernor of a commonweale, should alwayes in his doings rather preferre profit, then to seeke to curry fauor with the common people: yet so to vse his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also vnpleasant. And to proue his sweet and pleasant toung, may be alleadged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the pastimes. For before, the knights of Rome did sit mingled one with another amongst the common people, & tooke their place as they came. The first that made the difference betweene them, was *Marcus Otho*, at that time Prætor: who made a law, by the which he appointed seuerall seats for the knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The people tooke this grieuously, as a thing done to discountenance them: insomuch that *Otho* comming afterwards into the Theater, all the common people fell a whistling at him, to shame him withall. The knights also in contrariwise made him roome amongst them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honor. Therewith the people fell a whistling lowder then before, and the knights in like maner to clapping of their hands, and so grew to words one with another: that all the Theater was straight in vprore with it. *Cicero* vnderstanding it, went thither himselfe, and calling the people to the temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, he there so sharply reproued them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receiue *Otho* with clapping of their hands, and contended with the knights which of them should do him greatest honour.

Ciceroes sweet tongue.

Others do say Lucius Roscius Otho Tribune of the people. Roscius lawe for deuiding of the Romaine knights from the common people.

But now againe, the rebels of *Catilines* conspiracy (who were pretily cooled at the first for the feare they stood in) began to be lusty againe, and to gather together, boldly incouraging one another to broach their practise, before *Pompey* returned, who was sayd to be on the way towards Rome with his army. But besides them, those souldiers that had serued before in the warres vnder *Sylla*, being dispersed vp and downe Italie (but specially the best souldiers among them dwelling in the good townes of Thvscan) did stirre vp *Catiline* to hasten the enterprise, perswading themselues that they should once againe haue goods inough at home, to spoile and ransacke at their pleasure. These souldiers hauing one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne office in the field vnder *Sylla*, conspired with *Catiline*, & came to Rome to assist him in his suite: who purposed once againe to demaund the Consulship, being determined at the election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The gods also did plainly shew by earth-quakes, lightning and thunder, and by vision of spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracy: besides also, there fell out manifest coniectures and proofes by men that came to reueale them, howbeit they had no power sufficient to encounter so noble a man, and of so great power as *Catiline* was.

Syllaes souldiers conspired with Catilins.

Cicero therefore deferring the day of election, called *Catiline* into the Senate, & there did examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* supposing there were many in the Senate that had goodwils to rebell, and also becausse he would shew himselfe ready vnto them that were of his conspiracy: he gaue *Cicero* a gentle answer, and sayd thus: What do I offend, said he, if that being two bodies in this towne, the one leane and weake, and throughly rotten, & hath a head: and the other being great, strong, and of power, hauing no head, I do giue it one? meaning vnder this darke answer, to signifie the people and Senate. This answer being made, *Cicero* was more afraid then before, insomuch that he put on a brigantine for the safety of his body, & was accompanied with the chiefest men of Rome, & a great number of yong men besides going with him from his house vnto the field of *Mars*, where the elections were made: and had of purpose left open his iacket lose at the coller, that his brigantine he had on might be seene, thereby to let euery man that saw him, know the danger he was in. Euery man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assaile him. But it so came to passe, that by voices of the people, *Catiline* was againe reiected from the Consulship, and *Syllanus* & *Murena* chosen Consuls. Shortly after this election, the souldiers of Thvscan being ioyned, which should haue come to *Catiline*, and the day appointed being at hand to broach their enterprise: about midnight there came three of the chiefest men of Rome to *Ciceroes* house (*Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his porter, & bad him wake his maister presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him, about a matter of importance. At night after supper, *Crassus* porter brought his maister a packet of letters, deliuered him by a

Cicero examined Catiline in the Senate.

Syllanus and Murena Consuls.

Letters brought to Crassus, of Catilines conspiracy.

ſtranger vnknowne, which were directed vnto diuerſe perſons, among the which one of them had no name ſubſcribed, but was only directed vnto *Craſſus* himſelf. The effect of the letter was, that there ſhould be made a great ſlaughter in Rome by *Catiline*, & therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of Rome to ſaue himſelfe. *Craſſus* hauing read his owne letter, would not open the reſt, but went forthwith vnto *Cicero*, partly for feare of the danger, & partly alſo to cleare himſelfe of the ſuſpition they had of him for the friendſhip that was betwixt him and *Catiline*. *Cicero* counſelling with them what was to be done, the next morning aſſembled the Senate very early, and carying the letters with him, he did deliuer them according to their direction, & commanded they ſhould reade them out aloud. All theſe letters, and euery one of them particularly, did bewray the conſpiracy. Furthermore, *Quintus Arrius*, a man of authority, and that had bene Prætor, told openly the ſouldiers and men of warre that were leauied in Thvscan. And it is reported alſo, that *Manlius* was in the field with a great number of ſouldiers about the cities of Thvscan, gaping daily to heare newes of ſome chaunge at Rome. All theſe things being throughly conſidered, a decree paſſed by the Senate, that they ſhould referre the care of the commonwealth vnto the Conſuls, to the end that with abſolute authority they might (as well as they could) prouide for the ſafety and preſeruation thereof. Such manner of decree and authority, was not often ſeene concluded of in the Senate, but in time of preſent feare and daunger. Now *Cicero* hauing this abſolute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge, & did himſelfe take vpon him the care and gouernment of all ciuill affaires within Rome. On the day time when he went vp and downe the towne, he had ſuch a troupe of men after him, that when he came through the great market place, he almoſt filled it with his traine that folowed him. Thereupon *Catiline* would no longer delay time, but reſolued to go himſelfe vnto *Manlius* where their army lay. But before he departed, he had drawne into his confederacy one *Martius*, and another called *Cethegus*, whom he commaunded betimes in the morning to go to *Ciceroes* houſe with ſhort daggers to kill him, pretending to come to ſalute him, and to giue him a good morow. But there was a noble woman of Rome, called *Fuluia*, who went ouer night vnto *Cicero*, and bad him beware of that *Cethegus*, who indeed came the next morning betimes vnto him: & being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him the more to be ſuſpected. In the end *Cicero* comming out of his houſe, called the Senate to the temple of *Iupiter Stator*, (as much to ſay as, Stayer) which ſtandeth at the vpper end of the holy ſtreet as they go to the mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he meant to cleare himſelfe of the ſuſpition that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senatour that would ſit downe by him, but they did all riſe from the bench where *Catiline* had taken his place. And further, when he began to ſpeake, he could haue no audience for the great noiſe they made againſt him. So at length *Cicero* roſe, and commanded him to auoid out of Rome: ſaying, that there muſt needs be a ſeparation of wals betweene them two, conſidering that the one vſed but words, and the other force of armes. *Catiline* therupon immediatly departing the citie with three hundred armed men, was no ſooner out of the precinct of the walles, but he made his Sergeants carie axes and bundels of roddes before him, as if he had bene a Conſull lawfully created, and did diſplay his enſignes of warre, and ſo went in this order to ſeeke *Manlius*. When they were ioyned, he had not much leſſe then twentie thouſand men together, with the which he went to practiſe the townes to rebell. Now open warre being thus proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Ciceroes* colleague and fellow Conſull, was ſent againſt him to fight with him. In the meane ſpace, *Cornelius Lentulus* ſurnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble houſe, but of a wicked diſpoſition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) aſſembled all the reſt which were of *Catilines* conſpiracie, and that remained behind him in Rome, and bad them be afraid of nothing. He was then Prætor the ſecond time, as the manner is when any man comes to recouer againe the dignitie of a Senatour which he had loſt. It is reported that this ſurname of *Sura* was giuē him vpon this occaſion. He being Treaſurer in *Syllaes* Dictatorſhip, did fondly waſt & conſume a maruellous ſum of money of the cōmon treaſure. *Sylla* being offended with him for it, and demanding an account of him before the Senat: he careleſly and contemptuouſly ſtepped foorth, ſaying, he could make him no other account, but ſhewed him the calfe of his legge, as children do when they make a fault at tennis. And thereof it came that euer after that they called him *Sura*, becauſe *Sura* in Latine ſignifieth the calfe of the legge. Another time alſo being accuſed for a lewde part he had committed, he bribed ſome of the Iudges with money, and being onely quit by two voyces more which he had in his fauour, he ſaid

Fuluia bewrayeth Catilines intent to kill Cicero.

Catiline departed.

C. Lentulus was called Sura.

ſaid he had loſt his money he had giuen to one of thoſe two Iudges, becauſe it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this diſpoſition, was firſt of all incenſed by *Catiline*, and laſtly marred by certaine wizards and falſe prognoſticators that had mocked him with a vaine hope, ſinging verſes vnto him which they had fained and deuiſed, and falſe prophecies alſo, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of *Sybilles* bookes of propheſie, which ſaid: that there ſhould raigne three *Cornely* at ROME, of the which, two had alreadie fulfilled the prophecie, *Cinna* and *Sylla*, and for the third, fortune laid it vpon him, and therefore bad him go through withall, and not to dreame it out loſing oportunitie as *Catiline* had done. Now this *Lentulus* vndertooke no ſmall enterpriſe, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Senate, and as many other citizens as they could murther, and to ſet fire of ROME, ſparing none but *Pompeys* ſonnes, whom they would reſerue for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with *Pompey*: for the rumor was very great and certaine alſo, that he returned from very great wars and conqueſts which he had made in the Eaſt countries. So they laid a plot to put their treaſon in execution, in one of the nights of *Saturnes* feaſts. Further, they had brought flaxe and brimſtone, and a great number of armours and weapons into *Cethegus* houſe. Beſides all this prouiſion, they had appointed a hundred men in an hundred parts of the citie, to the end that fire being raiſed in many places at one time, it ſhould the ſooner runne through the whole citie. Other men alſo were appointed to ſtop the pipes and water conduits which brought water to ROME, and to kill thoſe alſo that came for water to quench the fire. In all this ſtirre, by chaunce there were two Ambaſſadours of the ALLOBROGES, whoſe country at that time did much miſlike of the ROMAINES, and were vnwilling to be ſubiect vnto them. *Lentulus* thought theſe men very fit inſtruments to cauſe all GAVLE to rebell. Thereupon practiſing with them, he wan them to be of their conſpiracie, and gaue them letters directed to the Councell of their country, and in them did promiſe them freedome. He ſent other letters alſo vnto *Catiline*, and perſwaded him to proclaime libertie to all bondmen, and to come with all the ſpeed he could to ROME: and ſent with them one *Titus* of the citie of CROTONA, to carie theſe letters. But all their counſels and purpoſes (like fooles that neuer met together but at feaſts, drinking drunke with light women) were eaſily found out by *Cicero*: who had a carefull eye vpon them, and very wiſely and diſcreetly ſaw through them. For he had appointed men out of the citie to ſpie their doings, which followed them to ſee what they intended. Furthermore he ſpake ſecretly with ſome he truſted, (the which others alſo tooke to be of the conſpiracie) and knew by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had practiſed with the ambaſſadours of the ALLOBROGES, and drawne them into their conſpiracie. At length he watched them one night ſo narrowly, that he tooke the ambaſſadours, and *Titus* CROTONIAN with the letters he caried, by helpe of the ambaſſadours of the ALLOBROGES, which had ſecretly informed him of all before. The next morning by breake of day, *Cicero* aſſembled the Senate in the temple of Concord, and there openly read the letters, and heard the euidence of the witneſſes. Further, there was one *Iunius Syllanus* a Senator that gaue in euidence, that ſome heard *Cethegus* ſay that they ſhould kill three Conſuls, and foure Prætors. *Piſo* a Senator alſo, and that had bene Conſull, told in maner the ſelfe ſame tale. And *Caius Sulpitius* a Prætor, that was ſent into *Cethegus* houſe, reported that he had found great ſtore of darts, armor, daggers, and ſwords new made. Laſtly, the Senate hauing promiſed *Titus* CROTONIAN he ſhould haue no hurt, ſo he would tell what he knew of this conſpiracie, *Lentulus* thereby was conuinced, and driuen to giue vp his office of Prætor before the Senate, and chaunging his purple gowne, to take another meete for his miſerable ſtate. This being done, *Lentulus* and his conſorts were committed to ward to the Prætors houſes. Now growing towards euening, the people waiting about the place where the Senate was aſſembled, *Cicero* at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Therupon he was conueyed by all the people vnto a friends houſe of his hard by: for that his owne houſe was occupied by the Ladies of the citie, who were buſie ſolemnely celebrating a ſecret ſacrifice in the honour of the goddeſſe, called of the ROMAINES the Good goddeſſe, and of the GRECIANS *Gynæcia*, to wit, feminine: vnto her this yearely ſacrifice is done at the Conſuls houſe, by the wife or mother of the Conſull then being, the Veſtall Nunnes being preſent at it. Now *Cicero* being come into his neighbors houſe, began to bethinke him what courſe he were beſt to take in this matter. For to puniſh the offenders with ſeueritie, according to their deſerts, he was afraid to do it: both becauſe he was of a courteous nature, as alſo for that he would not ſeeme to be glad to haue occaſion to ſhew his abſolute power and authoritie, to puniſh (as he might) with

Oracles of three Cornelij that ſhould raign at Rome.

Great treaſon practiſed in Rome by C. Lentulus, and Cethegus.

The conſpirators apprehended.

rigour, citizens that were of the nobleſt houſes of the city, and that had beſides many friends. And contrariwiſe alſo, being remiſſe in ſo waighty a matter as this, he was afraid of the daunger that might enſue of their raſhneſſe, miſtruſting that if he ſhould puniſh thē with leſſe then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and deſperate then euer they were: adding moreouer the ſting and ſpite of a new malice vnto their accuſtomed wickedneſſe, beſides that he himſelfe ſhould be thought a coward and timorous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with theſe doubts, there appeared a miracle to the Ladies, doing ſacrifice at home in his houſe. For the fire being thought to be cleane out vpon the Altar where they had ſacrificed, there ſuddenly roſe out of the imbers of the rynds or barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amazed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Veſtall Nuns willed *Terentia* (*Ciceroes* wife) to go ſtraight vnto her husband, & to bid him not to be afraid to execute that boldly which he had conſidered of, for the benefit of the cōmonwealth, and that the goddeſſe had raiſed this great flame, to ſhew him that he ſhould haue great honor by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timorous nor faint harted woman, but very ambitious, & furthermore had gottē more knowledge from her husband of the affaires of the ſtate, then otherwiſe ſhe had acquainted him with her houſewifery in the houſe, as *Cicero* himſelfe reporteth: ſhe went to make report thereof vnto him, & prayed him to do execution of thoſe men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his brother, & alſo *Publius Nigidius*, his friend and fellow ſtudent with him in Philoſophy, and whoſe counſell alſo *Cicero* followed much in the gouernment of the commonwealth. The next morning the matter being propounded to the arbiterment of the Senate, how theſe malefactors ſhould be puniſhed:

Syllanus ſentence of the conſpirators.

Syllanus being asked his opinion firſt, ſayd that they ſhould be put in priſon, and from thence to ſuffer execution. Others likewiſe that followed him, were all of that mind, but *Caius Cæſar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a yong man, & began to come forward, but yet ſuch a one, as by his behauior & the hope he had, tooke ſuch a courſe, that afterwards he brought the commonwealth of Rome into an abſolute Monarchie. For at that time, *Cicero* had vehement ſuſpitions of *Cæſar*, but no apparant proofe to conuince him. And ſome ſay, that it was brought

Cæſar priuy to Catilines conſpiracy.

ſo neare, as he was almoſt conuicted, but yet ſaued himſelfe. Other write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly diſſembled, that he either heard or knew any ſignes which were told him againſt *Cæſar*, being afraid indeed of his friends & eſtimation. For it was a cleare caſe, that if they had accuſed *Cæſar* with the reſt, he vndoubtedly had ſooner ſaued al their liues, then he ſhould haue loſt

Cæſars opinion for the puniſhment of the conſpirators.

his owne. Now when *Cæſar* came to deliuer his opinion touching the puniſhment of theſe priſoners: he ſtood vp and ſayd, that he did not thinke it good to put them to death, but to confiſcate their goods: & as for their perſons, that they ſhould beſtow thē in priſon, ſome in one place, ſome in another, in ſuch cities of Italy as pleaſed *Cicero* beſt, vntill the warre of *Catiline* were ended. This ſentence being very mild, and the author thereof maruellous eloquent to make it good: *Cicero* himſelfe added thereunto a counterpoyſe, inclining vnto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the firſt, and partly alſo the opinion of *Cæſar*. His friends thinking that *Cæſars* opinion was the ſafeſt for *Cicero*, becauſe therby he ſhould deſerue leſſe blame for that he had not put the priſoners to death: they folowed rather the ſecond. Wherupon *Syllanus* alſo recanted that he had ſpokē, & expounded his opiniō: ſaying, that when he ſpake they ſhold be put to death, he meant nothing ſo, but thought the laſt puniſhment a Senator of Rome could haue, was the priſon. But the firſt that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Luctatius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement words enforced *Cæſars* ſuſpition, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and courage: ſo that euen vpō the inſtant it was decreed by moſt voices, that they ſhould ſuffer death. But *Cæſar* ſtept vp againe, and ſpake againſt the confiſcation of their goods, miſliking that they ſhould reiect the gentleſt part of his opinion, and that contrariwiſe they ſhould ſticke vnto the ſeuereſt onely: howbeit becauſe the greateſt number preuailed againſt him, he called the Tribunes to aid him, to the end they ſhould withſtand it: but they would giue no eare vnto him. *Cicero* therupon yeelding of himſelfe, did remit the confiſcation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the priſoners: who were not all in one houſe, but euery Prætor had one of them. So he went firſt to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy ſtreete and the market place, accompanied with the chiefeſt men of the city, who compaſſed him round about, and guarded his perſon. The people ſeeing that, quaked and trembled for feare, paſſed by, and ſayd neuer a word: and ſpecially the young men, who

thought

thought it had bene some solemne mysterie for the health of their countrie, that was so accompanied with the chiefe Magistrate, and the Noblemen of the citie, with terrour and feare. So when he had passed through the market place, and was come to the prison, he deliuered *Lentulus* into the hands of the hangman, and commaunded him to do execution. Afterwards also *Cethegus*, and then all the rest one after another, whom he brought to the prison himselfe, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing diuerse of their accomplices in a troupe together in the market place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their companions by force from the place where they were, thinking thy were yet aliue: he turned vnto them, and spake aloude, They liued. This is a phrase of speech which the Romaines vse sometime, when they will finely conuey the hardnesse of the speech, to say he is dead. When night was come, and that he was going homeward, as he came through the market place, the people did waite vpon him no more with silence as before, but with great cryes of his praise, and clapping of hands in euery place he went, and called him sauiour, and second founder of Rome. Besides all this, at euery mans doore there were lincks and torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes, as at noone dayes. The very women also did put lights out of the toppes of their houses to do him honour, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long traine of the chiefest men of the citie, (of the which many of them had ended great warres, for the which they had triumphed, and had obtained many famous conquests to the Empire of Rome, both by sea and land) confessing between themselues one to another, that the Romaines were greatly bound to many Captaines and Generals of armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches and spoiles, and increase of their power which they had wonne: howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely, for their health and preseruation, hauing saued them from so great and extreme a daunger. Not for that they thought it so wonderfull an act to haue stricken dead the enterprise of the conspirators, and also to haue punished the offenders by death: but becaus the conspiracie of *Catiline* being so great and dangerous an insurrection as euer was any, he had quenched it, and pluckt it vp by the roots, with so small hurt, and without vprore, trouble, or actuall sedition. For the most part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsooke him: and *Catiline* himselfe also fighting a battell with them he had about him, against *Antonius* the other Consull with *Cicero*, he was slaine in the field, and all his army defeated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of *Cicero* for this fact, and meant to make him repent it, hauing for their heads *Cæsar*, (who was alreadie chosen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* and *Bestia*, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They so soone as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once suffer *Cicero* to speake to the people, notwithstanding that he was yet in his Office of Consull for certaine daies. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speake vnto the people, they did set their benches vpon the pulpit for orations, which they call at Rome, Rostra: and would neuer suffer him to set foot in it, but only to resigne his office, and that done, to come downe againe immediatly. He granted thereunto, and went vp to the pulpit vpon that condition. So silence being made him, he made an oth, not like vnto other Consuls othes when they resigne their office in like maner, but strange, and neuer heard of before: swearing, that he had saued the citie of Rome, and preserued all his countrey and the Empire of Rome from vtter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present, confirmed it, and sware the like oth. Wherewithall *Cæsar* and the other Tribunes his enemies were so offended with him, that they deuised to breed him some new stir and trouble: and amongst others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* should be sent for with his army to bridle the tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato* (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the cõmonwealth, opposing himself against all their practises, with the like authoritie and power that they had, being a Tribune and brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily breake all their deuises, but also in a goodly oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled *Ciceroes* Consulship vnto them, and the things he did in his office, that they gaue him the greatest honours that euer were decreed or graunted vnto any man liuing. For by decree of the people he was called, Father of the countrey, as *Cato* himselfe had called him in his oration: the which name was neuer giuen to any man, but onely vnto him, and also he bare greater sway in Rome at that time, then any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made himselfe enuied and misliked of many men, not for any ill act he did, or meant to do: but only becaus he did too

The execution of the conspirators.

They liued: a word vsurped for the dead.

Ciceros praise.

Catiline slaine in battell by Antonius.

Cæsar chosen Prætor Metellus and Bestia, Tribunes of the people.

Cicero resigneth his office.

Ciceroes Consulship praised by Cato.

Cicero the first man called, Father of the countrie.

Cicero too much giuen to praise himselfe.

much boast of himselfe. For he neuer was in any assembly of people, Senate, or iudgement, but euery mans head was full still to heare the sound of *Catiline* and *Lentulus* brought in for sport, and filling the bookes and workes he compiled besides full of his owne praises: the which made his sweet and pleasant stile, tedious, and troublesome to those that heard him, as though this misfortune euer followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worme of ambition, and extreme couetous desire of honor in his head, yet did he not malice or enuy any others glory, but would very franckly praise excellent men, as well those that had bene before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his writings. They haue written also certaine notable words he spake of some ancient men in old time, as of *Aristotle*: that he was like a golden flowing riuer: and of *Plato*, that if *Iupiter* himselfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of *Theophrastus*, he was wont to call him his delight: and of *Demosthenes* orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: The longest said he. There be diuerse writers also, who to shew that they were great followers of *Demosthenes*, do folow *Ciceroes* saying in a certaine Epistle he wrote vnto one of his friends, wherein he sayd that *Demosthenes* slept in some of his Orations: but yet they forget to tell how highly he praised him in that place, and that he calleth the Orations which he wrote against *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, and studied more then all the rest) PHILIPPIANS: to follow those which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* king of MACEDON. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in eloquence, or in learning, whose fame he hath not cõmended in writing, or otherwise in honorable speech of him. For he obtained of *Caesar*, when he had the Empire of ROME in his hands, that *Cratippus* the PERIPATETICKE Philosopher was made citizẽ of ROME. Further, he procured that by decree of the court of the Areopagites, he was intreated to remaine at ATHENS, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great honor & ornament vnto their city. There are extant also of *Ciceroes* Epistles vnto *Herodes*, & others vnto his son, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his study and knowledge. He wrote another letter also vnto *Gorgias* the Rhetoritian, and forbad him his sons company: because he vnderstood he intised him to drunkennesse, and to other great dishonesty. Of all his Epistles he wrote in Greeke, there is but that only written in choler, and another which he wrote vnto *Pelops* BYZANTINE. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reason to be offended with him, & to taunt him in his letter: because (as it seemed) he was a man of very lewd life and conuersation. But in contrary maner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding himselfe grieued with him, for that he was nigligent in procuring the BYZANTINES to ordaine some publicke honors in his behalfe: that me thinkes proceeded of ouer much ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely because he would be commended for his eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* cause before the Iudges, who shortly after accused *Sabinus* a friend of his: it is reported that he was so angry with him, that he told him, What *Munatius*, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine accusatiõ, not for thine innocency, but for a mist I cast before the Iudges eyes, that made them they could not discerne the fault? Another time also, hauing openly praised *Marcus Crassus* in the pulpit, with good audience of the people: shortly after he spake to the contrary all the euill he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, sayd *Crassus* didst thou not thy selfe highly praise me in this place, the last day? I cannot deny it, sayd *Cicero*: but indeed I tooke an ill matter in hand to shew mine eloquence. Another time *Crassus* chanced to say in an open assembly, that none of all the *Crassi* of his house had euer liued aboue threescore yeares: and afterwards againe repenting himselfe, he called it in againe, and sayd, Sure I knew not what I did, when I sayd so. *Cicero* answered him againe: Thou kneweſt well inough the people were glad to heare it, and therefore thou spakeſt it to please them. Another time *Crassus* liking the opinion of the STOICKE Philosophers, that said the wise man was euer rich: *Cicero* answered him, and bad him consider whether they meant not thereby, that the wise man had all things. *Crassus* couetousnesse was defamed of euery man. Of *Crassus* sonnes, one of them did much resemble *Actius*, and therefore his mother had an ill name by him: one day this sonne of *Crassus* made an Oration before the Senate, which diuerse of them commended very much. So, *Cicero* being asked how he liked it: Me thinkes, said he, it is * *Actius* of *Crassus*. About this time, *Crassus* being ready to take his iourney into SYRIA, he desired to haue *Cicero* his friend, rather then his enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told *Cicero* that he would come and suppe with him. *Cicero* sayd he should be welcome. Shortly after some of his friends told him of

Ciceroes subtill and pleasant sayings.

The Stoickes opinion: A wise man is euer rich.

* Ἄξιος Κράσσου. *Actius, is a proper name of a Romaine, and* ἄξιος *in Greeke signifieth, worthy: So the grace of the equiuocation cannot be expressed in any other language.*

Vatinius,

Vatinius, how he was desirous to be made friends with him, for he was his enemie. What, quoth *Cicero*, and will he come to supper too? Thus he vsed *Crassus*. Now this *Vatinius* hauing a swolne necke, one day pleading before *Cicero*, he called him the swolne Orator. Another time when he heard say that he was dead, and then that he was aliue againe: A vengeance on him, said he, that hath lyed so shamefully. Another time when *Cæsar* had made a law for the deuiding of the lands of CAMPANIA vnto the souldiers: diuerse of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very old man) said, he would neuer graunt it while he liued. *Cicero* pleasantly answered againe, Alas, tarie a litle, the good old man will not trouble you long. Another time there was one *Octauius*, supposed to be * an AFRICAN borne: he when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, said that he heard him not: *Cicero* presently answered him againe, And yet hast thou a hole bored through thine eare. Another time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had ouerthrowne mo men by his witnesse, then he had saued by his eloquence. I graunt, said *Cicero*, for indeed I haue more faith, then eloquence in me. So was there also a young man that was suspected to haue poisoned his father with a tart, that boasted he would reuile *Cicero*: I had rather haue that of thee, quoth *Cicero*, then thy tart. *Publius Sextius* also hauing a matter before the Iudges, entertained *Cicero*, with other of his Counsellers: but yet he would speake all himselfe, and giue none of the Oratours leaue to say any thing. In the end, when they saw plainely that the Iudges would discharge him, being readie to giue sentence: *Cicero* said vnto him, Bestirre thee hardily to day, for to morrow *Sextius* thou shalt be a priuate man. Another, one *Publius Cotta*, who would faine haue bene thought a wise Lawyer, and yet had litle wit and vnderstanding: *Cicero* appealed to him as a witnesse in a matter, and being examined, he answered he knew nothing of it. *Cicero* replyed to him againe: Thou thinkest peraduenture they aske thee touching the law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine disputation he had with *Cicero*, did many times repeate, Who is thy father? *Cicero* answered him againe: Thy mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This *Nepos* mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as subtill witted and vnconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exercise of his office, and went into SYRIA to *Pompey* vpon no occasion: and as fondly againe he turned thence vpon a sodaine. His schoolemaister *Philager* also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and set a crow of stone vpon the top of his tombe. *Cicero* seeing it, told him, Thou hast done very wisely: for thy Maister hath taught thee rather to flie, then to speake. Another time *Appius Clodius* pleading a matter, said in his preamble, that his friend had earnestly requested him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith vpon this matter. O gods, said *Cicero*, and hast thou shewed thy selfe so hard hearted to thy friend, to performe nothing of all that he requested thee? Now to vse these fine taunts and girds to his enemies, it was a part of a good Oratour: but so commonly to gird euery man to make the people laugh, that wanne him great ill will of many, as shall appeare by some examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two sonnes in law, who were both banished: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adrastus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chaunce also was Censor at that time, when *Cicero* sued to be Consul: and following his sute at the day of election, he was a thirst, and was driuen to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friends stood about him, and after he had drunke, he said vnto them: It is well done of ye (said he) to be affraid lest the Censor should be angrie with me becaus I drinke water: for it was reported the Censor loued wine well. Another time *Cicero* meeting one *Voconius*, with three fowle daughters of his with him, he cryed out aloude:

This man hath gotten children in despite of Phœbus.

It was thought in ROME that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free parents by father and mother, who reading certaine letters one day in the Senate very loude: *Cicero* said vnto them that were about him, Wonder not at it, quoth he, for this man hath bene a Cryer in his dayes. *Faustus*, the sonne of *Sylla* Dictator at ROME, which set vp billes outlawing diuerse ROMAINES, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without daunger where they found them: this man after he had spent the most part of his fathers goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driuen to sell his houshold stuffe, by billes set vp on euery post. *Cicero* when he saw them, Yea marie, said he, these billes please me better, then those which his father set vp. These taunts and common quippes without purpose, made diuerse men to malice him. The great ill-will that *Clodius* bare him, beganne vpon this occasion. *Clodius* was of a noble house, a young man, and very wild and insolent: he being in loue with *Pompeia Cæsars* wife, found the meanes

* *Because the Africans haue comonly theer eares bored through.*

The malice betwixt Cicero and Clodius.

ſecretly to get into *Cæſars* houſe, apparelled like a young ſinging wench, becauſe on that day the Ladies of ROME did ſolemnly celebrate a ſecret ſacrifice in *Cæſars* houſe, which is not lawfull for men to be preſent at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he ſhould not haue bene knowne, becauſe he was but a young man without any haire on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongſt the other women. He being gotten into this great houſe by night, not knowing the roomes and chambers in it: there was one of *Cæſars* mothers maydes of her chamber called *Aurelia*, who ſeeing him wandring vp and downe the houſe in this ſort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being forced to anſwer, he ſaid he ſought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeiaes* maydes. The maide perceiued ſtraight it was no womans voyce, and therewithall gaue a great ſhrich, and called the other women, the which did ſee the gates faſt ſhut, and then ſought euery corner vp and downe, ſo that at length they found him in the maides chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was ſtraight blowne abroad in the citie, whereupon *Cæſar* put his wife away: and one of the Tribunes alſo accuſed *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy ceremonies of the ſacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had euer accompanied him to guard him, if any man would haue offered him iniurie in the buſie time of the conſpiracie of *Catiline*. *Clodius* ſtoutly denyed the matter he was burdened with, and ſaid that he was not in ROME at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gaue euidence againſt him, and depoſed, that the ſelfe ſame day he came home to his houſe vnto him, to ſpeake with him about certaine matters. This indeed was true, though it ſeemeth *Cicero* gaue not this euidence ſo much for the truthes ſake, as to pleaſe his wife *Terentia*: for ſhe hated *Clodius* to the death, becauſe of his ſiſter *Clodia* that would haue maried *Cicero*, and did ſecretly practiſe the mariage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friend, and becauſe he repaired very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt hard by *Cicero*, *Terentia* began to ſuſpect him. *Terentia* being a cruell woman, and wearing her husbands breeches: allured *Cicero* to ſet vpon *Clodius* in his aduerſitie, and to witneſſe againſt him, as many other honeſt men of the citie alſo did: Some that he was periured, others that he committed a thouſand lewde parts, that he bribed the people with money, that he had enticed and deflowred many women. *Lucullus* alſo brought foorth certaine maidens, which depoſed that *Clodius* had deflowred the youngeſt of his owne ſiſters, ſhe being in houſe with him, and maried. And there went a great rumour alſo, that he knew his two other ſiſters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and maried vnto king *Martius*: and the other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had maried, and whome they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: becauſe one of her Paramours ſent her a purſe full of Quadrynes (which are litle peeces of copper money) in ſtead of ſiluer. *Clodius* was ſlaundered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithſtanding, the people were very much offended with them that gaue euidence againſt him, and accuſed him. The Iudges being affraid of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his iudgment, for the ſafetie of their perſons: and in the tables where they wrote their ſentences, their letters for the moſt part were confuſedly ſet downe. This notwithſtanding, it was found that he was quit by the greateſt number: and it was reported alſo that ſome of them were cloſe fiſted. *Catulus* therfore meeting with ſome of them going home, after they had giuen their ſentence, told them: Surely ye had good reaſon to be well guarded for your ſafetie, for you were afraid your mony ſhould haue bene taken from you, which you tooke for bribes. And *Cicero* ſaid vnto *Clodius*, who reproued him that his witneſſe was not true he gaue againſt him: Cleane contrary, quoth *Cicero*, for fiue and twenty of the Iudges haue beleeued me, being ſo many that haue condemned thee, and the thirtie would not beleeue thee, for they would not quit thee before they had fingred mony. Notwithſtanding in this iudgement *Cæſar* neuer gaue euidence againſt *Clodius*: and ſaid moreouer, that he did not thinke his wife had committed any adultery, howbeit that he had put her away, becauſe he would that *Cæſars* wife ſhould not only be cleane from any diſhoneſtie, but alſo void of all ſuſpition. *Clodius* being quit of this accuſation and trouble, and hauing alſo found meanes to be choſen Tribune: he began ſtraight to perſecute *Cicero*, changing all things, and ſtirring vp all manner of people againſt him. Firſt he wanne the goodwill of the common people by deuiſing of new lawes which he preferred for their benefite and commoditie: to both the Conſuls he graunted great and large Prouinces: vnto *Piſo*, MACEDON, and to *Gabinius*, SYRIA. He made alſo many poore men free Citizens, and had alwaies about him a great number of ſlaues armed. At that preſent time there were three notable mē in ROME, which

Cicero gaue euidence againſt Clodius.

The wicked parts of Clodius.

** Some old bookes do reade Tertia.*

Clodius quit, and found not guiltie.

Cæſars words of the putting away his wife Pompeia.

Clodius choſen Tribune of the people.

Piſo and Gabinius Conſuls.

caried

caried all the sway: *Crassus* that shewed himselfe an open enemie vnto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made much both of the one and the other: the third was *Cæsar*, who was prepared for his iourny into GAVLE with an armie, *Cicero* did leane vnto him, (though he knew him no fast friend of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in *Catilines* conspiracy) and prayed him that he might go to the wars with him, as one of his Lieutenants. *Cæsar* granted him. Thereupon *Clodius* perceiuing that by this meanes he got him out of the daunger of his office of Tribuneship for that yeare, he made faire weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himselfe vnto him) and told him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done against him, then of himselfe, and alwaies spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and said he did thinke nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a litle grieue him, that being a friend, he was offered vnkindnesse by his friend. These sweet words made *Cicero* no more afraid, so that he gaue vp his Lieutenancie vnto *Cæsar*, and began againe to plead as he did before. *Cæsar* took this in such disdaine, that he hardened *Clodius* the more against him, and besides, made *Pompey* his enemy. And *Cæsar* himselfe also said before all the people, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest vniustly to death, and contrary to law, without lawfull triall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accused. Therupon *Cicero* seeing himselfe accused for this fact, he changed his vsuall gowne he wore, and put on a mourning gowne: and so suffering his beard and haire of his head to grow without any combing, he went in this humble manner, and sued to the people. But *Clodius* was euer about him in euerie place and street he went, hauing a sight of rascals and knaues with him, that shamefully mocked him for that he had chaunged his gowne and countenance in that sort, and oftentimes they cast dirt and stones at him, breaking his talke and requests he made vnto the people. This notwithstanding, all the Knights of ROME did in manner chaunge their gownes with him for company, and of them there were cõmonly 20 thousand yong Gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their haire about their eares, and were suters to the people for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decree that the people should mourne in blackes, as in a common calamity: but the Consuls were against it. And *Clodius* on the other side was with a band of armed men about the Senate, so that many of the Senatours ranne out of the Senate, crying, and tearing their clothes for sorrow. Howbeit, these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moued with pitie and shame: but either *Cicero* must needes absent himselfe, or else determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero* to intreat *Pompey* to aide him: but he absented himselfe of purpose out of the citie, because he would not be intreated, and lay at one of his houses in the country, neare vnto the citie of ALBA. So he first of all sent *Piso* his sonne in lawe vnto him to intreate him, and afterwards went himselfe in person to him. But *Pompey* being told that he was come, had not the hart to suffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had bene past all shame to haue refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him such pleasure, and also done and said so many things in his fauour. Howbeit *Pompey* being the sonne in law of *Cæsar*, did vnfortunatly (at his request) forsake him at his need, vnto whom he was bound for so many infinite pleasures, as he had receiued of him afore: and therefore when he heard say he came to him: he went out at his back-gate and would not speake with him. So *Cicero* seeing himselfe betrayed of him, and now hauing no other refuge to whom he might repaire vnto: he put himselfe into the hands of the two Consuls. Of them two, *Gabinius* was euer cruell, and churlish vnto him. but *Piso* on the other side spake alwaies very courteously vnto him, and prayed him to absent himselfe for a time, and to giue place a litle to *Clodius* furie, and patiently to beare the chaunge of the time. For in so doing, he might come againe another time to be the preseruer of his countrey, which was now for his sake in tumult and sedition. *Cicero* vpon this aunswer of the Consull, consulted with his friends: among the which *Lucullus* gaue him aduice to tarie, and said that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrarie opinion, and would haue him to get him away with speed: for the people would shortly wish for him againe, when they had once bene beaten with *Clodius* furie and follie. *Cicero* liked best to follow this counsell. Whereupon hauing had a statue of *Minerua* a long time in his house, the which he greatly reuerenced: he caried her himselfe, and gaue her to the Capitoll with this inscription: *Vnto Minerua Protectour of* ROME. So, his friends hauing giuen him safe conduct, he went out of ROME about midnight, and tooke his way through the countrey of LVKE by land, meaning to go into SICILE. When it was knowne in ROME that he was fled, *Clodius* did presently ba-

Crassus, Pompey, & Cæsar, three of the greatest men in Rome, tooke part vvith Clodius against Cicero.

Cicero accused of Clodius.

The Knights of Rome, and Senate chaunged garments for Ciceroes sake.

Pompey vvold not see Cicero beiug accused.

Ciceroes exile.

niſh him by decree of the people, and cauſed billes of inhibition to be ſet vp, that no man ſhould ſecretly receiue him within fiue hundred miles compaſſe of Italie. Howbeit diuerſe men reuerencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had vſed him with all manner of courteſie poſſible, they did conduct him beſides at his departure, ſauing one citie onely in Lvne, called at that time Hipponivm, and now Vibone: where a Sicilian called *Vibius*, (vnto whom *Cicero* before had done many pleaſures, and ſpecially among others, had made him Maiſter of the workes in the yeare that he was Conſull) would not once receiue him into his houſe, but promiſed him he would appoint him a place in the countrey that he might go vnto. And *Caius Virgilius* alſo, at that time Prætor and Gouernour of Sicile, who before had ſhewed himſelfe his very great friend: wrote then vnto him, that he ſhould not come neare vnto Sicile. This grieued him to the heart. Thereupon he went directly vnto the citie of Brvndvsivm, and there imbarked to paſſe ouer the ſea vnto Dyrrachivm, and at the firſt had wind at will: but when he was in the maine ſea, the wind turned, and brought him backe againe to the place from whence he came. But after that, he hoiſſed ſaile againe, and the report went, that at his arriuall at Dyrrachivm when he tooke land, the earth ſhooke vnder him, and the ſea gaue backe together: whereby the Soothſayers interpreted, that his exile ſhould not be long, becauſe both the one and the other was a token of chaunge. Yet *Cicero*, notwithſtanding that many men came to ſee him for the goodwill they bare him, and that the cities of Grece contended who ſhould moſt honour him, he was alwaies ſadde, and could not be merie, but caſt his eyes ſtill towards Italie, as paſſioned louers do towards the women they loue: ſhewing himſelfe faint hearted, and tooke this aduerſitie more baſely, then was looked for of one ſo well ſtudied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him Oratour, but rather Philoſopher: ſaying, that Philoſophie was his chiefeſt profeſſion, and that for his eloquence he did not vſe it, but as a neceſſarie inſtrument to one that pleadeth in the Commonwealth. But glorie and opinion, hath great power to take mans reaſon from him, euen like a colour, from the minds of them that are common pleaders in matters of ſtate, and to make them feele the ſelfe ſame paſſions that common people do, by daily frequenting their companie: vnleſſe they take great heed of them, and that they come to practiſe in the Commonwealth with this reſolute mind, to haue to do with the like matters that the common people haue, but not to entangle themſelues with the like paſſions and moodes, by the which their matters do riſe. Now *Clodius* was not contented that he had baniſhed *Cicero* out of Italie, but further, he burnt all his houſes in the countrey, and his houſe alſo in Rome ſtanding in the market place, of the which he built a Temple of Libertie, and cauſed his goods to be ſold by the Cryer: ſo that the Cryer was occupied all day long crying the goods to be ſold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chiefeſt men of the citie beginning to be affrayed of theſe violent parts, and hauing the common people at his commaundement, whom he had made very bold and inſolent: he began to inueigh againſt *Pompey*, and ſpake ill of his doings in the time of his warres, the which euerie man elſe but himſelfe did commend. *Pompey* then was very angrie with himſelfe that he had ſo forſaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his baniſhment. *Clodius* was againſt it all he could. The Senate notwithſtanding with one full conſent ordained, that nothing ſhould be eſtabliſhed for the Commonwealth, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment were firſt repealed. *Lentulus* was at that time Conſull, and there grew ſuch an vprore and ſtirre vpon it, that ſome of the Tribunes were hurt in the market place, and *Quintus Cicero* (the brother of *Cicero*) was ſlaine and hidden vnder the dead bodies. Then the people began to chaunge their minds. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the firſt man that durſt venture vpon *Clodius*, and bring him by force to be tryed before the Iudges. *Pompey* himſelfe alſo hauing gotten a great number of men about him, aſwell of the citie of Rome as of other townes adioyning to it, being ſtrongly guarded with them, he came out of his houſe, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the market place, and then called the people to giue their voyces for the calling home againe of *Cicero*. It is reported that the people neuer paſſed thing with ſo great goodwill, nor ſo wholly together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their parts alſo, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordained that the cities which had honoured and receiued *Cicero* in his exile, ſhould be greatly commended: and that his houſes which *Clodius* had ouerthrowne and raſed, ſhould be reedified at the charge of the commonwealth. So *Cicero* returned the ſixteenth moneth after his baniſhment, and the townes and cities he

Hipponium, aliás Vibone, a city in Luke.

A wonder ſhewed vnto Cicero in his exile.

Ciceroes faint heart in his exile.

The vvonderfull powver of glorie.

Pompey changing mind doth fauour Cicero.

Lentulus Conſull.

Cicero called home from baniſhment.

he came by, ſhewed themſelues ſo ioyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meete and honour him, with ſo great loue and affection, that *Ciceroes* report thereof afterwards came indeed ſhort of the very truth as it was. For he ſaid, that ITALIE brought him into ROME vpon their ſhoulders. Inſomuch as *Craſſus* himſelfe, who before his baniſhment was his enemie, went then with very good will vnto him, and became his friend, ſaying: That he did it for the loue of his ſonne, who loued *Cicero* with all his heart. Now *Cicero* being returned, he found a time when *Clodius* was out of the citie, and went with a good companie of his friends vnto the Capitol, and there tooke away the tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his acts that he had paſſed and done in the time of his Tribuneſhip. *Clodius* would afterwards haue accuſed *Cicero* for it: but *Cicero* aunſwered him, that he was not lawfully created Tribune, becauſe he was of the PATRICIANS, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneſhip was voide, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and ſpake againſt him, not for that he liked of *Clodius* doings, (but to the contrarie, vtterly miſliked all that he did) but becauſe he thought it out of all reaſon, that the Senate ſhould cancell all thoſe things which he had done and paſſed in his Tribuneſhip, and ſpecially, becauſe amongſt the reſt that was there which he himſelfe had done in the Iſle of CYPRVS, and in the citie of BYZANTIVM. Hereupon there grew ſome ſtrangeneſſe betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which notwithſtanding brake not out to open enmitie: but onely to an abſtinence of their wonted familiaritie, and acceſſe one to another. Shortly after, *Milo* ſlue *Clodius*. *Milo* being accuſed of murther, prayed *Cicero* to pleade his cauſe. The Senate fearing that this accuſation of *Milo*, (who was a hardie man, and of qualitie beſides) would moue ſome ſedition and vprore in the citie: they gaue commiſſion to *Pompey* to ſee iuſtice executed as well in this cauſe, as in other offences, that the citie might be quiet, and iudgement alſo executed with ſafetie. Thereupon *Pompey* the night before tooke the higheſt places of the market place, by his ſouldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* would be affrayed to ſee ſuch a number of harneſt men about him, being no vſuall matter, and that it might peraduenture hinder him to pleade his cauſe well: he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his Litter into the market place, and there to ſtay the comming of the Iudges, till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearefull in warres, but timorous alſo in pleading. For indeede he neuer beganne to ſpeake, but it was in feare: and when his eloquence was come to the beſt proofe and perfection, he neuer left his trembling and timorouſneſſe. Inſomuch that pleading a caſe for *Mutius Murana* (accuſed by *Cato*) ſtriuing to excell *Hortenſius*, whoſe pleading was very well thought of: he tooke no reſt all night, and what through watching, and the trouble of his mind, he was not very well, ſo that he was not ſo well liked for his pleading as *Hortenſius*. So, going to defend *Miloes* cauſe, when he came out of his Litter, and ſawe *Pompey* ſet aloft as if he had bene in a campe, and the market place compaſſed about with armed men, gliſtering in euery corner: it ſo amated him, that he could ſcant faſhion himſelfe to ſpeake, all the partes of him did ſo quake and tremble, and his voyce could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other ſide ſtood boldly by him himſelfe, without any feare at all of the iudgement of his cauſe, neither did he let his haire grow, as other men accuſed did: neither did he weare any mourning gowne, the which was (as it ſeemed) one of the chiefeſt cauſes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timorouſneſſe of *Cicero* came rather of the good will he bare vnto his friends, then of any cowardly mind of himſelfe. He was alſo choſen one of the Prieſts of the Soothſayers, which they call Augures, in the roome of *Publius Craſſus* the younger, who was ſlaine in the Realme of PARTHIA. Afterwards, the Prouince of CILICIA being appointed to him, with an armie of twelue thouſand footmen, and two thouſand & fiue hundred horſemen, he tooke the ſea to go thither. So when he was arriued there, he brought CAPPADOCIA againe into the ſubiection and obedience of king *Ariobarzanes*, according to his commiſſion and commandement giuen by the Senate: moreouer, both there and elſwhere he tooke as excellent good order as could be deuiſed, in reducing of things to quietneſſe without warres. Furthermore, finding that the CILICIANS were growne ſomewhat ſtout and vnruly, by the ouerthrow the ROMAINES had of the PARTHIANS, and by reaſon of the riſing and rebellion in SYRIA: he brought them vnto reaſon by gentle perſwaſions, and neuer receiued giftes that were ſent him, no not from Kings and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the Prouinces of the feaſtes and banquets they were wont to make other gouernours before him. On the other ſide alſo, he would euer haue the companie of good and learned men at his

Cicero taketh away the tables of Clodius acts out of the Capitoll.

Clodius the Tribune, ſlaine by Milo.

Cicero fearefull in warres, and timorous in pleading.

Cicero pleadeth Miloes caſe.

Cicero choſen Augure.

Cicero Proconſull of Cilicia.

Ciceroes integrity for the gouernment of his prouinces.

table, and would vſe them well, without curioſitie and exceſſe. He had neuer porter to his gate, nor was ſeene by any man in his bed: for he would alwaies riſe at the breake of day, and would walke or ſtand before his doore. He would courteouſly receiue all them that came to ſalute and viſite him. Further they report of him, that he neuer cauſed man to be beaten with roddes, nor to teare his owne garments. In his anger he neuer reuiled any man, neither did deſpitefully ſet fine vpon any mans head. Finding many things alſo belonging to the Commonwealth, which priuate men had ſtolen and imbeazled to their owne vſe: he reſtored againe vnto the cities, wherby they grew very rich and wealthie: and yet did ſaue their honour and credite that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt, but onely conſtrained them to reſtore that which was the Commonwealths. He made a litle warre alſo, and draue away the theeues that kept about the mountaine Amanus, for the which exploit his ſouldiers called him *Imperator*, to ſay, chiefe Captain. About that time there was an Orator called *Cæcilius*, who wrote vnto him from Rome, to pray him to ſend him ſome Leopards or Panthers out of Cilicia, becauſe he would ſhew the people ſome paſtime with them. *Cicero* boaſting of his doings, wrote to him againe, that there were no more Leopards in Cilicia, but that they were all fled into Caria for anger, that ſeeing all things quiet in Cilicia, they had leyſure now to hunt them. So when he returned towards Rome, from the charge of his gouernment, he came by Rhodes: and ſtayed a few daies at Athens, with great delight, to remember how pleaſantly he liued there before, at what time he ſtudied there. Thither came to him the chiefeſt learned men of the citie, and his friends alſo, with whom he was acquainted at his firſt being there. In fine, hauing receiued all the honourable intertainment in Greece that could be, he returned vnto Rome, where at his arriual he found great factions kindled, the which men ſaw plainly would grow in the end to ciuill warre. Therupon the Senate hauing decreed that he ſhould enter in triumph into the citie: he anſwered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæſars* coach in triumph. So he trauelled very earneſtly betweene *Pompey* and *Cæſar*, eftſoones writing vnto *Cæſar*, and alſo ſpeaking vnto *Pompey* that was preſent, ſeeking all the meanes he could, to take vp the quarrell and miſliking betwixt them two. But it was ſo impoſſible a matter, that there was no ſpeech of agreement would take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæſar* was not farre from Rome, he durſt no longer abide in Rome, but fled with diuers of the greateſt men in Rome. *Cicero* would not follow him when he fled, and therfore men thought he would take part with *Cæſar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a maruellous perplexitie, and could not eaſily determine what way to take. Wherupon he wrote in his Epiſtles: What way ſhould I take? *Pompey* hath the iuſter and honeſter cauſe of warre, but *Cæſar* can better execute, and prouide for himſelfe and his friends with better ſafetie: ſo that I haue meanes enough to flie, but none to whom I might repaire. In all this ſtirre, there was one of *Cæſars* friends called *Trebatius*, which wrote a letter vnto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæſar* wiſhed him in any caſe to come to him, and to run with him the hope & fortune he vndertook: but if he excuſed himſelfe by his age, that then he ſhould get him into Greece, and there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* maruelling that *Cæſar* wrote not to him himſelfe, anſwered in anger, that he would do nothing vnworthie of his acts all the daies of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his letters. Now *Cæſar* being gone into Spaine, *Cicero* imbarked preſently to go to *Pompey*. So when he came vnto him, euery man was very glad of his comming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* ſecretly reproued him for comming vnto *Pompey*, ſaying: that for himſelfe he had bene without all honeſty at that time to haue forſaken that part the which he had alwaies taken and followed from the beginning of his firſt practiſe in the commonwealth: but for him on the other ſide, that it had bene better for the ſafetie of his country, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had bene a newter to both, and ſo to haue taken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no maner of reaſon nor inſtant cauſe to make him to become *Cæſars* enemy, and by comming thither to put himſelfe into ſo great perill. Theſe perſwaſions of *Cato* ouerthrew all *Ciceroes* purpoſe and determination, beſides that *Pompey* himſelfe did not employ him in any matter of ſeruice or importance. But hereof himſelfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, becauſe he confeſſed openly that he did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he ſcorned and diſdained all *Pompeys* preparations and counſels, the which indeed made him to be had in iealouſie and ſuſpition. Alſo he would euer be fleering and gibing at thoſe that tooke *Pompeys* part, though he had no liſt himſelfe to be merrie. He would alſo go vp and downe the campe very ſad and heauie, but yet he would euer haue one ieaſt or other to make men laugh, although they had as litle

Mons Amanus.

Cicero called Imperator.

Cicero ſeeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwixt Pompey and Cæſar.

Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæſar.

Cicero goeth vnto Pompey.

luſt

luſt to be merrie as he: and ſurely, it ſhall do no hurt to call ſome of them to mind in this place. *Domitius* being verie deſirous to preferre a Gentleman to haue charge of men, to recommend him, he ſaid he was an honeſt, wiſe, and ſober man. Whereto *Cicero* preſently anſwered: Why doeſt thou not keepe him then to bring vp thy children? Another time when they commended *Theophanes* LESBIAN, (that was maiſter of all the artificers of the campe) becauſe he had notably comforted the RHODIANS when they had receiued a great loſſe of their nauie: See, ſaid *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to haue a GRECIAN, maiſter of artificers in the campe? When both battels came to ioyne together, and that *Cæſar* had in manner all the aduantage, and kept them as good as beſieged: *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard ſay all *Cæſars* friends were mad, and melancholy men. Why, quoth *Cicero* to him againe: doeſt thou ſay that they do enuie *Cæſar*? Another called *Martius*, comming lately out of ITALY, ſaid, that there ranne a rumour in ROME, that *Pompey* was beſieged. What quoth *Cicero* to him againe: and didſt thou take ſhip to come and ſee him thy ſelfe, becauſe thou mighteſt beleeue it when thou hadſt ſeene it? *Pompey* being ouerthrowne, one *Nonius* ſaid there was yet good hope left, becauſe they had taken ſeuen Eagles within *Pompeys* campe. Thy perſwaſion were not ill, quoth *Cicero*, ſo we were to fight but with pies or daws. *Labienus* repoſed all his truſt in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of neceſſitie muſt haue the vpper hand. Yea ſaid *Cicero*, but for all this goodly ſtratageme of war, we haue not long ſince loſt our whole campe. After the battell of PHARSALIA, where *Cicero* was not by reaſon of his ſicknes: *Pompey* being fled, and *Cato* at that time at DYRRACHIVM, where he had gathered a great number of men of warre, and had alſo prepared a great nauie: he prayed *Cicero* to take charge of all this armie, as it pertained vnto him, hauing bene Conſull. *Cicero* did not only refuſe it, but alſo told them he would meddle no more with this warre. But this was inough to haue made him bin ſlaine: for the yonger *Pompey* and his friends called him traitor, and drew their ſwords vpon him to kill him, which they had done, had not *Cato* ſtepped betweene them and him, and yet had he much ado to ſaue him, and to conuey him ſafely out of the campe. When *Cicero* came to BRVNDVSIVM, he ſtayed there a certaine time for *Cæſars* comming, who came but ſlowly, by reaſon of his troubles he had in ASIA, as alſo in ÆGYPT. Howbeit newes was brought at length that *Cæſar* was arriued at TARENTVM, and that he came by land vnto BRVNDVSIVM: *Cicero* departed thence to go meete him, not miſtruſting that *Cæſar* would not pardon him, but rather being aſhamed to come to his enemie being a conquerour, before ſuch a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to do or ſpeake any thing vnſeemely to his calling: for *Cæſar* ſeeing him comming towards him farre before the reſt that came with him: he lighted from his horſe and imbraced him, and walked a great way a foote with him, ſtill talking with him onely, and euer after he did him great honour and made much of him. Inſomuch as *Cicero* hauing written a booke in praiſe of *Cato*: *Cæſar* on the other ſide wrote another, and praiſed the eloquence and life of *Cicero*, matching it with the life of *Pericles*, and *Theramines*. *Ciceroes* booke was intituled *Cato*, and *Cæſars* booke called *Anticato*, as much to ſay as againſt *Cato*. They ſay further, that *Quintus Ligarius* being accuſed to haue bene in the field againſt *Cæſar*, *Cicero* tooke vpon him to defend his cauſe: and that *Cæſar* ſaid vnto his friends about him, What hurt is it for vs to heare *Cicero* ſpeake, whom we haue not heard of long time? for otherwiſe *Ligarius* (in my opinion) ſtandeth alreadie a condemned man, for I know him to be a vile man, and mine enemie. But when *Cicero* had begun his Oration, he moued *Cæſar* maruellouſly, he had ſo ſweete a grace, and ſuch force in his words: that it is reported *Cæſar* chaunged colour often, and ſhewed plainely by his countenance, that there was a maruellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the Orator came to touch the battell of PHARSALIA, then was *Cæſar* ſo troubled, that his bodie ſhooke withall, and beſides, certaine bookes he had fell out of his hands, and he was driuen againſt his will to ſet *Ligarius* at libertie. Afterwards, when the common-wealth of ROME came to be a kingdome: *Cicero* leauing to practiſe any more in the ſtate, he gaue himſelfe to reade Philoſophie to the young men that came to heare him: by whoſe acceſſe vnto him (becauſe they were the chiefeſt of the Nobilitie in ROME) he came againe to beare as great ſway and authoritie in ROME as euer he had done before. His ſtudie and endeuour was, to write matters of Philoſophie dialogue wiſe, and to tranſlate out of Greeke into Latine, taking paines to bring all the Greeke words, which are proper vnto Logicke and naturall cauſes, vnto Latine. For he was the firſt man by report, that gaue Latine names vnto theſe Greeke words, which are proper vnto Philoſophers, as, φαντασία, he termed, *Viſio*. Κατάθεσις, *Aſſenſus*. Ἐποχὴ, *Aſſenſus cohibitio*. Κατάληψις,

Cato gaue place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the nauie at Dyrrachium.

The force of Ciceroes eloquence, how it altered Cæſar.

Ciceroes life vnder Cæſar.

Comprehenſio. Τὸ ἄτομον, *Corpus indiuiduum.* Τὸ ἁμιγὲς, *Corpus ſimplex.* Τὸ κενον, *Vacuum*, and many other ſuch like words. But though he were not the firſt, yet was it he that moſt did deuiſe and vſe them, and turned ſome of them by tranſlation, others into proper termes: ſo that at length they came to be well taken, knowne, and vnderſtood of euery man. And for his readineſſe in writing of verſes, he would vſe them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whenſoeuer he took in hand to make any, he would diſpatch 500. of them in a night. Now all that time of his recreation and pleaſure, he would commonly beat ſome of his houſes in the country, which he had neare vnto THVSCVLVM, from whence he would write vnto his friends, that he led *Laertes* life: either ſpoken merily as his maner was, or elſe pricked forward with ambition, deſiring to returne againe to be a practiſer in the commonwealth, being weary with the preſent time and ſtate therof. Howſoeuer it was, he came oftentimes to ROME, onely to ſee *Cæſar* to keepe him his friend, and would euer be the firſt man to confirme any honors decreed vnto him, and was alwaies ſtudious to vtter ſome new matter to praiſe him and his doings. As that was he ſaid touching the ſtatues of *Pompey*, the which being ouerthrowne, *Cæſar* commaunded them to be ſet vp againe, and ſo they were. For *Cicero* ſaid, that by that curteſie in ſetting vp of *Pompeys* ſtatues againe, he did eſtabliſh his own. So *Cicero* being determined to write all the ROMAINE hiſtory, and to mingle with them many of the GRECIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and deuiſes which they do write and report: he was hindred of his purpoſe againſt his wil, by many open and priuate troubles that came vpon him at once: whereof notwithſtanding he himſelf was cauſe of the moſt of them. For

Cicero did put away his wife Terentia.

firſt of all, he did put away his wife *Terentia*, becauſe ſhe had made but ſmall account of him in all the warres: ſo that he departed from ROME hauing no neceſſary thing with him to entertaine him out of his countrie, and yet when he came backe againe into ITALY, ſhe neuer ſhewed any ſparke of loue or good will towards him. For ſhe neuer came to BRVNDVSIVM to him, where he remained a long time: and worſe then that, his daughter hauing the heart to take ſo long a iorney in hand to go to him, ſhe niether gaue her cõpanie to conduct her, nor mony nor other furniture conuenient for her, but ſo handled the matter, that *Cicero* at his returne to ROME found bare wals in his houſe and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt beſides. And theſe were the honeſteſt cauſes alleaged for their diuorſe. But beſides that *Terentia* denied all theſe, *Cicero* himſelfe

Cicero maried a yong maiden.

gaue her a good occaſion to cleare her ſelfe, becauſe he ſhortly after maried a yong maiden, being fallen in fancie with her (as *Terentia* ſaid) for her beautie: or, as *Tyro* his ſeruant wrote, for her riches, to the end that with her goods he might pay his debts. For ſhe was very rich, and *Cicero* alſo was appointed her gardian, ſhe being left ſole heire. Now, becauſe he ought a maruellous ſumme of money, his parents and friends did counſell him to marry this yong maiden, notwithſtanding he was too old for her, becauſe that with her goods he might ſatisfie his creditors. But *Antonius* ſpeaking of this mariage of *Cicero*, in his anſwers and orations he made againſt the PHILIPPIANS: he doth reproue him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was growne old, being merrie with him by the way for that he had bene an idle man, and neuer went from the ſmoke of his chimney, nor had bene abroade in the warres in any ſeruice of his countrey or common wealth. Shortly after that he had maried his ſecond wife, his daughter died in labour of child, in *Lentulus* houſe, whoſe ſecond wife ſhe was, being before maried vnto *Piſo*, who was her firſt husband. So the Philoſophers and learned men came of all ſides to comfort him: but he tooke her death ſo ſorowfully, that he put away his ſecond wife, becauſe he thought ſhe did reioyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the ſtate and troubles of his houſe. Now touching the con-

Cicero not made priuie to the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar.

ſpiracie againſt *Cæſar*, he was not made priuy to it, although he was one of *Brutus* greateſt friends, and that it grieued him to ſee things in that ſtate they were brought vnto, & albeit alſo he wiſhed for the time paſt, as much as any other man did. But indeed the conſpirators were afraid of his nature, that lacked hardineſſe: and of his age, the which oftentimes maketh the ſtouteſt and moſt hardieſt natures, faint harted and cowardly. Notwithſtanding, the conſpiracie being executed by *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, *Cæſars* friends being gathered together, euery man was afraid that the citie would againe fall into ciuil warres. And *Antonius* alſo, who was Conſul at that time, did aſſemble the Senate, and made ſome ſpeech and motion then to draw things againe vnto quietnes. But *Cicero* hauing vſed diuers perſwaſions fit for the time, in the end he moued the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a generall obliuion of things done againſt *Cæſar*, and to aſſigne vnto *Brutus* and *Caſſius* ſome gouernements of prouinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themſelues were ſorie, when they ſaw *Cæſars* bodie brought through the

market

market place. And when *Antonius* also did shew them his gowne all bebloudied, cut, and thrust through with swords: then they were like mad men for anger, and sought vp and downe the market place if they could meete with any of them that had slaine him: and taking firebrands in their hands, they ranne to their houses to set them a fire. But the conspirators hauing preuented this daunger, saued themselues: and fearing that if they taried at Rome, they should haue many such alarmes, they forsooke the citie. Then *Antonius* began to looke aloft, and became fearefull to all men, as though he meant to make himselfe King: but yet most of all vnto *Cicero* aboue all others. For *Antonius* perceiuing that *Cicero* began againe to increase in credit and authoritie, and knowing that he was *Brutus* very friend, he did misliketo see him come neare him, and besides, there was at that time some iealousie betwixt them, for the diuersitie and difference of their maners and dispositions. *Cicero* being afraid of this, was first of all in mind to go with *Dolabella* to his Prouince of Syria, as one of his Lieutenants: But they that were appointed to be Consuls the next yeare following after *Antonius*, two noble Citizens, and *Ciceroes* great friends, *Hircius* and *Pansa*: they intreated him not to forsake them, vndertaking that they would plucke downe this ouer-great power of *Antonius*, so he would remaine with them. But *Cicero*, neither beleeuing nor altogether mistrusting them, forsooke *Dolabella*, and promised *Hircius* and *Pansa*, that he would spend the sommer at Athens, and that he would returne againe to Rome so soone as they were entred into their Consulship. With this determination *Cicero* tooke sea alone, to go into Greece. But as it chaunceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not saile, and newes came to him daily from Rome, (as the manner is,) that *Antonius* was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authoritie and consent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his person to make all things well. Then *Cicero* condemning his dastardly feare, returned forthwith to Rome, not being deceiued in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meete him, that he could do nothing all day long but take them by the hands, and imbrace them, who to honour him, came to meete him at the gate of the citie, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning *Antonius* assembled the Senate, and called for *Cicero* by name. *Cicero* refused to go, and kept his bed, fayning that he was wearie with his iourny and paines he had taken the day before: but indeed the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspition of an ambush that was laid for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. *Antonius* was maruellously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying any ambush for him: and therefore sent souldiers to his house, and commanded them to bring him by force, or else to set his house a fire. After that time, *Cicero* and he were alwaies at iarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heed of another: vntill that the young *Cæsar* returning from the citie of Apollonia, came as lawfull heire vnto *Iulius Cæsar* Dictator, and had contention with *Antonius* for the summe of two thousand and fiue hundred Myriades, the which *Antonius* kept in his hands of his fathers goods. Thereupon *Philip* who had maried the mother of this young *Cæsar*, and *Marcellus*, who had also maried his sister, went with young *Cæsar* vnto *Cicero*, and there agreed together, that *Cicero* should helpe young *Cæsar* with the fauour of his authoritie and eloquence, as well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that *Cæsar* in recompence of his goodwill should stand by *Cicero*, with his money and souldiers: for this young *Cæsar* had many of his fathers old souldiers about him, that had serued vnder him. Now there was another cause that made *Cicero* glad to imbrace the friendship of this young *Cæsar*, and that was this. Whilst *Pompey* and *Iulius Cæsar* were aliue, and in good case, *Cicero* dreamed one night that the Senators sons were called into the Capitoll, because *Iupiter* had appointed to shew them him that one day should come to be Lord and king of Rome, and that the Romains being desirous to see who it should be, ran al vnto the temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded gownes of purple, vntill that sodainly the doores of the temple were open, and then that all the children rose one after another, and went and passed by the image of *Iupiter*, who looked vpon them all, and sent them away discontented, sauing this yong *Cæsar*, vnto whom he put foorth his hand as he passed by, and said: My Lords of Rome, this child is he that shall end all your ciuill wars, when he commeth to be Lord of Rome. Some say, that *Cicero* had this vision in his dreame, and that he caried in good memorie the looke of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of *Mars*, where these young boyes did exercise themselues, who, when they came thither, had broken vp from playing, and were going home, and

Priuat grudge betwixt Antonius and Cicero.

Cicero saileth into Greece.

Ill will betwixt Cicero and Antonius.

Cicero & Octauius Cæsar ioyned in friendship.

Ciceroes dream of Octauius, adopted sonne of Iulius Cæsar

that amongst them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, & knew him very wel, and musing at him the more, asked him whose sonne he was. The boy answered that he was the sonne of one *Octauius* (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of *Accia*, the sister of *Iulius Cæsar*: who hauing no child, made him his heire by his last will and testament, and left him all his lands and goods. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was very glad to speake to him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked *Ciceroes* friendship, and making of him: for by good hap the boy was borne the same yeare that *Cicero* was Consull. And these be the reasons alleaged, why *Cicero* did fauour this yong *Cæsar*. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare vnto *Antonius*, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honour, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young *Cæsars* friend: knowing that the force and power of his souldiers, would greatly strengthen his authoritie and countenance in managing the affaires of the state, besides that the yong man could flattter him so well, that he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epistles he wrote vnto *Atticus*, he sharply reproueth *Cicero*, saying, that for feare of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Cæsar*: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seeke for the libertie of Rome, as he did procure himselfe a louing and gentle maister. This notwithstanding, *Brutus* brought with him *Ciceroes* son that studied Philosophie at Athens, and gaue him charge of men vnder him, and employed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed himselfe very forward and valiant. Now *Ciceroes* authoritie and power grew again to be so great in Rome, as euer it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed *Antonius*, that he draue him out of the citie, and sent the two Consuls *Hircius* and *Pansa* against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that yong *Cæsar* should haue sergeants to carie rods and axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his countrey. After that *Antonius* had lost the battell, and that both the Consuls were slaine, both the armies came vnto *Cæsar*. The Senate then being afraid of this young man, that had so great good fortune, they practised by honours and gifts to call the armies from him, which he had about him, and so to minish the greatnesse of his power: saying, that their countrey now stood in no neede of force nor feare of defence, sith her enemie *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Cæsar* fearing this, sent men secretly vnto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls, and that whē they should be in office, he should do and appoint what he thought good, hauing the yong man at his commaundement, who desired no more but the honour onely of the name. *Cæsar* himselfe confessed afterwards, that being afraid he should haue bene vtterly cast away, to haue bene left alone: he finely serued his turne by *Ciceroes* ambitiō, hauing perswaded him to require the Consulship, through the helpe and assistance that he would giue him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a yong man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends presently reproued him for it, and shortly after he perceiued he had vndone himselfe, and together also lost the liberty of his country. For this yong man *Octauius Cæsar* being growne to be very great by his meanes and procurement: when he saw that he had the Consullship vpon him, he forsooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*. Then ioyning his army with theirs, he deuided the Empire of Rome with them, as if it had bene lands left in common betweene them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and vpwards, whom they had appointed to be slaine. But the greatest difficulty and difference that fell out betweene them, was about the outlawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* would hearken to no peace betweene them, vnlesse *Cicero* were slaine first of all: *Lepidus* was also in the same mind with *Antonius*: but *Cæsar* was against them both. Their meeting was by the citie of Bolonia, where they continued three dayes together, they three onely secretly consulting in a place enuironed about with a litle riuer. Some say that *Cæsar* stucke hard with *Cicero* the two first daies, but at the third, that he yeelded and forsooke him. The exchaunge they agreed vpon betweene them, was this. *Cæsar* forsooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus*: and *Antonius*, *Lucius Cæsar* his vnkle by the mothers side. Such place tooke wrath in them, as they regarded no kindred nor bloud: and to speak more properly, they shewed that no brute or sauage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnes he haue liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a house of his in the country, by the city of Thvscvlvm, hauing at home with him also his brother *Q. Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions or outlawries, appointing men to be slaine: they determined to go to Astyra, a place by the sea side where *Cicero* had another house, there to take sea,

Octauius and Accia, the parents of Octauius Cæsar.

Octauius Cæsar was borne in the yeare of Ciceroes Consulship.

Ciceroes great power at Rome

Octauius Cæsar sueth to be Consull.

Octauius Cæsar forsaketh Cicero.

Note the fickelnesse of youth.

The meeting of the Triumuiri: Antonius, Lepidus, Octauius Cæsar.

Cicero appointed to be slaine.

ſea, and from thence to go into MACEDON vnto *Brutus*. For there ranne a rumour that *Brutus* was very ſtrong, and had a great power. So they cauſed themſelues to be conueyed thither in two Litters, both of them being ſo weake with ſorrow and griefe, that they could not otherwiſe haue gone their waies. As they were on their way, both their Litters going as neare to each other as they could, they bewailed their miſerable eſtate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who tooke it moſt grieuouſly. For, remembring that he tooke no money with him when he came from his houſe, and that *Cicero* his brother alſo had very litle for himſelfe: he thought it beſt that *Cicero* ſhould hold on his iourney, whileſt he himſelfe made an errand home to fetch ſuch things as he lacked, and ſo to make haſt againe to ouertake his brother. They both thought it beſt ſo, and then tenderly embracing one another, the teares falling from their eyes, they tooke leaue of each other. Within few daies after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his owne ſeruants, vnto them that made ſearch for him, he was cruelly ſlaine, and his ſonne with him. But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being caried vnto ASTYRA, and there finding a ſhip readie, imbarked immediatly, and ſailed alongſt the coaſt vnto Mount Circe, hauing a good gale of wind. There the Mariners determining foorthwith to make ſaile againe, he came a ſhore, either for feare of the ſea, or for that he had ſome hope that *Cæſar* had not altogether forſaken him: and therewithall returning towards ROME by land, he had gone about an hundred furlongs thence. But then being at a ſtraight how to reſolue, and ſodainly chaunging his mind: he would needs be caried backe againe to the ſea, where he continued all night maruellous ſorrowfull, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in mind to go ſecretly vnto *Octauius Cæſars* houſe, and to kill himſelfe by the hearth of his chimney, to make the Furies of hell to reuenge his bloud: but being affraid to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he turned from that determination. Then falling into other vnaduiſed determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himſelfe againe into his ſeruants hands, to be conueyed by ſea to another place called * CAPITES. There he had a very proper pleaſant ſommer houſe, where the North winds, called Eteſiæ, do giue a trimme freſh aire in the ſommer ſeaſon. In that place alſo there is a litle temple dedicated vnto *Apollo*, not farre from the ſea ſide. From thence there came a great ſhole of crowes, making a maruellous noiſe, that came flying towards *Ciceroes* ſhippe, which rowed vpon the ſhore ſide. This ſhole of crowes came and lighted vpon the yard of their ſaile, ſome crying, and ſome pecking the cords with their billes: ſo that euery man iudged ſtraight, that this was a ſigne of ill luck at hand. *Cicero* notwithſtanding this, came a ſhore and went into his houſe, and laid him downe to ſee if he could ſleepe. But the moſt part of theſe crowes came and lighted vpon the chamber window where he lay, making a wonderfull great noiſe: and ſome of them got vnto *Ciceroes* bed where he lay, the clothes being caſt ouer his head, and they neuer left him, till by litle and litle they had with their billes pluckt off the clothes that couered his face. His men ſeeing that, and ſaying to themſelues that they were too vile beaſtes, if they would tarie to ſee their maiſter ſlaine before their eyes, conſidering that brute beaſts had care to ſaue his life, ſeeing him ſo vnworthily intreated, and that they ſhould not do the beſt they could to ſaue his life: partly by intreatie, and partly by force, they put him againe into his Litter to carie him to the ſea. But in the meane time came the murderers appointed to kill him, *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Læna*, Tribune of the ſouldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thouſand men, whoſe cauſe *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Iudges, when he was accuſed for the murther of his owne father) hauing ſouldiers attending vpon them. So *Ciceroes* gate being ſhut, they entred the houſe by force, and miſſing him, they asked them of the houſe what was become of him. They anſwered, they could not tell. Howbeit, there was a yong boy in the houſe called *Philologus*, a ſlaue infranchiſed by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought vp in the Latine tong, and had taught him the liberall ſciences: he told this *Herennius*, that his ſeruants caried him in a Litter towards the ſea, through darke narrow lanes, ſhadowed with wood on either ſide. *Popilius* the Colonell taking ſome ſouldiers with him, ranne about on the out ſide of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them: and *Herennius* on the other ſide entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him coming, commaunded his men to ſet downe his Litter, and taking his beard in his left hand, as his manner was, he ſtoutly looked the murtherers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinckled, for the extreame ſorrowes he had taken: diuerſe of them that were by, held their hands before their eyes, whileſt *Herennius* did cruelly murther him. So *Cicero* being threeſcore and foure yeares of age, thruſt his necke out of the Litter, and had his head cut off by *Antonius* commaundement, and his hands alſo, which wrote the Ora-

Quintus Cicero ſlaine.

** Some do reade Caieta.*

A wonderous matter foreſhewed by crowes vnto Cicero.

Herennius & Popilius ſent to kill M.T. Cicero.

M.T. Cicero ſlaine by Herennius.

tions (called the Philippians) against him. For so did *Cicero* call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and do yet continue the same name vntill this present time. When these poore dismembred members were brought to Rome, *Antonius* by chaunce was busily occupied at that time about the election of certaine Officers: who when he heard of them and saw them, he cryed out aloud that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereupon commaunded his head and his hands should straight be set vp ouer the pulpit for Orations, in the place called Rostra. This was a fearefull and horrible sight vnto the Romaines, who thought they saw not *Ciceroes* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and disposition: who among so many wicked deedes as he committed, yet he did one act onely that had some shew of goodnesse, which was this. He deliuered *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when she had him, besides other cruell torments she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne flesh off by litle morsels, and to broile them, and then to eate them. Some Historiographers do thus report it: but *Tyro* who was a slaue infranchised by *Cicero*, made no mention of the treason of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I vnderstood that *Cæsar Augustus* long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hand of *Ciceroes*: and he fearing left his Vncle would be angrie to find that booke in his hands, thought to hide it vnder his gowne. *Cæsar* saw it, and tooke it from him, and read the most part of it standing, and then deliuered it to the young boy, and said vnto him: He was a wise man indeed, my child, and loued his countrey well. After he had slaine *Antonius*, being Consull, he made *Ciceroes* sonne his colleague and fellow Consull with him, in whose time the Senate ordained that the images of *Antonius* should be throwne downe, and depriued his memorie of all other honours: adding further vnto his decree, that from thencefoorth none of the house and familie of the *Antonij* should euer after beare the christen name of *Marcus*. So Gods iustice made the extreame reuenge and punishment of *Antonius* to fall into the house of *Cicero*.

Ciceroes head and hands set vp ouer the pulpit for Orations.

A strange and cruell punishment taken by Pomponia, (Quintus Ciceroes wife) of Philologus for betraying of his maister.

Augustus Cæsars testimonie of Cicero.

Ciceroes sonne Consull with Augustus Cæsar.

The decree of the Senate against Antonius being dead.

THE COMPARISON OF *Cicero with Demosthenes.*

THis is as much as we could gather by our knowledge touching the notable actes and deedes worthie of memorie, written of *Cicero* and *Demosthenes*. Furthermore, leauing the comparison aside of the difference of their eloquence in their Orations: me thinkes I may say thus much of them. That *Demosthenes* did wholly employ all his wit and learning (naturall or artificiall) vnto the Art of Rhetoricke, and that in force and vertue of eloquence he did excell all the Oratours in his time: and for grauitie and magnificent stile, all those also that onely write for shew or ostentation: and for sharpenesse and art, all the Sophisters, and masters of Rhetoricke. And that *Cicero* was a man generally learned in all sciences, and that

Demosthenes eloquence.

that had ſtudied diuerſe bookes, as appeareth plainely by the ſundry bookes of Philoſophy of his owne making, written after the maner of the Academicke Philoſophers. Furthermore, they may ſee in his Orations he wrote in certaine cauſes to ſerue him when he pleaded: that he ſought occaſions in his by-talke to ſhew men that he was excellently well learned. Furthermore, by their phraſes a man may diſcerne ſome ſparke of their maners and conditions. For *Demoſthenes* phraſe hath no maner of fineneſſe, geſts, nor grace in it, but is altogether graue and harſh, and not only ſmelleth of the lampe, as *Pythias* ſayd when he mocked him: but ſheweth a great drinker of water, extreame paines, and therewith alſo a ſharpe and ſower nature. But *Cicero* oftentimes fell from pleaſant taunts, vnto plaine ſcurrility, and turning all his pleadings of matters of importance, to ſport and laughter, hauing a grace in it, many times he did forget the comelineſſe that became a man of his calling. As in his Oration for *Cælius*, where he ſayth, It is no maruell if in ſo great abundance of wealth and fineneſſe he giue himſelfe a litle to take his pleaſure: and that it was a folly not to vſe pleaſures lawfull and tollerable, ſith the famouſeſt Philoſophers that euer were, did place the chiefe felicity of man, to be in pleaſure. And it is reported alſo that *Marcus Cato* hauing accuſed *Muræna*, *Cicero* being Conſull, defended his cauſe, and in his Oration pleaſantly girded all the ſect of the Stoicke Philoſophers for *Catoes* ſake, for the ſtrange opinions they hold, which they call Paradoxes: in ſo much as he made all the people and Iudges alſo fall a laughing a good. And *Cato* himſelfe alſo ſmiling a litle, ſayd vnto them that ſate by him: What a laughing and mocking Conſull haue we, my Lords? But letting that paſſe, it ſeemeth that *Cicero* was of a pleaſant and merry nature: for his face ſhewed euer great life and mirth in it. Whereas in *Demoſthenes* countenance on the other ſide, they might diſcerne a maruellous diligence and care, and a penſiue man, neuer weary with paine: inſomuch that his enemies (as he reporteth himſelfe) called him a peruerſe and froward man. Furthermore, in their writings is diſcerned, that the one ſpeaketh modeſtly in his owne praiſe, ſo as no man can iuſtly be offended with him: and yet not alwayes, but when neceſſity enforceth him for ſome matter of great importance, but otherwiſe very diſcreet and modeſt to ſpeake of himſelfe. *Cicero* in contrary maner, vſing too often repetition of one ſelfe thing in all his Orations, ſhewed an extreme ambition of glory, when inceſſantly he cried out:

Ciceroes rare and diuerſe doctrines.
D. moſthenes and Ciceroes manners.

Let ſpeare and ſhield giue place to gowne,
And giue the tongue the laurell crowne.

Demoſthenes modeſt in praiſing of himſelf: Cicero too full of oſtentation.

Yet furthermore, he did not onely praiſe his owne acts and deeds, but the Orations alſo which he had written or pleaded, as if he ſhould haue contended againſt *Iſocrates*, or *Anaximenes*, a maiſter that taught Rhetoricke, and not to go about to reforme the people of Rome:

Which were both fierce and ſtout in armes,
And fit to worke their enemies harmes.

For, as it is requiſite for a gouernour of a common wealth to ſeeke authority by his eloquence: ſo, to couet the praiſe of his owne glorious tongue, or as it were to begge it, that ſheweth a baſe mind. And therefore in this point we muſt confeſſe that *Demoſthenes* is farre grauer, and of a nobler mind: who declared himſelf, that all his eloquence came only but by practiſe, the which alſo required the fauor of his auditority: & further, he thought thē fooles & mad men (as indeed they be no leſſe) that therefore would make any boaſt of themſelues. In this they were both alike, that both of them had great credite and authority in their Orations to the people, and for obtaining that they would propound: inſomuch as Captaines, & they that had armies in their hands, ſtood in need of their eloquence. As *Chares*, *Diopithes*, & *Leoſthenes*, they all were holpen of *Demoſthenes*: and *Pompey*, and *Octauius Cæſar* the young man, of *Cicero*: as *Cæſar* himſelfe confeſſeth in his Commentaries he wrote vnto *Agrippa*, and *Mæcenas*. But nothing ſheweth a mans nature and condition more (as it is reported, & ſo is it true) then whē one is in authority: for that bewrayeth his humor, and the affections of his mind, and layeth open alſo all his ſecret vices in him. *Demoſthenes* could neuer deliuer any ſuch proofe of himſelfe, becauſe he neuer bare any office, nor was called forward: for he was not Generall of the army which he himſelfe had prepared againſt king *Philip*. *Cicero* on the other ſide being ſent Treaſurer into Cicile, and Proconſull into Cilicia and Cappadocia, in ſuch a time as couetouſneſſe raigned moſt (in ſo much that the Captaines and gouernors whom they ſent to gouerne their prouinces, thinking it villany and daſtardlineſſe to rob, did violently take things by force, at what time alſo to take bribes was reckoned no ſhame, but to handle it diſcreetly, he was the better thought of, and beloued for it)

Demoſthenes and Ciceroes cunning in their Orations in the common wealth.

Authority ſheweth mens vertues and vices.

Ciceroes abſtinence from money.

he ſhewed plainly that he regarded not money, and gaue forth many proofes of his curteſie and goodneſſe. Furthermore, *Cicero* being created Conſull by name, but Dictator in deed, hauing abſolute power and authority ouer all things to ſuppreſſe the rebellion & conſpirators of *Catiline*: he proued *Platoes* prophecy true, which was: That the cities are ſafe from danger, when the chiefe Magiſtrates and Gouernors (by ſome good diuine fortune) do gouerne with wiſedome and iuſtice. *Demoſthenes* was reproued for his corruption, and ſelling of his eloquence: becauſe ſecretly he wrote one Oration for *Phormio*, and another in the ſelfe ſame matter for *Apollodorus*, they being both aduerſaries. Further, he was defamed alſo for receiuing money of the king of PERSIA, and therewithall condemned for the money which he had taken of *Harpalus*. And though ſome peraduenture would obiect, that the reports thereof (which are many) do lye: yet they cannot poſſibly deny this, that *Demoſthenes* had no power to refraine frō looking on the preſents which diuerſe kings did offer him, praying him to accept them in good part for their ſakes: neither was that the part of a man that did take vſury by trafficke on the ſea, the extreameſt yet of all other. In contrary maner (as we haue ſayd before) it is certaine that *Cicero* being Treaſurer, refuſed the gifts which the SICILIANS offered him, there: & the preſents alſo which the king of the CAPPADOCIANS offered him whileſt he was Proconſull in CILICIA, and thoſe eſpecially which his friends preſſed vpon him to take of them, being a great ſum of money, when he went as a baniſhed man out of ROME. Furthermore, the baniſhment of the one was infamous to him, becauſe by iudgement he was baniſhed as a theefe. The baniſhment of the other was for as honourable an act as euer he did, being baniſhed for ridding his countrey of wicked men. And therefore of *Demoſthenes*, there was no ſpeech after he was gone: but for *Cicero*, all the Senate chaunged their apparell into blacke, and determined that they would paſſe no decree by their authority, before *Ciceroes* baniſhment was reuoked by the people. Indeed *Cicero* idly paſſed his time of baniſhment, and did nothing all the while he was in MACEDON: and one of the chiefeſt acts that *Demoſthenes* did, in all the time that he dealt in the affaires of the common wealth, was in his baniſhment. For he went into euery city, and did aſſiſt the Ambaſſadors of the GRECIANS, and refuſed the Ambaſſadors of the MACEDONIANS. In the which he ſhewed himſelfe a better citizen, then either *Themiſtocles*, or *Alcibiades*, in their like fortune and exile. So when he was called home, and returned, he fell againe to his old trade which he practiſed before, and was euer againſt *Antipater*, and the MACEDONIANS. Where *Lælius* in open Senate ſharply tooke vp *Cicero*, for that he ſate ſtill and ſayd nothing, when that *Octauius Cæſar* the young man made petition againſt the law, that he might ſue for the Conſulſhip, being ſo young, that he had neuer a haire on his face. And *Brutus* ſelfe alſo doth greatly reproue *Cicero* in his letters, for that he had maintained and nouriſhed, a more grieuous and greater tyranny, then that which they had put downe. And laſt of all, me thinketh the death of *Cicero* moſt pitifull, to ſee an old man caried vp and downe (with tender loue of his ſeruants) ſeeking all the wayes that might be to flie death, which did not long preuent his naturall courſe: and in the end, old as he was, to ſee his head ſo pitifully cut off. Whereas *Demoſthenes*, though he yeelded a litle, intreating him that came to take him: yet for that he had prepared the poyſon long before, that he had kept it long, and alſo vſed it as he did, he cannot but be maruellouſly commended for it. For ſith the god *Neptune* denied him the benefit of his ſanctuary, he betooke him to a greater, and that was death: whereby he ſaued himſelfe out of the ſouldiers hands of the tyrant, and alſo ſcorned the bloudy cruelty of *Antipater*.

Demoſthenes a mony taker.

Diuerſe cauſes of the baniſhment of Demoſthenes and Cicero.

The difference betwixt Demoſthenes and Ciceros death.

The end of Ciceroes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Demetrius.*

WHO first likened arts to our ſenſes, ſeemeth to haue reſpected eſpecially that one propertie of them both, in receiuing obiects of contrarie qualitie: for, in the vſe and end of their operation, there is great difference. The ſenſes receiue indifferently, without diſcretion and iudgement, white and blacke, ſweet and ſower, ſoft and hard: for their office is onely to admit their ſeuerall obiects, and to carie and referre the iudgement thereof to the common ſenſe. But arts being the perfection of reaſon, receiue and allow thoſe things onely which make for their operation, regarding and eſchuing the contraries. The one chiefly, and for vſe: the other by the way, and with intent to auoid them. So Phiſicke dealeth with diſeaſes, Muſicke with diſcords, to the end to remoue them, and worke their contraries. And the great Ladies of all other arts, temperance, iuſtice, and wiſedom, do not only conſider honeſtie, vprightnes, and profit: but examine withall, the nature & effects of leudnes, corruption, and damage. And innocencie, which vaunteth her want of experience in vndue practiſes: men call ſimplicitie, and ignorance of things, that be neceſſarie and good to be knowne. And therefore the ancient LACEDÆMONIANS in their ſolemne feaſts forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to ouercharge themſelues with wine: and ſuch they ſhewed them vnto their youth, by the apparant beaſtlineſſe of drunken men, to worke in them an abhorring of ſo lothſome vice. Wherein, although I cannot much praiſe them for humanitie or wiſedome, that corrupt and ſpoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime another: yet (as I hope) it ſhall not be reprehended in me, if amongſt the reſt I put in one or two paire of ſuch, as liuing in great place and account, haue increaſed their fame with infamie. Which in truth, I do not, to pleaſe and draw on the Reader with varietie of report: but as *Iſmenias* the THEBAN Muſitian ſhewed his ſcholers, both thoſe that ſtrake a cleane ſtroke, with, Do ſo: & ſuch as bungled it, with, Do not ſo: and *Antigenidas* thought men ſhould like better, and with greater deſire contend for skill, if they heard and diſcerned vntuneable notes: ſo thinke I, we ſhall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the liues, and ſee the deformitie of the wicked. This treaty cõtaineth the liues of *Demetrius*, ſurnamed the Fort-gainer, & *M. Anthony* the Triumuir, and great examples to confirme the ſaying of *Plato*: That from great minds, both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both giuen ouer to women and wine, both valiant and liberall, both ſumptuous and high minded: fortune ſerued them both alike, not onely in the courſe of their liues, in attempting great matters, ſometimes with good, ſometing with il ſucceſſe, in getting and loſing things of great conſequence, ouerthrowing both when they feared not, reſtoring both when they hoped not: But alſo in their end there was no great difference, the one

Howw ſinſes and arts do agree and differ.

The maner of the Spartans to make their ſlaues drunke.

The cauſe of deſcribing the liues of the vvicked.

Plato of vertue and vice.

brought to his death by his mortall enemies, and the others fortune not much vnlike. But now to our hiſtory. *Antigonus* had two ſonnes by his wife *Stratonicè*, the daughter of *Corræus*, the one of them he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip*, after his fathers name. Thus farre the moſt writers do agree: howbeit ſome hold opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the ſonne of *Antigonus*, but his nephew. But becauſe his father died leauing him a child, and that his mother was ſtraight maried againe vnto *Antigonus*: thereupon came the report that he was *Antigonus* ſonne. Howſoeuer it was, *Philip*, that was not much yoger then *Demetrius*, died. Now for *Demetrius*, though he was a very bigge man; he was nothing ſo high as his father, but yet ſo paſſing and wonderfull faire, that no painter could poſſibly draw his picture and counterfeit to his likeneſſe. For they ſaw a ſweet countenance, mixed with a kind of grauety in his face, a feare with courteſie, and an incomparable Princely maieſty accompanied with a liuely ſpirite and youth, and his wit and manners were ſuch, that they were both fearefull, and pleaſant vnto men that frequented him. For as he was moſt pleaſant in company hauing leiſure, and moſt giuen to banquetting, pleaſant life, and more wantonly giuen to follow any luſt & pleaſure, then any king that euer was: yet was he alwaies very carefull and diligent in diſpatching matters of importance. And therfore he maruellouſly commended, and alſo endeuoured to follow *Dionyſius* (as much to ſay, as *Bacchus*) aboue all the other gods, as he that had bene a wiſe and valiant Captaine in warre, and that in peace inuented and vſed all the pleaſure that might be. He maruellouſly loued and reuerenced his father, and it ſeemeth that the dutifulneſſe he ſhewed vnto his mother, was more to diſcharge the due obedience and duty of a ſonne, then otherwiſe to entertaine his father, for feare of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for proofe hereof we reade, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went vnto his father *Antigonus*, giuing audience to certaine Ambaſſadors, & after he had done his duty to him, & kiſſed him: he ſate downe by him euen as he came from hunting, hauing his darts in his hand, which he caried out a hūting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambaſſadors aloud as they went their way, hauing receiued their anſwer: My Lords, ſayd he, you ſhall cary home this report of my ſonne and me, be witneſſes I pray you, how we liue one with another. As meaning to ſhew thereby, that the agreement betwixt the father and the ſonne together, is a great ſafety to the affaires of a king, as alſo a manifeſt proofe of his greatneſſe: ſo iealous is a king to haue a companion, beſides the hate and miſtruſt it ſhould breed. So that the greateſt Prince and moſt ancienteſt of all the ſucceſſours of *Alexander*, boaſted that he ſtood not in feare of his ſonne, but did ſuffer him to ſit by him, hauing a dart in his hand. So was this houſe onely of all other the MACEDONIAN kings, leaſt defiled with ſuch villany, many ſucceſſions after: and to confeſſe a troth, in all *Antigonus* race there was not one, but *Philip* onely, that ſlue his owne ſonne. But we haue many examples of diuerſe other houſes of kings, that haue put their ſonnes, wiues, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kill them, and neuer ſticke at it. For like as Geometricians would haue men graunt them certaine propoſitions which they ſuppoſe without proofe: euen ſo was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the ſafety of their eſtate. But further, to ſhew you more plainely that *Demetrius* was of a noble and curteous nature, and that he dearly loued his friends: we may alleadge this example. *Mithridates*, the ſonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* court, and neuer practiſed any villany or treaſon to him, neither was he thought ſuch a man: yet *Antigonus* did ſomewhat ſuſpect him, becauſe of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he ſowed of the ſcrapings of gold, and that of that ſeed, firſt of all came vp goodly wheate which had eares of gold: howbeit that ſhortly after returning that way againe, he found nothing but the ſtraw, and the eares of the wheate cut off, and that he being very angry and ſory for it, ſome told him that *Mithridates* had cut off theſe golden eares of wheate, & had caried them with him into the Realme of PONT. *Antigonus* being maruellouſly troubled with this dreame, after he had made his ſonne ſweare vnto him that he would make no man aliue priuie to that he would tell him: he told him all his dreame what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this yong man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was maruellous ſory for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont to paſſe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durſt not by word of mouth vtter that he knew, becauſe of his oath: howbeit, taking him aſide from his other familiars, when they were both together by themſelues, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* looking on him: flie *Mithridates*.

Demetrius parentage.

The death of Philip the yonger brother of Demetrius.

Demetrius beauty.

Demetrius manners.

Demetrius loue to his father.

A king can abide no equall.

The ſport of the Eaſt kings was to kill their owne children, wiues and mothers.

Demetrius curteſie.

Antigonus dreame.

Mithridates

Mithridates found ſtraight what he meant, and fled the very ſame night into CAPPADOCIA: and ſhortly after it was his deſtinie to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered many goodly countries, and it was he only that eſtabliſhed the houſe of the kingdome of PONT, the which the ROMAINES afterwards ouerthrew, about the eight ſucceſſion. By theſe examples we may eaſily coniecture the good nature and curteſie of *Demetrius*. For like as the elements (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are euer at * ſtrife together, but ſpecially thoſe that are neareſt each to other: euen ſo, though all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander* were at continuall warres together, yet was it ſooneſt kindled, and moſt cruel betweene them which bordered neareſt vnto each other, and that by being neare neighbors had alwayes occaſion of brawle together, as fel out at that time betweene *Antigonus* and *Ptolomie*. This *Antigonus* lay moſt commonly in the countrie of PHRYGIA: who hauing intelligence that *Ptolomie* was gone into CYPRVS, and that he ouerranne all SYRIA, winning by force, or faire meanes, all the townes and cities ſubiect vnto them: he ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, being at that time but two and twentie yeares of age, and it was the firſt time that euer he took charge, as generall to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a yong man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battell with an old ſouldier (trained vp in the diſcipline of warres vnder *Alexander* the great, and that through him, and in his name, had fought manie great battels) was ſoone ouerthrowne, and his armie put to flight, by the citie of GAZA. At which ouerthrow were ſlaine fiue thouſand men, and almoſt eight thouſand taken: and beſides, *Demetrius* loſt his tents and pauilions, his gold and ſiluer, and to be ſhort, all his whole cariage. But *Ptolomie* ſent him all his things againe, and his friends alſo that were taken after the battell, with great courteous words: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but onely for honour and Empire. *Demetrius* receiuing them at his hands, beſought the gods that he might not long liue a debter vnto *Ptolomie* for this great courteſie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this ouerthrow like a yong man, though it was his firſt ſouldier-fare: but like an old and wiſe Captaine, that had abidden many ouerthrowes, he vſed great diligence to gather men againe, to make new armors, and to keepe the cities and countries in his hands vnder obedience, and did traine and exerciſe his ſouldiers in armes, whom he had gathered together. *Antigonus* hauing newes of the ouerthrow of his ſon *Demetrius*, ſaid no more, but that *Ptolomie* had ouercome beardleſſe men: and that afterwards he ſhould fight with bearded men. But now, becauſe he would not diſcourage his ſonne altogether, who craued leaue once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolomie*: he graunted him. So, ſhortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolomies* Generall, with a great puiſſant army, to driue him altogether out of SYRIA: for they made no great account of *Demetrius*, becauſe he had bene once ouerthrowne before. Howbeit *Demetrius* ſtale vpon him, gaue him charge on the ſodaine, and made him ſo afraid, that he tooke both the campe and the Generall, with ſeuen thouſand priſoners beſides, and wanne a maruellous treaſure of money: which made him a glad man, not ſo much for the gaine he ſhould haue by it, as for the oportunitie he had thereby to come out of *Ptolomies* debt, nothing regarding the treaſure nor the honour he had gotten by this victorie, but onely the benefite of this requitall of *Ptolomies* courteſie towards him. But yet he did nothing of his owne head, before he had written to his father: and then receiuing full graunt and commiſſion from him to diſpoſe of all things as he thought good, he ſent backe *Cilles* vnto *Ptolomie*, and all his other friends beſides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully beſtowed on them. This misfortune and ouerthrow did vtterly put *Ptolomie* out of all SYRIA, and brought *Antigonus* alſo from the citie of CELÆNES, for the exceeding ioy he had of this victorie, as alſo for the great deſire he had to ſee his ſonne. After that, he ſent *Demetrius* into ARABIA, againſt a people called the NABATHÆIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great danger and diſtreſſe in the deſerts for lacke of water, howbeit he neuer ſhewed any ſigne that he was afraid. Thereby he ſo aſtonied the barbarous people, that he had leiſure inough to retire with ſafetie, and with a great bootie of a thouſand camels, which he brought away with him. About that time *Seleucus* (whom *Antigonus* had driuen from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other aid then of himſelfe: and went with a great armie againſt the people and nations confining vpon the INDIES, and the prouinces adioyning vnto mount Caucaſus, to conquer them. Thereupon *Demetrius* hoping to find MESOPOTAMIA without any guard or defence, ſodainly paſſed ouer the riuer of Euphrates, and came vnlooked for vnto BABYLON, and there diſtreſſed the garriſon of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the caſtles or citadels of the citie, being two of them: and then putting in ſeuen thouſand ſouldiers

Demetrius ſauith Mithridates life.

Mithridates king of Pont.

* *Becauſe he ſaid, that loue and diſcord were euer the efficient cauſes of generation and corruption of all things.*

Enmitie betwixt Antigonus and Ptolomie.

Demetrius generall to Antigonus, againſt Ptolomie.

Demetrius ouerthrowne in battell by Ptolomie.

The bountifulnes of Ptolomie the conqueror, vnto Demetrius conquered.

Demetrius victorie of Ptolomie.

Demetrius thank fulneſſe vnto Ptolomie.

Demetrius inuaded Arabia.

Demetrius inuadeth Mesopotamia.

to keepe them, he commaunded the reſt of his men to get what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towards the ſea to returne home, leauing thereby the Realme and kingdome of *Seleucus* in better ſtate and ſafetie, then it was when he inuaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the countrie from *Seleucus*, leauing him nothing in it, by ſpoiling and foraging all that was there. At his returne home, newes was brought him that *Ptolomie* lay at the ſiege of the citie of HALICARNASSVS: whereupon he drew thither with ſpeed to make him raiſe the ſiege, and therby ſaued the citie from him. Now becauſe by this exploit they wan great fame, both of them (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a maruellous deſire to ſet all GREECE at libertie, the which *Ptolomie* and *Caſſander* kept in ſeruitude and bondage. Neuer King tooke in hand a more honourable nor iuſter warre and enterpriſe, then that was. For, what power or riches he could gather together, in oppreſſing of the barbarous people: he beſtowed it all in reſtoring the GRECIANS to their libertie, and onely to winne fame and honor by it. So, they being in conſultation what way to take, to bring their purpoſe and deſire to paſſe, and hauing taken order to begin firſt at ATHENS: one of *Antigonus* chiefeſt friends about him, told him that he ſhould take the citie, and place a good garriſon there for themſelues, if they could once winne it: for (ſaid he) it will be a good bridge to paſſe further into all GREECE. *Antigonus* would not hearken to that, but ſaid, that the loue and good will of men was a ſurer bridge, and that the citie of ATHENS was as a beacon to all the land, the which would immediatly make his doings ſhine through the world, as a creſſet light, vpon the top of a keepe or watch tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoiſed ſaile, hauing fiue thouſand ſiluer talents, and a fleete of two hundred and fiftie ſaile, and ſailed towards the citie of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was Gouernour in the behalfe of *Caſſander*, and kept a ſtrong garriſon there within the hauen and caſtle of MVNICHIA. He had an excellent good wind to further his iourney, ſo that with his good foreſight and ſpeede he made, he arrined in the hauen of PIRÆA, the fiue and twentieth day of the moneth Thargelion (now called May) before any man kew of his comming. Now when this fleete was within a kenning of the citie, and leſſe, that they might eaſily ſee them from thence: euery man prepared himſelfe to receiue them, taking them to be *Ptolomies* ſhips: But in fine, the Captaines and Gouernours vnderſtanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe themſelues: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keepe their enemies from landing, and to repulſe them, comming ſo ſodainly vpon them. *Demetrius* hauing found the barre of the hauen open, launched in preſently. Then being come to the view of them all, and ſtanding vpon the hatches of his galley, he made ſignes with his hand that he prayed ſilence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his Heraulds, that his father had ſent him in a happie houre to deliuer the ATHENIANS from all their garriſons, and to reſtore them againe to their auncient libertie and freedome, to enioy their lawes and auncient gouernement of their forefathers. After the proclamation made, all the common people ſtraight threw downe their weapons and targets at their feete, to clap their hands with great ſhouts of ioy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud their Sauiour, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the ſtronger in, although he performed not that he promiſed, and alſo ſent Ambaſſadours vnto him to treate of peace. *Demetrius* receiued them verie courteouſly, and ſent with them for pledge, one of the deareſt friends his father had, *Ariſtodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not careleſſe of the health and ſafetie of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who by reaſon of the change and alteration of the gouernement of the common-wealth of ATHENS, ſtood more in feare of the people of ATHENS, then of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, cauſed him to be conueyed (according to his deſire) vnto THEBES, with good and ſufficient ſafe conduct. And for *Demetrius* himſelfe, although he was verie deſirous to ſee the citie, he ſaid he would not come into it, before he had firſt reſtored it vnto her auncient libertie and freedom, and alſo driuen away the garriſon thence: and thereupon he caſt trenches round about the caſtle of MVNYCIA. In the meane ſeaſon becauſe he would not be idle, he hoiſed ſaile, and coaſted toward the citie of MEGARA, within the which *Caſſander* alſo kept a ſtrong garriſon. *Demetrius* buſily following theſe matters, was aduertiſed that *Crateſipolis*, ſurnamed *Polyperchon*, (who had bene *Alexanders* wife) a Ladie of paſſing fame and beautie, and lay at that time in the citie of PATRAS, would be glad to ſee him: he leauing his armie within the territorie of the MEGARIANS, took his iorney preſently vnto her, with a few of his lighteſt armed men, and yet he ſtole frō them, and made his tent to be ſet vp a good way frō them, becauſe this Ladie

Antigonus and Demetrius do go about to ſet Greece at libertie.

Demetrius Phalerian, Gouernour of Athens for Caſſander.

Demetrius reſtoreth the Athenians to their libertie.

Demetrius Antigonus, honoureth Demetrius Phalerius.

Ladie might not be ſeene when ſhe came vnto him. Some of his enemies hauing preſent intelligence thereof, came and ſet vpon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was ſo ſcared, that he had no further leyſure, but to caſt an ill-fauoured cloke about him, the firſt that came to hand, and diſguiſing himſelfe to flie for life: and ſcaped very hardly, that he was not ſhamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinencie. But though they miſſed him, they tooke his tent and all his money in it. After that, the citie of MEGARA was taken and won from *Caſſanders* men, where *Demetrius* ſouldiers would haue ſacked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble interceſſion for them, that they might not be ſpoiled. *Demetrius* thereupon, after that he had driuen out *Caſſanders* garriſon, he reſtored it againe to her former libertie. In doing that he called to mind the Philoſopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in MEGARA, though he liued a quiet and contemplatiue life. He ſent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* anſwered him, they had not: for (quoth he) I ſaw no man that tooke my learning from me. This notwithſtanding, all the ſlaues of the citie were in manner caried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way ſaid vnto him: Well, *Stilpo*, I leaue you your citie free. It is true, ô King (quoth he) for thou haſt left vs neuer a ſlaue. Shortly after, he returned again vnto ATHENS, and laid ſiege to the caſtell of Munychia, the which he tooke, and draue out the garriſon, and afterwards razed it to the ground. After that, through the intreatie and earneſt deſire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refreſh himſelf in their citie: he made his entrie into it, and cauſed all the people to aſſemble, and then reſtored vnto them their ancient lawes and libertie of their countrey, promiſing them beſides, that he would procure his father to ſend them an hundred and fiftie thouſand buſhels of wheat, and as much wood and timber as ſhould ſerue to make them an hundred and fiftie gallies. Thus the ATHENIANS through *Demetrius* meanes, recouered the Democratia againe, (to wit, their popular gouernement) fifteene yeares after they had loſt it, and liued all the time betweene their loſſe and reſtitution from the warre called Lamiacus warre, and the battell that was fought by the citie of CRANON, in the ſtate of Oligarchia, to wit, vnder the gouernment of a few gouernors in ſight, but in truth a Monarchie or kingdome, becauſe they were vnder the gouernment of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, that had abſolute authority ouer them. But by this meanes they made their ſauior and preſeruer of their countrie, *Demetrius* (who ſeemed to haue obtained ſuch honor and glorie through his goodnes and liberality) hatefull and odious to all men, for the ouer great & vnmeaſurable honors which they gaue him. For firſt of all, they called *Antigonus* & *Demetrius* kings, who before that time had alwaies refuſed the name, and the which, (among all other princely honors & prerogatiues granted) they that had deuided betweene them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durſt neuer once preſume to chalenge, nor to take vpon them. So vnto them only they gaue the ſtile and names of the gods ſauiours, and tooke away their yearely Maior, whom they called *Eponymos*, becauſe they did ſhew the years of old time by the names of them that had bene Maiors. Furthermore, in ſtead thereof they ordained in the councell of the citie, that there ſhold yearely be choſen one by voices of the people, whom they ſhould name the Prieſt of their ſauiors, whoſe name they ſhould write and ſubſcribe in all publike grants and couenants, to ſhew the yeare: and beſides all this, that they ſhould cauſe their pictures to be drawne in the vaile or holy banner, in the which were ſet out the images of their gods, the patrons and protectors of their city. And furthermore they did cõſecrate the place where *Demetrius* firſt came out of his coach, and there did ſet vp an altar, and called it *Demetrius* altar coming out of his coach: & vnto their tribes they added two other, the ANTIGONIDES, and the DEMETRIADES. Their great councell at large which they created yearly of 500. men, was then firſt of all brought into 600, becauſe euery tribe muſt needs furniſh of themſelues, fiftie Councellers. But yet the ſtraungeſt act, and moſt new-found inuention of flattery, was that of *Stratocles*, (being the common flatterer and people-pleaſer) who put foorth this decree, by the which it was ordained: That thoſe whom the Commonwealth ſhould ſend vnto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, ſhould in ſtead of ambaſſadors be called Theori, as much to ſay, as, Miniſters of the ſacrifices. For ſo were they called, whom they ſent to DELPHES to *Apollo Pythias*, or vnto ELIDE, to *Iupiter Olympias*, at the common and ſolemne feaſtes of all GREECE, to do the ordinarie ſacrifices and oblations for the health and preſeruation of the cities. This *Stratocles* in all things elſe was a deſperate man, and one that had alwaies led a wicked and diſſolute life: and for his ſhameleſſe boldneſſe, he ſeemed wholly to follow the ſteps of *Cleons* foole-hardines, and old inſolencie, which (when he liued) he ſhewed vnto the people. He openly

Demetrius danger for lucrece.

Demetrius winneth the citie of Megara, and reſtoreth it to her libertie.

Stilpo, a famous Philoſopher in Megara.

Stilpoes ſayings vnto Demetrius.

Demetrius reſtoreth the Athenians to their lawes and liberty.

Democratia, popular gouernment.

Oligarchia, the gouernmẽt of a fewe.

Too much honours decreed to Demetrius by the Athenians.

The boldneſſe of Stratocles Athenian.

kept a harlot in his house called *Phylacion*. One day she hauing bought for his supper, beastes heads and neckes commonly eaten, he said vnto her: Why, how now? thou hast bought me acates which we tosse like bals, that haue to do in the commonwealth. Another time when the armie of the ATHENIANS was ouerthrowne by sea, by the Ile of AMORGOS: he would needes preuent the newes of this ouerthrow, and came through the street of Ceranicus, crowned with garlands of flowers, as if the ATHENSIANS had won the battell: and was also the author of a decree whereby they did sacrifice vnto the gods, to giue them thankes for the victorie: and meate was giuen amongst euery tribe, in token of common ioy. But shortly after the messengers arriued, which brought report of the shipwracke and ouerthrow. The people were in an vprore withall, and sent for *Stratocles* in a maruellous rage. But he with a face of brasse came vnto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: Well, and what hurt haue I done you, if I haue made you merrie these two daies? Such was *Stratocles* impudencie and rashnesse. But, as the Poet *Aristophanes* saith:

Stratocles cruell saying.

But hoter matters were that time in hand,
Then fire that wasteth both by sea and land.

For there was another that passed *Stratocles* in knauerie: who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the citie of ATHENS, he should be receiued with all ceremonies and like solemnitie, as they vse in the feasts of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further, that they should giue vnto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnesse and riches at such time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the citie, so much mony out of the common treasure, as should serue to make an image or other offering, which should be consecrated to the temples in memorie of his liberalitie. And last of all, they changed the name of the moneth Munichion (to wit, the moneth of Ianuarie) and called it Demetrion: and the last day of the moneth, which they called before the new and old Moone, they then called it the Demetriade: and the feasts of *Bacchus* also called then Dionysia, they presently named Demetria. But the gods by diuerse signes and tokens shewed plainely, that they were offended with these chaunges and alterations. For the holy banner in the which (according to the order set downe) they had painted the images of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Iupiter* and *Minerua*: as they caried it a procession through the street Ceranicus, it was torne asunder in the middest by a tempest of wind. And furthermore, about the altars which were set vp in the honor of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of Hemlocke, the which otherwise was vnpossible to grow there. On the feast day also of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leaue the pompe or procession for that day, it was such an extreame hard frost out of all season: and besides, there fell such a mil-dew and great frost vpon it, that not only their vines and oliues were killed with it, but also the most part of the wheate blades which were newly sprung vp. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemie of the aforesaid *Stratocles*) in one of his Comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect:

The moneth of Munychion altered & called Demetrion, for the honour of Demetrius name.

VVonders.

Hemlocke, the vsuall herbe, with the iuice whereof they poisoned offenders at Athens.

Philippides the Poet.

The party for whose wickednesse the veile was rent in twaine,
VVhich with the honor due to God did worship men most vaine,
Is he for whom our budding vines were blasted with the frost.
Those things and not our Comedies haue vs so dearely cost.

This *Philippides* was very well beloued of king *Lysimachus*, insomuch that for his sake the king had done many pleasures to the Commonwealth of ATHENS. For he loued him so dearely, that as often as he sawe him, or met with him at the beginning of any warre, or matter of great importance, he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For indeed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellencie of his art, but he was much more to be beloued and esteemed, for his vertuous and honest conditions. He was no troublesome man, neither was he infected with the fineneſse of court, as he shewed one day when the king made much of him, and giuing him good countenance, said vnto him: What wilt thou haue me giue thee of my things *Philippides*? Euen what it shall please thee, ô king, so it be none of thy secrets. Thus much we thought good to speake of him in by-talke, because an honest player of Comedies should match with a shamelesse and impudent Oratour of the people. But yet there was another *Democlides*, of the village of SPHETTVS, that dreamed out a more straunger kind of honor, touching the consecration of their targets, which they dedicated to the temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, that is to say, that they should go and aske the oracle of *Demetrius*. But I will shew you the very effect and forme of the lawe as it was set downe. In good houre, the people ordaine that he should be chosen one of the

Philippides notable answer vnto king Lysimachus, not desiring to heare his secrets.

Citizens

Citizens of ATHENS, which ſhall go vnto our ſauiour: and after that he hath done due ſacrifice vnto him, he ſhall aske *Demetrius* our ſauiour, after what ſort the people ſhall with greateſt holineſſe and deuotion, without delay, make conſecration of their holieſt gifts and offerings: and according to the Oracle it ſhall pleaſe him to giue them, the people ſhall duly execute it. Thus laying vpon *Demetrius* all theſe fooliſh mockeries, who beſides was no great wiſe man, they made him a very foole. *Demetrius* being at that time at leyſure in ATHENS, he maried a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and auncient houſe of *Miltiades*, and had bene maried before vnto one *Opheltas* Prince of the CYRENIANS, and after his death returned againe to ATHENS. The ATHENIANS were very glad of this mariage, and thought it the greateſt honour that came to their citie, ſuppoſing he had done it for their ſakes. Howbeit he was ſoone won to be maried, for he had many wiues, but amongſt them all, he loued *Phila* beſt, and gaue her moſt honor and preheminence aboue them all: partly for the reſpect of her father *Antipater*, and partly alſo for that ſhe had bene firſt maried vnto *Craterus*, whom the MACEDONIANS loued beſt when he liued, and moſt lamented after his death, aboue all the other ſucceſſours of *Alexander*. His father I ſuppoſe made him to marie her by force, although indeed her yeares was not meete for him: for he was maruellous young, and ſhe very old. And when *Demetrius* ſeemed not to be contented withall, his father rowned him ſoftly in the eare with this ſaying:

Demetrius maried vnto Eurydice at Athens.

Demetrius had many wiues together. Phila Demetrius wife, Antipaters daughter, and Craterus widow.

Refuſe no woman nere ſo old,
VVhoſe mariage bringeth ſtore of gold.

The iudgement of mariage, & obedience.

Wherein he alluded cunningly to theſe verſes of *Eurypides*:

Refuſe not to become a thrall,
VVhere lucre may enſue withall.

But ſo much did *Demetrius* honour his wife *Phila*, and all his other wiues he maried, that he was not aſhamed to keepe a number of Curtiſans, and other mens wiues beſides: ſo that he onely of all other Kings in his time, was moſt detected with this vice of lecherie. While theſe things paſſed on in this ſort, he was commaunded by his father to fight with *Ptolomie* for the Realme of CYPRVS. So there was no remedie but he muſt needs obey him, although otherwiſe he was very ſorie to leaue the warre he had begun, to ſet the GRECIANS at libertie, the which had bene far more honourable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from ATHENS, he ſent vnto *Cleonides Ptolomies* Generall, that kept the cities of CORINTH and SICYONE, to offer him money if he would ſet their cities at libertie. But *Cleonides* would not be dealt withall that way. Thereupon *Demetrius* ſtraight way tooke ſea, and ſayled with all his armie towards CYPRVS, where at his firſt comming he ouercame *Menelaus Ptolomies* brother. But ſhortly after, *Ptolomie* went thither in perſon with a great armie both by ſea and land, and there paſſed betwixt them fierce threatnings and proud words to each other. For *Ptolomie* ſent to *Demetrius* to bid him to depart if he were wiſe, before all his army came together: which would tread him vnder their feet, and march vpon his bellie, if he taried his comming. *Demetrius* on the other ſide ſent him word, that he would do him this fauor to let him eſcape, if he would ſweare and promiſe vnto him to withdraw his garriſons which he had in the cities of CORINTH and SICYONE. So the expectation of this battell made theſe two Princes not only very penſiue to fight one with the other, but alſo all the other Lords, Princes, and Kings: becauſe the ſucceſſe therof was vncertaine, which of them two ſhould preuaile. But euery man iudged this, that which of thē obtained the victory, he ſhold not only be Lord of the realme of CYPRVS and SYRIA, but therewith alſo of greater power then all the reſt. *Ptolomy* in perſon with fiftie ſaile began to row againſt his enemy *Demetrius*, and commaunded his brother *Menelaus* that when he ſaw them faſt grapled in fight together, he ſhould launch out of the hauen of SALAMINA, and giue charge vpon the rereward of *Demetrius* ſhips, to breake their order, with the threeſcore gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius* on the other ſide prepared tenne gallies againſt theſe threeſcore, thinking them enow to choke vp the hauen mouth being but narrow, ſo that none of the gallies that were within could come out: and furthermore, he diſperſed his armie by land vpon the foreland points which reach vnto the ſea, and went himſelfe into the maine ſea with nine ſcore gallies, and gaue ſuch a fierce charge vpon *Ptolomie*, that he valiantly made him flie. Who when he ſawe his armie broken, fled as ſpeedily as he could with eight gallies onely: for all the reſt were either broken or ſunke in fight, and thoſe eight onely eſcaped, beſides threeſcore and tenne which were taken, and all their ſouldiers in them. And as for his cariage, his traine, his friends, his officers, and houſhold ſeruants, his wiues,

Battell by ſea in the Ile of Cyprus betwixt Demetrius Antigonus and Ptolomie.

Demetrius victorie of Ptolomie.

his gold and ſiluer, his armour, engines of batterie, and all ſuch other warlike furniture and munition as was conueyed aboord his cariets & great ſhips riding at anker: of all theſe things nothing eſcaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was brought into his campe. Among thoſe ſpoiles alſo was taken that famous Curtiſan *Lamia*, who at the firſt had her name only, for her paſſing playing vpon the flute: but after ſhe fell to curtiſan trade, her countenance and credit increaſed the more. So that euen then when her beautie through years fell to decay, and that ſhe found *Demetrius* much younger then her ſelfe: yet ſhe ſo wan him with her ſweet conuerſation and good grace, that he only liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victory by ſea, *Menelaus* made no more reſiſtance, but yeelded vp SALAMINA and his ſhips vnto *Demetrius*, and put into his hands alſo twelue hundred horſemen, and 12. thouſand footmen well armed. This ſo famous and triumphant victory was yet much more beautified, by *Demetrius* great bounty and goodnes which he ſhewed in giuing his enemies ſlaine in battell honourable funerals, ſetting the priſoners at libertie without ranſom paying, and giuing moreouer twelue hundred complete armors vnto the ATHENIANS. After this, *Demetrius* ſent *Ariſtodemus* MILESIAN vnto his father *Antigonus*, to tell him by word of mouth the newes of this victorie. *Ariſtodemus* was the greateſt flatterer in all *Antigonus* court, who deuiſed then (as it ſeemeth to me) to adde vnto this exploit the greateſt flattery poſſible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Ile of CYPRVS, he would in no wiſe haue the ſhip he came in to come neare the ſhore, but commanded them to ride at anker, and no man ſo hardy to leaue the ſhip: but he himſelfe got into a litle boat, and went vnto *Antigonus*, who all this while was in maruellous feare and perplexitie for the ſucceſſe of this battell, as men may eaſily iudge they are which hope after ſo great incertainties. Now when word was brought him that *Ariſtodemus* was coming to him all alone, then was he worſe troubled then afore, inſomuch that he could ſcant keepe within dores himſelfe, but ſent his ſeruants and friends one after another to meete *Ariſtodemus*, to aske him what newes, and to bring him word preſently again how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on ſtill faire and ſoftly with a ſad countenance, and very demurely, ſpeaking neuer a word. Wherefore *Antigonus* heart being cold in his belly, he could ſtay no longer, but would himſelf go and meet with *Ariſtodemus* at the gate, who had a maruellous preſſe of people following of him, beſides thoſe of the court which ranne out to heare his aunſwer. At length when he came neare vnto *Antigonus*, holding out his right hand vnto him, he cryed out aloud, God ſaue thee, ô king *Antigonus*: we haue ouercome king *Ptolomie* in battel by ſea, and haue won the realme of CYPRVS, with ſixteene thouſand and eight hundred priſoners. Then anſwered *Antigonus*: And God ſaue thee too. Truly *Ariſtodemus* thou haſt kept vs in a traunce a good while, but to puniſh thee for the paine thou haſt put vs to, thou ſhalt the later receiue the reward of thy good newes. Then was the firſt time that the people with a loud voice called *Antigonus* & *Demetrius* kings. Now for *Antigonus* his friends and familiars did at that inſtant put on the royall band or Diademe vpon his head: but for *Demetrius*, his father ſent it vnto him, and by his letters called him king. They alſo that were in ÆGYPT with *Ptolomy*, vnderſtanding that, did call and ſalute him by the name of King: becauſe it ſhould not ſeeme that for one ouerthrow receiued, their harts were dead. Thus this ambition by iealouſie & emulation, went from man to man to al *Alexanders* ſucceſſors. For *Lyſimachus* then alſo began to weare the Diademe, and likewiſe *Selcucus*, as often as he ſpake with the GRECIANS: for before that time, he dealt in matters with the barbarous people as a king. But *Caſſander*, though others wrote themſelues kings, he only ſubſcribed after his wonted maner. Now this was not only an increaſe of a new name, or changing of apparell, but it was ſuch an honor, as it lift vp their hearts, and made them ſtand vpon themſelues: and beſides it ſo framed their maner of life and conuerſation with men, that they grew more proud and ſtately, then euer they were before: like vnto common players of Tragedies, who apparelling themſelues to play their parts vpon the ſtage, do change their gate, their countenance, their voice, their manner of ſitting at the table, and their talke alſo. So that afterwards they grew more cruell in commaunding their ſubiects, when they had once taken away the vizer and diſſimulation of their abſolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters vnto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought ſuch a wonderfull chaunge in the world. *Antigonus* therefore puffed vp with the glorie of the victorie of his ſonne *Demetrius*, for the conqueſt of CYPRVS: he determined forthwith to ſet vpon *Ptolomy*. Himſelfe led the armie by land, hauing his ſonne *Demetrius* ſtill rowing by the ſhore ſide with a great fleet of ſhips. But one of his

Lamia the famous Curtiſan taken by Demetrius, vpon the defeating of Ptolomy.

Salamina yeelded vp to Demetrius.

Ariſtodemus a notorious flatterer in Antigonus Court.

The firſt time Antigonus & Demetrius were called Kings.

Note the force of flatterie by Ariſtodemus Mileſian. Antigonus and Demetrius iorney againſt Ptolomie.

his familiars called *Medius*, being asleepe had a vision one night that told him, what should be the end and successe of this iourney. He thought he saw *Antigonus* runne with all his armie who should haue the vpper hand, and that at the first he ran with great force and swiftnesse: but that afterwards his strength and breath failed him so much, that when he should returne, he had scant any pulse or breath, and with much ado retired againe. And euen so it chaunced vnto him. For *Antigonus* by land was eftsoones in great daunger: and *Demetrius* also by sea was often in hazard to leaue the coast, and by storme and weather to be cast into places, where was neither hauen, creekes, nor harborough for his shippes. And at length, hauing lost a great number of his shippes, he was driuen to returne without any attempt giuen. Now *Antigonus* was at that time litle lesse then fourescore yeares old, but yet his fat and corpulent bodie was more combersome to him then his yeares: therefore being growne vnmeete for warres, he vsed his son in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as also skilfull through the experience he had gotten, did wisely gouerne the waightiest matters. His father besides did not passe for his youthfull parts, lauish expences, and common drunkennesse he gaue himselfe vnto. For in time of peace, he was giuen ouer to all these vices: but in time of warre, he was as sober and continent, as any man so borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that *Lamia* being manifestly knowne to be mistresse ouer him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kisse his father: and that *Antigonus* smiling vpon him, said: What, how now sonne, doest thou thinke thou art kissing of *Lamia*? Another time *Demetrius* was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and saw not his father: and then to excuse himselfe vnto him, he told him he had gotten a rewme that made him keepe his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard, said *Antigonus*: but was it of THASOS or CHIOS, that rewme? He spake it, because that in either of those two Islands, there were excellent good wines. Another time *Demetrius* sent his father word that he was not well: thereupon *Antigonus* went to see him, and comming thither, he met a faire young boy at his doore. So he went vp to his chamber, and sitting downe by his beddes side, he tooke him by the hand to feele his pulse. *Demetrius* told him that his feauer had left him but a litle before. I know it well, (said *Antigonus*) for I met the young boy euen at the doore as I came in. So *Antigonus* did gently beare with his sonnes faults, in respect of the many other vertues he had. The voyce goeth that the SCYTHIANS, when they are disposed to drinke drunke together, do diuerse times twang the strings of their bowes, as though that would serue to keepe the strength of their courage and hardinesse, which otherwise the pleasantnesse of the wine wold take from the. But *Demetrius* gaue himselfe to one thing onely at one selfe time. Sometime to take his pleasure, somtime to deale in matters of waight, and in all extremitie he euer vsed but one of them, & wold neuer mingle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding he was no lesse politicke and circumspect to prepare all maner of munition for wars. For as he was a wise Captaine to leade an armie, so was he also very carefull to prouide all things meet for their furniture, and would rather haue too much then too litle. But aboue all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of shipps, and framing of all sorts of engines of battery, and specially for the delight he tooke to inuent and deuise them. For he had an excellent naturall wit to deuise such works as are made by wit and hand, and did not bestow his wit and inuention in handi-crafts, in trifling toyes and bables: as many other kings that haue giuen themselues to play on flutes, others to paint and draw, and others also to Turners craft. As *Æropus* king of MACEDON, who delighted to make fine tables, and prety lamps. And *Attalus*, surnamed *Philometor* (to say, louer of his mother) that would plant and set Phisicall herbes, as Helleborum, Lingwort, or Beares foot: Hoscynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardbaine or Wolfebaine, and Dorycnium: for the which we haue no English word: all these would he set himselfe with his owne hands in the gardens of his owne pallace, and also gather them in time of the yeare, to know the vertue and power of them. Or as *Arsaces* the kings of PARTHIA, that boasted they could themselues make their arrowes heads, and sharpen them. But the Artificers workes which *Demetrius* practised, shewed that they came from a King. For his manner of workemanship had a certaine greatnesse in it, the which euen with the subtiltie and fineneſse of his workes, shewed the trimme handling of the workeman: so that they appeared not onely worthie the vnderstanding and riches of a King, but also the forging and making by the hands of a great King. For his friendes did not onely wonder at their greatnesse, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beautie of them. And this is more true then meete to be spoken: the enemies could not but maruell when they sawe his

Medius' dream

Antigonus mirth with his son Demetrius.

A strange custome of the Scythians in their drunkennesse.

Demetrius a skilfull Captaine and an excellent shipwright.

Sundrie delights of Princes.

Demetrius wonderfull workes.

gallies rowing alongſt the coaſt, with fifteene or ſixteene banks of owers: and his engines of batterie which they called Elepolis (as much to ſay, engines to take cities) were a ſpectacle of great admiration vnto thoſe whom he beſieged, as the euents following did throughly witneſſe. For *Lyſimachus* who of all other kings did malice *Demetrius* moſt, coming to raiſe the ſiege from the citie of SOLI in CILICIA, the which *Demetrius* beſieged: he ſent vnto him to pray him to let him ſee his engines of batterie, and his gallies rowing vpon the ſea. *Demetrius* graunting him, *Lyſimachus* returned with wonderfull admiration. The RHODIANS alſo hauing long time defended his ſiege, at the laſt made peace with him, and prayed him to leaue ſome one of his engines with them, for a perpetuall teſtimonie and remembrance both of his power, and alſo of their corage and valiantneſſe. The cauſe why *Demetrius* made warre with the RHODIANS was, becauſe they were confederates with king *Ptolomy*, he brought againſt their wals the greateſt engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tile, more long then broad, and at the baſe on either ſide it was eight and fortie cubits long, and threeſcore and ſixe high, riſing ſtill narrow euen to the very top: ſo that the vpper parts were narrower then the nether, and within it were many pretie rooms and places conueyed for ſouldiers. The forepart of it was open towards the enemy, and euery roome or partition had windowes out of which they beſtowed all kind of ſhot, becauſe they were full of armed men fighting with all ſorts of weapons. But now, becauſe it was ſo well framed and counterpoiſed, that it gaue no way nor reeld on either ſide, which way ſoeuer they remoued it, but that it ſtood faſt and vpright vpon her foundation, making a terrible noiſe and ſound: that made the worke as wonderfull to behold, as it was a maruellous pleaſure for men to ſee it. In this warre were brought vnto *Demetrius* two notable armors weighing forty pound a peece, & made by one *Zoilus* an armorer, who to ſhew the hardnes and goodnes of the temper, ſuffered them to be proued and ſhot at, at ſixeſcore paces, with the engines of their batterie: and albeit the armors were ſhot at and hit, yet were they neuer pierced, and but only a litle race or ſcratch ſeene, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurt. *Demetrius* alwaies wore one of them in theſe warres, and *Alcimus* ALBANIAN the other, the ſtrongeſt and valianteſt man he had in all his hoaſt, and that only caryed a complet armour weighing ſixeſcore pound, where all other ſouldiers wore none aboue threeſcore. This *Alcimus* was ſlaine at RHODES valiantly fighting by the Theater. In this ſiege the RHODIANS did valiantly defend themſelues, that *Demetrius* could do no act worthy memorie. This notwithſtanding, although he ſaw he could not preuaile, but loſe his time, yet was he the more obſtinatly bent againſt them, to be euen with them: becauſe they had taken a ſhip of his, in the which his wife *Phila* had ſent vnto him certain hangings of tapeſtrie, linnen, apparell, and letters, and becauſe they had ſent them all vnto *Ptolomie*, aſſoone as they had taken thē. But therein they did not follow the honeſt curteſie of the ATHENIANS: who hauing intercepted certaine currers of king *Philips* that made warre againſt them, they opened all the letters they caried, & read them, ſauing only his wife *Olympiaes* letters ſhe ſent him, the which they ſent vnto king *Philip* ſealed, as they were when they receiued them. Now though this part did much grieue and offend him, yet he could not find in his hart to ſerue them in that ſort, when he might haue done it not long after. For by chance at that time, *Protogenes* an excellent Painter, borne in CAVNVS, did paint thē the draught of the city of IALYSVS. *Demetrius* found this table in a houſe in the ſuburbes of the citie, being almoſt ended. The RHODIANS therupon ſending an herald vnto him, to beſeech him to ſpare the defacing of ſo goodly a worke: he returned thē anſwer, that he would rather ſuffer his fathers images to be burnt, then ſo excellent & paſſing a work as that to be loſt, & brought to nothing. For it is reported, that *Protogenes* was 7. yeares drawing of the ſame: and it is ſaid alſo that *Apelles* himſelfe when he ſaw it, did ſo wonder at it, that his ſpeech failed him, and he ſtood mute a long time, and at laſt ſaid: Surely there is a wonderfull peece of work, and of great labour, yet they want thoſe graces and ornaments whereby thoſe that I paint do reach vnto heauen. This table afterwards being brought to ROME, and hanged vp with others, was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the RHODIANS were deſirous to be ridde of this warre, and that *Demetrius* alſo was willing to take any honeſt occaſion to do it: the Ambaſſadours of the ATHENIANS came happily to ſerue both their deſires, who made peace betweene them with theſe conditions. That the RHODIANS ſhould be confederates with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* againſt all men, but *Ptolomie* only. The ATHENIANS ſent for *Demetrius*, vpon *Caſſanders* comming to lay ſiege to their citie: whereupon *Dmetrius* immediatly hoiſſed ſaile towards ATHENS, with three hundred and thirtie gallies, and a great number of men of warre beſides:

Demetrius beſieged Rhodes.

The deſcription of Demetrius greateſt engine of batterie, called Elepolis.

The armors made of notable temper by Zoilus an armorer.

Alcimus Albanian, wore an armour of ſixeſcore pound waight.

The diſcourteſie of the Rhodians.

The great curteſie of the Athenians vnto king Philip.

Protogenes, borne in the citie of Caunus an excellent painter.

Protogenes table of the citie of Ialyſus greatly commended by Apelles himſelfe.

Demetrius concludeth peace with the Rhodians.

ſo

ſo that he did not only driue *Caſſander* out of the prouince of ATTICA, but folowed him euen to the ſtraight of THERMOPYLES, and there ouerthrew him in ſet battell, and receiued the city of HERACLEA, which willingly yeelded vnto him, and 6000 MACEDONIANS that came vnto him to take his part. So in his returne backe, he ſet all the GRECIANS at liberty on this ſide the ſtraight: he made league with the BOEOTIANS, & tooke the city of GENCREES, and the caſtles of PHYLE and PANACTOS, in the fronters and confines of ATTICA, in the which *Caſſander* had left garriſons to keepe the country in ſubiection: and after he had driuen them out of the country, he rendred the forts again vnto the ATHENIANS. Therfore though it ſeemed the ATHENIANS had before beſtowed to their vttermoſt power al kinds of honors that could be offered him, euery man ſtriuing for life to preferre the ſame: yet they found out new deuices to flatter & pleaſe him. For they ordained that the place behind the temple of *Minerua* called Parthenon (as who would ſay, the tẽple of the virgin) ſhould be prepared for his houſe to lye in: and they ſayd, that the goddeſſe *Minerua* did lodge him with her. But to ſay truly, he was too vnchaſte a gueſt, to thinke that a maiden goddeſſe would be content he ſhould lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiuing that they had lodged his ſonne *Philip* on a time in a houſe, where there were three young women, he ſayd nothing to *Philip* himſelfe, but before him he ſent for the harbinger, and ſayd vnto him: wilt thou not remoue my ſonne out of this ſtraight lodging, and prouide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that ſhould haue reuerenced the goddeſſe *Minerua*, though for no other reſpect but becauſe he called her his eldeſt ſiſter (for ſo he would ſhe ſhould be called) he defiled all the caſtell where was the temple of theſe holy virgins, with horrible and abhominable inſolencies, both towards yong boyes of honeſt houſes, as alſo vnto yong women of the city. So that this place ſeemed to be moſt pure and holy, at ſuch times as he lay with his common curtiſans, *Chryſis*, *Lamia*, *Demo*, and *Anticyra*. It ſhall not be greatly for the honor of the city of ATHENS, to tell particularly all the abhominable parts he committed there. But *Democles* vertue and honeſty deſerueth worthy and condigne rememberance. This *Democles* was a young boy that had no haire on his face, of whoſe beauty *Demetrius* being informed by the ſurname he had, as cõmonly called through the city, *Democles* the faire: he ſought diuerſe wayes to intiſe him, both by faire meanes, large promiſes and gifts, and alſo with threats beſides. But when he ſaw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and that the yong boy in the end ſeeing him ſo importunate vpon him, came no more to the common places of exerciſe, where other children vſed to recreate themſelues, and that to auoide the common ſtoues, he went to waſh himſelfe in another ſecret ſtoue: *Demetrius* watching his time and hower of going thither, followed him, and got in to him being alone. The boy ſeeing himſelfe alone, and that he could not reſiſt *Demetrius*, tooke off the couer of the kettle or cauldron where the water was boiling, and leaping into it, drowned himſelfe. Truly he was vnworthy of ſo lamentable an end, but yet he ſhewed a noble heart, worthy of his beauty and country. But he did not as another called *Cleænetus*, the ſonne of *Cleomedon*, who brought letters from *Demetrius*, directed to the people, whereby through *Demetrius* interceſſion and requeſt, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for nonpayment remained priſoner) was clearly remitted and forgiuen. But by this act, he not onely ſhamed and hiſhonoured himſelfe, but alſo troubled all the city. For the people thereupon releaſed *Cleomedon* of his fine, but therwith they made a decree that no citizen ſhould thenceforth bring any more letters from *Demetrius*. But afterward vnderſtanding that *Demetrius* was maruellouſly offended with this decree: they did not only reuoke their firſt decree, but they did alſo put ſome of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others alſo they baniſhed. And further they made a law, that the people of ATHENS ſhould account all religious to the gods, and iuſt vnto men, whatſoeuer it pleaſed *Demetrius* to order and appoint. At that time there was one of the chiefeſt men of the city, that ſayd *Stratocles* was a mad man to preferre ſuch matters. Indeed quoth *Democharis* ſurnamed LACONIAN, he were a mad man if he were otherwiſe: and he ſpake it, becauſe this *Stratocles* had many great pleaſures at *Demetrius* hands for this flattery. Howbeit, *Democharis* being accuſed and condemned vpon theſe words, he was baniſhed ATHENS. See the ATHENIANS how they vſed themſelues, who ſeemed to be deliuered from the garriſon they had before, and to be reſtored vnto their former liberty and freedome. From thence *Demetrius* went into PELOPONNESVS, and neuer an enemy of his durſt tary his comming, but all fled before him, and left him their caſtles and townes. Thus *Demetrius* wanne vnto himſelfe all the countrey called ACTE, and all ARCHADIA, ſauing the city of MANTINEA: and for the ſumme

Demetrius victories in Greece.

Antigonus ſhamefaſtneſſe.

Demetrius vnchaſtitie.

The names of Demetrius curtiſans.

Demetrius iourney into Peloponneſus.

of an hundreth talents giuen amongst them: he deliuered the cities of ARGOS, SICYONE, and of CORINTH, from the garrisons that lay amongst them. About that time fell out the great feast of *Iuno* in ARGOS, called Heræa. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honour this feast with the GRECIANS, maried *Deidamia* (the daughter of *Eacides*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, and sister of *Pyrrhus*) and perswaded the SICYONIANS to leaue their city, and to come and build in another goodly place neare vnto it, where they now do dwell: and so with the place and situation, he changed also the name of the city. For in stead of SICYONE, he made it to be called DEMETRIADE. Then at a generall assembly of the states of GRECE, which was kept in the straight of PELOPONNESVS, called ISTHMOS, *Demetrius* was chosen Lieutenant generall of all the GREGIANS, as *Philip* and *Alexander* (both kings of MACEDON) had bene before him, vnto whom he did not onely compare himselfe, but thought himselfe greater then they, because fortune smiled on him, and for that he had so good successe in all his affaires. Whereas *Alexander* did neuer take away the title and name of king from any other kings, neither did euer call himselfe king of kings, although he had giuen vnto diuerse of them the name and power of a king: & in contrary maner also, *Demetrius* laughed them to scorne which called any other Princes kings but his father and himselfe. Moreouer he tooke great pleasure to heare his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drinke to king *Demetrius*, and then to *Seleucus* maister of the Elephants, to *Ptolomy* Admiral, to *Lysimachus*, keeper of the treasure, & to *Agathocles* SILICIAN, gouernor of the Iles. All the kings, but *Lysimachus*, laughed at these toyes when they were reported to them: but *Lysimachus* was very angry, & thought great scorne that *Demetrius* should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custome commonly to giue an Eunuch the charge of keeping the treasure. So *Lysimachus* of all other Princes did beare him most malice, and because he would finely taunt him for that he euer kept *Lamia* his curtisan with him: Vntill this present time, sayd he, I neuer saw harlot play in a Tragedy before. *Demetrius* answered him againe, that his harlot was chaster then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that time out of PELOPONNESVS, tooke his iourney towards ATHENS, and wrote before to the ATHENIANS, that when he came thither he would be receiued into the fraternity of the holy mysteries, and that he meant they should shew him at one selfe time, all that was to be seene, euen from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called Epoptices, because they made the brethren of the fraternity see them long time after that they had bene first receiued into the lesser ceremonies: the which was not lawfull then, neither was euer heard of before. For these smaller mysteries, in old time were celebrated in the moneth of Nouember, and the greater in the moneth of August: and beside it was not lawfull to celebrate or vse these ceremonies within the space of a yeare one of the other. When these letters were openly read, no man durst speake against them, but *Pythodorus* the Priest, who caried the torch lighted when they shewed these mysteries. Howbeit his words preuailed not, for by the deuice of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an assembly of the city, that the moneth of March in the which they were at that time, should be called and reputed Nouember. And so as they could best helpe it, by their ordinances of the city they did receiue *Demetrius* into the fraternity of the mysteries: and afterwards againe, this selfe moneth of March which they had translated into Nouember, became suddenly August: and in the selfe same yeare was celebrated the other ceremonie of these great mysteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to see the most straight and secret ceremonies. Therefore *Philippides* the Poet inueighing against the sacrilege, and impiety of religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made these verses of him:

Demetrius maried Deidamia king Pyrrhus sister: and changed the name of the city of Sicyone and called it Demetriade.

Demetrius chosen General of all Grece.

Demetrius pride.

Philippides verses against Stratocles the boaster.

Into one moneth his comming hither
Hath thrust vp all the yeare together.

And afterwards because *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the temple of *Minerua* within the castell:

Of chast Mineruaes holy church he makes a filthy stewes,
And in that virgins very sight his harlots doth abuse.

But yet of all the insolent parts done at that time in ATHENS (although many were committed) none of all the rest grieued the ATHENIANS more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commaunded them they should presently furnish him with two hundred and fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very hard vnto them, both for the shortnesse of the time appointed them, as also for the impossibility of abating any part of it. When he had seene all this masse of money layed on a heape before him, he commanded it should be giuen to *Lamia*, & among his other curtisans,

Demetrius prodigall gift of 250 talents to his curtisans to buy them sope.

to

to buy them ſope. The ſhame the ATHENIANS receiued by this gift, grieued them more, then the loſſe of their mony: and the words he ſpake to the great contempt of them and their city, did more trouble them, then the payment they made. Some ſay notwithſtanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone vſe the ATHENIANS thus ſhamefully, but the THESSALIANS alſo in the ſame manner. But paſſing this ouer: *Lamia* of her ſelfe and through her owne countenance did get a great ſum of money together of diuerſe perſons for one ſupper ſhe made vnto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of ſuch exceeding charge, that *Lycæus* borne in the Ile of SAMOS, did ſet downe the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certaine Poet no leſſe pleaſantly, then truly, called this *Lamia*, Elepolis: to wit, an engine to take cities. And *Democharet* alſo borne in the city of SOLI, called *Demetrius* a fable, becauſe he had *Lamia* euer with him: as in the fables which old women tell little children, there is euer lightly a *Lamia*, as much to ſay, as a witch, or ſorceresſe. So that the great credite and authority this *Lamia* had, and the loue which *Demetrius* bare her: did not onely cauſe his wiues to ſuſpect and enuy him, but made him hated alſo of all his friends and familiars. And therefore certaine gentlemen, whom *Demetrius* ſent in Ambaſſade vnto king *Lyſimachus*, he talking familiarly with them, and paſſing the time away, ſhewed them great wounds of the clawes of a Lyon vpon his armes and legges, telling them alſo how he was forced to fight with a Lyon, when through king *Alexanders* fury he was ſhut vp in his den with him: they ſmiling to heare him, told him that the king their maiſter had alſo certaine markes and bitings on his necke, of a wild beaſt called *Lamia*. And to ſay truly, it was a wonderfull thing, that marying (as he did) his wife *Phila* ſo much againſt his will, becauſe ſhe was too old for him: how he was ſo rauiſhed with *Lamia*, and did ſo conſtantly loue her ſo long together, conſidering alſo that ſhe was very old, and paſt the beſt. Therefore *Demo*, ſurnamed *Mania* (as much to ſay, the madde woman) pleaſantly aunſwered *Demetrius*, asking her one night when *Lamia* had played on the flute all ſupper time, what ſhe thought of *Lamia*? An old woman, O king, quoth ſhe. Another time when fruite was ſerued in, after the boord was taken vp: Do you ſee ſayd *Demetrius*, how many prety fine knackes *Lamia* ſendeth me? My mother, anſwered *Demo* againe, will ſend you more then theſe, if you pleaſe to lye with her. It is reported of this *Lamia*, that ſhe ouerthrew *Bocchoris* iudgement in a matter. In ÆGYPT there was a young man that had a maruellous fancie vnto a famous curtiſan called *Thonis*: who did aske him ſuch a great ſumme of money to lye with her, that it was vnpoſſible for him to giue it her. At length, this amorous youth being ſo deepe in loue with her, dreamed one night he lay with her, and enioyed her: ſo that for the pleaſure he tooke by his conceipt and imagination, when he awaked, his earneſt loue was ſatisfied. This curtiſan whom he had caſt fancy to, hearing of this his dream, did put him in ſute before the Iudges, to be payed her hier for the pleaſure the young man had taken of her by imagination. *Bocchoris* hearing the ſumme of her complaint, commaunded the young man to bring before him in ſome veſſell, at a certaine day appointed, as much money as ſhe did aske him to lye with her. Then he bad him to toſſe it too and fro in his hand before the curtiſan, that ſhe might onely haue the ſhadow and ſight of it: for quoth he, imagination and opinion is but but a ſhadow of truth. *Lamia* ſayd this was no equall iudgement: for ſaith ſhe, the ſhadow onely or the ſight of money, did not ſatisfie the couetouſneſſe of the curtiſan, as the young mans luſt was quenched by his dreame. Thus inough ſpoken of *Lamia*. But now the misfortunes and geſts of him we preſently write of, do tranſport the hiſtorie, as from a comicall into a tragicall theater, that is to ſay, from pleaſant and light matter, into lamentable and bitter teares. For all the Princes and Kings conſpired generally againſt *Antigonus*, and ioyned all their force and armies together. Therefore *Demetrius* departed foorthwith out of GRECE, and came to ioyne with his father, whoſe courage he found more liuely and better giuen to this warre then his yeares required: beſides that *Demetrius* comming made him the bolder, and did lift vp his heart the more. And yet it ſeemeth to me, that if *Antigonus* would but haue yeelded vp a few trifling things, or that he either could or would haue bridled his ouer immoderate couetous deſire to raigne: he had both kept for himſelfe all the time of his life, and alſo left after his death vnto his ſonne, the ſupreameſt dignitie and power, aboue all the other kings and ſucceſſours of *Alexander*. But he was ſo cruell, and ſo raſh of nature, and as inſolent and braue in his doings, as in his words: that thereby he ſtirred vp and brought vpon him as his enemies, many great and mighty Princes. For euen at that preſent time he ſayd, that he would as eaſily diſperſe and ſcatter aſunder that conſpiracy againſt him, as choughs or other little

Lamia made Demetrius a ſupper of her owne coſt.

Lamia Elepolis.

The ſaying of Demo a curtiſan, touching Lamia and Demetrius.

A prety ſute commenced vpon a louers dreame, and the iudgement reuerſed by Lamia the curtiſan.

The ſubtility of Lamia, reuerſing Bocchoris ſentence.

The conſpiracy of the kings againſt Antigonus.

birds comming to pecke vp the corne newly sowne, are easily scared away with a stone or making any little noise. So he caried to the field with him, aboue threescore and ten thousand footmen, ten thousand horsemen, and threescore and fifteene Elephants. His enemies had threescore and foure thousand footmen, and fiue hundreth horsemen more then he, with foure hundreth Elephants, and sixscore carts of war. When the two armies were one neare vnto the other, me thinkes he had some imagination in his head that changed his hope, but not his courage. For in all other battels and conflicts, hauing cõmonly vsed to looke big on the matter, to haue a lowd high voice, and to vse braue words, and somtime also euen in the chiefest of all the battell to giue some pleasant mocke or other, shewing a certaine trust he had in himselfe, and contempt of his enemy: then they saw him oftentimes alone and very pensiue, without euer a word to any man. One day he called all his army together, and presented his sonne vnto the souldiers, recommending him vnto them, as his heire and successour, and talked with him alone in his tent. Whereat men maruelled the more, becausse that he neuer vsed before to impart to any man the secrets of his counsell and determination, no not to his owne sonne, but did all things of himselfe: and then commanded that thing openly to be done which he had secretly purposed. For proofe hereof it is sayd, *Demetrius* being but a yong man, asked him on a time when the campe should remoue: and that *Antigonus* in anger answered him, art thou afraid thou shalt not heare the sound of the trumpet? Furthermore, there fell out many ill signes and tokens that killed their harts. For *Demetrius* dreamed that *Alexander* the Great appeared armed vnto him at all peeces, and that he asked him what word or signall of battell they were determined to giue at the day of battell, he answered that they were determined to giue, *Iupiter* and *Victorie*. Then sayd *Alexander*, I will go to thine enemies that shall receiue me: and afterwards at the very day of the ouerthrow, when all their army were set in battell ray: *Antigonus* comming out of his tent, had such a great fall, that he fell flat on his face to the ground, and hurt himselfe very sorely. So when he was taken vp, then lifting vp his hands to heauen, he made his prayer vnto the gods, that it would please thẽ to grant him victory, or sudden death without great paine, before he should see himselfe vanquished and his army ouerthrowne. When both battels came to ioyne, and that they fought hand to hand: *Demetrius* that had the most part of the horsemen with him, went & gaue charge vpon *Antigonus* the sonne of *Seleucus*, and fought it ought so valiantly on his side, that he ouerthrew his enemies, and put them to flight. But too fondly following the chase of them that fled, and out of time: he marred all, and was the occasion of the losse of his victory. For when he returned from the chase, he could not ioyne againe with their footmen, becausse the Elephants were betweene both. Then *Seleucus* perceiuing *Antigonus* battell was naked of horsemen, he did not presently set vpon them, but turned at one side as though he would enuirone them behind, and made them afraid: yet making head as he would charge them, onely to giue them leisure to come on their side as they did. For the most part of *Antigonus* hoast did forsake him and yeelded vnto his enemies: the rest of them fled euery man. And when a great troupe of men together went with great fury to giue charge on that side where *Antigonus* was: one of them that were about him sayd vnto him: Your grace had need to take heed, for these men come to charge vs. He aunswered againe: but how should they know me? and if they did my son *Demetrius* will come and helpe me. This was his last hope, and still he looked euery way, if he could see his sonne comming towards him: till at length he was slaine with arrowes, darts and pikes. For of all his friends and souldiers, there taried not one man by his body, but *Thorax* of the city of LARISSA in THESSALY. Now the battell hauing such successe as you haue heard. The Kings and Princes that had won so noble a victory, as if they had cut a great body into sundry peeces: they deuided *Antigonus* kingdom among them, and euery man had his part of all the prouinces and countries which *Antigonus* kept, adding that vnto their other dominions which they possessed before. Now *Demetrius* flying with all possible speed that might be, with fiue thousand footmen, and foure thousand horsemen, he got to the city of EPHESVS: where euery man mistrusted, that being needy of money as he was, he would not spare the temple of *Diana* in EPHESVS, but would rifle all the gold and siluer in it. And in contrary maner also *Demetrius* being afraid of his souldiers, least they would spoile it against his will, he suddenly departed thence, and sailed towards GREECE, putting his greatest confidence and affiance in the ATHENIANS, becausse he had left his wife *Deidamia* at ATHENS, with ships and some money, supposing he could go no whither with better safety in his aduersity, then to ATHENS, of whose good wils he thought himselfe assured. Wherefore when Ambassadors of the

Antigonus & his enemies army.

Demetrius dreame and signes.

Demetrius vpon the first onset, made Antiochus the sonne of Seleucus flye.

Ouer rashly chasing the enemies, he lost his victory, and was ouercome.

The death of king Antigonus

Demetrius flight.

the ATHENIANS came vnto him, & found him not far from the Iles of CYCLADES, as he sailed with great speed towards ATTICA, & that they had declared vnto him, he shold forbeare to come vnto their city, becausе the people had made an ordinance to suffer no moe kings to come into ATHENS, and that they had sent *Deidamia* his wife honourably accompanied vnto the city of MEGARA: then was *Demetrius* for very anger and passion of mind, cleane out of countenance, although vntill that time he had patiently borne his aduersitie, and his heart had neuer failed him. But this nipped him to the heart, when he saw (that contrary to expectation) the ATHENIANS had deceiued and failed him in his greatest need, and that in his aduersitie he found their former friendship counterfeit, and altogether dissembled. Whereby most plainely appeareth, that the most vncertaine and deceiueable proofe of peoples good-wils and cities towards Kings and Princes, are the immeasurable and extreme honours they do vnto them. For sith it is so, that the truth and certaintie of honour proceedeth from the good-will of those that giue it: the feare which the common people commonly stand in of the power of kings, is sufficient cause for them to mistrust that the people do it not with good will and from their hearts, considering that for feare they do the selfe same things, which they will also do for loue. Therefore graue and wise Princes should not passe so much for the images and statues they set vp for them, or the tables or diuine honours they do decree vnto them: as to regard their owne workes and deeds, and weying them truly, so to beleeue and receiue their honours for true, or otherwise to reiect and mistrust them, as things done by compulsion. For commonly it is that which maketh the people to hate kings the more, when they do accept these immeasurable and extreme honours done vnto them: but those sorts chiefly hate them most, that against their wils are forced to do them those honours. *Demetrius* seeing then how iniuriously the ATHENIANS had vsed him, and at that time not knowing how to be reuenged of them: he modestly sent vnto them onely to make his complaints, and to demaund his ships, among the which was that galley of sixteene banckes of owers. The which when he had receiued, he hoised saile immediatly towards the straight of PELOPONNESVS, and there found all things to go against him. For in euerie place where he had left any garrison, the Captaines that had the charge of them, either yeelded them vp, or else reuolted, and kept them against him. Therefore leauing *Pyrrhus* his Lieutenant in GREECE, he tooke sea againe, and sailed towards CHERRONESVS, and there with the mischieues he did, and with the spoiles he got in king *Lysimachus* land, he payed his men, and enriched his army, the which began againe to increase, and to be dreadfull to his enemies. But now for *Lysimachus*, the other kings made no great account of him, neither did they stirre to giue him aide, becausе he was nothing inferiour vnto *Demetrius*: and for that he was of greater power and possessions then themselues, they therefore were the more afraid of him. Shortly after, *Seleucus* sent vnto *Demetrius*, to require his daughter *Stratonicé* in mariage, notwithstanding that he had a sonne already called *Antiochus*, by his wife *Apama* a PERSIAN. Howbeit he thought that his affaires and greatnesse of his estate and kingdome, was able inough to maintaine many successours after him. And furthermore, he considered with himselfe that he should haue need of *Demetrius* alliance, becausе he saw *Lysimachus* himselfe match with one of *Ptolomies* daughters, and his sonne *Agathocles* with his other daughter. *Demetrius* seeing this good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently tooke his daughter with him, and sailed with all his ships directly towards SYRIA. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessity to land sometimes, and specially in CICILIA, the which *Pliſtarchus* the brother of *Cassander* kept at that time, being giuen him by the other kings for his part and portion of the spoile of *Antigonus*, after he was ouerthrowne. This *Pliſtarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refresh himselfe, but to forrage and spoile, becausе he would complaine of *Seleucus* for the alliance he made with their common enemy, without the consent and priuitie of all the other Kings and Princes confederates, he went purposely vnto his brother *Cassander*. *Demetrius* hauing intelligence thereof, suddenly inuaded the land, and spoiled as farre as the city of CYNDES, and caried away (which he had leauied) twelue hundred talents, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure: and then with all the speed he could possible he returned to his ships, and hoised saile. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* also came vnto him. So *Seleucus* receiued them all neare vnto the city of OROSSVS, and there their meeting was Princely, without sorow or suspition one of the other. First of all *Seleucus* did feast *Demetrius* in his tent, in the middest of his campe: and afterwards *Demetrius* feasted him againe in his galley, with thirteene banckes of owers.

The vnfaithfulnesse of the Athenians towards Demetrius.

Ouer great honours are signes of vnconstant friendship.

Seleucus requireth Stratonicè (Demetrius daughter) in mariage.

Pliſtarchus, the brother of Cassander, at that time Gouernor of Cilicia.

Demetrius inuadeth Cilicia.

Seleucus marieth Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.

Thus they paſſed many dayes together, feaſting and reioycing each with other, being vnarmed, and hauing no ſouldiers to waite vpon them: vntill at length *Seleucus* with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and tooke his way with great pompe towards the city of Antioch. Now for *Demetrius*, he kept the prouince of Cilicia, and ſent his wife *Phila* vnto her brother *Caſſander*, to anſwer the complaints and accuſations of *Pliſtarchus* againſt him. In the meane time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of Greece to come vnto him: who after ſhe had remained with him a few dayes, died of a ſickneſſe. Afterwards *Demetrius* comming againe in fauour with *Ptolomy*, by *Seleucus* his ſon in lawes meanes: he maried his daughter *Ptolemaide*. Hitherunto *Seleucus* vſed *Demetrius* very courteouſly: but afterwards he prayed him to deliuer him Cilicia againe, for a ſumme of money that he offered him: but *Demetrius* plainly denied him. Then did *Seleucus* ſhew a cruell and tyrannicall couetouſneſſe: for in anger, and with fierce threats & countenance he asked him the cities of Tyre, and Sidon. But therin me thinks he lacked honeſty and ciuility: as though he that had vnder his obedience and ſubiection all that which lay betwixt the Indies, & the ſea of Syria, was in ſuch need and pouerty, that for two cities onely, he ſhould driue his father in law from him, who had ſuſtained ſo hard and bitter change. But thereby he rightly confirmed *Platoes* ſaying: that he that wil be rich indeed, muſt indeuor himſelfe not to increaſe his riches, but rather to diminiſh his couetouſneſſe. For he ſhall neuer be but a begger, and needy, whoſe couetous deſire hath no end. This notwithſtanding, *Demetrius* yeelded not for feare, but prouided to repleniſh the cities with good garriſons to keepe them againſt him: ſaying, that though he had bene ouercome ten thouſand times more in battell, yet it ſhould neuer ſincke into his head that he ſhould be contented, and thinke himſelfe happy to buy *Seleucus* alliance ſo deare. On the other ſide, being aduertiſed that one *Lachares* hauing ſpied oportunity when the Athenians were in ciuill wars one againſt the other, & that he had ouercome them, & did tyrannically vſurpe the gouernment: he then perſwaded himſelfe that he might eaſily win it againe, if he came thither vpon the ſudden. Thereupon he croſſed the ſeas with a great fleete of ſhips, without any danger: but he had ſuch a great ſtorme and tempeſt vpon the coaſt of Attica, that he loſt the moſt part of his ſhips, and a great number of his men beſides. But for himſelfe he ſcaped, & began to make a litle warre with the Athenians. Yet perceiuing that he did no good there, but loſt his time: he ſent ſome of his men to gather a number of his ſhips againe together, and he himſelfe in the meane time went into Peloponnesvs, to lay ſiege to the city of Messina, where his perſon was in great danger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had ſuch a blow with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ran through his cheeke. Notwithſtanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his ſubiection againe certaine towns that had rebelled againſt him. After that, he returned againe into Attica, and tooke the cities of Eleusin, and of Rhamnvs: and then ſpoiled all the country, and tooke a ſhip fraught with corne, and hung vp the merchant that ought it, & the maiſter of the ſhip that brought it: thereby to terrifie all other merchants, that they ſhould be afraid to bring any more corne thither, and ſo to famiſh the city, by keeping them from all things neceſſary for their ſuſtenance: and ſo it happened. For a buſhell of ſalt was ſold at Athens for * forty ſiluer Drachmas, & the buſhell of wheat, for three * hundred Drachmas. In this extreme neceſſity, the Athenians had but a ſhort ioy for the hundred and fifty galleys they ſaw neare vnto Ægina, the which *Ptolomy* ſent to aide them: for when the ſouldiers that were in them ſaw that they brought vnto *Demetrius* a great number of ſhips out of Peloponnesvs, out of Cyprvs, and diuerſe other parts, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred ſaile: they weyed their ankers, & fled preſently. Then *Lachares* forſooke the city, & ſecretly ſaued himſelfe. Now the Athenians, who before had commanded vpon paine of death, that no man ſhould make any motion to the councell, to treate of any peace with *Demetrius*: they did then vpon *Lachares* flying, preſently open the gates next vnto *Demetrius* campe, and ſent Ambaſſadors vnto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but becauſe neceſſity draue them to it. During this ſo hard and ſtraight ſiege, there fell out many wonderfull and ſtraunge things: but among others, this one is of ſpeciall note. It is reported that the father and the ſon ſitting in their houſe, voide of all hope of life: there fell a dead rat before them from the top of the houſe, and that the father and ſonne fought who ſhould haue it to eate. Moreouer, that at the ſelfe ſame ſiege the Philoſopher *Epicurus* maintained himſelfe and his ſcholers, by giuing them a proportion of beanes euery day, by the which they liued. Thus the city of Athens being brought vnto this extremity, *Demetrius* made his entrie into it, and gaue commaundement to all

The death of Deidamia Demetrius wife.

Demetrius marieth Ptolemæide, Ptolomies daughter.

Diſſention betwixt Demetrius and Seleucus.

Platoes ſaying of riches.

Demetrius iourney againſt the Athenians.

* 4 crownes.
* 30 crownes.

The Athenians do yeeld vnto Demetrius.

A rare deuice of Epicurus, at the ſtraight ſiege of Athens, to keepe his ſcholers aliue with beanes.

all the citizens, that they ſhould aſſemble euery man within the Theater: where he made them to be compaſſed in with armed ſouldiers, and then placed all his guard armed about the ſtage. Afterwards he came downe himſelfe into the Theater, through high galleries and entries by the which the common players vſed to come to play their parts in tragedies, inſomuch as the ATHENIANS were then worſe afraid then before: howbeit *Demetrius* preſently pacified their feare, as ſoone as he began to ſpeake vnto them. For he did not faſhion his Oration with a haſty angrie voyce, neither did he vſe any ſharpe or bitter words: but only after he had curteouſly told them their faults & diſcurteſie towards him, he ſaid he forgaue them, and that he would be their friend againe: and furthermore, he cauſed ten millions of buſhels of wheat to be giuen vnto them, & ſtabliſhed ſuch gouernors there, as the people miſliked not of. Then *Democles* the Orator, ſeeing that the people gaue out great ſhouts of ioy in the praiſe of *Demetrius*, & that the Orators daily cõtended in the pulpit for Orations, who ſhould exceed other in preferring new honors for *Demetrius*: he cauſed an order to be made, that the hauens of PIRÆVS and MVNYCHIA ſhould be put into *Demetrius* hands, to vſe at his pleaſure. This being ſtabliſhed by voices of the people, *Demetrius* of his own priuate authority did place a great garriſõ within the fort called MVSÆVM, becauſe the people ſhould rebell no more againſt him, nor diuert him from his other enterpriſes. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to ſet vpon the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Archidamus* king of LACEDÆMON, came againſt him with a puiſſant army, whom he diſcomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the city of MANTINEA. After that he inuaded LACONIA with all his army, and made an inrode to the city of SPARTA, where he once againe ouerthrew the LACEDÆMONIANS in ſet battell, tooke 500 of them priſoners, and ſlue 200: in ſo much as euery man thought he might euen then go to SPARTA without any danger to take it, the which had neuer yet bene taken afore by any. But there was neuer king that had ſo often and ſudden changes of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affaires was euer ſo often litle, and then great: ſo ſuddenly downe, and vp againe: ſo weake, and ſtraight ſo ſtrong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great aduerſities when fortune turned ſo contrary againſt him, he was wont to cry out vpon fortune, that which *Æſchylus* ſpeaketh in a place:

Demetrius clemency vnto the Athenians.

Demetrius iourney againſt the Lacedemonians.

Demetrius variable fortune.

Thou ſeem'ſt to haue begotten me, of purpoſe for to ſhew
Thy force in lifting of me vp, me downe againe to throw.

Now againe when his affaires proſpered ſo well, and that he was likely to recouer a great force and kingdome: newes were brought him, firſt that *Lyſimachus* had taken all his townes from him, which he held in ASIA: & on the other ſide, that *Ptolomy* had won from him all the Realme of CYPRVS, the city of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very ſtraightly beſieged. This notwithſtanding, fortune played with him, as the wicked woman *Archilochus* ſpeaketh of, who

Demetrius misfortunes.

Did in the one hand water ſhow,
And in the other fire beſtow.

For taking him away, and (as it were) the city of SPARTA alſo out of his hands by theſe dreadfull newes, euen when he was certaine to haue wonne it: ſhe preſently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occaſion following. After the death of *Caſſander*, *Philip* who was the eldeſt of all his other ſonnes, and left his heire and ſucceſſor in the kingdome of MACEDON: he reigned no long time ouer the MACEDONIANS, but deceaſed ſoone after his father was dead. The two other brethren alſo fell at great variance, and warres together: ſo that the one called *Antipater*, ſlue his owne mother *Theſſalonica*: and the other named *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius* and *Pyrrhus*, the one out of the Realme of EPIRVS, and the other out of PELOPONNESVS. *Pyrrhus* came firſt before *Demetrius*, and kept a great part of MACEDON for recompence of his paines, comming to aide him at his deſire: ſo that he became a dreadful neighbour vnto *Alexander* himſelfe, that had ſent for him into his countrey. Furthermore, when he was aduertiſed that *Demetrius* did preſently vpon the receipt of his letters, ſet forward with all his army to come to aide him, the young Prince *Alexander*, was twiſe as much more amazed and afraid, for the great eſtate and eſtimation of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithſtanding, and receiued him at a place called DION, and there imbraced and welcomed him. But immediatly after, he told him that his affaires were now in ſo good eſtate, that praiſed be the gods he ſhould not now need his preſence to aide him. After theſe words the one began to miſtruſt the other. So it chanced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexanders* lodging where the feaſt was

Great diſſention and ſtriſe for the Realme of Macedon, after the death of Caſſander. Antipater and Alexander, the ſonnes of Caſſander.

Demetrius inuaded Macedon.

Wiles betwixt Alexander and Demetrius.

prepared: there came one to him to tell him of an ambuſh that was layed for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he ſhould thinke to be merry at the banket. But *Demetrius* was nothing abaſhed at the newes, and onely went a litle ſoftlier, not making ſuch haſt as he did before, and in the meane time ſent to cõmaund his Captaines to arme their men, and to haue them in readineſſe: and willed his gentlemen and all the reſt of his officers that were about him (which were a greater number by many then thoſe of *Alexanders* ſide) euery man of them to go in with him into the hall, and to tary there till he roſe from the table. By this meanes the men whom *Alexander* had appointed to aſſault him, they durſt not, being afraid of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* faining that he was not well at eaſe at that time to make merry, he went immediatly out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him beleeue that he had certaine newes brought him of great importance: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no longer keepe him company, for that he was driuen of neceſſity to depart from him, and that another time they would meete together, with better leiſure and libertie. *Alexander* was very glad to ſee that *Demetrius* went his way out of Macedon not offended, but of his owne good will: whereupon he brought him into Theſſalie, and when they were come to the citie of Larissa, they began againe to feaſt one another, to intrap each other: the which offered *Demetrius* occaſion to haue *Alexander* in his hand as he would wiſh himſelfe. For *Alexander* of purpoſe would not haue his guard about him, fearing leaſt thereby he ſhould teach *Demetrius* alſo to ſtand vpon his guard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practiſe for another, vpon himſelfe: for he was determined not to ſuffer *Demetrius* to ſcape his hands, if he once againe came within daunger. So *Alexander* being bidden to ſupper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* riſing from the boord in the middeſt of ſupper, *Alexander* roſe alſo, being afraid of that ſtraunge maner, and followed him foote by foote to the very doore. Then *Demetrius* ſayd but to his warders at the gate, Kill him that followeth me. With thoſe words he went out of the doores, and *Alexander* that followed him was ſlaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to reſcue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him ſayd, that *Demetrius* had preuented them but one day. All that night (as it is no other likely) was full of vprore and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the Macedonians being maruellouſly troubled and afraid of *Demetrius* great power, when they ſaw that no mã came to aſſaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrary manner ſent vnto them to tell them that he would ſpeake with them, and deliuer them reaſon for that he had done: then they all began to be bold againe, and willingly gaue him audience. Now *Demetrius* needed not to vſe many words, nor to make any long Orations, to win them vnto him: for, becauſe they hated *Antipater* as a horrible manqueller and murtherer of his mother, and becauſe they had no better man to preferre, they eaſily choſe *Demetrius* king of Macedon, and thereupon brought him backe into Macedon, to take poſſeſſion of the kingdom. This change was not miſliked of the other Macedonians that remained at home in their country, for that they yet remembred the trayterous and wicked fact of *Caſſander*, againſt *Alexander* the Great: for which cauſe they vtterly hated & deteſted all his iſſue and poſterity. And furthermore, if there were any ſparke of remembrance in their harts, of the bounty and goodneſſe of their grandfather *Antipater*: *Demetrius* receiued the fruit and benefit, for his wife *Philaes* ſake, by whom he had a ſon that ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdom, and was a proper youth, in campe with his father. *Demetrius* hauing this great good hap and fortune come vnto him, he receiued newes alſo that *Ptolomy* had not onely raiſed his ſiege from the city of Salamina, where he kept his mother and children ſtraightly beſieged: but further, that he had done them great honor, and beſtowed great gifts vpon them. On the other ſide alſo he was aduertiſed, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before bene maried vnto *Seleucus*, was now maried againe vnto *Antiochus*, the ſonne of the ſayd *Seleucus*, and how that ſhe was crowned Queene of all the barbarous nations inhabiting in the high prouinces of Asia: and that came to paſſe in this maner. It chanced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as loue ouercommeth all men) became in loue with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who already had a ſonne by *Seleucus* his father. She being yong, and paſſing faire, he was ſo rauiſhed with her, that though he proued all the wayes poſſible to maiſter his fury and paſſion that way: yet he was ſtill the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himſelfe to death becauſe he found his deſire abhominable, his paſſion incurable, and his reaſon vtterly ouercome: he reſolued to kill himſelfe by litle and litle, with abſtinence from meate and drinke, and made no other reckoning to remedy his

Demetrius killeth Alexander the ſonne of Caſſander.

Demetrius proclaimed king of Macedon.

Antiochus, the ſonne of Seleucus maried his mother in law Stratonice, vvith his fathers good will.

his griefe, fayning to haue ſome ſecrete inward diſeaſe in his body. Yet could he not ſo finely cloake it, but that *Eraſiſtratus* the Phyſitian eaſily found his griefe, that loue, not ſickneſſe, was his infirmitie: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in loue. *Eraſiſtratus* being earneſtly bent to find out the party he loued, he ſate by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any faire yong boy or wife came to ſee him, he earneſtly looked *Antiochus* in the face, and carefully obſerued all the parts of the body, and outward mouings, which do commonly bewray the ſecret paſſions and affections of the mind: So hauing marked him diuerſe times, that whē others came to ſee him, whatſoeuer they were, he ſtill remained in one ſelfe ſtate, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in law came alone or in company of her husband *Seleucus* to viſite him, he commonly perceiued thoſe ſignes in him, which *Sappho* writeth to be in louers (to wit, that his words and ſpeech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes ſtill rowled too & fro, and then a ſudden ſweat would take him, his pulſe would beate faſt & riſe high, & in the end, that after the force and power of his hart had failed him, & ſhewed all theſe ſignes, he became like a man in an extaſie and traunce, and white as a kearcher) he then gathering a true coniecture by theſe ſo manifeſt ſignes and declarations, that it was only *Stratonice* whom this yong Prince fancied, and the which he forced himſelfe to keepe ſecret to the death: thought that to bewray it to the king it would offend him much, but yet truſting to his great affection & fatherly loue he bare to his ſonne, he ventured one day to tell him, that his ſons ſickneſſe was no other but loue, and withall, that his loue was impoſſible to be enioyed, & therfore that he muſt of neceſſity dye, for it was incurable. *Seleucus* was cold at the hart to heare theſe news: ſo he asked him, What, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, anſwered the Phyſitian, becauſe he is in loue with my wife. Then replied *Seleucus* againe, Alas *Eraſiſtratus*, I haue alwayes loued thee as one of my deareſt friends, and wouldeſt thou not now do me this pleaſure, to let my ſon marry thy wife, ſith thou knoweſt it well that I haue no moe ſons but he, and that I ſee he is but caſt away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not do it your ſelfe, ſayd *Eraſiſtratus*, if he were in loue with *Stratonice*. O, ſayd *Seleucus* to him againe, that it were the will of the gods, ſome god or man could turne his loue that way: for mine owne part, I would not onely leaue him the thing he loued, but I would giue my kingdome alſo to ſaue his life. Then *Eraſiſtratus* ſeeing that the king ſpake theſe words from his hart, & with abundance of teares: he tooke him by the right hand, & told him plainly, your grace needeth not *Eraſiſtratus* helpe in this. For being father, husband, and king, your ſelfe alſo may onely be the Phyſitian, to cure your ſons diſeaſe. When *Seleucus* heard that, he called an aſſembly of the people, and declared before them all that he was determined to crowne his ſon *Antiochus* king of the high prouinces of Asia, & *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was perſwaded that his ſon (who had alwayes ſhewed himſelfe obedient to his fathers will) would not diſobey him in this mariage. And as for *Stratonice*, if ſhe miſliked this mariage, & would not conſent vnto it becauſe it was no common matter: then he prayed that his friends would perſwade her ſhe ſhould thinke all good and comely that ſhould pleaſe the king: & withall that concerned the generall benefit of the realme and commonwealth. Hereupon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were maried together. But now to returne againe to the hiſtory of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the kingdom of Macedon & Theſſaly by this means as you haue heard, & did moreouer poſſeſſe the beſt part of Peloponnesvs, & on this ſide the ſtraight, the cities of Megara, and Athens. Furthermore he led his army againſt the Boeotians, who were at the firſt willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* king of Sparta was come into the city of Thebes with his army, the Boeotians encouraged by the faire words & allurement of one *Piſis*, borne in the city of Theſpis, who at that time bare all the ſway & chiefe authority amongſt them: they gaue vp their treaty of peace they had begun with *Demetrius* & determined to make war. Thereupon *Demetrius* went to beſiege the city of Thebes, & layd his engines of battery vnto it: in ſo much as *Cleonymus* for feare, ſtale ſecretly out of the city. Thereupon the Thebans being alſo afraid, yeelded themſelues vnto *Demetrius* mercy: who putting great garriſons into the cities, and hauing leauied a great ſumme of money of the prouince, left them *Hieronymus* the hiſtoriographer, his Lieutenant and gouernor there. So it appeared that he vſed them very courteouſly, and did them many pleaſures, and ſpecially vnto *Piſis*. For when he had taken him priſoner, he did him no hurt, but receiued him verie courteouſly, and vſed him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus (to wit, campe-maiſter) in the city of Theſpis. Shortly after theſe things were thus brought to paſſe, king *Lyſimachus* by chance was taken by another barbarous

Eraſiſtratus Phyſitian to Seleucus.

Eraſiſtratus the Phyſitians care, to find out the yong Prince Antiochus loue.

Sappho deſcribeth the ſignes and tokens of a paſſioned louer.

Seleucus loue vnto his ſonne Antiochus.

The city of Thebes yeelded vnto Demetrius

Hieronymus the hiſtoriographer, Demetrius Lieutenant.

Prince called *Dromichetes*. Therupon, *Demetrius*, to take ſuch a noble occaſion offered him, went with a great army to inuade the country of THRACIA, ſuppoſing he ſhould find no man to withſtand him, but that he might conquer it at his pleaſure. Howbeit, ſo ſoone as *Demetrius* backe was turned, the BOEOTIANS reuolted againe from him, and therwithall newes was brought him, that *Lyſimachus* was deliuered out of priſon. Then he returned backe with all ſpeed, maruellouſly offended with the BOEOTIANS, whom he found already diſcomfited in battell by his ſon *Antigonus*, and went againe to lay ſiege to the city of THEBES, being the chiefe city of all that prouince of BOEOTIA. But at that preſent time, *Pyrrhus* came and forraged all THESSALY, and entred euen to the ſtraight of THERMOPILES. Therefore *Demetrius* was conſtrained to leaue his ſonne to continue the ſiege at THEBES, whileſt he himſelfe went againſt *Pyrrhus*, who ſuddenly returned againe into his Realme. So *Demetrius* left 10000 footmen, & a 1000 horſmen in THESSALY to defend the country, and returned with the reſt of his army to win THEBES. Thereupon he brought his great engine of battery called Elepolis, againſt the wall, as you haue heard before, the which was thruſt forward by litle and litle, with great labor, by reaſon of the waight and heauineſſe of it: ſo that it could ſcant be driuē forward two furlongs in two moneths. But the BOEOTIANS and the THEBANS did valiantly defend themſelues: & *Demetrius* of a malicious mind and deſire of reuenge (more oftner then needfull, or to any purpoſe) compelled his men to go to the aſſault, and to hazard themſelues: ſo that there were daily a great number of them ſlaine. *Antigonus* his ſon perceiuing it: Alas, ſayd he, why do we thus ſuffer our men to be ſlaine and caſt away to no purpoſe? Wherfore *Demetrius* angrily anſwered him againe: What needeſt thou to care? Is there any * corne to be diſtributed to thoſe that are dead? But notwithſtanding, becauſe men ſhould not thinke he ſtill meant to put others in danger, & durſt not venture himſelfe: he fought with them, till at length he was ſhot through the necke with a ſharpe arrow-head, that was ſhot at him from the wall. Wherewithall he fell very ſicke, but yet raiſed not his ſiege, nor remoued his campe, but tooke the city of THEBES againe by aſſault: the which being not long before againe repleniſhed with people, was in ten yeares ſpace twiſe won and taken. Now he put the THEBANS in a maruellous feare, by his cruell threats he gaue them at his comming into THEBES: ſo that they looked to haue receiued the extremeſt puniſhment the vanquiſhed could haue, through the iuſt wrath and anger of the conquerour. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirteene of them to death, and baniſhed ſome, he pardoned all the reſt. About that time fell out the celebration of the feaſt called Pythia, in the honor of *Apollo*: and becauſe the ÆTOLIANS kept all the high wayes to bring them vnto the city of DELPHES in the which of old time they did vſe to celebrate thoſe ſports aforeſayd: he cauſed them to be kept and ſolemnized at ATHENS, as in a place where this god in reaſon ſhould be beſt honored & reuerenced, becauſe he was patron of the city, & for that the ATHENIANS maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into MACEDON, & knowing that it was againſt his nature to liue idly, & in peace, & ſeeing on the other ſide alſo that the MACEDONIANS did him more ſeruice, and were more obedient to him in wars, and that in time of peace they grew ſeditious, full of vanity and quarrell: he went to make warre with the ÆTOLIANS, & after he had ſpoiled & deſtroyed their country, he left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his army. *Demetrius* himſelfe went in the meane time with the reſt of his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: & *Pyrrhus* alſo againſt him, but they miſſed of meeting each with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* paſſed further vnto the Realme of EPIRVS, the which he ſpoiled and forraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other ſide went on ſo far that he met with *Pantauchus*, *Demetrius* Lieunant, with whō he fought a battell, & came to the ſword with him: ſo that he did both hurt him, and was alſo hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the vpper hand, he put *Pantauchus* to flight, and ſlue a great number of his men, & tooke 5000 priſoners: the which was the chiefe ouerthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* wanne not the MACEDONIANS ill will ſo much for the miſchieues and hurts he had done vnto thē, as he got himſelfe great fame & renowne with thē, becauſe himſelfe alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of war in that iourny: for the which, he was afterwards had in great eſtimation among the MACEDONIANS. Now many of them began to ſay, that he was the only king of all others, in whom the liuely image of the hardines & valiantneſſe of *Alexander* the Great was to be ſeene: & that all the reſt (but ſpecially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeit his grauity & Princely countenance, like players vpon a ſtage, that would counterfeit his coūtenance & geſture. And to ſay truly, there was much fineneſſe & curioſity about *Demetrius*, to make him a playing ſtocke in common playes. For ſome ſay, that he did not onely weare

* *Corne monethly diſtributed to the ſouldiers, as their wages.*

Demetrius iourney againſt Pyrrhus.

Demetrius inſolency.

a great hat with his diademe vpon his head, and was apparelled in purple gownes imbrodered with gold: but alſo that he did vſe to weare certaine wollen ſhooes on his feete died in purple colour, not wouen, but faſhioned togither like a felt, & guilt vpon it. And furthermore, he had long before cauſed a cloake to be made of a maruellous rich and ſumptuous peece of worke. For vpon it was drawne the figure of the world, with ſtars & circles of heauen, the which was not throughly finiſhed by the change of his fortune. But there was neuer king of MACEDON after him that durſt weare it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant kings that ſucceeded him. Now the MACEDONIANS were not onely ſory, and offended to ſee ſuch things, as they were not wont to be acquainted withall: but they much more miſliked his curious maner of life, & ſpecially becauſe he was ill to come to, and worſe to be ſpoken with. For he gaue no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, & would ſharply take them vp that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambaſſadors of the ATHENIANS two yeares, and would giue them no anſwer: & yet made as though he loued them better, then any other people of GREECE. Another time alſo he was offended, becauſe the LACEDÆMONIANS had ſent but one man only Ambaſſador vnto him, taking it that they had done it in deſpite of him. And ſo did the Ambaſſador of the LACEDÆMONIANS anſwer him very gallantly, after the LACONIAN maner. For whē *Demetrius* asked him, how chanceth it that the LACEDÆMONIANS do ſend but one man vnto me? No more but one, ſaid he, ô king, vnto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly & popular like, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the eaſilier ſpeake with him, and that he would more curteouſly heare their complaints. Therupon many came, and put vp their humble ſupplications and bils of petition vnto him. He receiued them, and put them vp in the lap of his cloake. The poore ſuters were glad of that, and waited vpon him at his heeles, hoping they ſhould quickly be diſpatched: but when he was vpon the bridge of the riuer of Axius, he opened his cloake, and caſt them all into the riuer. This went to the hearts of the MACEDONIANS, who then thought they were no more gouerned by a king, but oppreſſed by a tyrant: and it grieued them ſo much the more, becauſe they did yet remember (either for that they had ſeene themſelues, or otherwiſe heard their forefathers ſay) how courteous king *Philip* was in all ſuch matters, and how that one day as he paſſed through the ſtreet, a poore old woman pluckt him by the gowne, and eftſoones humbly beſought him to heare her, but he aunſwered her he was not then at leiſure. Whereupon the poore womā plainly cried out to him, Leaue then to be king. This word ſo netled him, and he tooke ſuch a conceit of it, that he returned preſently to his pallace, and ſetting all other matters apart, did nothing elſe many daies but gaue himſelfe to heare all ſutes, & began with this poore old woman. For truly nothing becometh a Prince better, then to miniſter iuſtice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* ſaith) ſignifieth force, and is a tyrant: but iuſtice and law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queene of all the world. Moreouer, the wiſe Poet *Homer* ſaith not that Princes and Kings haue receiued the cuſtody of engines, and of munition, neither alſo ſtrong and mighty ſhips of *Iupiter*, to keepe them to deſtroy townes withall: but with them to maintaine law & iuſtice. And therefore he calleth not the cruell and bloudy king, but the iuſt & mercifull Prince, *Iupiters* friend and ſcholer. And *Demetrius* boaſted that he had a name and title cōtrary to *Iupiter*, whom they called *Polieus*, or *Poliouchos*, ſignifying protector and preſeruer of cities: and that he was called *Poliorcetes*, a Fort-gainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, and vice preferred for vertue: becauſe he could not diſcerne the truth from falſhood, which turned his iniuſtice to glory, & iniquity to honor. But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great and dangerous ſickneſſe in the city of PELLA, during which time he almoſt loſt all MACEDON, by a ſudden inuaſion *Pyrrhus* made, who in maner rode it all ouer, and came as farre as the city of EDESSA. Howbeit ſo ſoone as he recouered health againe, he eaſily draue him out, and afterwards made peace with him, becauſe he would not fighting with him (whom he ſhould haue daily at his doores ſtill skirmiſhing ſometime here, ſometime there) loſe the oportunity, and weaken himſelfe to bring that to paſſe which he had determined. For he had no ſmall matters in his head, but thought to recouer all the Realmes his father had: and beſides, the preparation he made was no leſſe ſufficient then the purpoſe of ſuch an imagination required. For he had leauied and aſſembled an army of foure-ſcore and eighteene thouſand footmen: and vnto them he had alſo well neare 12000 horſemen, & had beſides gotten aboue 500 ſhips together, which were built part in the hauen of PIRÆVS, part at CORINTH, part in the city of CHALCIS, and part about PELLA. He himſelfe in perſon went through their worke-houſes, and ſhewed the artificers how they ſhould make them, and

Demetrius cloake drawne with the figure of the world, and ſtarres.

The plaine anſwer of the Ambaſſador of Sparta, vnto Demetrius.

Axius fl.

The praiſe of king Philips courteſie.

The bold ſpeech of a poore woman to king Philip.

The chiefeſt office of a king.

Demetrius called a Fort-gainer.

Demetrius army & preparation for the recouering of his Realme againe.

did helpe to deuiſe them: ſo that euery man wondred not only at his infinite preparation, but at the greatneſſe and ſumptuouſneſſe of his works. For at that time there was no man liuing that euer ſaw a galley of fifteene or ſixteene bankes of oares. But this is true, that afterwards *Ptolomy*, ſurnamed *Philopator*, built a galley of forty bankes of oares, the which was 280 cubites long, and from the keele in height to the top of the poope, 48 cubites: and to looke to the tackle and guide her, did require 400 mariners, and 4000 water men to row her, and beſides all that, ſhe could yet cary aboue the hatches, wel-neare 3000 fighting men. Howbeit this galley neuer ſerued to other purpoſe but for ſhew, and was like to a houſe that neuer ſtirred: and it was neuer remoued out of the place where it was built but with maruellous ado, and great danger, more to make men wonder at it, then for any ſeruice or commodity it could be imployed vnto. But now the beauty of *Demetrius* ſhips did nothing hinder their ſwiftneſſe & goodneſſe for fight, neither did the hugeneſſe of their building take away the vſe of them, but their ſwiftneſſe and nimbleneſſe deſerued more commendation, then their ſumptuouſneſſe and ſtatelineſſe. Thus as this great power and preparation was in hand, being ſuch as neuer king before (ſince the time of *Alexander* the Great) had aſſembled a greater to inuade Asia: theſe three kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lyſimachus*, did all ioyne together againſt him. And afterwards alſo, they ſent Ambaſſadours vnto *Pyrrhus* in the name of them all, to draw him to their ſide, alluring him to come into Macedon, perſwading him not to repoſe any truſt in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make account of it as a good and ſure peace: for, they ſayd that *Demetrius* did not giue him pledge that he would neuer make warre with him, but rather firſt tooke oportunity himſelfe to make warre with whom he thought good. *Pyrrhus* conſidering ſo much, and finding their words true, there roſe a ſharpe and cruell warre on euery ſide againſt *Demetrius*, who tracted him, and ſtayed yet to begin. For at one ſelfe time, *Ptolomie* with a great fleete of ſhips came downe into Greece, and made all Greece reuolt from him: and *Lyſimachus* alſo on Thraciaes ſide, and *Pyrrhus* vpon the borders of Epirvs, confining with the Realme of Macedon, they entred with a great army, and ſpoiled and ſacked all as they went. Therupon *Demetrius* leauing his ſonne *Antigonus* in Greece, he returned with all poſſible ſpeed into Macedon, to go firſt againſt *Lyſimachus*. But as he was preparing to go againſt him, newes were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the city of Berrhoea. This newes being blowne abroad amongſt the Macedonians, all *Demetrius* doings were turned topſie turney. For all his campe was ſtraight full of teares and complaints, and his men began openly to ſhew their anger againſt him, ſpeaking all the ill they could of him, ſo that they would tary no longer, but euery one prayed leaue to depart, pretending to looke to their buſineſſe at home, but in truth to go and yeeld themſelues vnto *Lyſimachus*. Wherefore *Demetrius* thought it beſt for him to get him as farre from *Lyſimachus* as he could, and to bend all his army againſt *Pyrrhus*: becauſe the other was their countrey man, and familiarly knowne among the moſt of them, for that they had ſerued together vnder *Alexander* the Great, and that as he thought, the Macedonians would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a ſtranger, before him. But there his iudgement failed him: for as ſoone as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his campe hard by him, the Macedonians that had euer loued valiantneſſe, and had of ancient time eſteemed him worthier to be king, that was the beſt ſouldier and valianteſt in the field, and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency and curteſie he had ſhewed to the priſoners he had taken: they hauing had good will of long time ſought but good occaſion to forſake *Demetrius*, and to yeeld themſelues vnto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other Prince whatſoeuer he were. Then they ſecretly began to ſteale away one after another, by ſmall companies at the firſt: but afterwards there roſe ſuch a generall tumult againſt him throughout all the campe, that ſome of them were ſo deſperate to go into his tent to bid him flie, and ſaue himſelfe, becauſe the Macedonians were too weary with fighting for his curioſitie. And yet *Demetrius* found theſe words more gentle, and modeſt, in reſpect of the vile and cruell words which others gaue him. So he went into his tent, & caſt a blacke cloake about his face, in ſtead of his rich and ſtately cloake he was wont to were: not like vnto a king, but like a common player when the play is done, and then ſecretly ſtale away. When this was knowne in the campe, many of his ſouldiers ran to his tent to rifle it, and euery man tooke ſuch hold of it to haue his part, that they tare it in peeces, and drew their ſwords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* comming in the middeſt of the tumult, pacified this ſtirre, and preſently without blow giuen, wanne all *Demetrius* campe: and afterwards he deuided the Realme of Macedon with *Lyſimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly raigned the ſpace of ſeuen yeares. Now

Ptolomies wonderfull galley of forty bankes of oares.

Three kings, Seleucus, Ptolomy, and Lyſimachus conſpired againſt Demetrius.

Demetrius army forſaketh him, and goeth to Pyrrhus.

Demetrius

Demetrius being thus miſerably ouerthrowne, and turned out of his realme, he fled vnto the citie of CASSANDRIA. There he found his wife *Phila*, who tooke it maruellous heauily, and could not abide to ſee him againe a priuate man, driuen out of his kingdome, and the moſt miſerable king that euer was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, and deteſting the fortune of her husband: ſhe being more conſtant in calamitie then in proſperitie, killed her ſelfe with poiſon ſhe tooke. *Demetrius* went from thence into GREECE, purpoſing to gather together the reſt of his ſhipwrackes: and there aſſembled all his Captaines and friends that he had. So it ſeemeth to me, the compariſon *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the Tragedies of *Sophocles*, in theſe verſes:

Phila Demetrius wife poyſoneth her ſelf.

My ſtate doth turne continually about on Fortunes wheele,
VVhoſe double dealing diuerſe times inforc't I am to feele:
Reſembling right the Moone, whoſe face abideth at no ſtay
Two nights together, but doth chaunge in ſhape from day to day:
At firſt ſhe riſeth ſmall with hornes. And as in age ſhe growes,
VVith fuller cheekes and brighter light a greater face ſhe ſhowes.
And when ſhe commeth to the full, and ſhineth faire and bright,
Among the goodly gliſtering ſtars the goodlieſt in the night:
She fades and fals away againe, and runnes a counterpace,
Vntill ſhe haue foregone the light and figure of her face.

Demetrius ſtraunge fortune.

This compariſon might (I ſay) much better be applyed vnto *Demetrius* fortune, to his riſing and falling, & to his ouerthrow and reliefe again. For when euery man thought his force and power vtterly ouerthrowne, then began he to riſe againe by repaire of ſouldiers, which by litle and litle came vnto him, and ſtraight reuiued him with good hope. This was the firſt time that he was euer ſeene meanely apparelled, like a priuate man vp and downe the country, without ſome ſhew or tokens of a king. And there was one that ſeeing him in this eſtate at THEBES, pleaſantly applyed theſe verſes of *Eurypides* vnto him:

Of god immortall, now become a mortall wight:
Iſmenus bankes and Dirces ſtreames he haunteth in our ſight.

Demetrius miſerie from Princely happineſſe.

Now when he began to haue ſome hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of kings, and had gotten ſouldiers about him, which made a bodie and ſhew of royall power: he reſtored the THEBANS their libertie and gouernment againe. But the ATHENIANS once more reuolted from him, and did reuoke the dignitie and Prieſthood of *Diphilus*, who had bene that yeare created Prieſt of the ſauiours, in ſtead of the Gouernour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we haue told you before: and made a law, that from thenceforth the auncient and common Gouernours of their citie ſhould be reſtored againe to their auncient maner: and they ſent alſo into MACEDON vnto king *Pyrrhus*, rather to terrifie *Demetrius* (whom they ſaw begin to riſe againe) then for any hope they had he would come and helpe them. Howbeit *Demetrius* came againſt them with great furie, and did ſtraightly beſiege the citie of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS ſent *Crates* the Philoſopher to him, (a man of great eſtimation & authoritie,) who ſo handled him, partly by intreatie, and partly alſo through his wiſe perſwaſions and counſels he gaue him for his profit: that *Demetrius* preſently raiſed his ſiege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together ſo many ſhippes as were left him, and had imbarked twelue thouſand footemen, and a ſmall number of horſemen: he preſently tooke ſea, and ſailed towards ASIA, meaning to take the Prouinces of CARIA and LYDIA from *Lyſimachus*, and to make them to rebell againſt him. There *Euridice*, ſiſter to his wife *Phila*, receiued him by the citie of MILETVM, hauing with her one of *Ptolomies* daughters and hers, called *Ptolemæide*, the which had bene afore affianced to him by *Seleucus* meanes. So he maried *Ptolemæide* there, with the good will and conſent of her mother *Euridice*. After his mariage he preſently went into the field againe, and did ſet forwards to winne ſome cities, whereof many willingly receiued him, and others he tooke by force. Amongſt them he tooke the citie of SARDIS, whither came diuerſe Captaines vnto him of king *Lyſimachus*, who yeelded themſelues, and brought him a great number of men and much money beſides. But *Demetrius* receiuing aduertiſement that *Agathocles*, *Lyſimachus* ſonne, followed him with a great armie: he went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and alſo hoping, that if he could win ARMENIA, he might eaſily make MEDIA rebell, and then that he would ſee if he could conquer the high Prouinces of ASIA, where he might haue many places

Crates the Philoſopher deliuereth Athens from Demetrius ſiege.

Demetrius maried Ptolemæide.

of refuge, if fortune turned againſt him. *Agathocles* followed him very neare, and yet skirmiſhing diuerſe times with him, *Demetrius* alway had the better: howbeit *Agathocles* did cut off his victuals from him euery way, and kept him at ſuch a ſtreight, that his men durſt no more ſtray from the campe to forrage: wherefore they ſuſtained great want of victuals, and then began his men to be affraid, and to miſtruſt that he would make them follow him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine daily increaſed more and more in his armie, and it chaunced beſides, that miſſing his way, and failing to gage the foord well as he paſſed ouer the riuer of Lycus, the fury and force of the riuer caried his men downe the ſtreame, and drowned a great number of them: and yet notwithſtanding theſe great troubles, they mocked him beſides. For one wrote at the entrie and comming in to his tent, the firſt verſe of the Tragedie of *Oedipus* COLONIAN, written by *Sophocles*, changing onely ſome word:

Demetrius troubles in Aſia.

Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus,
To what a point haſt thou now caried vs?

But in the end, the plague began alſo in the middeſt of this famine (a common thing, and almoſt a matter of neceſſitie it ſhould be ſo) becauſe that men being driuen to need and neceſſitie, do frame themſelues to eate all that comes to hand: whereupon he was driuen to bring backe thoſe few men that remained, hauing loſt of all ſorts (good and bad) not ſo few as eight thouſand fully told. When he came into the Prouince of TARSVS, he commaunded his men in no caſe to meddle with any thing, becauſe the countrey was ſubiect vnto king *Seleucus*, whom he would in no wiſe diſpleaſe. But when he ſaw it was impoſſible to ſtay his men being now brought to ſuch extremitie and need, and that *Agathocles* had bard vp the ſtreights and paſſages of mount Taurus againſt him: he wrote a letter vnto *Seleucus*, firſt declaring his miſerable ſtate and hard fortune: and then preſenting his humble petition and requeſt vnto him, prayed him to take pitie vpon his friend, whom ſpitefull fortune had throwne into ſuch miſerie and calamitie, that could not but moue his greateſt enemies to haue compaſſion of him. Theſe letters ſomewhat ſoftened *Seleucus* heart, in ſomuch that he wrote to his Gouernours and Lieutenants of thoſe parts, to furniſh *Demetrius* perſon with all things needful for a Princes houſe, and victuals ſufficient to maintaine his men. But one *Patrocles*, a graue wiſe man accounted, and *Seleucus* faithfull friend alſo, came to tell him, that the charge to entertaine *Demetrius* ſouldiers, was not the greateſt fault he made therein, and moſt to be accounted of: but that he did not wiſely looke into his affaires, to ſuffer *Demetrius* to remaine in his countrey, conſidering that he had alway bene a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to entetpriſe any matters of great importance, and now he was brought to ſuch diſpaire and extremitie, that he had framed his men which were but rancke cowards (contrarie to their nature) to be moſt deſperate and hardie in greateſt daungers. *Seleucus* being moued with theſe perſwaſions, preſently tooke his iourney into CILICIA with a great armie. *Demetrius* being aſtonied with this ſodaine chaunge, and dreading ſo great an armie, got him to the ſtrongeſt places of mount Taurus. Then he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, firſt of all to pray him to ſuffer him to conquer certaine barbarous people thereabouts, who liued according to their owne lawes, and neuer had king: to the end that he might yet there with ſafetie end the reſt of his life and exile, ſtaying at length in ſome place where he might be ſafe. Secondly, if that liked him not, then that it would yet pleaſe him to victuall his men for the winter time onely, in the ſame place where they were, and not to be ſo hard hearted vnto him as to driue him thence, lacking all needfull things, and ſo to put him into the mouth of his moſt cruel and mortall enemies. But *Seleucus* miſtruſting his demaunds, ſent vnto him that he ſhould winter if he thought good, two moneths, but no more, in the countrey of CATAONIA, ſo he gaue him the chiefeſt of his friends for hoſtages: howbeit in the meane time he ſtopped vp all the wayes and paſſages going from thence into SYRIA. *Demetrius* now ſeeing himſelfe kept in of all ſides, like a beaſt to be taken in the toyle: he was driuen to truſt to his owne ſtrength. Thereupon he ouerran the countrey thereabouts, and as often as it was his chaunce to haue any skirmiſh or conflict with *Seleucus*, he had euer the better of him: and ſometime alſo when they draue the armed cartes with ſithes againſt him, he ouercame them, and put the reſt to flight. Then he draue them away that kept the toppe of the mountaines, and had barred the paſſages to keepe him that he ſhould not go into SYRIA, and ſo kept them himſelfe. In fine, finding his mens hearts lift vp againe, and pretily encouraged: his heart alſo grew ſo bigge, that he determined to fight a battell with *Seleucus*, and to ſet all at ſixe and ſeuen. So that *Seleucus* was at a ſtraight with himſelfe, and wiſt not what

Plague, by ill meate.

Demetrius famine.

Patrocles ſtirreth vp Seleucus againſt Demetrius.

to

to do. For he had returned backe the ayde which *Lyſimachus* ſent vnto him, becauſe he was afraid of him, and miſtruſted him. On the other ſide alſo he durſt not fight with *Demetrius* alone, being afraid to venture himſelfe with a deſperate man: and alſo miſtruſting much his vnconſtant fortune, the which hauing brought him to great extremitie, raiſed him vp againe to great proſperitie. But in the meane ſpace *Demetrius* fell into a great ſickneſſe, the which brought his bodie very weake and low, and had almoſt vtterly ouerthrowne his affaires. For his ſouldiers, ſome of them yeelded themſelues to his enemies, and others ſtale away without leaue, and went where they liſted. Afterwards when he had hardly recouered his health, and within fortie daies ſpace was pretily growne to ſtrength againe: with thoſe few ſouldiers that remained with him, he ſeemed to his enemies, that he would go and inuade CILICIA: but then ſuddenly in the night without ſounding any trumpet, he remoued his campe, and went another way, and hauing paſſed ouer mount Amanus, he ſpoiled all the countrey vnder it, as farre as the region of CYRRESTICA. But *Seleucus* followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereupon *Demetrius* ſodainly armed his men, and went out by night to aſſault *Seleucus*, and to take him ſleeping when he miſtruſted nothing. So that *Seleucus* knew nothing of his ſtealing on him but late enough, vntil that certaine traitors of *Demetrius* campe that fled before, went quickly to aduertiſe him finding him aſleepe, and brought him newes of the danger he was in. Then *Seleucus* in a maze and feare withall, got vp, and ſounded the alarme: and as he was putting on his hoſe and making him readie, he cryed out, (ſpeaking to his friends and familiars about him) We haue now a cruel and dangerous beaſt to deale with. *Demetrius* on the other ſide perceiuing by the great ſtir and noiſe he heard in the enemies campe, that his enterpriſe was diſcouered: he retired againe with ſpeed, and the next morning by breake of day, *Seleucus* went and offered him battell. *Demetrius* prepared himſelfe to ioyne with him, and hauing giuen one of his faithfull friends the leading of one of the wings of his armie, himſelfe led the other, and ouerthrew ſome of his enemies on his ſide. But *Seleucus* in the midſt of the battell lighted from his horſe, and taking his helmet from his head, he tooke a target on his arme, and went to the firſt rankes of his armie, to make himſelfe knowne vnto *Demetrius* men: perſwading them to yeeld themſelues vnto him, and to acknowledge in the end, that he had ſo long time deferred to giue them battell, rather to ſaue them, then to ſpare *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* ſouldiers hearing him ſay ſo, they did him humble reuerence, and acknowledging him for their king, they all yeelded vnto him. *Demetrius* hauing ſundry times before proued ſo many changes and ouerthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to eſcape this laſt alſo, and to paſſe it ouer, he fled vnto the gates Amanides, which are certain ſtraights of the mount Amanus. There he found certaine litle thicke groues, where he determined to ſtay all night with certaine gentlemen of his houſe, and a few other of his houſhold ſeruants and officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could poſſible, to take his way towards the city of CAVNVS, to go to that ſea coaſt, hoping to heare of his ſhips there. But when it was told him he had no victuals nor prouiſion left onely to ſerue him that day: he began then to deuiſe ſome other way. At length one of his familiar friends *Soſigenes* came vnto him, that had foure hundred peeces of gold about him in his girdle. So hoping that with the ſame money he might flie to the ſea, they tooke their way by night directly to the toppe of the mountaine. But when they perceiued that the enemies kept watch there, and that there were great ſtore of fires hard by them: they then deſpaired to paſſe any farther, leſt they ſhould be ſeene. So they returned to the ſelfe ſame place from whence they came, not all of them, for ſome of them fled: neither had they that remained alſo any life in them, as before. So one amongſt the reſt tooke vpon him to ſay, that there was no other way to ſcape, but to put *Demetrius* into *Seleucus* hands. *Demetrius* therwithall drew out his ſword and would haue ſlaine himſelfe: but his friends about him would not ſuffer him, but perſwaded him to yeeld himſelfe vnto *Seleucus*. Thereupon he ſent vnto *Seleucus*, to tell him that he yeelded himſelfe vnto him. *Seleucus* was ſo ioyfull of the newes, that he ſaid it was not *Demetrius* good fortune that ſaued him, but his owne: who beſides many other happie good turnes ſhe had done him, gaue him yet ſo honorable occaſion and good hap, as to make the world to know his clemencie and courteſie. Thereupon immediatly he called for his Officers of houſhold, and commaunded them to ſet vp his richeſt pauilion, & to prepare all things meet to receiue him honorably. There was one *Appolonides* a gentleman in *Seleucus* court, who ſometime had bene very familiar with *Demetrius*: him *Seleucus* ſent immediatly vnto *Demetrius*, to will him to be of good cheare, and not to be affraid to come vnto the king his maiſter, for he ſhould find him his very good friend.

Deſperate men are not to be fought with.

Amanus mons.

Demetrius deſpairing of his good ſucceſſe, attempteth to aſſault Seleucus by night.

Demetrius armie forſooke him, and yeelded themſelues to Seleucus.

Demetrius flyeth from Seleucus.

Demetrius yeeldeth himſelfe vnto Seleucus.

So ſoone as the kings pleaſure was knowne, a few of his Courtiers went at the firſt to meet him: but afterwards, euery man ſtriued who ſhould go meete him firſt, becauſe they were all in hope that he ſhould preſently be much made of, and grow in credit with *Seleucus*. But hereby they turned *Seleucus* pitie into enuie, and gaue occaſion alſo to *Demetrius* enemies and ſpitefull men, to turne the kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and daungers, ſaying, that certainely ſo ſoone as the ſouldiers ſaw him, there would grow great ſtirre and chaunge in their campe. And therefore, ſhortly after that *Appollonides* was come vnto *Demetrius*, being glad to bring him theſe good newes, and as others alſo followed him one after another, bringing him ſome good newes from *Seleucus*, and that *Demetrius* himſelf after ſo great an ouerthrow (although that before he thought it a ſhamefull part of him to haue yeelded his bodie into his enemies hands) chaunged his mind at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to haue good hope to recouer his ſtate againe: behold, there came one of *Seleucus* Captaines called *Pauſanias*, accompanied with a thouſand footmen and horſemen in all, who compaſſed in *Demetrius* with them, and made the reſt depart that were come vnto him before, hauing charge giuen him not to bring him to the Court, but to conuey him into CHERRONESVS of SYRIA, whither he was brought, and euer after had a ſtrong garriſon about him to keepe him. But otherwiſe, *Seleucus* ſent him officers, money, and all things elſe meet for a Princes houſe: and his ordinarie fare was ſo delicate, that he could wiſh for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of libertie and pleaſure appointed him, both to ride his horſe in, and alſo pleaſant walkes, and goodly arbours to walke or ſit in, and fine parkes full of beaſts where he might hunt: moreouer, the king ſuffered his owne houſhold ſeruants that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came ſome one or other vnto him from *Seleucus*, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that ſo ſoone as *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were come, they would make ſome good agreement and peace betweene them. *Demetrius* remaining in this eſtate, wrote vnto his ſonne *Antigonus*, and to his friends and Lieutenants which he had at CORINTH and ATHENS, that they ſhould giue no credite to any letters written in his name, though his ſeale were to them: but that they ſhould keepe the townes they had in charge for his ſonne *Antigonus*, and all the reſt of his forces, as if he himſelfe were dead. When *Antigonus* heard the pitifull captiuitie of his father, he maruellous grieuouſly tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for ſorrow, and wrote vnto all the other kings, but vnto *Seleucus* ſpecially, beſeeching him to take him as a pledge for his father, and that he was readie to yeeld vp all that he kept, to haue his fathers libertie. The like requeſt did many cities make vnto him, and in manner all Princes, but *Lyſimachus*: who promiſed *Seleucus* a great ſumme of money to put *Demetrius* to death. But *Seleucus*, who of long time had no great fancie to *Lyſimachus*, but rather vtterly deſpiſed him: did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked requeſt he made vnto him. Wherefore he ſtill delayed time, becauſe he would haue *Demetrius* deliuered by his ſonne *Antiochus* and *Stratonices* meanes, for that *Demetrius* ſhould be bound to them for his deliuerie, and for euer ſhould acknowledge it to them. Now for *Demetrius*, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, ſo did he daily more and more forget the miſerie he was in. For firſt of all, he gaue himſelfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gaue him libertie. Then by litle and litle he grew to be very groſſe, and to giue ouer ſuch paſtimes, and therwithall he fell vnto drunkenneſſe and dicing: ſo that in that ſort he paſſed away the moſt part of his time (as it ſhould ſeeme) either to auoide the grieuous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his mind when he was ſober: or elſe vnder colour of drunkennes and eating, to ſhadow the thoughts he had: or elſe finding in himſelfe that it was that manner of life he had long deſired, and that through his vaine ambition and folly till that time he could neuer attaine vnto, greatly turmoyling and troubling himſelfe and others, ſuppoſing to find in warres, by ſea and land, the felicitie and delight which he had found in eaſe and idleneſſe, when he neither thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better end can euill and vnaduiſed kings and princes looke for, of all their troubles, daungers, and warres? who indeed deceiue themſelues greatly, not onely for that they follow their pleaſure and delights as their chiefeſt felicitie, in ſtead of vertue and honeſt life: but alſo, becauſe that in truth they cannot be merry and take their pleaſure as they would. So *Demetrius* after he had bene ſhut vp in CHERRONESVS three yeares together, by eaſe, groſſeneſſe, and drunkennes, fell ſicke of a diſeaſe wherof he died, when he was foure and fiftie yeares old. Therfore was *Seleucus* greatly blamed, and he himſelfe alſo did much repent him that he ſo ſuſpected him

Demetrius kept as priſoner in Syria, by Seleucus.

The naturall loue of Antigonus to his father Demetrius.

Demetrius turned his captiuitie into pleaſure.

The death of Demetrius in Cherroneſus.

him as he did, and that he followed not *Dromichetes* courteſie, a barbarous man borne in THRACIA, who had ſo royally and courteouſly intreated *Lyſimachus*, whom he had taken priſoner in the warres. But yet there was ſome tragicall pompe in the order of his funerall. For his ſon *Antigonus* vnderſtanding that they brought him the aſhes of his bodie, he took ſea with all his ſhips, and went to meete them, to reciue them in the Iſles: and when he had receiued them, he ſet vp the funerall pot of gold (in the which were his embers) vpon the poope of his Admirall galley. So all the cities and townes whereby they paſſed or harboured, ſome of them did put garlands of flowers about the pot, others alſo ſent a number of men thither in mourning apparell, to accompany and honour the conuoy, to the very ſolemnitie of his funerals. In this ſort ſailed all the whole fleet towards the citie of CORINTH, the pot being plainely ſeene farre off, ſtanding on the top of the Admirall galley: all the place about it being hanged with purple, and ouer it, the Diademe or royall band, and about it, alſo were goodly young men armed, which were as Penſioners to *Demetrius*. Furthermore, *Xenophantus* the famouſeſt Muſitian in that time, being ſet hard by it, played a ſweet and lamentable ſong on the flute, wherewithall the oares keeping ſtroke and meaſure, the ſound did meete with a gallant grace, as in a conuoy where the mourners do knocke their breaſts at the foot of euery verſe. But that which moſt made the people of CORINTH to weepe and lament, which ran to the peere, and all alongſt the ſhore ſide to ſee it: was *Antigonus*, whom they ſaw all beblubbered with teares, apparelled as a mourner in blackes. Now after they had brought a wonderfull number of garlands and noſegayes, and caſt them vpon the funerall pot, and had ſolemnized all the honours poſſible for the funerals at CORINTH: *Antigonus* caried away the pot to burie it in the citie of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the name of *Demetrius* that was dead, and was a new citie, that had bene repleniſhed with people, and built of litle townes which are about IOLCOS. *Demetrius* left two children by his firſt wife *Phila*, to wit, *Antigonus* and *Stratonice*: and two other ſonnes, both of them named *Demetrius*, the one ſurnamed the leane, of a woman of ILLYRIA, and the other, king of the CYRENIANS, of his wife *Ptolemaide*: and another by *Deidamia* called *Alexander*, who liued in ÆGYPT. And it is reported alſo, that he had another ſonne called *Corrhæbus*, by his wife *Euridice*, and that his poſteritie raigned by ſucceſſion from the father to the ſonne, vntill the time of *Perſeus*: who was the laſt king of MACEDON, whom the ROMAINES ouercame by *Paulus Æmylius*, and wan all the realme of MACEDON vnto the Empire of ROME. Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, giue the ROMAINE alſo leaue to come vpon the ſtage.

The funerals of Demetrius.

Xenophantus a famous Muſitian.

Demetrius poſteritie.

Perſeus, the laſt king of Macedon came of the poſteritie of Demetrius.

The end of Demetrius life.

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Antonius

Antonius parentage.

ANTONIVS grandfather was that famous Orator whom *Marius* ſlue becauſe he tooke *Syllaes* part. His father was another *Antonius* ſurnamed * CRETAN, who was not ſo famous, nor bare any great ſway in the commonwealth: howbeit otherwiſe he was an honeſt man; and of a very good nature, and ſpecially very liberall in giuing, as appeareth by an act he did. He was not very wealthie, and therefore his wife would not let him vſe his liberalitie and franke nature. One day a friend of his comming to him to pray him to helpe him to ſome money, hauing great need; *Antonius* by chaunce had no money to giue him, but he commaunded one of his men to bring him ſome water in a ſiluer baſin, and after he had brought it him, he waſhed his beard as though he meant to haue ſhauen it, and then found an arrant for his man to ſend him out, and gaue his friend the ſiluer baſin, and bad him get him money with that. Shortly after, there was a great ſtirre in the houſe among the ſeruants, ſeeking out of this ſiluer baſin. Inſomuch as *Antonius* ſeeing his wife maruellouſly offended for it, and that ſhe would examine all her ſeruants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it: at length he confeſſed he had giuen it away, and prayed her to be contented. His wife was *Iulia*, of the noble houſe and family of *Iulius Cæſar*: who for her vertue and chaſtitie, was to be compared with the nobleſt Ladie of her time. *Marcus Antonius* was brought vp vnder her, being maried after her firſt husbands death, vnto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus* and others, for that he was of *Catilines* conſpiracie againſt the Commonwealth. And this ſeemeth to be the originall cauſe and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate *Antonius* bare vnto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* ſelfe ſaith, that he would neuer giue him the bodie of his father in law to burie him, before his mother went firſt to intreate *Ciceroes* wife: the which vndoubtedly was a flat lie. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them, whom he executed by lawe. Now *Antonius* being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth: he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whoſe friendſhip and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague vnto him. For he was a diſſolute man, giuen ouer to all luſt and inſolencie, who to haue *Antonius* the better at his commandement, trained him on into great follies, and vaine expences vpon women, in rioting and banquetting. So that in ſhort time, he brought *Antonius* into a maruellous great debt, and too great for one of his yeares, to wit, of two hundred and fiftie talents, for all which ſumme *Curio* was his ſuretie. His father hearing of it, did put his ſonne from him, and forbad him his houſe.

* *Becauſe that by his death he ended the warre which he vnfortunatly made againſt thoſe of Creta.*

The liberalitie of Antonius father.

Iulia the mother of M. Antonius.

Antonius corrupted by Curio.

Then

Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in Rome. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stirre and mischiefe in Rome: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnesse and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against *Clodius*. Thereupon he left Italie, and went into Greece, and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in wars, and otherwhile in the study of eloquence. He vsed a maner of phrase in his speech, called Asiatike, which caried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners & life: for it was full of ostentation, fooliſh brauery, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there some time, *Gabinius* Proconsull going into Syria, perswaded him to go with him, *Antonius* told him he would not go as a priuate man: wherefore *Gabinius* gaue him charge of his horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him against *Aristobulus*, who had made the Ievves to rebell, and was the first man himselfe that got vp to the wall of a castell of his, and so draue *Aristobulus* out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he ouercame all the Ievves in set battell, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the sword, and furthermore, tooke *Aristobulus* himselfe prisoner with his sonne. Afterwards *Ptolomy* king of Ægypt, that had bene driuen out of his country, went vnto *Gabinius* to intreat him to go with his army with him into Ægypt, to put him againe into his kingdome: and promised him if he would go with him, ten thousand talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to go thither, and *Gabinius* himselfe made it dainty to enter into this warre: although the couetousnesse of these 10000 talents stucke sorely with him. But *Antonius* that sought but for oportunity and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie *Ptolomies* request: he went about to perswade *Gabinius* to go this voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the city of Pelvsivm, then they feared any danger of the warre besides: because they were to passe through deepe sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the marishes through, which are called the marishes Serbonides, which the Ægyptians call the exhalations or fume, by the which the gyant *Typhon* breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the ouerflowing of the red sea, which breaketh out vnder the ground in that place, where it is deuided in the narrowest place from the sea on this side. So *Antonius* was sent before into Ægypt with his horsemen, who did not onely winne that passage, but also tooke the city of Pelvsivm (which is a great city) with all the souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the armie, and the hope of the victory also certaine for his Captaine. Now did the enemies themselues feele the fruits of *Antonius* courtesie, and the desire he had to winne honour: for when *Ptolomy* (after he had entred into the city of Pelvsivm) for the malice he bare vnto the citie, would haue put all the Ægyptians in it to the sword, *Antonius* withstood him, and by no meanes would suffer him to do it. And in all other great battels and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, *Antonius* did many noble acts of a valiant and wise Captaine: but specially in one battell, where he compassed in the enemies behind, giuing them the victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had such honorable reward, as his valiantnesse deserued. So was his great curtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed vnto *Archelaus*: for hauing bene his very friend, he made warre with him against his will while he liued: but after his death he sought for his body, and gaue it honorable buriall. For these respects he wan himselfe great fame of them of Alexandria, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the souldiers in the Romains campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thicke beard, a broad forehead, crooked nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seene in *Hercules* pictures, stamped or grauen in mettall. Now it had bene a speech of old time, that the family of the *Antonij* were descended from one *Anton*, the sonne of *Hercules*, whereof the family tooke name. This opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in all his doings: not only resembling him in the likenesse of his body, as we haue sayd before, but also in the wearing of his garments. For when he would openly shew himselfe abroad before many people, he would alwayes weare his cassocke girt downe low vpon his hippes, with a great sword hanging by his side, and vpon that, some ill fauoured cloake. Furthermore, things that seeme intollerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to iest with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with euery body, to sit with the souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldierlike, it is incredible what wonderfull loue it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being

Antonius vsed in his pleading the Asiatike phrase.

Antonius had charge of horsemen vnder Gabinius Proconsull, going into Syria.

Antonius acts against Aristobulus.

Antonius tooke Aristobulus prisoner.

Antonius acts in Egypt vnder Gabinius.

Antonius curtesie vnto Archelaus being dead.

Antonius shape and presence.

The house of the Antonij descended from Hercules.

giuen to loue: that made him the more desired, and by that meanes be brought many to loue him. For he would further euery mans loue, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loued. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and aduancement, was his liberality, who gaue all to the souldiers, and kept nothing for himselfe: and when he was growne to great credite, then was his authority and power also very great, the which notwithstanding himselfe did ouerthrow, by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example onely of his wonderfull liberality. He commanded one day his cofferer that kept his money, to giue a friend of his fiue and twenty Myriades: which the Romains call in their tongue, *Decies*. His cofferer maruelling at it, and being angry withall in his mind, brought him all this money in a heape together, to shew him what a maruellous masse of money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: the cofferer aunswered him, it was the money he willed him to giue vnto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiuing the spite of his man, I thought, sayd he, that *Decies* had bene a greater summe of money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he gaue his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards. Now the Romains maintaining two factions at Rome at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate, did ioyne with *Pompey* being then in Rome: and the contrary side taking part with the people, sent for *Cæsar* to aide them, who made wars in Gavle. Then *Curio Antonius* friend, that had chaunged his garments, and at that time tooke part with *Cæsar*, whose enemy he had bene before: he wanne *Antonius*, and so handled the matter, partly through the great credite and sway he bare amongst the people, by reason of his eloquent toung: and partly also by his exceeding expence of money he made which *Cæsar* gaue him: that *Antonius* was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtherance to *Cæsars* practises. For so soone as *Antonius* became Tribune, he did oppose himselfe against those things which the Consull *Marcellus* preferred (who ordained that certaine legions which had bin already leauied and billed, should be giuen vnto *Cneus Pompey*, with further commission and authority to leauie others vnto them) and set downe an order, that the souldiers which were already leauied and assembled, should be sent into Syria, for a new supply vnto *Marcus Bibulus*, who made warre at that time against the Parthians. And further, gaue a prohibition that *Pompey* should leauy no more men, and also that the souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where *Pompeys* friends and followers would not suffer *Cæsars* letters to be receiued, and openly read in the Senate: *Antonius* hauing power and warrant by his person, through the holinesse of his Tribuneship, did reade them openly, and made diuerse men chaunge their minds: for it appeared to them that *Cæsar* by his letters required no vnreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration vnto the Senate, whether they thought good that *Pompey* or *Cæsar*, should leaue their armie: there were few of the Senators that thought it meete *Pompey* should leaue his army, but they all in manner commaunded *Cæsar* to do it. Then *Antonius* rising vp, asked whether they thought it good that *Pompey* and *Cæsar* both, should leaue their armies. Thereupon all the Senators iointly together gaue their whole consent, and with a great cry commending *Antonius*, they prayed him to referre it to the iudgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore *Cæsars* friends preferred other reasonable demaunds and requests againe, but *Cato* spake against them: and *Lentulus*, one of the Consuls draue *Antonius* by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grieuous curses against him. After that, he tooke a slaues gowne, and speedily fled to *Cæsar*, with *Quintus Cassius*, in a hired coach. When they came to *Cæsar*, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand ouer head at Rome: for the Tribunes of the people might not speake their minds, and were driuen away in great daunger of their liues, as many as stood with law and iustice. Hereupon *Cæsar* incontinently went into Italie with his army, which made *Cicero* say in his Philippides: That as *Hellen* was cause of the warre of Troy, so was *Antonius* the author of the ciuill warres, which indeed was a starke lye. For *Cæsar* was not so fickle headed, nor so easily caried away with anger, that he would so suddenly haue gone and made war with the countrey, ypon the sight onely of *Antonius* and *Cassius*, being fled to him in miserable apparell, and in a hired coach: had he not long before determined it with himselfe. But sith indeed *Cæsar* looked of long time but for some colour, this came as he wished, and gaue him iust occasion of warre. But to say truly, nothing else moued him to make warre with all the world as he did, but one selfe cause, which first procured *Alexander* and *Cyrus* also before him: to wit, an insatiable desire

Antonius liberality.

Antonius Tribune of the people, and Augure.

Antonius acts for Cæsar.

Antonius flieth from Rome vnto Cæsar.

Cicero reproued for lying.

Alexander, Cyrus, and Cæsar, all contended to raigne.

to

to raigne, with a senseleſſe couetouſneſſe to be the beſt man in the world, the which he could not come vnto, before he had firſt put downe *Pompey*, and vtterly ouerthrowne him. Now after that *Cæſar* had gotten ROME at his commandement, & had driuen *Pompey* out of ITALY, he purpoſed firſt to go into SPAINE, againſt the legions *Pompey* had there: and in the meane time to make prouiſion for ſhips and marine preparation, to follow *Pompey*. In his abſence, he left *Lepidus* that was Prætor, gouernor of ROME: and *Antonius* that was Tribune, he gaue him charge of all the ſouldiers, & of ITALY. Then was *Antonius* ſtraight maruellouſly cõmended and beloued of the ſouldiers, becauſe he commonly exerciſed himſelfe among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, & alſo be liberall vnto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary maner, he purchaſed diuerſe other mens euill wils, becauſe that through negligence he would not do them iuſtice that were iniured, & dealt very churliſhly with them that had any ſute vnto him: and beſides all this, he had an ill name to intiſe mens wiues. To conclude, *Cæſars* friends that gouerned vnder him, were cauſe why they hated *Cæſars* gouernement (which indeed in reſpect of himſelfe was no leſſe then a tyranny) by reaſon of the great inſolencies and outragious parts that were committed: amongſt whom *Antonius*, that was of greateſt power, and that alſo committed greateſt faults, deſerued moſt blame. But *Cæſar* notwithſtanding, when he returned from the wars of SPAINE, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put vp againſt him: but contrarily, becauſe he found him a hardy man, and a valiant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefeſt affaires, and was no whit deceiued in his opinion of him. So he paſſed ouer the IONIAN ſea vnto BRVNDVSIVM, being but ſlenderly accompanied: & ſent vnto *Antonius* and *Gabinius*, that they ſhould imbarke their men as ſoone as they could, and paſſe them ouer into MACEDON. *Gabinius* was afraid to take the ſea, becauſe it was very rough, and in the winter time: and therfore fetched a great compaſſe about by land. But *Antonius* fearing ſome danger might come vnto *Cæſar*, becauſe he was compaſſed in with a great number of enemies: firſt of all he draue away *Libo*, who rode at anker with a great army, before the hauen of BRVNDVSIVM. For he manned out ſuch a number of pinnaces, barkes, and other ſmall boats about euery one of his galleys, that he draue him thence. After that, he imbarked into ſhips 20000 footmen, and 800 horſemen, and with this army he hoiſed ſaile. When the enemies ſaw him, they made out to follow him: but the ſea roſe ſo high, that the billowes put backe their galleys that they could not come neare him, and ſo he ſcaped that danger. But withall he fell vpon the rockes with his whole fleete, where the ſea wrought very high: ſo that he was out of all hope to ſaue himſelfe. Yet by good fortune, ſuddenly the wind turned South-weſt, and blew from the gulfe, driuing the waues of the riuer into the maine ſea. Thus *Antonius* looſing from the land, and ſailing with ſafety at his pleaſure, ſoone after he ſaw all the coaſts full of ſhipwrackes. For the force and boyſterouſneſſe of the wind, did caſt away the galleys that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and ſplitted, and diuerſe alſo caſt away, and *Antonius* tooke a great number of them priſoners, with a great ſumme of money alſo. Beſides all theſe, he tooke the city of LYSSVS, and brought *Cæſar* a great ſupply of men, and made him couragious, comming at a pinch with ſo great a power to him. Now there were diuerſe hot skirmiſhes and encounters, in the which *Antonius* fought ſo valiantly, that he caried the praiſe from them all: but ſpecially at two ſeuerall times, when *Cæſars* men turned their backes, and fled for life. For he ſtepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: ſo that the victory fell on *Cæſars* ſide. For this cauſe he had the ſecond place in the campe among the ſouldiers, and they ſpake of no other man vnto *Cæſar*, but of him: who ſhewed plainely what opinion he had of him, when at the laſt battell of PHARSALIA (which indeed was the laſt triall of all, to giue the conquerour the whole Empire of the world) he himſelfe did leade the right wing of his army, and gaue *Antonius* the leading of the left wing, as the valianteſt man and skilfulleſt ſouldier of all thoſe he had about him. After *Cæſar* had won the victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed *Pompey* ſteppe by ſteppe: howbeit before he named *Antonius* Generall of the horſemen, and ſent him to ROME. The Generall of the horſemen is the ſecond office of dignitie, when the Dictator is in the city: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefeſt man, and almoſt the onely man that remaineth, and all the other officers and magiſtrates are put downe, after there is a Dictator choſen. Notwithſtanding, *Dolabella* being at that time Tribune, and a young man deſirous of change and innouation: he preferred a law which the ROMAINES call *Nouas tabulas* (as much to ſay, as a cutting off and cancelling of all obligations and ſpecialties, and were called New tables; becauſe they were driuen

Cæſars ambition the onely cauſe of the ciuill warre.

Cæſar gaue the charge of Italy vnto Antonius.

Antonius vices.

Antonius taketh ſea with his army at Brunduſium, and goeth vnto Cæſar.

Antonius manhood in warre.

Antonius led the left wing of Cæſars battell at Pharſalia where Pompey loſt the field.

The dignity of the Generall of the horſemen.

then to make bookes of daily receipt and expence) and perſwaded *Antonius* his friend (who alſo gaped for a good occaſion to pleaſe and gratifie the common people) to aide him to paſſe this law. But *Trebellius* and *Aſinius* diſſwaded from it all they could poſſible. So by good hap it chanced that *Antonius* miſtruſted *Dolabella* for keeping of his wife, and tooke ſuch a conceipt of it, that he thruſt his wife out of his houſe being his coſin germane, and the daughter of *C. Antonius*, who was Conſull with *Cicero*: and ioyning with *Aſinius*, he reſiſted *Dolabella*, and fought with him. *Dolabella* had gotten the market place where the people do aſſemble in councell, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to haue this law of the new tables to paſſe by force. *Antonius* by cõmandement of the Senate, who had giuen him authority to leauy men & to vſe force againſt *Dolabella*: he went againſt him, and fought ſo valiantly, that men were ſlaine on both ſides. But by this meanes, he got the ill will of the common people, and on the other ſide, the noble men (as *Cicero* ſaith) did not onely miſlike him, but alſo hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banq uets and drunken feaſts he made at vnſeaſonable times, and his extreme waſtfull expences vpon vaine light huſwiues, and then in the day time he would ſleepe or walke out his drunkenneſſe, thinking to weare away the fume of the abundance of wine which he had taken ouer night. In his houſe they did nothing but feaſt, daunce, and maske: and himſelfe paſſed away the time in hearing of fooliſh playes, and in marying theſe players, tumblers, geſters, and ſuch ſort of people. As for proofe hereof it is reported, that at *Hippias* mariage, one of his geſters, he dranke wine ſo luſtily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the people aſſembled in councell, who had ſent for him: he being queſie ſtomached with his ſurfeit he had taken, was compelled to ley vp all before them, and one of his friends held him his gowne in ſtead of a baſin. He had another pleaſant player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefeſt men about him, and a woman alſo called *Cytheride*, of the ſame profeſſion, whom he loued dearly: he caried her vp and downe in a litter vnto all the townes he went, and had as many men waiting vpon her litter (ſhe being but a player) as were attending vpon his owne mother. It grieued honeſt men alſo very much, to ſee that when he went into the country, he caried with him a great number of cupbords full of ſiluer and gold plate, openly in the face of the world, as it had bene the pompe or ſhew of ſome triumph: and that eftſoones in the middeſt of his iourny, he would ſet vp his hals and tents hard by ſome greene groue or pleaſant riuer, & there his cookes ſhould prepare him a ſumptuous dinner. And furthermore, Lyons were harneſſed in traſes to draw his carts: and beſides alſo, in honeſt mens houſes in the cities where he came, he would haue common harlots, curtiſans, and theſe tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieued men much, to ſee that *Cæſar* ſhould be out of Italy following of his enemies, to end this great war, with ſuch great perill & danger, and that others in the meane time abuſing his name and authority, ſhould commit ſuch inſolent and outragious parts vnto their citizens. This me thinkes was the cauſe that made the conſpiracy againſt *Cæſar* increaſe more and more, and layed the reynes of the bridle vpon the ſouldiers neckes, whereby they durſt more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore *Cæſar* after his returne pardoned *Dolabella*, and being created Conſull the third time, he tooke not *Antonius*, but choſe *Lepidus*, his colleague and fellow Conſull. Afterwards when *Pompeys* houſe was put to open ſale, *Antonius* bought it: but when they asked him money for it, he made it very ſtrange, and was offended with them, and writeth himſelfe that he would not go with *Cæſar* into the warres of Africke, becauſe he was not well recompenced for the ſeruice he had done him before. Yet *Cæſar* did ſomewhat bridle his madneſſe and inſolency, not ſuffering him to paſſe his faults ſo lightly away, making as though he ſaw them not. And therefore he left his diſſolute maner of life, and maried *Fuluia* that was *Clodius* widow, a woman not ſo baſely minded to ſpend her time in ſpinning and houſewiuery, and was not contented to maiſter her husband at home, but would alſo rule him in his office abroad, and commaunded him, that commaunded legions and great armies: ſo that *Cleopatra* was to giue *Fuluia* thankes for that ſhe had taught *Antonius* this obedience to women, that learned ſo well to be at their commaundement. Now, becauſe *Fuluia* was ſomewhat ſower and crooked of condition, *Antonius* deuiſed to make her pleaſanter, and ſomewhat better diſpoſed: and therefore he would play her many prety youthfull parts, to make her merry. As he did once, when *Cæſar* returned the laſt time of all conquerour out of Spaine, euery man went out to meete him: and ſo did *Antonius* with the reſt. But on the ſudden there ranne a rumour through Italy, that *Cæſar* was dead, and that his enemies came againe with a great armie. Thereupon he returned with ſpeed to Rome,

Diſſention betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

Antonius abhominable life.

Antonius laid vp his ſtomacke before the whole aſſembly.

Antonius inſolency.

Cæſar and Lepidus, Conſuls.

Antonius buyeth Pompeys houſe.

Antonius maried Fuluia, Clodius widdow.

Fuluia ruled Antonius at home, and abroad.

Rome, and tooke one of his mens gownes, and ſo apparelled came home to his houſe in a darke night, ſaying that he had brought *Fuluia* letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being knowne: but ſhe taking the matter heauily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gaue her the letters, and ſayd neuer a word. So when ſhe had opened the letters, and began to reade them: *Antonius* ramped of her necke, and kiſſed her. We haue told you this tale for examples ſake onely, and ſo could we alſo tell you of many ſuch like as theſe. Now when *Cæſar* was returned from his laſt warre in Spaine, all the chiefeſt nobility of the city, rode many dayes iourny from Rome to meet him, where *Cæſar* made maruellous much of *Antonius*, aboue al the mẽ that came vnto him. For he alwaies tooke him into his coach with him, throughout all Italy: and behind him, *Brutus Albinus* & *Octauius*, the ſon of his Neece, who afterwards was called *Cæſar*, and became Emperor of Rome long time after. So *Cæſar* being afterwards choſen Conſull the fift time, he immediatly choſe *Antonius* his colleague and companion: and deſired by depoſing himſelfe of his Conſulſhip, to make *Dolabella* Conſull in his roome, and had already moued it to the Senate. But *Antonius* did ſtoutly withſtand it, and openly reuiled *Dolabella* in the Senate: and *Dolabella* alſo ſpared him as litle. Thereupon *Cæſar* being aſhamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time alſo when *Cæſar* attempted againe to ſubſtitute *Dolabella* Conſull in his place, *Antonius* cried out, that the ſignes of the birds were againſt it: ſo that at lẽgth *Cæſar* was compelled to giue him place, and to let *Dolabella* alone, who was maruellouſly offended with him. Now in truth, *Cæſar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cæſar* anſwered one that did accuſe *Antonius* and *Dolabella* vnto him for ſome matter of conſpiracy: Tuſh ſayd he, they be not thoſe fat fellowes and fine combed men that I feare, but I miſtruſt rather theſe pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Caſsius*, who afterwards conſpired his death, and ſlue him. *Antonius* vnwares afterwards, gaue *Cæſars* enemies iuſt occaſion & colour to do as they did: as you ſhall heare. The Romaines, by chance celebrated the feaſt called Lupercalia, & *Cæſar* being apparelled in his triumphing robe, was ſet in the Tribune where they vſe to make their Orations to the people, and from thence did behold the ſport of the runners. The maner of this running was this. On that day there are many yong men of noble houſe, and thoſe ſpecially that be chiefe officers for that yeare: who running naked vp & downe the city annointed with the oile of oliue, for pleaſure do ſtrike them they meet in their way, with white leather thongs they haue in their hands. *Antonius* being one among the reſt that was to run, leauing the ancient ceremonies and old cuſtomes of that ſolemnity: he ran to the Tribune where *Cæſar* was ſet, and caried a laurell crowne in his hand, hauing a royall band or diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient marke and token of a king. When he was come to *Cæſar*, he made his fellow runners with him lift him vp, and ſo he did put this laurel crowne vpon his head, ſignifying therby that he had deſerued to be king. But *Cæſar* making as though he refuſed it, turned away his head. The people were ſo reioyced at it, that they al clapped their hands for ioy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his head: *Cæſar* againe refuſed it, and thus they were ſtriuing off & on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this laurel crown vnto him, a few of his followers reioyced at it: and as oft alſo as *Cæſar* refuſed it, all the people together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderfull thing, that they ſuffered all things ſubiects ſhould do by commandement of their kings: and yet they could not abide the name of a king, deteſting it as the vtter deſtructiõ of their liberty. *Cæſar* in a rage roſe out of his ſeate, and plucking downe the coller of his gowne from his necke, he ſhewed it naked, bidding any man ſtrike off his head that would. This laurell crowne was afterwards put vpon the head of one of *Cæſars* ſtatues or images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt off. The people liked his doing therein ſo well, that they waited on him home to his houſe, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cæſar* did turne them out of their offices for it. This was a good incoragement for *Brutus* and *Caſsius* to conſpire his death, who fell into a cõſort with their truſtieſt friends, to execute their enterpriſe: but yet ſtood doubtfull whether they ſhould make *Antonius* priuy to it, or not. All the reſt liked of it, ſauing *Trebonius* only. He told thẽ, that when they rode to meet *Cæſar* at his returne out of Spaine, *Antonius* & he alwayes keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his mind a far off: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would hearken no more vnto it, and yet notwithſtanding neuer made *Cæſar* acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to himſelf. After that they cõſulted whether they ſhould kill *Antonius* with *Cæſar*. But *Brutus* would in no wiſe conſent to it, ſaying: that ventring on ſuch an enterpriſe as that, for the maintenance of law & iuſtice, it ought to be cleare from all villany.

Cæſar, and Antonius, Conſuls.

Antonius vnwittingly gaue Cæſars enemies occaſion to conſpire againſt him.

Antonius Lupercian putteth the diademe vpon Cæſars head.

Brutus and Caſsius conſpire Cæſars death.

Conſultation about the murther of Antonius with Cæſar.

Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, & the authority of his office, appointed certaine of the conspiracy, that when *Cæsar* were gone into the Senate, & while others should execute their enterprise, they should keepe *Antonius* in a talk out of the Senate-house. Euen as they had deuised these matters, so were they executed: and *Cæsar* was slaine in the middest of the Senate. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, cast a slaues gowne vpon him, & hid himselfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the murtherers slue no man else, & that they went only into the Capitoll: he sent his son vnto them for a pledge, and bad them boldly come downe vpon his word. The selfe same day he did bid *Cassius* to supper, and *Lepidus* also bad *Brutus*. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and *Antonius* himselfe preferred a law, that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint prouinces, vnto *Cassius* & *Brutus*: the which the Senate confirmed, & further ordained, that they should cancell none of *Cæsars* lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more praised, & better esteemed, then euer man was: because it seemed to euery man that he had cut off all occasion of ciuill wars, & that he had shewed himselfe a maruellous wise gouernour of the commonwealth, for the appeasing of these matters of so great waight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceiued of himselfe after he had a litle felt the good will of the people towards him, hoping thereby to make himselfe the chiefest man if he might ouercome *Brutus*: did easily make him alter his first mind. And therefore when *Cæsars* body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a funerall Oration in cõmendation of *Cæsar*, according to the ancient custome of praising noble men at their funerals. When he saw that the people were very glad and desirous also to heare *Cæsar* spoken of, & his praises vttered: he mingled his Oration with lamentable words, & by amplifying of matters did greatly moue their harts & affections vnto pity and compassion. In fine to conclude his Oration, he vnfolded before the whole assembly the bloudy garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their swords, & called the malefactors, cruell and cursed murtherers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently tooke *Cæsars* body, and burnt it in the market place, with such tables & fourmes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke firebrands, and ranne to the murtherers houses to set them on fire, & to make them come out to fight. *Brutus* therfore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driuen to flie the city. Then came all *Cæsars* friends vnto *Antonius*, & specially his wife *Calpurnia* putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her mony into his house, which amounted to the sum of 4000 talents, & furthermore brought him all *Cæsars* bookes and writings, in the which were his memorials of all that he had done & ordained. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that means he created new officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, & deliuered those that were prisoners: and then he sayd that all those things were so appointed and ordained by *Cæsar*. Therefore the Romaines mocking them that were so moued, they called them Charonites: because that when they were ouercome, they had no other helpe but to say, that thus they were found in *Cæsars* memorials, who had sailed in *Charons* boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was Consull, and *Caius* one of his brethren Prætor, and *Lucius* the other, Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at Rome, *Octauius Cæsar* the yonger came to Rome, who was the son of *Iulius Cæsars* Neece, as you haue heard before, and was left his lawfull heire by will, remaining at the time of the death of his great Vnkle that was slaine, in the city of Apollonia. This yong man at his first arriuall went to salute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead father *Cæsars* friends, who by his last will and testament had made him his heire: and withall, he was presently in hand with him for mony and other things which were left of trust in his hands, because *Cæsar* had by will bequeathed vnto the people of Rome, threescore and fifteene siluer Drachmaes to be giuen to euery man, the which he as heire stood charged withall. *Antonius* at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very yong: and sayd he lacked wit, and good friends to aduise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand, as to vndertake to be *Cæsars* heire. But when *Antonius* saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand with him for his fathers goods, but specially for the readie money: then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keepe him from being Tribune of the people: and also when *Octauius Cæsar* began to meddle with the dedicating of the chaire of gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour *Cæsar* with: he threatned to send him to prison, and moreouer desisted not to put the people in an vprore. This young *Cæsar* seeing his doings, went vnto *Cicero*, and others, which were

Antonius maketh vprore among the people, for the murther of Cæsar.

Calpurnia, Cæsars wife.

Charonites, why so called.

M. Antonius Consull. Caius Antonius Prætor. Lucius Antonius Tribune, all three brethren.

Variance betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæsar, heire vnto Iulius Cæsar.

Antonius enemies, and by them crept into fauour with the Senate: and he himselfe sought the peoples good will euery manner of way, gathering together the old souldiers of the late deceased *Cæsar*, which were dispersed in diuerse cities and colonies. *Antonius* being affraid of it, talked with *Octauius* in the Capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night *Antonius* had a strange dreame, who thought that lightning fell vpon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cæsar* lay in waite to kill him. *Cæsar* cleared himselfe vnto him, and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleeue the contrarie. Whereupon they became further enemies then euer they were: insomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old souldiers through ITALIE, that were dispersed in diuerse townes: and made them large promises, and sought also to win the legions on their side, which were alreadie in armes. *Cicero* on the other side being at that time the chiefest man of authoritie and estimation in the city, he stirred vp all men against *Antonius*: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an enemy to his country, and appointed young *Cæsar* Sergeants to cary axes before him, and such other signs as were incident to the dignity of a Consull or Prætor: and moreouer, sent *Hircius* and *Pansa*, then Consuls, to driue *Antonius* out of ITALY. These two Consuls together with *Cæsar*, who also had an armie, went against *Antonius* that besieged the citie of MODENA, and there ouerthrew him in battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. *Antonius* flying vpon this ouerthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefest want of all other, & that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would ouercome any aduersity, and the heauier fortune lay vpon him, the more constant shewed he himself. Euery man that feeleth want or aduersity, knoweth by vertue and discretion what he should do: but when indeed they are ouerlaid with extremity, & be sore oppressed, few haue the harts to follow that which they praise & commend, and much lesse to auoid that they reproue and mislike: but rather to the contrary, they yeeld to their accustomed easie life: and through faint hart, & lacke of courage, do change their first mind and purpose. And therfore it was a wonderfull example to the souldiers, to see *Antonius* that was brought vp in all fineneſse & superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eate wild fruits & roots: and moreouer it is reported, that euen as they passed the Alpes, they did eate the barkes of trees, and such beasts as neuer man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to ioyne with the legions that were on the other side of the mountains, vnder *Lepidus* charge: whom *Antonius* tooke to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at *Cæsars* hand, through his means. When he was come to the place where *Lepidus* was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venter himselfe, and to go vnto *Lepidus*. Since the ouerthrow he had at MODENA, he suffered his beard to grow at length and neuer clipt it, that it was maruellous long, & the haire of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning gown, and after this sort came hard to the trenches of *Lepidus* camp. Then he began to speake vnto the souldiers, and many of them their hearts yerned for pity to see him so poorely arrayed, and some also through his words began to pity him: insomuch that *Lepidus* began to be affraid, and therefore commaunded all the trumpets to sound together to stop the souldiers eares, that they should not hearken to *Antonius*. This notwithstanding, the souldiers tooke the more pitie of him, and spake secretly with him by *Clodius* and *Lælius* meanes, whom they sent vnto him disguised in womens apparell, and gaue him counsell that he should not be affraid to enter into their campe, for there were a great number of souldiers that would receiue him, and kill *Lepidus*, if he would say the word. *Antonius* wold not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his army to wade a foord, at a litle riuer that ranne betweene them: and himselfe was the formost man that tooke the riuer to get ouer, seeing a number of *Lepidus* campe that gaue him their hands, plucked vp the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their trench to let him in to their camp. When he was come into their campe, and that he had all the army at his commandement: he vsed *Lepidus* very courteously, imbraced him, and called him father: and though indeed *Antonius* did all, and ruled the whole army, yet he alway gaue *Lepidus* the name and honor of the Captaine. *Munatius Plancus*, lying also in campe hard by with an army: vnderstanding the report of *Antonius* curtesie, he also came and ioyned with him. Thus *Antonius* being a foot againe, and growne of great power, repassed ouer the Alpes, leading into ITALIE with him seuenteene legions, and ten thousand horsemen, besides sixe legions he left in garrison among the GAVLES, vnder the charge of one *Varius*, a companion of his that would

Octauius Cæsar ioyned in friendship with Cicero.

Antonius and Octauius became friends.

Antonius dreame.

Antonius iudged an enemy by the Senate.

Hircius and Pansa Consuls.

Antonius ouerthrowne in battell by the city of Modena.

Antonius patient in aduersitie.

Antonius hardnesse in aduersitie, notwithstanding his fine bringing vp.

Antonius wan all Lepidus army from him.

Varius surnamed Cotylon.

drinke luſtily with him, and therefore in mockerie was ſurnamed *Cotylon*, to wit, a bibber. So *Octauius Cæſar* would not leane to *Cicero*, when he ſaw that his whole trauell and indeuor was only to reſtore the commonwealth to her former libertie. Therefore he ſent certaine of his friends to *Antonius*, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together, (to wit, *Cæſar*, *Antonius*, and *Lepidus*) in an Iland enuironed round about with a litle riuer, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were eaſily agreed, and did deuide all the Empire of Rome betweene them, as if it had bene their owne inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for euery one of them would kill their enemies, and ſaue their kinſemen and friends. Yet at length, giuing place to their greedie deſire to be reuenged of their enemies, they ſpurned all reuerence of bloud, and holineſſe of friendſhip at their feet. For *Cæſar* left *Cicero* to *Antonius* will, *Antonius* alſo forſooke *Lucius Cæſar*, who was his Vncle by his mother: and both of them together ſuffered *Lepidus* to kill his owne brother *Paulus*. Yet ſome writers affirme, that *Cæſar* and *Antonius* requeſted *Paulus* might be ſlaine, and that *Lepidus* was contented with it. In my opinion there was neuer a more horrible, vnnaturall, and crueller chaunge then this was. For thus changing murther for murther, they did aſwell kill thoſe whom they did forſake and leaue vnto others, as thoſe alſo which others left vnto them to kill: but ſo much more was their wickednes and crueltie great vnto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and hauing no cauſe to hate them. After this plot was agreed vpon betweene them: the ſoldiers that were thereabouts, would haue this friendſhip and league betwixt them confirmed by mariage, and that *Cæſar* ſhould marie *Claudia*, the daughter of *Fuluia* and *Antonius* wife. This mariage alſo being agreed vpon, they condemned 300. of the chiefeſt citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proſcription. And *Antonius* alſo commanded thē to whom he had giuen commiſſion to kill *Cicero*, that they ſhould ſtrike off his head and right hand, with the which he had written the inuectiue Orations (called Philippides) againſt *Antonius*. So when the murtherers brought him *Ciceroes* head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great ioy, and laughed hartily, and that oftentimes for the great ioy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleaſure of the ſight of them, he cauſed them to be ſet vp in an open place, ouer the pulpit for Orations, (where when he was aliue, he had often ſpoken to the people) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemiſhed his owne fortune, ſhewing himſelf (to his great ſhame and infamie) a cruell man, and vnworthy the office and authority he bare. His vncle *Lucius Cæſar* alſo, as they ſought for him to kill him, & followed him hard, fled vnto his ſiſter. The murderers coming thither, forcing to breake into her chamber, ſhe ſtood at her chamber doore with her armes abrode, crying out ſtill: You ſhall not kill *Lucius Cæſar*, before you firſt kill me, that bare your Captaine in my wombe. By this meanes ſhe ſaued her brothers life. Now the gouernment of theſe Triumuiri grew odious and hatefull to the Romaines, for diuers reſpects: but they moſt blamed *Antonius*, becauſe he being elder then *Cæſar*, & of more power and force then *Lepidus*, gaue himſelfe againe to his former riot & exceſſe, when he left to deale in the affaires of the cōmonwealth. But ſetting aſide the ill name he had for his inſolencie, he was yet much more hated in reſpect of the houſe he dwelt in, the which was the houſe of *Pompey* the great: a man as famous for his temperance, modeſtie, and ciuill life, as for his three triumphs. For it grieued them to ſee the gates cōmonly ſhut againſt the Captains, Magiſtrates of the city, and alſo Ambaſſadors of ſtrange nations which were ſometimes thruſt from the gate with violence: and that the houſe within was full of tumblers, anticke dauncers, iuglers, players, ieſters, and drunkards, quaffing and guzling, and that on them he beſtowed the moſt part of his mony he got by all kind of poſſible extortions, bribery and pollicie. For they did not only ſell by the cryer the goods of thoſe whom they had outlawed and appointed to murder, ſlanderouſly deceiued the poore widowes and yong orphanes, & alſo raiſed all kind of impoſts, ſubſidies and taxes: but vnderſtanding alſo that the holy veſtall Nuns had certain goods and mony put in their cuſtody to keep, both of mens in the city, and thoſe alſo that were abroad: they went thither, and tooke them away by force. *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing that no mony would ſerue *Antonius* turne, he prayed that they might deuide the mony between them, and ſo did they alſo deuide the armie, for them both to go into Macedon to make warre againſt *Brutus* and *Caſſius*: and in the meane time they left the gouernement of the citie of Rome vnto *Lepidus*. When they had paſſed ouer the ſeas, and that they began to make warre, they being both camped by their enemies, to wit, *Antonius* againſt *Caſſius*, and *Cæſar* againſt *Brutus*: *Cæſar* did no great matter, but *Antonius* had alway the vpper hand, and did all. For at the firſt battell

Cæſar

The conſpiracy and meeting of Cæſar, Antonius, and Lapidus.

The proſcription of the Triumuiri.

Antonius crueltie vnto Cicero.

Lucius Cæſars life ſaued, by his ſiſter.

Antonius riot in his Triumuirate.

The praiſe of Pompey the Great.

Cæſar was ouerthrowne by *Brutus*, and loſt his campe, and very hardly ſaued himſelfe by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himſelfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was giuen, becauſe of a dreame one of his friends had. *Antonius* on the other ſide ouerthrew *Caſſius* in battell, though ſome write that he was not there himſelfe at the battell, but that he came after the ouerthrow, whileſt his men had the enemies in chaſe. So *Caſſius* at his earneſt requeſt was ſlaine by a faithfull ſeruant of his owne called *Pindarus*, whom he had infranchiſed: becauſe he knew not in time that *Brutus* had ouercome *Cæſar*. Shortly after they fought another battell againe, in the which *Brutus* was ouerthrowne, who afterwards alſo ſlue himſelfe. Thus *Antonius* had the chiefeſt glorie of all this victorie, ſpecially becauſe *Cæſar* was ſicke at that time. *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie after this battell, blaming him much for the murther of his brother *Caius*, whom he had put to death in Macedon for reuenge of *Ciceroes* cruel death, and yet laying the fault more in *Hortenſius* then in him: he made *Hortenſius* to be ſlaine on his brothers tombe. Furthermore he caſt his coate armor (which was wonderfull rich and ſumptuous) vpon *Brutus* bodie, and gaue commaundement to one of his ſlaues infranchiſed, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards *Antonius* hearing that his infranchiſed bondman had not burnt his coat-armour with his bodie, becauſe it was very rich, and woorth a great ſum of money, and that he had alſo kept backe much of the readie money appointed for his funerall and tombe: he alſo put him to death. After that, *Cæſar* was conueyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not liue long, nor eſcape the ſickneſſe he had. *Antonius* on the other ſide went towards the Eaſt prouinces and regions to leauie money: and firſt of all he went into Greece, and caried an infinite number of ſoldiers with him. Now, becauſe euery ſouldier was promiſed fiue thouſand ſiluer Drachmas, he was driuen of neceſſitie to impoſe extreme tallages and taxations. At his firſt comming into Greece, he was not hard nor bitter vnto the Grecians, but gaue himſelfe onely to heare wiſe men diſpute, to ſee playes, and alſo to note the ceremonies and ſacrifices of Greece, miniſtring iuſtice to euery man, and it pleaſed him maruellouſly to heare them call him *Philellen*; (as much to ſay, A louer of the Grecians) and ſpecially the Athenians, to whom he did many great pleaſures. Wherfore the Megarians, to exceed the Athenians, thinking to ſhew *Antonius* a goodly ſight: they prayed him to come and ſee their Senat houſe and councell hall. *Antonius* went thither to ſee it. So whē he had ſeene it at his pleaſure, they asked him: My Lord, how like you our hall? Me thinkes (quoth he) it is litle, old, and readie to fall downe. Furthermore he tooke meaſure of the temple of *Apollo Pythias*, and promiſed the Senate to finiſh it. But when he was once come into Asia, hauing left *Lucius Cenſorinus* Gouernor in Greece, and that he had felt the riches and pleaſures of the Eaſt parts, aud that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to wait at his gate for his coming out, and that Queenes and Princeſſes to excell one another, gaue him very rich preſents, and came to ſee him, curiouſly ſetting forth themſelues, and vſing all art that might be to ſhew their beautie, to win his fauour the more: (*Cæſar* in the meane ſpace turmoiling his wits and bodie in ciuill wars at home, *Antonius* liuing merily and quietly abroad (he eaſily fell againe to his old licentious life. For ſtraight, one *Anaxenor* a player of the citherne, *Xoutus* a player of the flute, *Metrodorus* a tumbler, and ſuch a rabble of minſtrels and fit miniſters for the pleaſures of Asia, (who in fineneſſe and flatterie paſſed all the other plagues he brought with him out of Italie) all theſe flocked in his court, and bare the whole ſway: and after that, all went awry. For euery one gaue themſelues to riot and exceſſe, when they ſaw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the citie *Sophocles* ſpeaketh of in one of his Tragedies:

The valiantneſſe of Antonius againſt Brutus.

The death of Caſſius.

Brutus ſlue himſelfe.

Antonius gaue honorable buriall vnto Brutus.

Antonius great courteſie in Grece.

The plagues of Italy, in riot.

VVas full of ſweet perfumes, and pleaſant ſongs,
VVith wofull weeping mingled there amongs.

For in the citie of Ephesvs, women attired as they go in the feaſts and ſacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meete him with ſuch ſolemnities and ceremonies, as are then vſed: with men and children diſguiſed like Fawnes and Satyres. Moreouer, the citie was full of Iuie, and darts wreathed about with Iuie, pſalterions, flutes and howboyes, and in their ſongs they called him *Bacchus*, father of mirth, courteous and gentle: and ſo was he vnto ſome, but to the moſt part of men, cruell and extreame. For he robbed Noblemen and Gentlemen of their goods, to giue it vnto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged mens goods liuing, as though they had bene dead, and would enter their houſes by force. As he gaue a citizens houſe of Magnesia vnto a cooke, becauſe (as it is reported) he dreſſed him a fine ſupper. In the end he doubled the taxation, and impoſed a ſecond vpon Asia. But then *Hybreas* the Orator ſent from the eſtates of Asia, to tel him the ſtate

Antonius cruelty in Aſia.

Hybreas words vnto Antonius touching their great payments of money vnto him.

of their countrie, boldly ſaid vnto him: If thou wilt haue power to lay two tributes in one yeare vpon vs, thou ſhouldeſt alſo haue power to giue vs two Sommers, two Autummes, and two Harueſts. This was gallantly and pleaſantly ſpoken vnto *Antonius* by the Orator, and it pleaſed him well to heare it: but afterwards amplifying his ſpeech, he ſpake more boldly, and to better purpoſe: Asia hath payed the two hundred thouſand talents. If all this money be not come to thy coffers, then aske account of them that leauied it: but if thou haue receiued it, and nothing be left of it, then are we vtterly vndone. *Hybreas* words netled *Antonius* roundly. For he vnderſtood not of the thefts and robberies his officers committed by his authoritie, in his treaſure and affairs: not ſo much becauſe he was careleſſe, as for that he ouer ſimply truſted his men in al things.

Antonius ſimplicitie.

For he was a plaine man, without ſubtiltie, and therfore ouer late found out the foule faults they committed againſt him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confeſſe it vnto them whom his officers had done iniurie vnto by countenance of his authority. He had a noble mind, as well to puniſh offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceed more in giuing, then in puniſhing. Now for his outragious manner of railing he commonly vſed, mocking and flouting of euery man, that was remedied by it ſelfe: for a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was as well contented to be mocked, as to mocke others: but yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that thoſe which told him ſo plainly, and truly in mirth: would neuer flatter him in good earneſt in any matter of weight. But thus he was eaſily abuſed by the praiſes they gaue him, not finding how theſe flatterers mingled their flatterie, vnder this familiar and plaine maner of ſpeech vnto him, as a fine deuiſe to make difference of meats with ſharpe and tart ſauce, and alſo to keepe him by this franck ieaſting & bourding with him at the table, that their common flatterie ſhould not be troubleſome vnto him, as men do eaſily miſlike to haue too much of one thing: & that they handled him finely thereby, when they would giue him place in any matter of waight, and follow his counſell, that it might not appeare to him they did it ſo much to pleaſe him, but becauſe they were ignorant, and vnderſtood not ſo much as he did. *Antonius* being thus inclined, the laſt and extreameſt miſchiefe of all other (to wit, the loue of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and ſtir vp many vices yet hidden in him, and were neuer ſeene to any: and if any ſparke of goodneſſe or hope of riſing were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it ſtraight, and made it worſe then before. The manner how he fell in loue with her was this. *Antonius* going to make war with the Parthians, ſent to commaund *Cleopatra* to appeare perſonally before him when he came into Cilicia, to anſwer vnto ſuch accuſations as were laid againſt her, being this: that ſhe had aided *Caſſius* and *Brutus* in their warre againſt him. The meſſenger ſent vnto *Cleopatra* to make this ſummons vnto her, was called *Dellius*: who when he had throughly conſidered her beautie, the excellent grace and ſweetneſſe of her toung, he nothing miſtruſted that *Antonius* would do any hurt to ſo noble a Lady, but rather aſſured himſelf, that within few daies ſhe ſhould be in great fauour with him. Therupon he did her great honor, and perſwaded her to come into Cilicia, as honourably furniſhed as ſhe could poſſible, and bad her not to be affraid at all of *Antonius*, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that ſhe had euer ſeene. *Cleopatra* on the other ſide beleeuing *Dellius* words, and gueſſing by the former acceſſe and credit ſhe had with *Iulius Caſar*, and *C. Pompey* (the ſon of *Pompey* the Great) only for her beauty: ſhe began to haue good hope that ſhe might more eaſily win *Antonius*. For *Caſar* & *Pompey* knew her when ſhe was but a yong thing, & knew not then what the world meant: but now ſhe went to *Antonius* at the age when a womans beauty is at the prime, and ſhe alſo of beſt iudgment. So ſhe furniſhed her ſelfe with a world of gifts, ſtore of gold and ſiluer, and of riches and other ſumptuous ornaments, as is credible enough ſhe might bring frō ſo great a houſe, and from ſo wealthy and rich a realme as Ægypt was. But yet ſhe caried nothing with her wherin ſhe truſted more then in her ſelfe, and in the charmes and inchauntment of her paſſing beautie and grace. Therfore when ſhe was ſent vnto by diuerſe letters, both from *Antonius* himſelfe, and alſo from his friends, ſhe made ſo light of it, and mocked *Antonius* ſo much, that ſhe diſdained to ſet forward otherwiſe, but to take her barge in the riuer of Cydnus, the poope whereof was of gold, the ſailes of purple, and the oares of ſiluer, which kept ſtroke in rowing after the ſound of the muſicke of flutes, howboyes, cithernes, vials, and ſuch other inſtruments as they played vpon in the barge. And now for the perſon of her ſelfe: ſhe was layed vnder a pauilion of cloth of gold of tiſſue, apparelled and attired like the goddeſſe *Venus*, commonly drawne in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretie faire boyes apparelled as Painters do ſet foorth

Antonius manners.

Antonius loue to Cleopatra whom he ſent for into Cilicia

The wonderful ſumptuouſneſſe of Cleopatra, Queene of Aegypt, going vnto Antonius. Cydnus fl.

god

god *Cupid*, with litle fans in their hands, with the which they fanned wind vpon her. Her Ladies and Gentlewomen alſo, the faireſt of them were apparelled like the Nimphes *Nereides* (which are the Myrmaides of the waters) and like the *Graces*, ſome ſtearing the helme, others tending the tackle and ropes of the barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull paſſing ſweet ſauour of perfumes, that perfumed the wharfes ſide, peſtered with innumerable multitudes of people. Some of them followed the barge all alongſt the riuer ſide: others alſo ran out of the citie to ſee her coming in. So that in the end, there ranne ſuch multitudes of people one after another to ſee her, that *Antonius* was left poſt alone in the market place, in his Imperiall ſeate to giue audience: and there went a rumour in the peoples mouths, that the goddeſſe *Venus* was come to play with the god *Bacchus* for the generall good of all Asia. When *Cleopatra* landed, *Antonius* ſent to inuite her to ſupper to him. But ſhe ſent him word againe, he ſhould do better rather to come and ſuppe with her. *Antonius* therefore to ſhew himſelfe courteous vnto her at her arriuall, was contented to obey her, and went to ſupper to her: where he found ſuch paſſing ſumptuous fare, that no tongue can expreſſe it. But amongſt all other things, he moſt wondered at the infinit number of lights and torches hanged on the toppe of the houſe, giuing light in euery place, ſo artificially ſet and ordered by deuiſes, ſome round, ſome ſquare: that it was the rareſt thing to behold that eye could diſcerne, or that euer bookes could mention. The next night, *Antonius* feaſting her, contended to paſſe her in magnificence and fineneſſe: but ſhe ouercame him in both. So that he himſelfe began to ſcorne the groſſe ſeruice of his houſe, in reſpect of *Cleopatraes* ſumptuouſneſſe and fineneſſe. And when *Cleopatra* found *Antonius* ieaſts and ſlents to be but groſſe, and ſouldier like, in plaine maner: ſhe gaue it him finely, and without feare taunted him throughly. Now her beautie (as it is reported) was not ſo paſſing, as vnmatchable of other women, nor yet ſuch, as vpon preſent view did enamour men with her: but ſo ſweet was her companie and conuerſation, that a man could not poſſibly but be taken. And beſides her beautie, the good grace ſhe had to talke and diſcourſe, her curteous nature that tempered her words and deeds, was a ſpur that pricked to the quicke. Furthermore, beſides all theſe, her voice and words were maruellous pleaſant: for her tong was an inſtrument of muſick to diuers ſports and paſtimes, the which ſhe eaſily turned to any language that pleaſed her. She ſpake vnto few barbarous people by interpreter, but made them anſwer her ſelf, or at the leaſt the moſt part of them: as the Æthiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrevves, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and to many others alſo, whoſe languages ſhe had learned. Whereas diuers of her progenitours, the kings of Ægypt, could ſcarce learne the Ægyptian toung onely, and many of them forgot to ſpeake the Macedonian. Now *Antonius* was ſo rauiſhed with the loue of *Cleopara*, that though his wife *Fuluia* had great wars, and much ado with *Cæſar* for his affaires, and that the army of the Parthians (the which the kings Lieutenants had giuen to the onely leading of *Labienus*) was now aſſembled in Mesopotamia, readie to inuade Syria: yet (as though all this had nothing touched him) he yeelded himſelfe to go with *Cleopatra* into Alexandria, where he ſpent and loſt in childiſh ſports (as a man might ſay) and idle paſtimes, the moſt precious thing a man can ſpend, (as *Antiphon* ſaith) and that is, Time. For they made an order betweene them, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to ſay, No life comparable and matchable with it) one feaſting each other by turnes, and in coſt, exceeding all meaſure and reaſon. And for proofe hereof, I haue heard my grandfather *Lampryas* report, that one *Philotas* a Phiſitian, borne in the city of Amphiſſa, told him, that he was at that preſent time in Alexandria, and ſtudied Phiſick: and that hauing acquaintance with one of *Antonius* cookes, he tooke him with him to *Antonius* houſe, (being a yong man deſirous to ſee things) to ſhew him the wonderfull ſumptuous charge and preparation of one only ſupper. When he was in the kitchin, and ſaw a world of diuerſities of meats, and amongſt others, eight wild bores roſted whole: he began to wonder at it, and ſaid: Sure you haue great number of gueſts to ſupper. The cooke fell a laughing, and anſwered him: No (quoth he) not many gueſtes, nor aboue twelue in all: but yet all that is boiled or roaſted muſt be ſerued in whole, or elſe it would be marred ſtraight: for *Antonius* peraduenture will ſup preſently, or it may be a pretie while hence, or likely enough he will deferre it longer, for that he hath drunke well to day, or elſe hath had ſome other great matters in hand: and therefore we do not dreſſe one ſupper onely, but many ſuppers, becauſe we are vncertaine of the houre he will ſuppe in. *Philotas* the Phiſitian told my grandfather this tale, and ſaid moreouer, that it was his chaunce ſhortly after to ſerue the eldeſt ſonne of the ſaid *Antonius*, whom he had by his

The ſumptuous preparations of the ſuppers of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Cleopatraes beautie.

An order ſet vp by Antonius and Cleopatra.

Antonius and Cleopatra in Aegypt.

Eight wild boares roaſted whole.

Philotas a Phiſitian, borne in Amphiſſa, reporter of this feaſt.

Philotas, Phisitian to the younger Antonius.

Philotas subtil proposition.

wife *Fuluia*: and that he sate commonly at his table with his other friends, when he did not dine nor suppe with his father. It chaunced one day there came a Phisitian that was so full of wordes, that he made euery man wearie of him at the boord: but *Philotas* to stoppe his mouth, put out this subtill proposition to him: It is good in some sort to let a man drinke cold water that hath an ague: But euery man that hath an ague, hath it in some sort: Ergo, it is good for euery man that hath an ague to drink cold water. The Phisitian was so grauelled and amated withall, that he had not a word more to say. Yong *Antonius* burst out into such a laughing at him, and was so glad of it, that he said vnto him: *Philotas*, take all that, I giue it thee: shewing him his cupboord full of plate, with great pottes of gold and siluer. *Philotas* thanked him, and told him he thought himselfe greatly bound to him for this liberalitie, but he would neuer haue thought that he had had power to haue giuen so many things, and of so great value. But much more he maruelled, when shortly after one of young *Antonius* men brought him home all the pots in a basket, bidding him set his marke and stampe vpon them, and to locke them vp. *Philotas* returned the bringer of them, fearing to be reproued if he tooke them. Then the young Gentleman *Antonius* said vnto him: Alas poore man, why doest thou make it nice to take them? knowest thou not that it is the son of *Antonius* that giues them thee, and is able to do it? if thou wilt not beleeue me, take rather the readie money they come to: because my father peraduenture may aske for some of the plate, for the anticke and excellent workmanship of them. This I haue heard my grandfather tell oftentimes. But now againe to *Cleopatra*. *Plato* writeth that there are foure kinds of flatterie: but *Cleopatra* deuided it into many kinds. For she (were it in sport, or in matters of earnest) still deuised sundrie new delights to haue *Antonius* at commaundement, neuer leauing him night nor day, nor once letting him go out of her sight. For she would play at dice with him, drinke with him, and hunt commonly with him, and also be with him when he went to any exercise or actiuitie of bodie. And sometime also, when he would go vp and downe the citie disguised like a slaue in the night, and would peere into poore mens windowes and their shops, and scold and braule with them within the house, *Cleopatra* would be also in a chamber maides array, and amble vp and downe the streets with him, so that oftentimes *Antonius* bare away both mocks and blowes. Now, though most men misliked this maner, yet the Alexandrians were commonly glad of this iolitie, and liked it well, saying very gallantly and wisely: that *Antonius* shewed them a comicall face, to wit, a merie countenance: and the Romaines a tragicall face, to say, a grimme looke. But to recken vp all the fooliish sports they made, reuelling in this sort, it were too fond a part of me, and therefore I will onely tell you one among the rest. On a time he went to angle for fish, and when he could take none, he was as angrie as could be, because *Cleopatra* stood by. Wherefore he secretly commaunded the fishermen, that when he cast in his line, they should straight diue vnder the water, and put a fish on his hooke which they had taken before: and so snatched vp his angling rod, and brought vp fish twise or thrise. *Cleopatra* found it straight, yet she seemed not to see it, but wondred at his excellent fishing: but when she was alone by her selfe among her own people, she told them how it was, and bad thē the next morning to be on the water to see the fishing. A number of people came to the hauen, and got into the fisher boates to see this fishing. *Antonius* then threw in his line, and *Cleopatra* straight commaunded one of her men to diue vnder water before *Antonius* men, and to put some old salt-fish vpon his bait, like vnto those that are brought out of the countrey of Pont. When he had hung the fish on his hooke, *Antonius* thinking he had taken a fish indeed, snatched vp his line presently. Then they all fell a laughing. *Cleopatra* laughing also, said vnto him: Leaue vs (my Lord) Ægyptians (which dwell in the countrey of Pharvs and Canobvs) your angling rod: this is not thy profession, thou must hunt after conquering of realmes and countries. Now *Antonius* delighting in these fond and childish pastimes, very ill newes were brought him from two places. The first from Rome, that his brother *Lucius* and *Fuluia* his wife, fell out first betweene themselues, and afterwards fell to open warre with *Cæsar*, and had brought all to nought, that they were both driuen to flie out of Italie. The second newes, as bad as the first: that *Labienus* conquered all Asia with the armie of the Parthians, from the riuer of Euphrates, and from Syria, vnto the countries of Lydia and Ionia. Then beganne *Antonius* with much ado, a litle to rouze himselfe, as if he had bene wakened out of a deepe sleepe, and as a man may say, comming out of a great drunkennesse. So, first of all he bent himselfe against the Parthians, and went as farre as the countrey of Phœnicia: but there he receiued lamētable letters from his wife *Fuluia*. Wherupon he straight returned

Plato writeth of foure kinds of flatterie.

Cleopatra Queene of all flatterers.

Antonius fishing in Aegypt.

The warres of Lucius, Antonius, and Fuluia, against Octauius Cæsar.

ned towards ITALIE, with two hundred saile: and as he went, tooke vp his friends by the way that fled out of ITALIE to come to him. By them he was informed, that his wife *Fuluia* was the only cause of this war: who being of a peeuish, crooked, & troblesome nature, had purposely raised this vprore in ITALIE, in hope therby to withdraw him from *Cleopatra*. But by good fortune, his wife *Fuluia* going to meete with *Antonius* sickened by the way, and died in the citie of SICYONE: and therefore *Octauius Cæsar* and he were the easilier made friends together. For when *Antonius* landed in ITALIE, and that men saw *Cæsar* asked nothing of him, and that *Antonius* on the other side laid all the fault and burden on his wife *Fuluia*: the friends of both parties would not suffer them to vnrippe any old matters, and to proue or defend who had the wrong or right, and who was the first procurer of this war, fearing to make matters worse betweene them: but they made them friends together, and deuided the Empire of ROME betweene them, making the sea Ionium the bounds of their diuision. For they gaue all the Prouinces Eastward vnto *Antonius*: and the countries Westward vnto *Cæsar*, and left AFRICKE vnto *Lepidus*: and made a lawe, that they three one after another should make their friends Consuls, when they would not be themselues. This seemed to be a sound counsell, but yet it was to be confirmed with a straighter bond, which fortune offered thus. There was *Octauia* the eldest sister of *Cæsar*, not by one mother, for she came of *Ancharia*, and *Cæsar* himselfe afterwards of *Accia*. It is reported, that he dearely loued his sister *Octauia*, for indeed she was a noble Ladie, and left the widow of her first husband *Caius Marcellus*, who died not long before: and it seemed also that *Antonius* had bene widower euer since the death of his wife *Fuluia*. For he denied not that he kept *Cleopatra*, neither did he confesse that he had her as his wife: and so with reason he did defend the loue he bare vnto this ÆGYPTIAN *Cleopatra*. Therupon euery man did set forward this mariage, hoping therby that this Ladie *Octauia*, hauing an excellent grace, wisedome and honestie, ioyned vnto so rare a beautie, that when she were with *Antonius* (he louing her as so worthie a Ladie deserueth) she should be a good meane to keepe good loue and amitie betwixt her brother and him. So when *Cæsar* and he had made the match between them, they both went to ROME about this mariage, although it was against the law, that a widowe should be maried within ten moneths after her husbands death. Howbeit the Senate dispensed with the law, and so the mariage proceeded accordingly. *Sextus Pompeius* at that time kept in SICILIA, and so made many an inrode into ITALIE with a great number of pinnaces and other pyrates shippes, of the which were Captaines two notable pyrates, *Menas* and *Menecrates*, who so scoured all the sea thereabouts, that none durst peepe out with a saile. Furthermore, *Sextus Pompeius* had dealt very friendly with *Antonius*, for he had curteously receiued his mother, when she fled out of ITALY with *Fuluia*: and therefore they thought good to make peace with him. So they met all three together by the mount of Misena, vpon a hill that runneth farre into the sea: *Pompey* hauing his shippes riding hard by at anker, and *Antonius* and *Cæsar* their armies vpon the shore side, directly ouer against him. Now, after they had agreed that *Sextus Pompeius* should haue SICILE and SARDINIA, with this condition, that he should ridde the sea of all theeues and pirates, and make it safe for passengers, and withall, that he should send a certaine of wheat to ROME: one of them did feast another, and drew cuts who should begin. It was *Pompeius* chaunce to inuite them first. Wherupon *Antonius* asked him: And where shall we sup? There, said *Pompey*, and shewed him his Admirall gallie which had sixe banckes of oares: That (said he) is my fathers house they haue left me. He spake it to taunt *Antonius*, becaus he had his fathers house, that was *Pompey* the Great. So he cast ankers enow into the sea, to make his galley fast, and then built a bridge of wood to conuey them to his galley, from the head of mount Misena: and there he welcommed them, and made them great cheare. Now in the midst of the feast, when they fell to be merie with *Antonius* loue vnto *Cleopatra*: *Menas* the pirate came to *Pompey*, and whispering in his eare, said vnto him: Shall I cut the cables of the ankers, & make thee Lord not only of SICILE & SARDINIA, but of the whole Empire of ROME besides? *Pompey* hauing pawsed awhile vpon it, at length answered him: Thou shouldst haue done it, and neuer haue told it me, but now we must content vs with that we haue: as for my selfe, I was neuer taught to breake my faith, nor to be counted a traitor. The other two also did likewise feast him in their campe, & then he returned into SICILE. *Antonius* after this agreement made, sent *Ventidius* before into ASIA to stay the PARTHIANS, & to keepe them they shold come no further: and he himselfe in the meane time, to gratifie *Cæsar*, was contented to be chosen *Iulius Cæsars* priest & sacrificer, and so they ioyntly together dispatched all great matters con-

The death of Fuluia, Antonius wife.

All the Empire of Rome deuided betweene the Triumuiri.

Octauia the halfe sister of Octauius Cæsar and daughter of Ancharia, which was not Cæsars mother.

A lawe at Rome for maryings of widowes.

Antonius maried Octauia, Octauius Cæsars half sister.

Antonius and Octauius Cæsar, do make peace with Sextus Pompeius.

Sextus Pompeius taunt to Antonius.

Sextus Pompeius being offered wonderfull great fortune, for his honestie and faiths sake refused it.

cerning the ſtate of the Empire. But in all other maner of ſports and exerciſes, wherein they paſſed the time away the one with the other: *Antonius* was euer inferior vnto *Cæſar*, and alway loſt, which grieued him much. With *Antonius* there was a Soothſayer or Aſtronomer of Ægypt, that could caſt a figure, and iudge of mens natiuities, to tell them what ſhould happen to them. He, either to pleaſe *Cleopatra*, or elſe for that he found it ſo by his art, told *Antonius* plainely, that his fortune (which of it ſelfe was excellent good, and very great) was altogether blemiſhed and obſcured by *Cæſars* fortune: and therefore he counſelled him vtterly to leaue his company, and to get him as far from him as he could. For thy *Demon*, ſaid he, (that is to ſay, the good angell and ſpirit that keepeth thee) is affraid of his: and being couragious & high when he is alone, becommeth fearefull and timorous when he cometh neare vnto the other. Howſoeuer it was, the euents enſuing proued the Ægyptians words true: for it is ſaid, that as often as they two drew cuts for paſtime, who ſhold haue any thing, or whether they plaid at dice, *Antonius* alway loſt. Oftentimes when they were diſpoſed to ſee cock-fight, or quails that were taught to fight one with another: *Cæſars* cockes or quailes did euer ouercome. The which ſpited *Antonius* in his mind, although he made no outward ſhew of it: and therfore he beleeued the Ægyptian the better. In fine, he recommended the affaires of his houſe vnto *Cæſar*, and went out of Italy with *Octauia* his wife, whō he caried into Greece, after he had had a daughter by her. So *Antonius* lying al the winter at Athens, newes came vnto him of the victories of *Ventidius*, who had ouercome the Parthians in battell, in the which alſo were ſlaine *Labienus* and *Pharnabates*, the chiefeſt Captaine king *Orodes* had. For theſe good newes he feaſted all Athens, & kept open houſe for all the Grecians, and many games of price were plaid at Athens, of the which he himſelf would be iudge. Wherfore leauing his guard, his axes, and tokens of his Empire at his houſe, he came into the ſhew place or liſts (where theſe games were plaid) in a long gown and ſlipppers after the Grecian faſhion, and they caried tipſtaues before him, as Martials men do carie before the Iudges to make place: and he himſelfe in perſon was a ſtickler to part the young men, when they had fought enough. After that, preparing to go to the wars, he made him a garland of the holy Oliue, and caried a veſſell with him of the water of the fountaine Clepſydra, becauſe of an Oracle he had receiued that ſo commanded him. In the meane time, *Ventidius* once againe ouercame *Pacorus* (*Orodes* ſon king of Parthia) in a battell fought in the country of Cyrrestica, he being come againe with a great army to inuade Syria: at which battell was ſlaine a great number of the Parthians, and among them *Pacorus*, the kings owne ſonne. This noble exploit as famous as euer any was, was a full reuenge to the Romaines, of the ſhame and loſſe they had receiued before by the death of *Marcus Craſſus*: and he made the Parthians flie, and glad to keepe themſelues within the confines and territories of Mesopotamia & Media, after they had thriſe together bene ouercome in ſeuerall battels. Howbeit *Ventidius* durſt not vndertake to follow them any farther, fearing leſt he ſhold haue gotten *Antonius* diſpleaſure by it. Notwithſtanding, he led his army againſt them that had rebelled, & conquered them againe: amongſt whom he beſieged *Antiochus*, king of Commagena, who offered him to giue a thouſand talents to be pardoned his rebelliō, and promiſed euer after to be at *Antonius* commandement. But *Ventidius* made him anſwer, that he ſhould ſend vnto *Antonius*, who was not farre off, and would not ſuffer *Ventidius* to make any peace with *Antiochus*, to the end that yet this litle exploit ſhould paſſe in his name, and that they ſhould not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenant *Ventidius*. The ſiege grew very long, becauſe they that were in the towne, ſeeing they could not be receiued vpon no reaſonable compoſition, determined valiantly to defend themſelues to the laſt man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, and yet receiued great ſhame, repenting him much that he tooke not their firſt offer. And yet at the laſt he was glad to make truce with *Antiochus*, and to take three hundred talents for compoſition. Thus after he had ſet order for the ſtate and affaires of Syria, he returned againe to Athens: and hauing giuen *Ventidius* ſuch honours as he deſerued, he ſent him to Rome, to triumph for the Parthians. *Ventidius* was the onely man that euer triumphed of the Parthians vntill this preſent day, a meane man borne, and of no noble houſe or family: who onely came to that he attained vnto, through *Antonius* friendſhip, the which deliuered him happie occaſion to atchieue to great matters. And yet to ſay truly, he did ſo well quit himſelfe in all his enterpriſes, that he confirmed that which was ſpoken of *Antonius* and *Cæſar*: to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made warre by their Lieutenants, then by themſelues. For *Soſius* one of *Antonius* Lieutenants in Syria, did notable good ſeruice: and *Canidius* whom

Antonius told by a ſoothſayer that his fortune was inferiour vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Antonius vnfortunate in ſport and earneſt, againſt Octauius Cæſar.

Orodes king of Parthia.

Ventidius notable victorie of the Parthians.

The death of Pacorus, the king of Parthiaces ſon.

Ventidius the only man of the Romaines, that triumphed for the Parthians.

whom he had alſo left his Lieutenant in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he alſo ouercome the kings of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his conqueſts vnto mount Caucaſus. By theſe conqueſts, the fame of *Antonius* power increaſed more and more, and grew dreadfull vnto all the barbarous nations. But *Antonius* notwithſtanding, grew to be maruellouſly offended with *Cæſar*, vpon certaine reports that had bene brought vnto him: and ſo tooke ſea to go towards ITALY with three hundred ſaile. And becauſe thoſe of BRVNDVSIVM would not receiue his armie into their hauen, he went farther vnto TARENTVM. There his wife *Octauia* that came out of GRECE with him, beſought him to ſend her vnto her brother, the which he did. *Octauia* at that time was great with child, and moreouer had a ſecond daughter by him, and yet ſhe put her ſelfe in iourny, and met with her brother *Octauius Cæſar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe friends, *Mæcenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aſide, and with all the inſtance ſhe could poſſible, intreated them they would not ſuffer her that was the happieſt woman of the world, to become now the moſt wretched and vnfortunateſt creature of all other. For now, ſaid ſhe, euery mans eyes do gaze on me, that am the ſiſter of one of the Emperours, and wife of the other. And if the worſt counſell take place, (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to warres: for your ſelues, it is vncertaine to which of them two the goddes haue aſſigned the victorie or ouerthrowe. But for me, on which ſide ſoeuer victorie fall, my ſtate can be but moſt miſerable ſtill. Theſe wordes of *Octauia* ſo ſoftened *Cæſars* heart, that he went quickly vnto TARENTVM. But it was a noble ſight for them that were preſent, to ſee ſo great an armie by land not to ſtirre, and ſo many ſhippes a floate in the roade, quietly and ſafe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindneſſe of friends, louingly embracing one another. Firſt, *Antonius* feaſted *Cæſar*, which he graunted vnto for his ſiſters ſake. Afterwards they agreed together, that *Cæſar* ſhould giue *Antonius* two legions to go againſt the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* ſhould let *Cæſar* haue an hundred gallies armed with brazen ſpurres at the prooes. Beſides all this, *Octauia* obtained of her husband, twentie Brigantines for her brother: and of her brother for her huſband, a thouſand armed men. After they had taken leaue of each other, *Cæſar*, went immediatly to make warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to get SICILIA into his hands. *Antonius* alſo leauing his wife *Octauia* and litle children begotten of her, with *Cæſar*, and his other children which he had by *Fuluia*: he went directly into ASIA. Then beganne this peſtilent plague and miſchiefe of *Cleopatraes* loue (which had ſlept a long time, and ſeemed to haue bene vtterly forgotten, and that *Antonius* had giuen place to better counſell) againe to kindle, and to be in force, ſo ſoone as *Antonius* came neare vnto SYRIA. And in the end, the horſe of the mind, as *Plato* tearmeth it, that is ſo hard of raine (I meane the vnreined luſt of concupiſcence) did put out of *Antonius* head, al honeſt and commendable thoughts: for he ſent *Fonteius Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* into SYRIA: vnto whom, to welcome her, he gaue no trifling things: but vnto that ſhe had already, he added the Prouinces of PHOENICIA, thoſe of the nethermoſt SYRIA, the Ile of CYPRVS, and a great part of CILICIA, and that countrie of IVRY, where the true balme is, and that part of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS do dwell, which ſtretcheth out towards the Ocean. Theſe great gifts much miſliked the ROMAINES. But now, though *Antonius* did eaſily giue away great ſeigniories, realmes, and mightie nations vnto ſome priuate men, and that alſo he tooke from other kings their lawfull realmes: (as from *Antigonus* king of the IEVVES, whom he openly beheaded, where neuer king before had ſuffered like death) yet all this did not ſo much offend the ROMAINES, as the vnmeaſurable honours which he did vnto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggrauate their malice and ill will towards him, becauſe that *Cleopatra* hauing brought him two twinnes, a ſonne and a daughter, he named his ſonne *Alexander*, and his daughter *Cleopatra*, and gaue them to their ſurnames, the Sunne to the one, and the Moone to the other. This notwithſtanding, he that could finely cloke his ſhamefull deedes with fine words, ſaid, that the greatneſſe and magnificence of the Empire of ROME appeared moſt, not where the ROMAINS took, but where they gaue much: and Nobilitie was multipiled amongſt men, by the poſterity of Kings, when they left of their ſeed in diuers places: and that by this means his firſt anceſtor was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his line and poſterity, in the wombe of one onely woman, fearing *Solons* lawes, or regarding the ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gaue it vnto nature, and eſtabliſhed the foundation of many noble races and families in diuerſe places. Now when *Phraortes* had ſlaine his father *Orodes*, and poſſeſſed the kingdome: many Gentlemen of PARTHIA forſooke him, and fled from him. Amongſt them was *Moneſes*

Canidius conqueſts.

New diſpleaſures betwixt Antonius and Octauius Cæſar

The wordes of Octauia vnto Mæcenas and Agrippa.

Octauia pacifieth the quarel betwixt Antonius and her brother Octauius Cæſar.

Plato calleth concupiſcence, the horſe of the mind.

Antonius ſent for Cleopatra into Syria.

Antonius gaue great prouinces vnto Cleopatra.

Antigonus king of Iurie, the firſt king beheaded by Antonius.

Antonius twins by Cleopatra, and their names.

Phraortes ſlue his father Orodes king of Parthia.

a Nobleman, and of great authoritie among his countrimen, who came vnto *Antonius*, that receiued him, and compared his fortune vnto *Themistocles*, & his owne riches and magnificence, vnto the kings of PERSIA. For he gaue *Moneses* 3. cities, LARISSA, ARETHVSA, & HIERAPOLIS, which was called before BOMBICE. Howbeit the king of PARTHIA shortly after called him home again, vpon his faith & word. *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale vpon *Phraortes* vnprouided. For he sent vnto him, and told him that they would remaine good friends, & haue peace together, so he would but onely redeliuer the standards and ensignes of the ROMAINES, (which the PARTHIANS had won in the battell where *M. Crassus* was slain) and the men also that remained yet prisoners of this ouerthrow. In the meane time he sent *Cleopatra* backe into ÆGYPT and tooke his way towards ARABIA and ARMENIA, and there tooke a generall muster of all his army he had together, & of the kings his confederates that were come by his commandement to aide him, being a maruellous number: of the which the chiefest was *Artauasdes*, king of ARMENIA, who did furnish him with 6000. horsmen, and 7000. footmen. There were also of the ROMAINES about threescore thousand footmen, and of horsemen (SPANIARDS and GAVLS reckened for ROMANES) to the number of 10600. and of other nations thirty thousand men, reckening together the horsmen & light armed footmen. This so great and puissant army (which made the INDIANS quake for feare, dwelling about the countrie of the BACTRIANS, and all ASIA also to tremble) serued him to no purpose, and all for the loue he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earnest great desire he had to lie all winter with her, made him begin this warre out of due time, and for hast to put all in hazard: being so rauished and enchanted with the sweet poison of her loue, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe, more then how he might ouercome his enemies. For first of all, where he should haue wintered in ARMENIA to refresh his men, wearied with the long iourney they had made, hauing come eight thousand furlongs; and then at the beginning of the Spring to go and inuade MEDIA, before the PARTHIANS should stir out of their houses and garrisons: he could tarie no longer, but led them forthwith vnto the prouince of ATROPATENE, leauing ARMENIA on the left hand, and forraged all the countrie. Furthermore, making all the hast he could, he left behind him engines of battery which were caried with him in three hundred carts, (among the which also there was a ram fourescore foot long) being things most necessarie for him, and the which he could not get againe for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high prouinces of ASIA haue no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like engines of batterie. This notwithstanding, he left them all behind him, as a hinderance to bring his matters and intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gaue them in charge vnto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to besiege the city of PHRAATA, being the chiefest & greatest citie the king of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found out his own fault, and the want of his artillery he left behind him, by the work he had in hand: for he was faine for lack of a breach (where his men might come to the sword with their enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hard to the wals of the citie, the which by litle and litle with great labor, rose to some height: In the meane time king *Phraortes* came down with a great army: who vnderstanding that *Antonius* had left his engines of battery behind him, he sent a great nũber of horsemen before, which enuironed *Tatianus* with all his cariage and slue him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this, the barbarous people tooke these engines of batterie and burnt them, and got many prisoners, amongst whom they tooke also king *Polemon*. This discomfiture maruellously troubled all *Antonius* army, to receiue so great an ouerthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their iourny: insomuch that *Artabazus*, king of the ARMENIANS, dispairing of the good successe of the ROMAINES: departed with his men, notwithstanding that he was himselfe the first procurer of this war and iourny. On the other side the PARTHIANS came couragiously vnto *Antonius* campe, who lay at the siege of their chiefest city, and cruelly reuiled and threatned him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them: he tooke ten legions, with three cohorts or ensignes of the Prætors, (which are companies appointed for the guard of the Generall) and all his horsemen, and caried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the PARTHIANS to fight a battell. But when he had marched about a daies iourney from his campe, he saw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to giue him the onset, and to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of battell, and yet caused his tents and fardels to be trussed vp,

Antonius great and puissant armie.

Antonius drunke with the loue of Cleopatra.

Antonius beseegeth the citie of Phraata in Media.

The Parthians took Antonius engines of batterie.

vp, as though he meant not to fight, but onely to leade his men backe againe. Then he marched before the armie of the barbarous people, the which was martiald like a creſſant or halfe Moone: and commaunded his horſemen, that as ſoone as they thought the legions were neare enough vnto their enemies to ſet vpon the voward, that then they ſhould ſet ſpurres to their horſes, and begin the charge. The PARTHIANS ſtanding in battell ray, beholding the countenance of the ROMAINES as they marched: they appeared to be ſouldiers indeede, to ſee them march in ſo good array as was poſſible. For in their march, they kept their ranckes a litle ſpace one from an other, not ſtragling out of order, and ſhaking their pikes, ſpeaking neuer a word. But ſo ſoone as the alarme was giuen, the horſemen ſodainely turned head vpon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gaue charge on them: who at the firſt receiued their charge couragiouſly, for they were ioyned nearer then within an arrowes ſhoote. But when the legions alſo came to ioyne with them, ſhouting out aloude, and ratling of their armours: the PARTHIANS horſes and themſelues were ſo affraid and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMAINS could come to the ſword with them. Then *Antonius* followed them hard in chaſe, being in great good hope by this conflict to haue brought to end, al or the moſt part of this war. But after that his footmen had chaſed them fiftie furlongs off, and the horſemen alſo thriſe as far, they found in all but thirtie priſoners taken, and about foureſcore men only ſlaine: which did much diſcourage them, when they conſidered with themſelues, that obtaining the victorie, they had ſlaine ſo few of their enemies: and when they were ouercome, they loſt ſo many of their men, as they had done at the ouerthrow when the cariage was taken. The next morning *Antonius* armie truſſed vp their cariage, and marched backe towards their campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the firſt a few of the PARTHIANS: then going further, they met a few moe. So at length when they all came together, they reuiled them, and troubled them on euery ſide, as freſhly and couragiouſly, as if they had not bene ouerthrowne: ſo that the ROMAINS very hardly got to their camp with ſafetie. The MEDES on the other ſide, that were beſieged in their chief city of PHRAATA, made a ſally out vpon them that kept the mount, which they had forced and caſt againſt the wall of the city, and draue thē for feare from the mount they kept. *Antonius* was ſo offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he deuided his men by ten legions, and then of them he put the tenth legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and to the other nine, he cauſed them to haue barley giuen them in ſtead of wheate. Thus this warre fell out troubleſome vnto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearefull. For *Antonius* could looke for no other of his ſide but famine: becauſe he could forrage no more, nor fetch in any victuals, without great loſſe of his men. *Phraortes* on the other ſide, he knew well enough, that he could bring the PARTHIANS to any thing elſe, but to lie in campe abroad in the winter. Therfore he was affraid, that if the ROMAINES continued their ſiege all winter long, and made war with him ſtill: that his men wold forſake him, and ſpecially becauſe the time of the yeare went away apace, and the aire waxed cloudie and cold, in the equinoctiall Autumne. Thereupon he called to mind this deuiſe. He gaue the chiefeſt of his Gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMAINES out of their campe, going to forrage, or to water their horſe, or for ſome other prouiſiō: that they ſhould not diſtreſſe them too much, but ſhould ſuffer them to carie ſomewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantnes and hardineſſe, for the which their king did eſteeme thē the more, and not without cauſe. After theſe firſt baits and allurements, they began by litle and litle to come nearer vnto thē, and to talke with them a horſebacke, greatly blaming *Antonius* ſelfwill, that did not giue their king *Phraortes* occaſion to make a good peace, who deſired nothing more, then to ſaue the liues of ſo goodly a companie of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greateſt and moſt dreadful enemies he could haue, to wit, winter and famine, the which they ſhould hardly away withal, though the PARTHIANS did the beſt they could to aide and accompany thē. Theſe words being oftentimes brought to *Antonius*, they made him a litle plyant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he would not ſend vnto the king of PARTHIA, before they had firſt asked theſe barbarous people that ſpake ſo courteouſly vnto his men, whether they ſpake it of themſelues, or that they were their maſters words. When they told them the king himſelfe ſaid ſo, and did perſwade them further not to feare or miſtruſt them: then *Antonius* ſent ſome of his friends vnto the king, to make demand for the deliuerie of the enſignes and priſoners he had of the ROMAINES, ſince the ouerthrow of *Craſſus*: to the end it ſhould not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they ſhould thinke he were glad that he might only ſcape with

Battell betwixt the Parthians and Antonius.

The Romaines good order in their march.

Decimation a martiall puniſhment.

The craft of the Parthians againſt the Romaines.

safetie out of the danger he was in. The king of PARTHIA answered him: that for the ensignes and prisoners he demanded, he should not breake his head about it: notwithstanding, that if he would presently depart without delay, he might depart in peaceable manner, and without danger. Wherefore *Antonius* after he had giuen his men some time to trusse vp their cariage, he raised his campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very gallant to entertaine his souldiers and men of war, and that he could passingly well do it, as well, or better then any Captaine in his time: yet being ashamed for respects, he would not speake vnto them at his remouing, but willed *Domitius Ænobarbus* to do it. Many of them tooke this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdaine of them; but the most part of them presently vnderstood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therfore they thought it their duties to cary the like respect vnto their Captaine, that their Captaine did vnto them: and so they became the more obedient vnto him. So *Antonius* was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren countrey without wood. But there came a souldier to him, borne in the countrey of the MARDIANS, who by oft frequenting the PARTHIANS of long time, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himselfe very true & faithfull to the ROMAINES, in the battell where *Antonius* engines of battery & cariage were taken away. This man came vnto *Antonius*, to counsel him to beware how he went that way, & to make his army a prey, being heauily armed, vnto so great a number of horsmen, all archers in the open field, where they should haue nothing to let thē, to compasse him round about: & that this was *Phraortes* fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions & curteous words to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meet him as he wold, in the plaines: howbeit, that he would guide him (if he thought good) another way on the right hand, through woods & mountains, a far nearer way, and where he shold find great plenty of al things needfull for his armie. *Antonius* hearing what he said, called his counsell together to consult vpon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to giue them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on the other side also he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places well inhabited, where he might be prouided of all things necessarie: therfore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The MARDIAN gaue himselfe to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his army into the countrey of ARMENIA. So he guided the armie thus bound, two daies together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day, *Antonius* thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, and trusting therein, suffered the soldiers to march in disorder as euery man listed. The MARDIAN perceiuing that the dams of a riuer were newly broken vp, which they should haue passed ouer, & that the riuer had ouerflowne the bankes & drowned all the way they should haue gone: he guessed straight that the PARTHIANS had done it, & had thus broken it open, to stay the ROMAINES for getting too far before them. Therupon he bad *Antonius* look to himselfe, & told him that his enemies were not far from thence. *Antonius* hauing set his men in order, as he was placing of his archers and slingmen to resist the enemies, & to driue thē back: they descried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the army to compasse them in on euery side, & to breake their ranks, and their light armed men gaue charge vpon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMAINS with their arrowes, and that they themselues were also hurt by them with their darts & plummets of lead: they retired a litle, and then came againe and gaue charge: vntill that the horsmen of the GAVLES turned their horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them so, as all that day they gathered no more together. Thereby *Antonius* knew what to do, and did not only strengthen the rereward of his armie, but both the flankes also with darts and sling-men, and made his armie march in a square battell: commaunding the horsemen, that when the enemies should come to assaile them, they should driue them backe, but not follow them too farre. Thus the PARTHIANS foure dayes after, seeing they did no more hurt to the ROMAINES, then they also receiued of them: they were not so hote vpon them, as they were commaunded, but excusing themselues by the winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fift day, *Flauius Gallus*, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the armie, came vnto *Antonius* to pray him to let him haue some mo of his light armed men thē were already in the rereward, and some of the horsemen that were in the voward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. *Antonius* graunting them vnto him, when the enemies came according to their manner to set vpon the taile of the armie, and to skirmish with them: *Flauius* couragiously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and ioyne presently with their armie, for he ouer rashly thrust

Antonius returneth from the iourney of the Parthians.

The Parthians do set vpon Antonius in his returne.

The bold act of Flauius Gallus.

thruſt in among them to fight it out at the ſword. The Captains that had the leading of the rereward, ſeeing *Flauius* ſtray too far from the army, they ſent vnto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported alſo, that *Titius* himſelfe the Treaſurer, tooke the enſignes, & did what he could to make the enſigne-bearers returne backe, reuiling *Flauius Gallus*, becauſe that through his folly and deſperatneſſe he cauſed many honeſt & valiant men to be both hurt and ſlaine to no purpoſe. *Gallus* alſo fell out with him, and commanded his men to ſtay. Wherfore *Titius* returned againe into the army, and *Gallus* ſtill ouerthrowing and driuing the enemies backe whom he met in the voward, he was not ware that he was compaſſed in. Then ſeeing himſelfe enuironed on all ſides, he ſent vnto the army, that they ſhould come & aide him: but there the Captaines that led the legions (among the which *Canidius*, a man of great eſtimation about *Antonius* made one) committed many faults. For where they ſhould haue made head with the whole army vpon the PARTHIANS, they ſent him ayd by ſmall companies: and when they were ſlaine, they ſent him others alſo. So that by their beaſtlineſſe and lacke of conſideration, they had like to haue made all the army flye, if *Antonius* himſelfe had not come from the front of the battell with the third legion, the which came through the middeſt of the that fled, vntill they came to front the enemies, and that they ſtaied them frō chaſing any farther. Howbeit at this laſt conflict there were ſlaine no leſſe then 3000 men, and 5000 beſides brought ſore hurt into the campe, and amongſt them alſo *Flauius Gallus*, whoſe body was ſhot through in foure places, whereof he died. *Antonius* went to the tents to viſit and comfort the ſicke and wounded, and for pities ſake he could not refraine from weeping: and they alſo ſhewing him the beſt countenance they could, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dreſſed, and not to trouble himſelfe for them, moſt reuerently calling him their Emperor and Captaine: & that for themſelues, they were whole and ſafe, ſo that he had his health. For indeed to ſay truly, there was not at that time any Emperor or Captaine that had ſo great and puiſſant an army as his together, both for luſty youths and courage of the ſouldiers, as alſo for their patience to away with ſo great pains & trouble. Furthermore, the obedience & reuerence they ſhewed vnto their Captaine, with a marueilous earneſt loue and good will, was ſo great, and all were indifferently (as well great as ſmall, the noble men, as meane men, the Captaines as ſouldiers) ſo earneſtly bent to eſteeme *Antonius* good will and fauor, aboue their owne life and ſafety, that in this point of martiall diſcipline, the ancient ROMAINES could not haue done any more. But diuerſe things were cauſe thereof, as we haue told you before: *Antonius* nobility and ancient houſe, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and his familiarity to ſport and to be merry in company: but ſpecially the care he tooke at that time to helpe, viſite, and lament thoſe that were ſicke and wounded, ſeeing euery man to haue that which was meet for him: that was of ſuch force & effect, as it made them that were ſicke and wounded to loue him better, & were more deſirous to do him ſeruice, then thoſe that were whole and ſound. This victory ſo incouraged the enemies (who otherwiſe were weary to follow *Antonius* any farther) that all night long they kept the fields, & houered about the ROMAINS camp, thinking that they would preſently flie, and then that they ſhould take the ſpoile of their campe. So the next morning by breake of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the PARTHIANS thē they were before. For the rumor was, that there were not much fewer then 40000 horſe, becauſe their king ſent thither euen the very guard about his perſon, as vnto a moſt certaine and aſſured victory, that they might be partners of the ſpoile and booty they hoped to haue had: for as touching the king himſelfe, he was neuer in any conflict or battel. Then *Antonius* deſirous to ſpeake to his ſouldiers, called for a blacke gowne, to appeare the more pitifull to thē: but his friends did diſſwade him from it. Therfore he put on his coate armor, & being ſo apparelled, made an Oration to his army: in the which he highly cōmended thē that had ouercome & driuen backe their enemies, & greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backes. So that thoſe which had ouercome, prayed him to be of good cheare: the other alſo to cleare themſelues, willingly offered to take the lot of *Decimation* if he thought good, or otherwiſe, to receiue what kind of puniſhment it ſhould pleaſe him to lay vpon them, ſo that he would forget any more to miſlike, or to be offended with them. *Antonius* ſeeing that, did lift vp his hands to heauen, and made his prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former victories, they wold now ſend him ſome bitter aduerſity: then that all might light on himſelfe alone, and that they would giue the victorie to the reſt of his army. The next morning, they gaue better order on euerie ſide of the armie, and ſo marched forward: ſo that when the PARTHIANS thought to

Canidius fault, Antonius Captaine.

Flauius Gallus ſlaine.

Antonius care of them that were wounded.

The loue and reuerence of the ſouldiers vnto Antonius.

The rare and ſingular gifts of Antonius

The king of Parthia neuer came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his armie.

returne againe to assaile them, they came farre short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come, not to fight, but to spoile and make hauocke of all: when they came neare them, they were sore hurt with their slings and darts, and such other iauelins as the ROMAINES darted at them, & the PARTHIANS found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had bene fresh men they had dealt withall. Wherupon their harts began againe to faile them. But yet when the ROMAINS came to go down any steepe hils or mountaines, then they would set on them with their arrows, because the ROMAINES could go downe but faire and softly. But then againe, the souldiers of the legion that caried great shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the middest amongst them, and did kneele of one knee on the ground, & so set downe their shields before them: and they of the second ranke also couered them of the first ranke, and the third also couered the second, and so from ranke to ranke all were couered. Insomuch that this manner of couering and shading themselues with shields, was deuised after the fashion of laying tiles vpon houses, and to sight was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most strong defence and bulwarke against all arrowes and shot that falleth vpon it. When the PARTHIANS saw this countenance of the ROMAINE souldiers of the legion, which kneeled on the ground in that sort vpon one knee, supposing that they had bene wearied with trauell: they layed downe their bowes, and tooke their speares and launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMAINS suddenly rose vpon their feet, and with the darts that they threw from them, they slue the formost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next dayes that followed. But by meanes of these dangers and lets, *Antonius* army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could haue but litle corne, and yet were they driuen daily to fight for it; and besides that, they had no instruments to grind it, to make bread of it. For the most part of them had bene left behind, because the beasts that caried them were either dead, or else imployed to cary them that were sore and wounded. For the famine was so extreme great, that the eight part of a bushell of wheat was sold for fifty Drachmaes, and they sold barley bread by the waight of siluer. In the end, they were compelled to liue of hearbs and rootes, but they found few of them that men do commonly eate of, and were inforced to tast of them that were neuer eaten before: among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory was gone from him, and knew no manner of thing, but only busied himselfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had bin a matter of great waight, and to be done with all possible speed. All the campe ouer, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast vp a great deale of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked wine, which was the only soueraigne remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that *Antonius* seeing such a number of his men dye daily, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest: he oftentimes cried out sighing, and sayd: O ten thousand! He had the valiantnesse of 10000 GRECIANS, in such admiration, whom *Xenophon* brought away after the ouerthrow of *Cyrus*: because they had come a farther iourney from BABYLON, and had also fought against much moe enemies many times told, then themselues, and yet came home with safety. The PARTHIANS therefore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the army of the ROMAINS, & contrarily that they themselues were oftentimes put to flight, and welfauoredly beaten: they fell againe to their old crafty subtilties. For when they found any of the ROMAINS scattered from the army to go forrage, to seeke some corne, or other victuals, they would come to them as if they had bene their friends, & shewed them their bowes vnbent, saying, that themselues also did returne home to their country as they did, and that they would follow them no farther, howbeit that they should yet haue certaine MEDES that would follow them a dayes iourney or two, to keepe them that they should do no hurt to the villages from the high-wayes, and so holding them with this talke, they gently took their leaue of them, and bad them farewell, so that the ROMAINES began againe to thinke themselues safe. *Antonius* also vnderstanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine country, because also they should find no water in the mountaines, as it was reported vnto him. So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his hoast one *Mithridates*, a gentleman from the enemies campe, who was cosin vnto *Monæxes* that fled vnto *Antonius*, and vnto whom he had giuen three cities. When he came to *Antonius* campe, he prayed them to bring him one that could speake the PARTHIAN, or SYRIAN tongue. So one *Alexander* ANTIOCHIAN, a familiar of *Antonius*, was brought

The Romaines testudo, and couering against shot.

Great famine in Antonius armie.

A deadly hearbe incurable vvithout vvine.

The valiantnesse of ten thousand Grecians, vvhom Xenophon brought avvay after the ouerthrovv of Cyrus.

The Parthians very subtill and crafty people.

Mithridates a Parthian, bevvrayeth vnto Antonius the conspiracy of his owne countrimen against him.

brought vnto him. Then the gentleman told him what he was, and ſayd, that *Monexes* had ſent him to *Antonius*, to requite the honour and curteſie he had ſhewed vnto him. After he had vſed this ceremonious ſpeech, he asked *Alexander* if he ſaw thoſe high mountaines a far off, which he pointed vnto with his finger. *Alexander* anſwered he did. The PARTHIANS (ſaid he) do lye in ambuſh at the foot of thoſe mountaines, vnder the which lieth a goodly plaine champion country: and they thinke that you being deceiued with their crafty ſubtill words, will leaue the way of the mountaines, and turne into the plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painfull, and you ſhall abide great thirſt, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if *Antonius* take the lower way, let him aſſure himſelfe to runne the ſame fortune that *Marcus Craſſus* did. So *Mithridates* hauing ſayd, he departed. *Antonius* was maruellouſly troubled in his mind when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to heare what they would ſay to it. The MARDIAN alſo that was their guide, being asked his opinion, anſwered: that he thought as much as the gentleman *Mithridates* had ſayd. For, ſayd he, admit that there were no ambuſh of enemies in the valley, yet is it a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountaine way, though it be ſtony and painefull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole daies trauelling without any water. So *Antonius* changing his firſt mind and determination, remoued that night, and tooke the mountaine way, commaunding euery man to prouide himſelfe of water. But the moſt part of them lacking veſſels to cary water in, ſome were driuen to fill their ſalets & murrians with water, and others alſo filled goates skinnes to cary water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought vnto the PARTHIANS that they were remoued: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they preſently followed them the ſelfe ſame night, ſo that by breake of day they ouertooke the rereward of the ROMAINS, who were ſo lame and wearied with going, and lacke of ſleepe, that they were euen done. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlongs; and further, to ſee their enemies ſo ſuddenly at their backes, that made them vtterly diſpaire: but moſt of all, the fighting with them increaſed their thirſt, becauſe they were forced to fight as they marched, to driue their enemies backe, yet creeping on ſtill. The voward of the army by chance met with a riuer that was very cleare and cold water, but it was ſalt and venimous to drinke: for ſtraight it did gnaw the guts of thoſe that had drunke it, and made them maruellous dry, and put them into a terrible ach and pricking. And notwithſtanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thruſt them backe that would haue kept them from drinking, and ſo dranke. But *Antonius* going vp and downe amongſt them, prayed them to take a litle patience for a while, for hard by there was another riuer that the water was excellent good to drinke, and that from thenceforth the way was ſo ſtony and ill for horſemen, that the enemies could follow them no further. So he cauſed the retraite to be ſounded to call them backe that fought, and commanded the tents to be ſet vp, that the ſouldiers might yet haue ſhadow to refreſh them with. So when the tents were ſet vp, and the PARTHIANS alſo retired according to their manner: the gentleman *Mithridates* before named, returned againe as before, and *Alexander* in like manner againe brought vnto him for interpreter. Then *Mithridates* aduiſed him, that after the army had repoſed a litle, the ROMAINES ſhould remoue forthwith, and with all poſſible ſpeed get to the riuer: becauſe the PARTHIANS would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. *Alexander* caried the report thereof vnto *Antonius*, who gaue him a great deale of gold plate to beſtow vpon *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* tooke as much of him as he could well cary away in his gowne, and ſo departed with ſpeed. So *Antonius* raiſed his campe being yet day light, & cauſed all his army to march, and the PARTHIANS neuer troubled any of them by the way: but amongſt themſelues it was as ill and dreadfull a night as euer they had. For there were villaines of their owne company, who cut their fellowes throats for the mony they had, and beſides that, robbed the ſumpters and cariage of ſuch money as they caried: and at length, they ſet vpon *Antonius* ſlaues that draue his owne ſumpters and cariage, they brake goodly tables and rich plate in peeces, and deuided it among themſelues. Thereupon all the campe was ſtraight in tumult and vprore: for the reſidue of them were afraid it had bene the PARTHIANS that had giuen them this alarme, and had put all the army out of order. Inſomuch that *Antonius* called for one *Rhamnus*, one of his ſlaues infranchiſed that was of his guard, and made him giue him his faith that he would thruſt his ſword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head, becauſe he might not be taken aliue of his enemies, nor knowne when he were dead. This gricued his friends to the heart, that they burſt

A ſalt riuer.

Antonius great liberality vnto Mithridates, for the care he had of his ſafety.

The tumult of Antonius ſouldiers through couetouſneſſe.

Antonius deſperate mind.

out a weeping for ſorow. The MARDIAN alſo did comfort him, and aſſured him that the riuer he ſought for was hard by, & that he did geſſe it by a ſweet moyſt wind that breathed vpon thē, and by the aire which they found freſher then they were wont, and alſo, for that they fetched their wind more at liberty: & moreouer, becauſe that ſince they did ſet forward he thought they were neare their iourneys end, not lacking much of day. On the other ſide alſo, *Antonius* was enformed, that this great tumult and trouble came not through the enemies, but through the vile couetouſneſſe and villany of certaine of his ſouldiers. Therefore *Antonius* to ſet his army againe in order, and to pacifie this vprore, ſounded the trumpet that euery man ſhould lodge. Now day began to breake, & the army to fall againe into good order, and all the hurly burly to ceaſe, when the PARTHIANS drew neare, and that their arrowes lighted among them of the rereward of his army. Thereupon the ſignall of battell was giuen to the light armed men, and the legioners did couer themſelues as they had done before with their ſhields, with the which they receiued and defended the force of the PARTHIANS arrowes, who neuer durſt any more come to handy ſtrokes with them: and thus they that were in the voward, went downe by litle and litle, till at length they ſpied the riuer. There *Antonius* placed his armed men vpon the ſands to receiue and driue backe the enemies, and firſt of all, got ouer his men that were ſicke and hurt, and afterwards all the reſt. And thoſe alſo that were left to reſiſt the enemies, had leiſure inough to drinke ſafely, and at their pleaſure. For when the PARTHIANS ſaw the riuer, they vnbent their bowes, and bad the ROMAINES paſſe ouer without any feare, and greatly commended their valiantneſſe. When they had all paſſed ouer the riuer at their eaſe, they tooke a litle breath, and ſo marched forward againe not greatly truſting the PARTHIANS. The ſixth day after this laſt battell, they came to the riuer of Araxes, which deuideth the countrey of ARMENIA from MEDIA: the which appeared vnto them very dangerous to paſſe, for the depth & ſwiftneſſe of the ſtreame. And furthermore, there ran a rumor through the campe, that the PARTHIANS lay in ambuſh there abouts, and that they would come and ſet vpon them whileſt they were troubled in paſſing ouer the riuer. But now, after they were all come ſafely ouer without any danger, and that they had gotten to the other ſide, into the prouince of ARMENIA: then they worſhipped that land, as if it had bene the firſt land they had ſeene after a long and dangerous voyage by ſea, being now arriued in a ſafe and happy hauen: and the teares ran downe their cheekes, and euery man imbraced each other for the great ioy they had. But now, keeping the fields in this fruitfull countrey ſo plentifull of all things, after ſo great a famine and want of all things: they ſo crammed themſelues with ſuch plenty of victuals, that many of them were caſt into fluxes & dropſies. There *Antonius* muſtring his whole army, found that he had loſt 20000 footmen, and 4000 horſemen, which had not all bene ſlaine by their enemies: for the moſt part of them died of ſickneſſe, making ſeuen and twenty dayes iourney, comming from the city of PHRAATA into ARMENIA, and hauing ouercome the PARTHIANS in eighteene ſeuerall battels. But theſe victories were not throughly performed nor accompliſhed, becauſe they followed no long chaſe: and thereby it eaſily appeared, that *Artabazus* king of ARMENIA, had kept *Antonius* from ending this warre. For if the ſixteene thouſand horſemen which he brought with him out of MEDIA, had bene at theſe battels, conſidering that they were armed and apparelled much after the PARTHIAN manner, and acquainted alſo with their fight: when the ROMAINES had put them to flight that fought a battell with them, and that theſe ARMENIANS had followed the chaſe of them that fled, they had not gathered themſelues againe in force, neither durſt they alſo haue returned to fight with them ſo often, after they had bene ſo many times ouerthrowne. Therefore, all thoſe that were of any credite and countenance in the army, did perſwade and egge *Antonius* to be reuenged of this ARMENIAN king: but *Antonius* wiſely diſſembling his anger, he told him not of his trecherie, nor gaue him the worſe countenance, nor did him leſſe honour then he did before: becauſe he knew his army was weake, & lacked things neceſſary. Howbeit afterwards he returned againe into ARMENIA with a great army, and ſo with faire words, and ſweet promiſes of meſſengers, he allured *Artabazus* to come to him: whom he then kept priſoner, and led in triumph in the city of ALEXANDRIA. This greatly offended the ROMAINES, and made them much to miſlike it: when they ſaw that for *Cleopatraes* ſake he depriued his countrey of her due honor and glory, onely to gratifie the ÆGYPTIANS. But this was a prety while after. Howbeit then, the great haſt he made to returne vnto *Cleopatra*, cauſed him to put his men to ſo great paines, forcing them to lye in the field all winter long when it ſnew vnreaſonably, that by the way he loſt eight thouſand of his men,

Araxes fl.

Eighteene ſeuerall battels fought with the Parthians.

The treachery of Artabazus king of Armenia, vnto Antonius.

Antonius triumphed of Artabazus king of Armenia, in Egypt.

men,& ſo came downe to the ſea ſide with a ſmall company,vnto a certaine place called BLANCBOVRG: which ſtandeth betwixt the cities of BERYTVS and SIDON, and there taried for *Cleopatra*. And becauſe ſhe taried longer then he would haue had her, he pined away for loue and ſorrow: ſo that he was at ſuch a ſtraight,that he wiſt not what to do,and therfore to weare it out,he gaue himſelfe to quaffing and feaſting. But he was ſo drowned with the loue of her,that he could not abide to ſit at the table till the feaſt was ended: but many times while others banquetted, he ran to the ſea ſide to ſee if ſhe were comming. At length ſhe came,and brought with her a world of apparell and money to giue vnto the ſouldiers. But ſome ſay notwithſtanding, that ſhe brought apparell but no money,and that ſhe tooke of *Antonius* money,and cauſed it to be giuen amongſt the ſouldiers in her owne name,as if ſhe had giuen it them. In the meane time it chanced,that the king of the MEDES, and *Phraortes* king of the PARTHIANS,fell at great warres together,the which began (as it is reported) for the ſpoiles of the ROMAINES: and grew to be ſo hot betweene them,that the king of MEDES was no leſſe afraid,then alſo in danger to loſe his whole Realme. Thereupon he ſent vnto *Antonius*,to pray him to come and make warre with the PARTHIANS,promiſing him that he would aid him to his vttermoſt power. This put *Antonius* againe in good comfort, conſidering that vnlooked for, the only thing he lacked (which made him he could not ouercome the PARTHIANS,meaning that he had not brought horſmen,and men with darts and ſlings inough) was offered him in that ſort: that he did him more pleaſure to accept it, then it was pleaſure to the other to offer it. Hereupon, after he had ſpoken with the king of MEDES at the riuer of Araxes,he prepared himſelfe once more to go through ARMENIA, and to make more cruell warre with the PARTHIANS, then he had done before. Now whileſt *Antonius* was buſie in this preparation,*Octauia* his wife,whō he had left at ROME,would needs take ſea to come vnto him. Her brother *Octauius Cæſar* was willing vnto it,not for his reſpect at all (as moſt authors do report) as for that he might haue an honeſt colour to make warre with *Antonius* if he did miſuſe her, and not eſteeme of her as ſhe ought to be. But when ſhe was come to ATHENS, ſhe receiued letters from *Antonius*, willing her to ſtay there vntill his comming, & did aduertiſe her of his iourny and determination. The which though it grieued her much,and that ſhe knew it was but an excuſe: yet by her letters to him of anſwer,ſhe asked him whether he would haue thoſe things ſent vnto him which ſhe had brought him, being great ſtore of apparell for ſouldiers,a great number of horſe,ſummes of mony and gifts, to beſtow on his friends and Captaines he had about him: and beſides all thoſe, ſhe had 2000 ſouldiers choſen men, all well armed like vnto the Prætors bands. When *Niger*, one of *Antonius* friends whom he had ſent vnto ATHENS, had brought theſe newes from his wife *Octauia*, & withall did greatly praiſe her, as ſhe was worthy,and well deſerued: *Cleopatra* knowing that *Octauia* would haue *Antonius* from her,and fearing alſo that if with her vertue and honeſt behauiour (beſides the great power of her brother *Cæſar*) ſhe did adde thereunto her modeſt kind loue to pleaſe her husband, that ſhe would then be too ſtrong for her, and in the end win him away: ſhe ſubtilly ſeemed to languiſh for the loue of *Antonius*, pining her body for lacke of meate. Furthermore, ſhe euery way ſo framed her countenance, that when *Antonius* came to ſee her, ſhe caſt her eyes vpon him, like a woman rauiſhed for ioy. Straight againe when he went from her, ſhe fell a weeping and blubbering, looking rufully of the matter, and ſtill found the meanes that *Antonius* ſhould oftentimes find her weeping: and then when he came ſuddenly vpon her, ſhe made as though ſhe dried her eyes, and turned her face away, as if ſhe were vnwilling that he ſhould ſee her weepe. All theſe tricks ſhe vſed. *Antonius* being in readineſſe to go into SYRIA,to ſpeake with the king of MEDES. Then the flatterers that furthered *Cleopatraes* mind, blamed *Antonius*, and told him that he was a hard natured man, and that he had ſmall loue in him, that would ſee a poore Ladie in ſuch torment for his ſake, whoſe life depended onely vpon him alone. For, *Octauia*, ſayd they, that was maried vnto him as it were of neceſſity, becauſe her brother *Cæſars* affaires ſo required it, hath the honour to be called *Antonius* lawfull ſpouſe and wife: and *Cleopatra*, being borne a Queene of ſo many thouſands of men, is onely named *Antonius* Leman, and yet that ſhe diſdained not ſo to be called,if it might pleaſe him ſhe might enioy his company, & liue with him: but if he once leaue her, that then it is vnpoſſible ſhe ſhould liue. To be ſhort, by theſe their flatteries and inticements, they ſo wrought *Antonius* effeminate mind, that fearing leaſt ſhe would make her ſelfe away: he returned againe vnto ALEXANDRIA, and referred the king of MEDES to the next yeare following, although he receiued newes that the PARTHIANS at that time

Antonius pined away looking for Cleopatra.

Cleopatra came to Blancbourg vnto Antonius.

Warres betwixt the Parthians and Medes.

Octauia, Antonius wife, came to Athens to meete with him.

The flickering enticements of Cleopatra, vnto Antonius.

were at ciuill warres among themselues. This notwithstanding, he went afterwards and made peace with him. For he maried his daughter which was very yong, vnto one of the sons that *Cleopatra* had by him: and then returned being fully bent to make warre with *Cæsar*. When *Octauia* was returned to Rome from Athens, *Cæsar* commanded her to go out of *Antonius* house, and to dwell by her selfe, because he had abused her. *Octauia* answered him againe, that she would not forsake her husbands house, and that if he had no other occasion to make warre with him, she prayed him then to take no thought for her: for sayd she, it were too shamefull a thing, that two so famous Captaines should bring in ciuill warres among the Romains, the one for the loue of a woman, and the other for the iealousie betwixt one another. Now as she spake the word, so did she also performe the deed: for she kept still in *Antonius* house, as if he had bene there, and very honestly, and honourably kept his children, not those onely she had by him, but the other which her husband had by *Fuluia*. Furthermore, when *Antonius* sent any of his men to Rome, to sue for any office in the commonwealth: she receiued thē very curteously, & so vsed her selfe vnto her brother, that she obtained the things she requested. Howbeit thereby, thinking no hurt, she did *Antonius* great hurt. For her honest loue and regard to her husband, made euery man hate him, when they saw he did so vnkindly vse so noble a Lady: but yet the greatest cause of their malice vnto him, was for the diuision of lands he made amongst his children in the city of Alexandria. And to confesse a troth, it was too arrogant and insolent a part, and done (as a man would say) in dirision and contempt of the Romaines. For he assembled all the people in the shew place, where yong men do exercise themselues, and there vpon a high tribunall siluered, he set two chaires of gold, the one for himselfe, and the other for *Cleopatra*, and lower chaires for his children: then he openly published before the assembly, that first of all he did establish *Cleopatra* Queene of Ægypt, of Cyprvs, of Lydia, and of the lower Syria, and at that time also, *Cæsarion* king of the same Realmes. This *Cæsarion* was supposed to be the son of *Iulius Cæsar*, who had left *Cleopatra* great with child. Secondly, he called the sons he had by her, the kings of kings, and gaue *Alexander* for his portion, Armenia, Media, and Parthia, when he had conquered the country: and vnto *Ptolomy* for his portion, Phenicia, Syria, and Cilicia. And therewithall he brought out *Alexander* in a long gowne after the fashion of the Medes with a high coppe-tanke hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the kings of the Medes and Armenians do vse to weare them: & *Ptolomy* apparelled in a cloake after the Macedonian maner, with slippers on his feet, and a broad hat, with a royall band or diademe. Such was the apparell and old attire of the ancient kings and successors of *Alexander* the Great. So after his sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their father and mother: presently a company of Armenian souldiers set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of Macedonians the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times else when she came abroad) the apparell of the goddesse *Isis*, and so gaue audience vnto all her subiects, as a new *Isis*. *Octauius Cæsar* reporting all these things vnto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole people and assembly in Rome: he thereby stirred vp all the Romaines against him. *Antonius* on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefest points of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that hauing spoiled *Sextus Pompeius* in Sicile, he did not giue him his part of the Ile. Secondly, that he did detaine in his hands the ships he lent him to make that warre. Thirdly, that hauing put *Lepidus* their companion and triumuirate out of his part of the Empire, and hauing depriued him of all honors: he retained for himselfe the lands and reuenewes thereof, which had bene assigned vnto him for his part. And last of all, that he had in manner deuided all Italy amongst his owne souldiers, and had left no part of it for his souldiers. *Octauius Cæsar* aunswerered him againe: that for *Lepidus*, he had in deed deposed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did ouer cruelly vse his authority. And secondly, for the conquests he had made by force of armes, he was contented *Antonius* should haue his part of them, so that he would likewise let him haue his part of Armenia. And thirdly, that for his souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in Italie, because they possessed Media and Parthia, the which prouinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperour and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing these newes, being yet in Armenia, commaunded *Canidius* to go presently to the sea side with his sixteene legions he had: and he himselfe with *Cleopatra*, went vnto the citie of Ephesvs, and there gathered together his galleys and ships out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great ships

The occasion of ciuill warres betwixt Antonius and Cæsar.

The loue of Octauia to Antonius her husband, and her wise and woomanly behauiour.

Antonius arrogantly deuideth diuerse prouinces vnto his children by Cleopatra.

Cæsarion, the supposed sonne of Cæsar, by Cleopatra.

Alexander and Ptolomy, Antonius sonnes by Cleopatra.

Accusations betwixt Octauius Cæsar, and Antonius.

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of burthen: and of those *Cleopatra* furnished him with two hundred, and twenty thousand talents besides, and prouision of victuals also to maintaine all the whole army in this warre. So *Antonius*, through the perswasion of *Domitius*, commanded *Cleopatra* to returne againe into Ægypt, and there to vnderstand the successe of this warre. But *Cleopatra*, fearing least *Antonius* should againe be made friends with *Octauius Cæsar*, by the meanes of his wife *Octauia*; she so plied *Canidius* with money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokes-man vnto *Antonius*, and told him there was no reason to send her from this warre, who defraied so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because thereby the Ægyptians would then be vtterly discouraged, which were the chiefest strength of the army by sea: considering that he could see no king of all the kings their confederates, that *Cleopatra* was inferiour vnto, either for wisedome or iudgement, seeing that long before she had wisely gouerned so great a Realme as Ægypt; and besides that she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manage great affaires. These faire perswasions wan him: for it was predestined that the gouernement of all the world should fall into *Octauius Cæsars* hands. Thus, all their forces being ioyned together, they hoised saile towards the Ile of Samos, and there gaue themselues to feasts and solace. For as all the Kings, Princes, and communalties, people, and cities from Syria, vnto the marishes Mæotides, & from the Armenians to the Illyrians were sent vnto, to send and bring all munition and warlike preparation they could: euen so all players, minstrels, tumblers, fooles, aud iesters, were commaunded to assemble in the Ile of Samos. So that, where in manner all the world in euerie place was full of lamentations, sighes, and teares: onely in this Ile of Samos there was nothing for many dayes space, but singing and piping, and all the Theater full of these common players, minstrels, and singing-men. Besides all this, euerie citie sent an oxe thither to sacrifice, & kings did striue one with another who should make the noblest feasts, & giue the richest gifts. So that euery man sayd, What can they do more for ioy of victory, if they winne the battell; when they make alreadie such sumptuons feasts at the beginning of the warre? When this was done, he gaue the whole rabble of these minstrels, and such kind of people, the city of Priene to keepe them withall, during this warre. Then he went vnto the city of Athens, and there gaue himselfe againe to see playes and pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other side, being iealous of the honours which *Octauia* had receiued in this citie, where indeed she was maruellously honoured and beloued of the Athenians; to winne the peoples good-will also at Athens, she gaue them great gifts: and they likewise gaue her many great honors, and appointed certaine Ambassadours to cary the decree to her house, among the which *Antonius* was one, who (as a citizen of Athens) reported the matter vnto her, and made an Oration in the behalfe of the citie. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his wife *Octauia* out of his house, who (as it is reported) went out of his house with all *Antonius* children, sauing the eldest of them he had by *Fuluia*, who was with his father: bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap that had brought her to this, that she was accompted one of the chiefest causes of this ciuill war. The Romaines did pity her, but much more *Antonius*, and those specially that had seene *Cleopatra*: who neither excelled *Octauia* in beautie, nor yet in young yeares. *Octauius Cæsar* vnderstanding the sudden and wonderfull great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a litle astonied at it (fearing he should be driuen to fight that sommer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grieuous exactions of money did sore oppresse the people. For all manner of men else, were driuen to pay the fourth part of their goods and reuenew: but the Libertines (to wit, those whose fathers or other predecessours had sometime bene bond-men) were cessed to pay the eight part of all their goods at one payment. Hereupon, there arose a wonderfull exclamation and great vprore all Italie ouer: so that among the greatest faults that euer *Antonius* committed, they blamed him most, for that he delayed to giue *Cæsar* battell. For he gaue *Cæsar* leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the people. When such a great summe of money was demanded of them, they grudged at it, and grew to mutiny vpon it: but when they had once payed it, they remembred it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Plancus* (two of *Antonius* chiefest friends and that had bene both of them Consuls) for the great iniuries *Cleopatra* did them, because they hindred all they could, that she should not come to this warre: they went and yeelded themselues vnto *Cæsar*, and told him where the testament was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The will was in the custody of the Vestall Nunnes: of whom *Cæsar* demanded it. They answered him, that they would not giue

Antonius came with eight hundreth saile against Octauius Cæsar.

Antonius carieth Cleopatra with him to the wars, against Octauius Cæsar: and kept great feasting at the Ile of Samos together.

Antonius put his wife Octauia out of his house at Rome.

Octauius Cæsar exacteth grieuous payments of the Romaines.

Titius and Plancus reuolt from Antonius and do yeeld to Cæsar.

it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon *Cæsar* went thither, and hauing read it first to himselfe, he noted certaine places worthy of reproch: so assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon diuerse were maruellously offended, and thought it a strange matter, that he being aliue, should be punished for that he had appointed by his will to be done after his death. *Cæsar* chiefly tooke hold of this, that he ordained touching his buriall: for he willed that his body, though he died at ROME, should be brought in funerall pompe through the middest of the market place, and that it should be sent into ALEXANDRIA vnto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among diuerse other faults wherewith *Antonius* was to be charged, for *Cleopatraes* sake: *Caluisius*, one of *Cæsars* friends reproued him because he had frankly giuen *Cleopatra* all the Libraries of the royall city of PERGAMVM, in the which she had aboue two hundred thousand seuerall bookes. Againe also, that being on a time set at the table, he suddenly rose from the boord and trode vpon *Cleopatraes* foote, which was a signe giuen betweene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffered the EPHESIANS in his presence to call *Cleopatra*, their soueraigne Lady. That diuerse times sitting in his tribunall and chaire of state, giuing audience to all Kings and Princes: he had receiued loue letters from *Cleopatra*, written in tables of Onyx or Christall, & that he had read them, sitting in his Imperiall seat. That one day when *Furnius*, a man of great account, & the eloquentest man of all the ROMAINS, pleaded a matter before him: *Cleopatra* by chaunce comming through the market place in her litter, where *Furnius* was a pleading: *Antonius* straight rose out of his seat, and left his audience to follow her litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought *Caluius* deuised the most part of al these accusatiõs of his own head. Neuertheless they that loued *Antonius* were intercessors to the people for him, and amongst them they sent one *Geminius* vnto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heed, that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the people of ROME. This *Geminius* being arriued in GREECE, made *Cleopatra* iealous straight of his comming: because she surmised that he came not but to speake for *Octauia*. Therefore she spared not to taunt him al supper time, & moreouer to spite him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the boord: the which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speake with *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* commaunding him at the table to tell him what wind brought him thither: he answered, That it was no table talke, and that he would tell him to morow morning fasting: but drunke or fasting, howsoeuer it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, vnlesse *Cleopatra* were sent backe into ÆGYPT. *Antonius* tooke these words in very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other side answered him, Thou doest well *Geminius*, sayd she, to tel the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within few dayes after, *Geminius* stale away, & fled to ROME. The flatterers also to please *Cleopatra*, did make her driue many other of *Antonius* faithfull seruants & friends from him, who could not abide the iniuries done vnto thẽ: among the which these two were chiefe, *Marcus Syllanus*, and *Dellius* the Historiographer: who wrote that he fled, because her Physitian *Glaucus* told him, that *Cleopatra* had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had *Cleopatraes* displeasure, because he sayd one night at supper, that they made them drinke sower wine, where *Sarmentus* at ROME dranke good wine of FALERNA. This *Sarmentus* was a pleasant yong boy, such as the Lords of ROME are wont to haue about them to make them pastime, which they call their ioyes, and he was *Octauius Cæsars* boy. Now after that *Cæsar* had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open warre against *Cleopatra*, and made the people to abolish the power and Empire of *Antonius*, because he had before giuen it vp vnto a woman. And *Cæsar* sayd furthermore, that *Antonius* was not maister of himselfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beside himselfe, by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make warre with them, should be *Mardian* the Eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras* (a woman of *Cleopatraes* bed-chamber, that frizeled her haire, and dressed her head) and *Charmion*, the which were those that ruled all the affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this warre, as it is reported, many signes and wonders fell out. First of all, the citie of PISAVRVM which was made a Colonie to ROME, and replenished with people by *Antonius*, standing vpon the shoare side, of the sea Adriaticke, was by a terrible earth-quake sunke into the ground. One of the images of stone which was set vp in the honour of *Antonius*, in the citie of ALBA, did sweate many dayes together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the citie of PATRAS whilest *Antonius* was there, the temple of *Hercules* was burnt with lightning. And at the city of ATHENS also, in a place where the warre of the Giants against the gods, is set out in Imagerie:

A famous Library in the city of Pergamum.

Furnius, an eloquent Orator among the Romaines.

Geminius sent from Rome to Antonius, to bid him take heed to himselfe.

Many of Antonius friends do forsake him.

Antonius Empire taken from him.

Signes and wonders before the ciuil vvars betvvixt Antonius and Octauius Cæsar.

Pesaro, a citie in Italie, sunke into the ground by an earthquake.

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the ſtatue of *Bacchus* with a terrible wind, was throwne downe in the Theater. It was ſayd, that *Antonius* came of the race of *Hercules* (as you haue heard before) and in the manner of his life he followed *Bacchus*, and therfore he was called the new *Bacchus*. Furthermore, the ſame bluſtering ſtorme of wind, ouerthrew the great monſtrous images at ATHENS, that were made in the honor of *Eumenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named & intituled, The *Antonians*: and yet they did hurt none of the other images, which were many beſides. The Admirall galley of *Cleopatra*, was called Antoniade, in the which there chanced a maruellous ill ſigne: Swallowes had bred vnder the poope of her ſhip, and there came others after them that draue away the firſt, and plucked downe their neaſts. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight, it was found, that *Antonius* had no leſſe then 500 good ſhips of war, among which there were many gallies that had eight and ten banks of oares, the which were ſumptuouſly furniſhed, not ſo meet for fight, as for triumph: an hundreth thouſand footmen, and 12000 horſmen, and had with him to aid him theſe kings and ſubiects following: *Bocchus* king of LYBIA, *Tarcondemus* king of high SILICIA, *Archelaus* king of CAPPADOCIA, *Philadelphus* king of PAPHLAGONIA, *Mithridates* king of COMAGENA, & *Adallas* king of THRACIA. All which were there euery man in perſon. The reſidue that were abſent ſent their armies: as *Polemon* king of PONT, *Manchus* king of ARABIA, *Herodes* king of IVRY; and furthermore, *Amyntas* king of LYCAONIA & of the GALATIANS: and beſides al theſe, he had al the aid the king of MEDES ſent vnto him. Now for *Cæſar*, he had 250 ſhips warre, 80000 footmen, and well neare as many horſemen as his enemy *Antonius*. *Antonius* for his part, had all vnder his dominion from ARMENIA, & the riuer of Euphrates, vnto the ſea IONIVM & ILLYRICVM. *Octauius Cæſar* had alſo for his part, all that which was in our HEMISPHERE, or halfe part of the world, from ILLYRIA, vnto the Ocean ſea vpon the Weſt: then all from the Ocean, vnto mare Siculum: and from AFRICKE, all that which is againſt ITALY; as GAVLE, and SPAINE. Furthermore, all from the prouince of CYRENIA, to ÆTHIOPIA, was ſubiect vnto *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* was made ſo ſubiect to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the ſtronger by land, yet for *Cleopatraes* ſake he would needs haue this battell tried by ſea: though he ſaw before his eyes, that for lacke of water-men, his Captaines did preſt by force all ſorts of men out of GREECE, that they could take vp in the field, as trauellers, muletters, reapers, harueſt-men, and young boyes, and yet could they not ſufficiently furniſh his galleys: ſo that the moſt part of them were empty, and could ſcant row, becauſe they lacked water-men enough. But on the contrary ſide *Cæſars* ſhips were not built for pompe, high and great, onely for a fight and brauery, but they were light of yarage: armed and furniſhed with water-men as many as they needed, and had them all in readineſſe, in the hauens of TARENTVM, and BRVNDVSIVM. So *Octauius Cæſar* ſent vnto *Antonius*, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his armie into ITALIE: and that for his owne part he would giue him ſafe harbour, to land without any trouble, and that he would withdraw his army from the ſea, as farre as one horſe could runne, vntill he had put his army a ſhore, and had lodged his men. *Antonius* on the other ſide brauely ſent him word againe, and chalenged the combat of him, man for man, though he were the elder: and that if he refuſed him ſo, he would then fight a battell with him in the fields of PHARSALIA, as *Iulius Cæſar*, and *Pompey* had done before. Now whileſt *Antonius* rode at anker, lying idly in harbour at the head of ACTIVM, in the place where the citie of NICOPOLIS ſtandeth at this preſent: *Cæſar* had quickly paſſed the ſea Ionium, and taken a place called TORYNE, before *Antonius* vnderſtood that he had taken ſhip. Then began his men to be afraid, becauſe his army by land was left behind. But *Cleopatra* making light of it; And what danger I pray you, ſayd ſhe, if *Cæſar* keepe at * TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his enemies comming with full force of oares in battell againſt him, *Antonius* was afraid, that if they came to ioyne, they would take and cary away his ſhips that had no men of warre in them. So he armed all his water-men, and ſet them in order of battell vpon the fore-caſtell of their ſhips, and then liſt vp all his rankes of oares towards the element, as well on the one ſide as on the other, with the prooes againſt the enemies, at the entrie and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIVM: and ſo kept them in order of battell, as if they had bene armed and furniſhed with water-men and ſouldiers. Thus *Octauius Cæſar* being finely deceiued by this ſtratageme, retired preſently, and therewithall *Antonius* very wiſely and ſuddenly did cut him off from freſh water. For vnderſtanding that the places where *Octauius Cæſar* landed, had very litle ſtore of water, and yet very bad: he ſhut them in with ſtrong ditches and trenches he caſt, to keepe them from ſailing out at their

An ill ſigne, for ſhewed by ſwallows breeding in Cleopatraes ſhip.

Antonius power againſt Octauius Cæſar.

Antonius had eight kings and their power to aide him.

The armie and power of Octauius Cæſar againſt Antonius.

Antonius dominions.

Octauius Cæſars dominions.

Antonius too much ruled by Cleopatra.

Antonius rode at anker at the head of Actium: where the city of Nicopolis ſtandeth.

**The grace of this taunt cannot properly be expreſſed in any other tongue becauſe of the equiuocation of this word Toryne, which ſignifieth a city of Albania, & alſo a ladell to ſcumme the pot with: as if ſhe meant, Cæſar ſate by the fire ſide, ſcumming of the pot.*

Domitius forſaketh Antonius, & goeth vnto Octauius Cæſar.

pleaſure, and ſo to go ſeeke water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteouſly with *Domitius*, and againſt *Cleopatraes* mind. For, he being ſicke of an agew when he went and tooke a litle boate to go vnto *Cæſars* campe, *Antonius* was very ſory for it, but yet he ſent after him all his cariage, traine, and men: and the ſame *Domitius*, as though he gaue him to vnderſtand that he repented his open treaſon, died immediatly after. There were certaine kings alſo that forſooke him, and turned on *Cæſars* ſide: as *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore, his fleete and nauie that was vnfortunate in all things, and vnready for ſeruice, compelled him to change his mind, and to hazard battell by land. And *Canidius* alſo, who had charge of his armie by land, when time came to follow *Antonius* determination: he turned him cleane contrarie, and counſelled him to ſend *Cleopatra* backe againe, and himſelfe to retire into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine land. And furthermore told him, that *Dicomes* king of the GETES, promiſed him to aide him with a great power: and that it ſhould be no ſhame nor diſhonour to him to let *Cæſar* haue the ſea, becauſe himſelfe and his men both had bene well practiſed and exerciſed in battels by ſea, in the warre of SICILIA againſt *Sextus Pompeius*: but rather that he ſhould do againſt all reaſon (he hauing ſo great skill and experience of battels by land as he had) if he ſhould not imploy the force and valiantneſſe of ſo many luſty armed footemen as he had readie, but would weaken his armie by deuiding them into ſhips. But now, notwithſtanding all theſe good perſwaſions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of battell by ſea: conſidering with her ſelfe how ſhe might flie and prouide for her ſafety, not to helpe him to winne the victorie, but to flie more eaſily after the battell loſt. Betwixt *Antonius* campe and his fleete of ſhips, there was a great high point of firme land that ranne a good way into the ſea, the which *Antonius* vſed often for a walke, without miſtruſt of feare or danger. One of *Cæſars* men perceiued it, and told his maiſter that he would laugh, if they could take vp *Antonius* in the middeſt of his walke. Thereupon *Cæſar* ſent ſome of his men to lye in ambuſh for him, and they miſſed not much of taking him (for they tooke him that came before him) becauſe they diſcouered too ſoone, and ſo *Antonius* ſcaped verie hardly. So when *Antonius* had determined to fight by ſea, he ſet all the other ſhips on fire, but threeſcore ſhips of ÆGYPT, and reſerued onely the beſt and greateſt galleys, from three bankes, vnto ten bankes of oares. Into them he put two and twenty thouſand fighting men, with two thouſand darters and ſlingers. Now as he was ſetting his men in order of battell, there was a Captaine, a valiant man, that had ſerued *Antonius* in many battels and conflicts, and had all his bodie hacked and cut: who, as *Antonius* paſſed by him, cried out vnto him, and ſayd: O noble Emperour, how commeth it to paſſe that you truſt to theſe vile brittle ſhips? What, do you miſtruſt theſe wounds of mine, and this ſword? let the ÆGYPTIANS and PHOENICIANS fight by ſea, and ſet vs on the maine land, where we vſe to conquer, or to be ſlaine on our feete. *Antonius* paſſed by him and ſayd neuer a word, but onely beckned to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himſelfe. For when the maiſters of the galleys and pilots would haue let their ſailes alone, he made them clap them on, ſaying to colour the matter withall, that not one of his enemies ſhould ſcape. All that day, and the three dayes following, the ſea roſe ſo high and was ſo boiſterous, that the battell was put off. The fift day the ſtorme ceaſed, and the ſea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of oares in battell one againſt the other: *Antonius* leading the right wing with *Publicola*; and *Celius* the left; and *Marcus Octauius*, and *Marcus Iuſteius* the midſt. *Octauius Cæſar* on the other ſide, had placed *Agrippa* in the left wing of his armie, and had kept the right wing for himſelfe. For the armies by land, *Canidius* was Generall of *Antonius* ſide, and *Taurus* of *Cæſars* ſide: who kept their men in battell ray the one before the other, vpon the ſea ſide, without ſtirring one againſt the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaines: *Antonius* being in a ſwift pinnace, was caried vp and downe by force of oares through his army, and ſpake to his people to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on maine land, becauſe of the ſteadineſſe and heauineſſe of their ſhips: and commaunded the pilots and maiſters of the galleys, that they ſhould not ſtirre, none otherwiſe then if they were at anker, and ſo to receiue the firſt charge of their enemies, and that they ſhould not go out of the ſtraight of the gulfe. *Cæſar* betimes in the morning going out of his tent, to ſee his ſhips throughout: met a man by chaunce that draue an Aſſe before him. *Cæſar* asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him that his name was *Eutychus*, to ſay Fortunate: and his Aſſes name *Nicon*, to ſay Conquerour. Therefore *Cæſar* after he had wonne the battell, ſetting out the

Amyntas and Deiotarus, do both reuolt from Antonius and go vnto Cæſar.

Antonius in danger of taking at Actium.

Antonius regardeth not the good counſell of his ſouldiers.

Battell by ſea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Cæſar.

A lucky ſigne vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Eutychus Nicon, fortunate conquerour.

market

market place with the ſpurres of the galleys he had taken, for a ſigne of his victory: he cauſed alſo the man & his Aſſe to be ſet vp in braſſe. When he had viſited the order of his army throughout, he tooke a litle pinnace, and went to the right wing, and wondred when he ſaw his enemies lie ſtil in the ſtraight, & ſtirred not. For decerning them a farre off, men would haue thought they had bene ſhips riding at anker: and a good while he was ſo perſwaded. So, he kept his galleys eight furlongs from his enemies. About noone there aroſe a litle gale of wind from the ſea, and then *Antonius* men waxing angry with tarying ſo long, and truſting to the greatneſſe and height of their ſhips, as if they had bene inuincible: they began to march forward with their left wing. *Cæſar* ſeeing that, was a glad man and began a litle to giue backe from the right wing, to allure them to come farther out of the ſtraight and gulfe, to the end that he might with his light ſhips well manned with water-men, turne and enuirone the galleys of the enemies, the which were heauy of yarage, both for their bigneſſe, as alſo for lacke of water-men to row them. When the skirmiſh began, and that they came to ioyne, there was no great hurt at the firſt meeting, neither did the ſhips vehemently hit one againſt the other, as they do commonly in fight by ſea. For on the one ſide, *Antonius* ſhips for their heauineſſe, could not haue the ſtrength and ſwiftneſſe to make their blowes of any force: and *Cæſars* ſhips on the other ſide tooke great heed, not to ruſh and ſhocke with the forecaſtels of *Antonius* ſhips, whoſe prowes were armed with great braſen ſpurres. Furthermore they durſt not flancke them, becauſe their points were eaſily broken, which way ſo euer they came to ſet vpon his ſhips, that were made of great maine ſquare peeces of timber, bound together with great yron pins: ſo that the battell was much like vnto a battell by land, or to ſpeake more properly to the aſſault of a city. For there were alwayes three or foure of *Cæſars* ſhips about one of *Antonius* ſhips, and the ſouldiers fought with their pikes, halbards and darts, and threw pots and darts with fire. *Antonius* ſhips on the other ſide beſtowed among them, with their crosbowes and engines of battery, great ſtore of ſhot from their high towers of wood that were vpon their ſhips. Now *Publicola* ſeeing *Agrippa* put foorth his left wing of *Cæſars* armie, to compaſſe in *Antonius* ſhips that fought: he was driuen alſo to looſe off to haue more roome, and to go a litle at one ſide, to put thoſe farther off that were afraid, and in the middeſt of the battell: for they were ſore diſtreſſed by *Antonius*. Howbeit the battell was yet of euen hand, and the victory doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when ſuddenly they ſaw the three ſcore ſhips of *Cleopatra* buſily about their yard-maſts, and hoiſing ſaile to flye. So they fled through the middeſt of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behind the great ſhips, and did maruellouſly diſorder the other ſhips. For the enemies themſelues wondred much to ſee them ſaile in that ſort, with full ſaile towards PELOPONNESVS. There *Antonius* ſhewed plainely, that he had not onely loſt the courage and heart of an Emperour, but alſo of a valiant man, and that he was not his owne man (prouing that true which an old man ſpake in mirth, That the ſoule of a louer liued in another body, and not in his owne;) he was ſo caried away with the vaine loue of this woman, as if he had bene glued vnto her, and that ſhe could not haue remoued without mouing of him alſo. For when he ſaw *Cleopatraes* ſhip vnder ſaile, he forgot, forſooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarked vpon a galley with fiue bankes of oares, to follow her that had already begun to ouerthrow him, and would in the end be his vtter deſtruction. When ſhe knew his galley a farre off, ſhe lift vp a ſigne in the poope of her ſhip, and ſo *Antonius* comming to it, was pluckt vp where *Cleopatra* was: howbeit he ſaw her not at his firſt comming, nor ſhe him, but went and ſate downe alone in the prow of his ſhip, and ſayd neuer a word, clapping his head betweene both his hands. In the meane time, came certaine light brigantines of *Cæſars*, that followed him hard. So *Antonius* ſtraight turned the prow of his ſhip, & preſently put the reſt to flight: ſauing one *Eurycles* a LACEDÆMONIAN, that followed him neare, and preſſed vpon him with great courage, ſhaking a dart in his hand ouer the prow as though he would haue throwne it vnto *Antonius*. *Antonius* ſeeing him, came to the fore-caſtell of his ſhip and asked him what he was that durſt follow *Antonius* ſo neare? I am anſwered he, *Eurycles* the ſon of *Lachares*: who through *Cæſars* good fortune ſeeketh to reuenge the death of my father. This *Lachares* was condemned of fellony, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durſt not venture vpon *Antonius* ſhip, but ſet vpon the other Admirall galley (for there were two:) and fell vpon him with ſuch a blow of his braſen ſpurre, that was ſo heauy and bigge, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loden with very rich ſtuffe and cariage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he returned againe to his place, & ſate downe,

Cleopatra flieth.

The ſoule of a louer liueth in another body.

Antonius flieth after Cleopatra.

ſpeaking neuer a word as he did before: and ſo liued three dayes alone, without ſpeaking to any man. But when he arriued at the head of Tænarus, there *Cleopatraes* women firſt brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to ſpeake together, and afterwards to ſup and lie together. Then began there againe a great number of merchants ſhips to gather about them, and ſome of their friends that had eſcaped from this ouerthrow: who brought newes, that his army by ſea was ouerthrowne, but that they thought the army by land was yet whole. Then *Antonius* ſent vnto *Canidius*, to returne with his army into Asia by Macedon. Now for himſelfe, he determined to croſſe ouer into Africke, and tooke one of his carects or hulkes loden with gold and ſiluer, and other rich cariage, & gaue it vnto his friends: cõmanding them to depart, and ſeeke to ſaue themſelues. They anſwered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forſake him. Then *Antonius* very courteouſly and louingly did comfort them, & prayed them to depart: and wrote vnto *Theophilus* gouernour of Corinth, that he would ſee them ſafe, and helpe to hide them in ſome ſecret place, vntill they had made their way and peace with *Cæſar*. This *Theophilus* was the father of *Hypparchus*, who was had in great eſtimation about *Antonius*. He was the firſt of all his infranchiſed bondmen that reuolted from him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, and afterwards went and dwelt at Corinth. And thus it ſtood with *Antonius*. Now for his army by ſea, that fought before the head or foreland of Actium: they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more, then a great boyſterous wind that roſe full in the prowes of their ſhips, & yet with much ado, his nauie was at length ouerthrowne, fiue houres within night. There were not ſlaine aboue fiue thouſand men: but yet there were three hundreth ſhips taken, as *Octauius Cæſar* writeth himſelfe in his Commentaries. Many plainely ſaw *Antonius* flie, and yet could very hardly beleeue it, that he that had nineteene legions whole by land, and twelue thouſand horſemen vpon the ſea ſide, would ſo haue forſaken them, and haue fled ſo cowardly: as if he had not oftentimes proued both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene throughly acquainted with the diuerſe changes and fortunes of battels. And yet his ſouldiers ſtill wiſhed for him, and euer hoped that he would come by ſome meanes or other vnto them. Furthermore, they ſhewed themſelues ſo valiant and faithfull vnto him, that after they certainly knew he was fled, they kept themſelues whole together ſeuen dayes. In the end *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieutenant, flying by night, and forſaking his campe, when they ſaw themſelues thus deſtitute of their heads and leaders, they yeelded themſelues vnto the ſtronger. This done, *Cæſar* ſailed towards Athens, and there made peace with the Grecians, and deuided the reſt of the corne that was taken vp for *Antonius* army, vnto the townes and cities of Greece, the which had bene brought to extreame miſery and pouerty, cleane without mony, ſlaues, horſe, & other beaſts of cariage. So that my grandfather *Nicarchus* told, that all the citizens of our city of Chæronea (not one excepted) were driuen themſelues to cary a certaine meaſure of corne on their ſhoulders to the ſea ſide, that lieth directly ouer againſt the Ile of Anticyra, & yet were they driuen thither with whips. They caried it thus but once: for the ſecond time that they were charged againe to make the like cariage, all the corne being ready to be caried, newes came that *Antonius* had loſt the battell, and ſo ſcaped our poore city. For *Antonius* ſouldiers and deputies fled immediatly, & the citizens deuided the corne amongſt them. *Antonius* being arriued in Lybia, he ſent *Cleopatra* before into Ægypt from the city of Parætonium: & he himſelfe remained very ſolitary, hauing only two of his friends with him, with whom he wandred vp and downe, both of them Orators, the one *Ariſtocrates* a Grecian, & the other *Lucilius* a Romaine: of whom we haue written in another place, that at the battell where *Brutus* was ouerthrowne, by the city of Philippes, he came and willingly put himſelf into the hands of thoſe that followed *Brutus*, ſaying that it was he: becauſe *Brutus* in the meane time might haue liberty to ſaue himſelfe. And afterwards, becauſe *Antonius* ſaued his life, he ſtill remained with him: and was very faithfull & friendly vnto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had truſted with the gouernment of Lybia, and vnto whom he had giuen the charge of his army there, had yeelded vnto *Cæſar*: he was ſo madde withall, that he would haue ſlaine himſelfe for anger, had not his friends about him withſtood him, & kept him from it. So he went vnto Alexandria, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterpriſe, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red ſea, and the ſea betweene the lands that point vpon the coaſt of Ægypt, there is a litle peece of land that deuideth both the ſeas, and ſeparateth Africke from Asia: the which ſtraight is ſo narow at the end where the two ſeas are naroweſt, that it is not aboue three hundreth furlongs ouer. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her ſhips

Antonius licenceth his friends to depart, and giueth them a ſhip loaden with gold and ſiluer.

Antonius nauy ouerthrowne by Cæſar.

Antonius legions do yeeld themſelues vnto Octauius Cæſar.

Lucilius ſpoken of in Brutus life.

The fidelity of Lucilius vnto Antonius.

The wonderfull attempt of Cleopatra.

ſhips out of the one ſea, and to hale them ouer the ſtraight into the other ſea: that when her ſhips were come into the gulfe of Arabia, ſhe might then carie all her gold and ſiluer away, and ſo with a great companie of men go and dwell in ſome place about the Ocean ſea, farre from the ſea Mediterraneum, to ſcape the daunger and bondage of this warre. But now, becauſe the Arabians dwelling about the citie of Petra, did burne the firſt ſhippes that were brought to land, and that *Antonius* thought, that his armie by land which he left at Actium was yet whole: ſhe left off her enterpriſe, and determined to keepe all the ports and paſſages of her realme. *Antonius*, he forſooke the citie and companie of his friends, and built him a houſe in the ſea, by the Ile of Pharos, vpon certain forced mounts which he cauſed to be caſt into the ſea, & dwelt there, as a man that baniſhed himſelf from all mens companie: ſaying that he would leade *Timons* life, becauſe he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered vnto *Timon*: and that for the vnthankfulneſſe of thoſe he had done good vnto, and whom he tooke to be his friends, he was angrie with all men, and would truſt no man. This *Timon* was a citizen of Athens, that liued about the war of Peloponnesvs, as appeareth by *Plato* and *Ariſtophanes* comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man vnto mankind, to ſhun all other mens companies, but the companie of young *Alcibiades*, a bold and inſolent youth, whom he would greatly feaſt and make much of, , and kiſſed him very gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cauſe what he meant to make ſo much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* anſwered him, I do it, ſaid he, becauſe I know that one day he ſhall do great miſchiefe vnto the Athenians. This *Timon* ſomtimes would haue *Apemantus* in his companie, becauſe he was much like of his nature and conditions, and alſo followed him in manner of life. On a time when they ſolemnly celebrated the feaſts called Choæ at Athens, (to wit, the feaſts of the dead where they make ſprinklings and ſacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feaſted together by themſelues, *Apemantus* ſaid vnto the other: O here is a trim banquet *Timon*. *Timon* anſwered againe: Yea, ſaid he, ſo thou wert not here. It is reported of him alſo, that this *Timon* on a time (the people being aſſembled in the market place about diſpatch of ſome affaires) got vp into the pulpit for Orations, where the Oratours commonly vſe to ſpeake vnto the people: and ſilence being made, euery man liſtening to heare what he would ſay, becauſe it was a wonder to ſee him in that place: at length he began to ſpeake in this manner: My Lords of Athens, I haue a litle yard at my houſe where there groweth a figge tree, on the which many citizens haue hanged themſelues: and becauſe I meane to make ſome building on the place, I thought good to let you all vnderſtand it, that before the figge tree be cut downe, if any of you be deſperate; you may there in time go hang your ſelues. He died in the citie of Hales, and was buried vpon the ſea ſide. Now it chaunced ſo, that the ſea getting in, it compaſſed his tombe round about, that no man could come to it: and vpon the ſame was written this Epitaph:

Here lyes a wretched corſe, of wretched ſoule bereft:
Seeke not my name: a plague conſume you wicked wretches left.

Antonius followeth the life and example of Timon Miſanthropos the Athenian.

Plato and Ariſtophanes teſtimony of Timon Myſanthropos, what he was.

The Epitaph of Timon Miſanthropos.

It is reported that *Timon* himſelfe, when he liued, made this Epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearſed, was not his, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*:

Here lye I Timon, who aliue all liuing men did hate:
Paſſe by, and curſe thy fill: but paſſe, and ſtay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this litle ſhall ſuffice at this preſent. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* himſelfe came to bring him newes, that he had loſt all his armie by land at Actium: on the other ſide he was aduertiſed alſo, that *Herodes* king of Ivrie, who had alſo certaine legions and bands with him, was reuolted vnto *Cæſar*, and all the other kings in like maner: ſo that, ſauing thoſe that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithſtanding did nothing trouble him: and it ſeemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and ſo to be rid of all his care and troubles. Thereupon he left his ſolitarie houſe he had built by the ſea which he called Timoneon, and *Cleopatra* receiued him into her royall pallace. He was no ſooner come thither, but he ſtraight ſet all the citie on rioting & banquetting againe, and himſelfe to liberalitie and gifts. He cauſed the ſonne of *Iulius Cæſar* and *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according to the manner of the Romaines) amongſt the number of young men: and gaue *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſon he had by *Fuluia*, the mans gowne, the which was a plaine gowne without gard or embroderie, of purple. For theſe things, there was kept great feaſting, bāquetting & dancing in Alexandria many daies together. Indeed they did break their firſt order they had

Antonius rioting in Alexandria after his great loſſe & ouerthrow.

Toga virilis.

Antyllus the eldeſt ſonne of Antonius, by his wife Fuluia.

set downe, which they called Amimetobion, (as much to say, No life comparable) and did set vp another, which they called Synapothanumenon, (signifying the order and agreement of those that will die together) the which in exceeding sumptuousnesse and cost was not inferiour to the first. For their friends made themselues to be inrolled in this order of those that would die together, and so made great feasts one to another: for euery man when it came to his turne, feasted their whole company and fraternitie. *Cleopatra* in the meane time was very carefull in gathering all sorts of poisons together, to destroy men. Now to make proofe of those poisons which made men die with least paine, she tried it vpon condemned men in prison. For when she sawe the poisons that were sodaine and vehement, & brought speedie death with grieuous torments: and in contrarie manner, that such as were more mild and gentle, had not that quicke speede and force to make one die sodainely: she afterwards went about to proue the stinging of snakes and adders, and made some to be applyed vnto men in her sight, some in one sort, some in another. So when she had daily made diuerse and sundrie proofes, she found none of them all she had proued so fit, as the biting of an Aspicke: the which causeth only a heauinesse of the head, without swouning or complaining, and bringeth a great desire also to sleepe, with a litle sweat in the face; and so by litle and litle taketh away the senses and vitall powers, no liuing creature perceiuing that the patients feele any paine. For they are so sorie when any bodie awaketh them, and taketh them vp: as those that being taken out of a sound sleepe, are very heauie and desirous to sleepe. This notwithstanding, they sent Ambassadors vnto *Octauius Cæsar* in Asia, *Cleopatra* requesting the realme of Ægypt for their children, and *Antonius* praying that he might be suffered to liue at Athens like a priuate man, if *Cæsar* would not let him remaine in Ægypt. And because they had no other men of estimation about them, for that some were fled, and those that remained, they did not greatly trust them: they were inforced to send *Euphronius* the schoolemaister of their children. For *Alexas* Laodician, who was brought into *Antonius* house and fauour by meanes of *Timagenes*, and afterwards was in greater credite with him, then any other Grecian (for that he had euer bene one of *Cleopatraes* ministers to win *Antonius*, and to ouerthrow all his good determinations to vse his wife *Octauia* well:) him *Antonius* had sent vnto *Herodes* king of Ivrie, hoping still to keepe him his friend, that he should not reuolt from him. But he remained there, and betrayed *Antonius*. For where he should haue kept *Herodes* from reuolting from him, he perswaded him to turne to *Cæsar*: and trusting king *Herodes*, he presumed to come in *Cæsars* presence. Howbeit *Herodes* did him no pleasure: for he was presently taken prisoner, and sent in chains to his owne country, and there by *Cæsars* commaundement put to death. Thus was *Alexas* in *Antonius* life time put to death, for betraying of him. Furthermore, *Cæsar* wold not grant vnto *Antonius* requests: but for *Cleopatra*, he made her answer, that he would deny her nothing reasonable, so that she would either put *Antonius* to death, or driue him out of her country. Therwithall he sent *Thyreus* one of his men vnto her, a very wise and discreet man: who bringing letters of credite from a young Lord vnto a noble Ladie, and that besides greatly liked her beautie, might easily by his eloquence haue perswaded her. He was longer in talke with her then any man else was, and the Queene her selfe also did him great honour: insomuch as he made *Antonius* iealous of him. Whereupon *Antonius* caused him to be taken and well fauouredly whipped, and so sent him vnto *Cæsar*: and bad him tell him that he made him angrie with him, because he shewed himselfe proud and disdainefull towards him; and now specially, when he was easie to be angred, by reason of his present miserie. To be short, if this mislike thee (said he) thou hast *Hipparchus* one of my infranchised bondmen with thee: hang him if thou wilt, or whippe him at thy pleasure, that we may crie quittance. From hencefoorth *Cleopatra*, to cleare her selfe of the suspition he had of her, made more of him then euer she did. For first of all, where she did solemnize the day of her birth very meanely and sparingly, fit for her present misfortune: she now in contrary maner did keepe it with such solemnitie, that she exceeded all measure of sumptuousnes and magnificence: so that the guests that were bidden to the feasts, and came poore, went away rich. Now things passing thus, *Agrippa* by diuers letters sent one after another vnto *Cæsar*, prayed him to returne to Rome, because the affaires there did of necessity require his person & presence. Therupon he did defer the war till the next yeare following: but when winter was done, he returned again through Syria by the coast of Africk, to make warr against *Antonius*, and his other Captains. When the citie of Pelvsivm was taken, there ran a rumour in the citie, that *Seleucus*, (by *Cleopatraes* consent) had surrendred the same. But to cleare her

An order erected by Antonius, and Cleopatra, called Synapothanumenon, reuoking the former called Amimetobion.

Cleopatra very busie in proouing the force of poison.

The propertie of the biting of an Aspicke.

Antonius and Cleopatra send Ambassadours vnto Octauius Cæsar.

Alexas treason iustly punished.

Pelusium was yeelded vp to Octauius Cæsar.

herſelfe that ſhe did not, *Cleopatra* brought *Seleucus* wife and children vnto *Antonius*, to be reuenged of them at his pleaſure. Furthermore, *Cleopatra* had long before made many ſumptuous tombes and monuments, as well for excellencie of workemanſhip, as for height and greatneſſe of building, ioyning hard to the temple of *Iſis*. Thither ſhe cauſed to be brought all the treaſure and precious things ſhe had of the auncient Kings her predeceſſours: as gold, ſiluer, emeralds, pearles, ebonie, yuorie, and cynamon, and beſides all that, a maruellous number of torches, faggots, and flaxe. So *Octauius Cæſar* being affraid to loſe ſuch a treaſure and maſſe of riches, and that this woman for ſpite would ſet it a fire, and burne it euery whit: he alwaies ſent ſome one or other vnto her from him, to put her in good comfort, whileſt he in the meane time drew neare the citie with his armie. So *Cæſar* came and pitched his camp hard by the citie, in the place where they runne and mannage their horſes. *Antonius* made a ſallie vpon him, and fought very valiantly, ſo that he draue *Cæſars* horſemen backe, fighting with his men euen into their campe. Then he came againe to the pallace, greatly boaſting of this victorie, and ſweetly kiſſed *Cleopatra*, armed as he was when he came from the fight, recommending one of his men of armes vnto her, that had valiantly fought in this skirmiſh. *Cleopatra* to reward his manlineſſe, gaue him an armor and head peece of cleane gold: howbeit the man at armes when he had receiued this rich gift, ſtale away by night, and went to *Cæſar*. *Antonius* ſent againe to challenge *Cæſar*, to fight with him hand to hand. *Cæſar* anſwered him, That he had many other wayes to die then ſo. Then *Antonius* ſeeing there was no way more honorable for him to die, then fighting valiantly: he determined to ſet vp his reſt, both by ſea and land. So being at ſupper (as it is reported) he commaunded his Officers and houſhold ſeruants that waited on him at his boord, that they ſhould fill his cuppes full, and make as much of him as they could: for ſaid he, you know not whether you ſhall do ſo much for me to morrow or not, or whether you ſhall ſerue another maiſter: and it may be you ſhall ſee me no more, but a dead bodie. This notwithſtanding, perceiuing that his friends and men fell a weeping to heare him ſay ſo: to ſalue that he had ſpoken, he added this more vnto it, that he would not leade them to battell, where he thought not rather ſafely to returne with victorie, then valiantly to die with honour. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame night within a litle of midnight, when all the citie was quiet, full of feare, and ſorrow, thinking what would be the iſſue and end of this warre: it is ſaid, that ſodainly they heard a maruellous ſweet harmonie of ſundry ſorts of inſtruments of muſicke, with the crie of a multitude of people, as they had bene dauncing, and had ſung as they vſe in *Bacchus* feaſtes, with mouings and turnings after the manner of the Satyres: and it ſeemed, that this daunce went through the citie vnto the gate that opened to the enemies, and that all the troupe that made this noiſe they heard, went out of the citie at that gate. Now, ſuch as in reaſon ſought the depth of the interpretation of this wonder, thought that it was the god vnto whom *Antonius* bare ſingular deuotion to counterfeit and reſemble him, that did forſake them. The next morning by breake of day, he went to ſet thoſe few footemen he had in order vpon the hils adioyning vnto the citie: and there he ſtood to behold his gallies which departed from the hauen, and rowed againſt the gallies of his enemies, and ſo ſtood ſtill, looking what exploit his ſoldiers in them would do. But when by force of rowing they were come neare vnto them, they firſt ſaluted *Cæſars* men, and then *Cæſars* men reſaluted them alſo, and of two armies made but one: and then did all together row toward the citie. When *Antonius* ſaw that his men did forſake him, and yeelded vnto *Cæſar*, and that his footemen were broken and ouerthrowne: he then fled into the citie, crying out that *Cleopatra* had betrayed him vnto them, with whom he had made warre for her ſake. Then ſhe being affraid of his furie, fled into the tombe which ſhe had cauſed to be made, and there ſhe locked the doores vnto her, & ſhut all the ſprings of the lockes with great bolts, and in the meane time ſent vnto *Antonius* to tell him, that ſhe was dead. *Antonius* beleeuing it, ſaid vnto himſelf: What doeſt thou looke for further, *Antonius*, ſith ſpitefull fortune hath taken from thee the only ioy thou hadſt, for whom thou yet reſeruedſt thy life? When he had ſaid theſe words, he went into a chamber & vnarmed himſelf, & being naked, ſaid thus: O *Cleopatra*, it grieueth me not that I haue loſt thy company, for I will not be long frō thee: but I am ſory, that hauing bene ſo great a Captaine & Emperor, I am indeed condemned to be iudged of leſſe courage & noble mind, then a woman. Now he had a man of his called *Eros*, whom he loued and truſted much, and whom he had long before cauſed to ſweare vnto him, that he ſhould kill him when he did commaund him: and then he willed him to keepe his promiſe. His man drawing his ſword, lift it vp as though he had meant to haue ſtriken his maſter: but

Cleopatraes monuments ſet vp by the temple of Iſis.

Strange noiſes heard, and nothing ſeene.

Antonius nauy do yeeld themſelues vnto Cæſar.

Antonius ouerthrown by Octauius Cæſar.

Cleopatra flyeth into her tombe or monument.

Eros, Antonius seruant sluc himselfe.

turning his head at one side, he thrust his sword into himselfe, and fell downe dead at his masters foote. Then said *Antonius*: ô noble *Eros*, I thanke thee for this, and it is valiantly done of thee, to shew me what I should do to my selfe, which thou couldest not do for me. Therewithall he tooke his sword, and thrust it into his belly, and so fell downe vpon a litle bed. The wound he had, killed him not presently, for the bloud stinted a litle when he was layed: and when he came somewhat to himselfe againe, he prayed them that were about him, to dispatch him. But they all fled out of the chamber, and left him crying out and tormenting himselfe: vntill at last there came a Secretarie vnto him (called *Diomedes*) who was commanded to bring him into the tomb or monument where *Cleopatra* was. When he heard that she was aliue, he very earnestly prayed his men to carie his bodie thither, and so he was caried in his mens armes into the entry of the monument. Notwithstanding, *Cleopatra* would not open the gates, but came to the high windowes, and cast out certaine chaines and ropes, in the which *Antonius* was trussed: and *Cleopatra* her owne selfe, with two women only, which she had suffered to come with her into these monuments, trised *Antonius* vp. They that were present to behold it, said they neuer saw so pitifull a sight. For they plucked vp poore *Antonius* all bloudie as he was, and drawing on with pangs of death: who holding vp his hands to *Cleopatra*, raised vp himselfe as well as he could. It was a hard thing for these women to do, to lift him vp: but *Cleopatra* stooping downe with her head, putting too all her strength to her vttermost power, did lift him vp with much ado, and neuer let go her hold, with the helpe of the women beneath that bad her be of good courage, and were as sory to see her labour so, as she her selfe. So when she had gotten him in after that sort, and laid him on a bed: she rent her garments vpon him, clapping her breast, and scratching her face and stomacke. Then she dried vp his bloud that had berayed his face, and called him her Lord, her husband, and Emperor, forgetting her own miserie and calamitie, for the pity and compassion she took of him. *Antonius* made her cease her lamenting, and called for wine, either because he was a thirst, or else for that he thought thereby to hasten his death. When he had drunke, he earnestly prayed her, and perswaded her, that she would seek to saue her life, if she could possible, without reproch and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust *Proculeius* aboue any man else about *Cæsar*. And as for himselfe, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable chaunge of his fortune at the end of his dayes: but rather that she should think him the more fortunate; for the former triumphes and honors he had receiued; considering that while he liued, he was the noblest & greatest Prince of the world, & that now he was ouercome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a Romaine by another Romaine. As *Antonius* gaue the last gaspe, *Proculeius* came that was sent from *Cæsar*. For after *Antonius* had thrust his sword in himself, as they caried him into the tombes and monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his guard (called *Dercetæus*) took his sword with the which he had striken himselfe, and hid it: then he secretly stale away, and brought *Octauius Cæsar* the first newes of his death, & shewed him his sword that was bloudied. *Cæsar* hearing these newes, straight withdrew himselfe into a secret place of his tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had bene his friend and brother in law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great exploits and battels. Then he called for all his friends, and shewed them the letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his answers also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all iust and reasonable matters he wrote vnto him. After this, he sent *Proculeius*, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* aliue, fearing lest otherwise all the treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her aliue to Rome, she would maruellously beautifie and set out his triumph. But *Cleopatra* would neuer put her selfe into *Proculeius* hands, although they spake together. For *Proculeius* came to the gates that were thicke and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranewes, through the which her voice might be heard, and so they without vnderstood, that *Cleopatra* demaunded the kingdome of Ægypt for her sonnes: and that *Proculeius* answered her, That she should be of good cheare, and not be affrayed to referre all vnto *Cæsar*. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer vnto *Cæsar*: who immediatly sent *Gallus* to speake once againe with her, and bad him purposely hold her with talke, whilest *Proculeius* did set vp a ladder against that high window, by the which *Antonius* was trised vp, and came downe into the monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stood to heare what *Gallus* sayd vnto her. One of her women which was shut vp in her monuments with her, saw *Proculeius* by chance

Antonius did thrust his sword into himselfe, but dyed not presently.

Antonius caried vnto Cleopatraes tombe.

A lamentable sight to see Antonius and Cleopatra.

The death of Antonius.

Octauius Cæsar lamenteth Antonius death.

Proculeius sent by Octauius Cæsar to bring Cleopatra aliue.

as

as he came downe, and ſhreeked out: O poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when ſhe ſawe *Proculeius* behind her as ſhe came from the gate, ſhe thought to haue ſtabbed her ſelfe in with a ſhort dagger ſhe wore of purpoſe by her ſide. But *Proculeius* came ſodainly vpon her, and taking her by both the handes, ſaid vnto her: *Cleopatra*, firſt, thou ſhalt do thy ſelfe great wrong, and ſecondly, vnto *Cæſar*, to depriue him of the occaſion and oportunitie, openly to ſhew his bountie and mercie, and to giue his enemies cauſe to accuſe the moſt courteous and noble Prince that euer was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruell and mercileſſe man, that were not to be truſted. So euen as he ſpake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and ſhooke her clothes for feare of any poyſon hidden about her. Afterwards, *Cæſar* ſent one of his infranchiſed men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he ſtraightly charged to looke well vnto her, and to beware in any caſe that ſhe made not her ſelfe away: and for the reſt, to vſe her with all the courteſie poſſible. And for himſelfe, he in the meane time entred the citie of ALEXANDRIA, and (as he went) talked with the Philoſopher *Arrius*, and held him by the hand, to the end that his countrymen ſhould reuerence him the more, becauſe they ſawe *Cæſar* ſo highly eſteeme and honour him. Then he went into the ſhew-place of exerciſes, and ſo vp to his chaire of ſtate which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commaundement, all the people of ALEXANDRIA were aſſembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craued mercie. *Cæſar* bad them all ſtand vp, and told them openly that he forgaue the people, and pardoned the fellonies and offences they had committed againſt him in this warre. Firſt, for the founders ſake of the ſame citie, which was *Alexander* the Great: ſecondly, for the beautie of the citie, which he much eſteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the loue he bare vnto his very friend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cæſar* honour *Arrius*, who craued pardon for himſelfe and many others, and ſpecially for *Philoſtratus*, the eloquenteſt man of all the Sophiſters and Orators of his time, for preſent and ſodaine ſpeech: howbeit, he falſely named himſelfe an Academicke Philoſopher. Therefore *Cæſar* that hated his nature and conditions, would not heare his ſute. Therupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrius* ſtep by ſtep in a long mourning gowne, ſtill buzzing in his eares this Greeke verſe:

Cleopatra taken.

Cæſar tooke the citie of Alexandria.

Cæſar greatly honoured Arrius the Philoſopher.

Philoſtratus the eloquentſt Orator in his time, for preſent ſpeech vpõ a ſodaine.

A wiſe man, if that he be wiſe indeed,
May by a wiſe man haue the better ſpeed.

Cæſar vnderſtanding this, not for the deſire he had to deliuer *Philoſtratus* of his feare, as to ridde *Arrius* of malice and enuie that might haue fallen out againſt him, he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* ſonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldeſt ſonne by *Fuluia* was ſlaine, becauſe his ſchoolemaſter *Theodorus* did betray him vnto the ſouldiers, who ſtrake off his head. And the villaine tooke a precious ſtone of great value from his necke, the which he did ſow in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and ſo *Cæſar* truſſed him vp for it. For *Cleopatraes* children, they were very honorably kept, with their gouernors and traine that waited on them. But for *Cæſarion*, who was ſaid to be *Iulius Cæſars* ſonne: his mother *Cleopatra* had ſent him vnto the INDIANS through ÆTHIOPIA, with a great ſumme of money. But one of his gouernors alſo called *Rhodon*, euen ſuch another as *Theodorus*, perſwaded him to returne into his countrey, and told him that *Cæſar* ſent for him to giue him his mothers kingdome. So, as *Cæſar* was determining with himſelfe what he ſhould do, *Arrius* ſaid vnto him:

Antyllus, Antonius eldeſt ſonne by Fuluia, ſlaine.

Too many Cæſars is not good.

The ſaying of Arrius the Philoſopher.

Alluding vnto a certaine verſe of *Homer*, that ſaith:

Too many Lords doth not well.

Therefore *Cæſar* did put *Cæſarion* to death, after the death of his mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great Kings and Captaines did craue *Antonius* bodie of *Octauius Cæſar*, to giue him honourable buriall: but *Cæſar* would neuer take it from *Cleopatra*, who did ſumptuouſly and royally burie him with her owne hands, whom *Cæſar* ſuffered to take as much as ſhe would to beſtow vpon his funerals. Now was ſhe altogether ouercome with ſorow and paſſion of mind, for ſhe had knocked her breſt ſo pitifully, that ſhe had martyred it, and in diuers places had raiſed vlcers and inflammations, ſo that ſhe fell into a feauer withall: whereof ſhe was very glad, hoping thereby to haue good colour to abſtaine from meat, and that ſo ſhe might haue died eaſily without any trouble. She had a Phiſitian called *Olympus*, whom ſhe made priuy of her intent, to the end he ſhould helpe to rid her out of her life: as *Olympus* writeth himſelfe, who wrote a booke of all theſe things. But *Cæſar* miſtruſted the matter, by many coniectures he had, and therefore did put her

Cæſarion, Cleopatraes ſonne, put to death.

Cleopatra burieth Antonius.

Olympus, Cleopatraes Phiſitian.

in feare, and threatned her to put her children to ſhamefull death. With theſe threates, *Cleopatra* for feare yeelded ſtraight, as ſhe would haue yeelded vnto ſtrokes: and afterwards ſuffered her ſelfe to be cured and dieted as they liſted. Shortly after, *Cæſar* came himſelfe in perſon to ſee her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed vpon a litle low bed in poore eſtate (when ſhe ſaw *Cæſar* come into her chamber,) ſodainly roſe vp, naked in her ſmocke, and fell downe at his feet maruellouſly disfigured: both for that ſhe had plucked her haire from her head, as alſo for that ſhe had martyred all her face with her nailes; and beſides, her voice was ſmall and trembling, her eyes ſunke into her head with continuall blubbering; & moreouer, they might ſee the moſt part of her ſtomacke torne in ſunder. To be ſhort, her body was not much better then her mind: yet her good grace and comlineſſe, and the force of her beautie was not altogether defaced. But notwithſtanding this vgly and pitifull ſtate of hers, yet ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cæſar* had made her lie downe againe, and ſate by her beds ſide: *Cleopatra* began to cleare and excuſe her ſelfe for that ſhe had done, laying all to the feare ſhe had of *Antonius*: *Cæſar* in contrarie manner, reproued her in euery point. Then ſhe ſodainely altered her ſpeech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though ſhe were affrayed to dye, and deſirous to liue. At length, ſhe gaue him a briefe and memoriall of all the readie money and treaſure ſhe had. But by chaunce there ſtoode *Seleucus* by, one of her Treaſurers, who to ſeeme a good ſeruant, came ſtraight to *Cæſar* to diſproue *Cleopatra*, that ſhe had not ſet in all, but kept many things back of purpoſe. *Cleopatra* was in ſuch a rage with him, that ſhe flew vpon him, and tooke him by the haire of the head, and boxed him well fauouredly. *Cæſar* fell a laughing, and parted the fray. Alas, ſaid ſhe, ô *Cæſar*: is not this a great ſhame and reproch, that thou hauing vouchſafed to take the paines to come vnto me, and done me this honor, poore wretch, and caitife creature, brought into this pitifull and miſerable ſtate: and that mine owne ſeruants ſhould come now to accuſe me, though it may be I haue reſerued ſome iewels and trifles meete for womẽ, but not for me (poore ſoule) to ſet out my ſelfe withall, but meaning to giue ſome pretie preſents and gifts vnto *Octauia* and *Liuia*, that they making meanes and interceſſion for me to thee, thou mighteſt yet extend thy fauor and mercie vpon me? *Cæſar* was glad to heare her ſay ſo, perſwading himſelfe thereby that ſhe had yet a deſire to ſaue her life. So he made her anſwer, that he did not only giue her that to diſpoſe of at her pleaſure, which ſhe had kept backe, but further promiſed to vſe her more honourably and bountifully, then ſhe would thinke for: and ſo he tooke his leaue of her, ſuppoſing he had deceiued her, but indeed he was deceiued himſelfe. There was a young Gentleman *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæſars* very great familiars, and beſides did beare no ill will vnto *Cleopatra*. He ſent her word ſecretly (as ſhe had requeſted him) that *Cæſar* determined to take his iourny through SYRIA, and that within three daies he would ſend her away before with her children. When this was told *Cleopatra*, ſhe requeſted *Cæſar* that it would pleaſe him to ſuffer her to offer the laſt oblations of the dead, vnto the ſoule of *Antonius*. This being graunted her, ſhe was caried to the place where his tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, embracing the tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheeks, ſhe began to ſpeak in this ſort: O my deare Lord *Antonius*, it is not long ſithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: & now I offer vnto thee the funerall ſprinklings and oblations, being a captiue and priſoner, and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murthering this captiue body of mine with blowes, which they carefully guard and keepe, onely to triumph of thee: looke therfore hencefoorth for no other honors, offerings, nor ſacrifices from me: for theſe are the laſt which *Cleopatra* can giue thee, ſith now they carie her away. Whileſt we liued together, nothing could ſeuer our companies: but now at our death, I feare me they will make vs chaunge our conntries. For as thou being a ROMAINE, haſt bene buried in ÆGYPT: euen ſo wretched creature I an ÆGYPTIAN, ſhall be buried in ITALIE, which ſhall be all the good that I haue receiued by thy country. If therefore the gods where thou art now haue any power and authority, ſith our gods here haue forſaken vs: ſuffer not thy true friend and louer to be caried away aliue, that in me they triumph of thee: but receiue me with thee, and let me be buried in one ſelfe tombe with thee. For though my griefes and miſeries be infinit, yet none hath grieued me more, nor that I could leſſe beare withall, then this ſmall time which I haue bene driuen to liue alone without thee. Then hauing ended theſe doleful plaints, and crowned the tombe with garlands and ſundrie noſegayes, and meruellous louingly embraced the ſame: ſhe commanded they ſhould prepare her bath, and when ſhe had bathed and waſhed her ſelfe, ſhe fell to her meate, and was ſumptuouſly ſerued. Now whileſt ſhe

Cæſar came to ſee Cleopatra.

Cleopatra, a martyred creature through her owne paſſion and furie.

Seleucus, one of Cleopatraes Treaſurers.

Cleopatra beat her Treaſurer before Octauius Cæſar.

Cleopatraes words vnto Cæſar.

Cleopatra finely deceiueth Octauius Cæſar, as though ſhe deſired to liue.

Cleopatraes lamentation ouer Antonius tombe.

was

was at dinner, there came a countriman and brought her a basket. The ſouldiers that warded at the gates, asked him ſtraight what he had in his basket. He opened his basket, and tooke out the leaues that couered the figs, and ſhewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them maruelled to ſee ſo goodly figges. The countriman laughed to heare them, and bad them take ſome if they would. They beleeued he told them truly, and ſo bad him carie them in. After *Cleopatra* had dined, ſhe ſent a certaine table written and ſealed vnto *Cæſar*, and commaunded them all to go out of the tombes where ſhe was, but the two women, then ſhe ſhut the doores to her. *Cæſar* when he receiued this table, and began to reade her lamentation and petition, requeſting him that he would let her be buried with *Antonius*, found ſtraight what ſhe meant, and thought to haue gone thither himſelfe; howbeit, he ſent one before in all haſt that might be, to ſee what it was. Her death was very ſodaine: for thoſe whom *Cæſar* ſent vnto her, ran thither in all haſt poſſible, and found the ſouldiers ſtanding at the gate, miſtruſting nothing, nor vnderſtanding of her death. But when they had opened the doores, they found *Cleopatra* ſtarke dead, laid vpon a bed of gold, attired and arrayed in her royall robes, and one of her two women, which was called *Iras*, dead at her feet: and her other woman (called *Charmion*) halfe dead, & trembling, trimming the Diademe which *Cleopatra* wore vpon her head. One of the ſoldiers ſeeing her, angrily ſaid vnto her: Is that well done *Charmion?* Very well, ſaid ſhe againe, and meete for a Princeſſe deſcended from the race of ſo many noble Kings: ſhe ſaid no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed. Some report, that this Aſpicke was brought vnto her in the basket with figs, and that ſhe had commanded them to hide it vnder the fig leaues, that when ſhe ſhould thinke to take out the figs, the Aſpicke ſhould bite her before ſhe ſhould ſee her: howbeit, that when ſhe wold haue taken away the leaues for the figs, ſhe perceiued it, and ſaid, Art thou here then? And ſo her arme being naked, ſhe put it to the Aſpicke to be bitten. Other ſay againe, ſhe kept it in a boxe, and that ſhe did pricke and thruſt it with a ſpindle of gold, ſo that the Aſpicke being angred withall, leapt out with great furie, and bit her in the arme. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report alſo, that ſhe had hidden poyſon in a hollow razor which ſhe caried in the haire of her head; and yet was there no marke ſeene of her bodie, or any ſigne diſcerned that ſhe was poiſoned, neither alſo did they find this ſerpent in her tombe: but it was reported onely, that there was ſeene certaine freſh ſteppes or trackes where it had gone, on the tombe ſide toward the ſea, and ſpecially by the doore ſide. Some ſay alſo, that they found two litle pretie bitings in her arme, ſcant to be diſcerned: the which it ſeemeth *Cæſar* himſelfe gaue credit vnto, becauſe in his triumph he caried *Cleopatraes* image, with an Aſpicke biting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now *Cæſar*, though he was maruellous ſorie for the death of *Cleopatra*, yet he wondred at her noble mind and courage, and therefore commaunded ſhe ſhould be nobly buried, and layed by *Antonius*: and willed alſo that her two women ſhould haue honourable buriall. *Cleopatra* died being eight and thirtie yeares old, after ſhe had raigned two and twentie yeares, and gouerned aboue fourteene of them with *Antonius*. And for *Antonius*, ſome ſay that he liued three and fiftie yeares: and others ſay, ſixe and fiftie. All his ſtatues, images, and mettals, were plucked downe and ouerthrowne, ſauing thoſe of *Cleopatra* which ſtoode ſtill in their places, by meanes of *Archibius* one of her friends, who gaue *Cæſar* a thouſand talents that they ſhould not be handled as thoſe of *Antonius* were. *Antonius* left ſeuen children by three wiues, of the which, *Cæſar* did put *Antyllus* (the eldeſt ſon he had by *Fuluia*) to death. *Octauia* his wife tooke all the reſt, and brought them vp with hers, and maried *Cleopatra*, *Antonius* daughter, vnto king *Iuba*, a maruellous courteous & goodly Prince. And *Antonius* (the ſon of *Fuluia*) came to be ſo great, that next vnto *Agrippa*, who was in greateſt eſtimation about *Cæſar*; and next vnto the children of *Liuia*, which were the ſecond in eſtimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, *Octauia* hauing had two daughters by her firſt husband *Marcellus*, & a ſon alſo called *Marcellus*: *Cæſar* maried his daughter vnto that *Marcellus*, and ſo did adopt him for his ſon. And *Octauia* alſo maried one of her daughters vnto *Agrippa*. But when *Marcellus* was dead, after he had bene maried awhile, *Octauia* perceiuing that her brother *Cæſar* was very buſie to chuſe ſome one among his friends, whom he truſted beſt to make his ſonne in law: ſhe perſwaded him, that *Agrippa* ſhould marie his daughter (*Marcellus* widow) and leaue her owne daughter. *Cæſar* firſt was contented withall, and then *Agrippa*: and ſo ſhe afterwards tooke away her daughter and maried her vnto *Antonius*; & *Agrippa* maried *Iulia*, *Cæſars* daughter. Now there remained two daughters more of *Octauia* and *Antonius*: *Domitius Ænobarbus* maried the one; and the other, which was *Antonia*, ſo faire and vertuous a young

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatras two waiting-women dead with her.

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aſpicke.

The image of Cleopatra, caried in triumph at Rome with an Aſpicke biting of her arme.

The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Of Antonius iſſue came Emperours.

Ladie, was maried vnto *Druſus* the ſonne of *Liuia*, and ſonne in law of *Cæſar*. Of this mariage, came *Germanicus* and *Clodius*: of the which, *Clodius* afterwards came to be Emperor. And of the ſonnes of *Germanicus*, the one whoſe name was *Caius*, came alſo to be Emperour: who after he had licentiouſly raigned a time, was ſlaine, with his wife and daughter. *Agrippina* alſo (hauing a ſonne by her firſt husband *Ænobarbus*, called *Lucius Domitius*) was afterwards maried vnto *Claudius*, who adopted her ſonne, and called him *Nero Germanicus*. This *Nero* was Emperour in our time, who ſlue his owne mother, and had almoſt deſtroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madneſſe and wicked life, being the fifth Emperour of Rome after *Antonius*.

THE COMPARISON OF *Demetrius with Antonius.*

The power of Demetrius and Antonius.

NOw, ſithence it falleth out, that *Demetrius* and *Antonius* were one of thē much like to the other, hauing fortune a like diuers & variable vnto thē: let vs therfore come to conſider their power & authorie, and how they came to be ſo great. Firſt of all, it is certaine that *Demetrius* power and greatnes fell vnto him by inheritance frō his father *Antigonus*: who became the greateſt & mightieſt Prince of all the ſucceſſors of *Alexander*, and had won the moſt part of Asia, before *Demetrius* came of fullage. *Antonius* in contrary manner, borne of an honeſt man, who otherwiſe was no man of war, & had not left him any meane to ariſe to ſuch greatneſſe: durſt take vpon him to contend for the Empire with *Cæſar*, that had no right vnto it by inheritance, but yet made himſelfe ſucceſſor of the power, the which the other by great paine and trauell had obtained, and by his own induſtrie became ſo great, without the helpe of any other: that the Empire of the whole world being deuided into two partes, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greateſt countenance and power. *Antonius* being abſent, oftentimes ouercame the Parthians in battell by his Lieutenants, and chaſed away the barbarous people dwelling about mount Caucaſus, vnto the ſea Hyrcanium, inſomuch as the thing they moſt reproue him for, did moſt witneſſe his greatneſſe. For, *Demetrius* father made him gladly marie *Phila*, *Antipaters* daughter, although ſhe was too old for him: becauſe ſhe was of a nobler houſe then himſelfe. *Antonius* on the other ſide was blamed for marying of *Cleopatra*, a Queene that for power and nobilitie of bloud, excelled all other kings in her time, but *Arſaces*: and moreouer, made himſelf ſo great, that others thought him worthie of greater things, then he himſelfe required. Now for the deſire that moued the one and the other to conquer Realmes: the deſire of *Demetrius* was vnblameable and iuſt, deſiring to raigne ouer people, which had bene gouerned at all times, and deſired to be gouerned by Kings. But *Antonius* deſire was altogether wicked and tyrannicall: who ſought to keepe the people of Rome in bondage and ſubiection, but lately before rid of *Cæſars* raigne and gouernment. For the greateſt and moſt famous exploite *Antonius* euer did in warres (to wit, the warre

Demetrius and Antonius ambition to gouerne.

warre, in the which he ouerthrew *Cassius* and *Brutus*) was begun to no other end, but to depriue his countrimen of their libertie and freedome. *Demetrius* in contrarie manner, before fortune had ouerthrowne him, neuer left to set GREECE at libertie, and to driue the garrisons away, which kept the cities in bondage: and not like *Antonius*, that boasted he had slaine them that had set ROME at libertie. The chiefest thing they commended in *Antonius*, was his liberalitie and bountie: in the which *Demetrius* excelled him so farre, that he gaue more to his enemies, then *Antonius* did to his friends: although he was maruellously well thought of, for the honourable and sumptuous funerall he gaue vnto *Brutus* bodie. Howbeit *Demetrius* caused all his enemies to be buried that were slaine in battell, and returned vnto *Ptolomie* all the prisoners he had taken, with great gifts and presents he gaue them. They were both in their prosperitie, very riotously and licentiously giuen: but yet no man can euer say, that *Demetrius* did at any time let slip any oportunitie or occasion to follow great matters, but onely gaue himselfe indeed to pleasure, when he had nothing else to do. And further, to say truly, he took pleasure of *Lamia*, as a man would haue a delight to heare one tell tales, when he hath nothing else to do, or is desirous to sleepe: but indeed when he was to make any preparation for war, he had not then Iuie at his darts end, nor had his helmet perfumed, nor came out of the Ladies closets picked and pinct to go to battell: but he let all dauncing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet *Euripides* saith:

The souldier of Mars, cruell, and bloudie.

But to conclude, he neuer had ouerthrow or misfortune through negligence, nor by delaying time to follow his owne pleasure; as we see in painted tables, where *Omphale* secretly stealeth away *Hercules* clubbe, and tooke his Lyons skinne from him: euen so *Cleopatra* oftentimes vnarmed *Antonius*, and entised him to her, making him lose matters of great importance, and very needfull iourneis, to come and be dandled with her, about the riuers of Canobus, and Taphosiris. In the end, as *Paris* fled from the battell, and went to hide himselfe in *Helens* armes: euen so did he in *Cleopatraes* armes; or to speake more properly, *Paris* hid himselfe in *Helens* closet, but *Antonius* (to follow *Cleopatra*) fled and lost the victorie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many wiues that he had maried, and all at one time: the which was not disallowable or not forbidden by the kings of MACEDON, but had bene vsed from *Philip* and *Alexanders* time, as also king *Lysimachus* and *Ptolomie* had, and did honour all them that he maried. But *Antonius* first of all maried two wiues together, the which neuer ROMAINE durst do before, but himselfe. Secondly, he put away his first ROMAINE wife, which he had lawfully maried, for the loue of a strange woman, he fondly fell in fancie withall, and contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of ROME. And therefore *Demetrius* mariages neuer hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his wiues: but *Antonius* contrarily, was vndone by his wiues. Of all the lasciuious parts *Antonius* played, none were so abhominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the Historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogges to come into the castle of ATHENS, becausse of all beasts he is too busie with bitcherie: and *Demetrius*, in *Mineruaes* temple it selfe lay with Curtisans, and there defiled many citizens wiues. And besides all this, the horrible vice of crueltie, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delights, is ioyned with *Demetrius* concupiscence: who suffered (or more properly, compelled) the goodliest young boy of ATHENS, to die a most pitifull death, to saue himselfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinencie, did no hurt but to himselfe, and *Demetrius* did hurt vnto all others. *Demetrius* neuer hurt any of his friends: and *Antonius* suffered his Vncle by his mothers side to be slaine, that he might haue his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardly deserued to haue bene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to haue saued his Vncles life. Now where they falsified and brake their othes, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, and the other killing of *Alexander*: *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, and iustest colour: for *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken him in MEDIA. But *Demetrius* (as diuers do report) deuised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloke the murther he had committed: and some thinke, he did accuse him, to whom he himselfe had done iniurie vnto: and was not reuenged of him, that would do him iniurie. Furthermore, *Demetrius* himselfe did noble feates of warre, as we haue recited of him before: and contrarily, *Antonius*, when he was not there in person, wanne many famous and great victories by his Lieutenants: and were both ouerthrowne being personally in battell, but yet not both after one sort. For the one was forsaken of his men being MACEDONIANS, and the other contrarily forsooke his that were ROMAINES: for he fled, and left them

The liberalitie and bountie of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius and Antonius riots.

Canobus, and Taphosiris fl.

Demetrius and Antonius wiues.

Antonius the first Romaine that euer maried two wiues together.

Demetrius lasciuious esse. Dogs not suffered in Athens castle, becausse of bitcherie.

The lone and impietie, the faith & falsehood of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius and Antonius acts in warres.

that ventured their liues for his honour. So that the fault the one did, was, that he made them his enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he ſo beaſtly left them that loued him beſt, and were moſt faithfull to him. And for their deaths, a man cannot praiſe the one or the other, but yet *Demetrius* death was the more reprochfull: for he ſuffered himſelf to be taken priſoner, and when he was ſent away to be kept in a ſtraunge place, he had the heart to liue yet three yeares longer, to ſerue his mouth and bellie, as brute beaſts do. *Antonius* on the other ſide ſlue himſelfe (to confeſſe a troth) cowardly, and miſerably, to his great paine and griefe: and yet was it before his bodie came into his enemies hands.

The end of Antonius life.

THE LIFE OF *Artaxerxes.*

The parentage of Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Artaxerxes, the firſt of this name of all the kings of PERSIA, a noble and curteous Prince as any of all his houſe: was ſurnamed Long-hand, becauſe his right hand was longer then his left, and he was the ſon of king *Xerxes*. But the ſecond, whoſe life we preſently intend to write, was ſurnamed *Mnemõ*, as much to ſay, Great memory: & he was the ſon of the daughter of the firſt *Artaxerxes*. For king *Darius*, & his wife *Paryſatis*, had foure ſons, of the which, the eldeſt was this *Artaxerxes*, the ſecond *Cyrus*, and two other yonger, *Oſtanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the name of the former ancient *Cyrus*, which in the PERSIAN tong ſignifieth the Sun. But *Artaxerxes* was called before *Arſicas*, although *Dinon* writeth, that he was called *Oarſes*. Howbeit it is vnlikely, that *Cteſias* (although his bookes otherwiſe be full of fables, and as vntrue as they are found) ſhould forget the name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he ſerued, and continually followed, both him, his wife and children. *Cyrus* from his cradle was of a hote ſtirring mind, and *Artaxerxes* in contrary maner, more mild and gentle in all his actions and doings. He was maried to a very faire Ladie, by his father & mothers commandement: and afterwards kept her againſt their wils, being forbidden by them. For king *Darius* his father, hauing put his ſonnes wiues brother to death, he would alſo haue put her to death: but her husband with teares made ſuch humble ſute to his mother for her, that with much ado, he did not onely get pardon for her life, but graunt alſo that ſhe ſhould not be put from

The diuerſitie of natures betwixt Cyrus and Artaxerxes.

from him. This notwithstanding, his mother alwaies loued *Cyrus* better then him, and prayed that he might be king after his fathers death. Wherefore *Cyrus* being in his prouinces of Asia by the sea side, when he was sent for to come to the Court, at what time his father lay sicke of the disease he died: he went thither in good hope his mother had preuailed with his father, that in his will he would make him his heire of the realme of Persia. For his mother *Paryſatis* alleadged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did helpe king *Xerxes* in the like case, through *Demaratus* counsell. She said that *Arſicas* was borne before her husband *Darius* was king, and *Cyrus* after he was crowned king. All this could not preuaile: for her eldest son *Arſicas*, surnamed *Artaxerxes*, was assigned king of Persia, and *Cyrus* Gouernor of Lydia, and the kings Lieutenant generall of all the low-countries of Asia toward the sea side. Shortly after king *Darius* death the new king *Artaxerxes* went vnto *Paſargades*, there to be consecrated & annointed king by the Priests of the country of Persia. The place of this *Paſargades*, is a temple dedicated vnto *Minerua* the goddesse of battels, as I take it: where the new king must be consecrated, and when he cometh into the temple, he putteth off his gowne, and putteth on that which the old auncient *Cyrus* wore before he was king. Furthermore, he must eate of a certaine tart or fricacie made of figs with turpentine: and then he must drinke a drinke made with vineger and milke. There are also certaine other secret ceremonies which they must keepe, and none do know, but the very Priests themselues. Now *Artaxerxes* being readie to enter into all these ceremonies, *Tiſaphernes* came vnto him, and brought him one of the Priests that had bene *Cyrus* schoolemaister in his youth, and had taught him Magicke, who by reason should haue bene more offended then any man else, for that he was not appointed king. And this was the cause why they beleeued him the better, when he accused *Cyrus*; for he said: That *Cyrus* had conspired treason against the king his brothers owne person, and that he meant traiterously to kill him in the temple, when he should put off his gown. Some do report, that *Cyrus* was apprehended vpon this simple accusation by word of mouth. Others write also, that *Cyrus* came into the temple, and hiding himselfe, he was taken with the maner, and bewrayed by the Priest. So, as he was going to suffer death, his mother tooke *Cyrus* in her armes, and wound the haire of her head about his necke, and tyed him straightly to her: and withall she wept so bitterly, and made such pitifull mone vnto the king her sonne, that through her intercession, the king graunted him his life, and sent him againe into his countrey and gouernment. But this satisfied not *Cyrus*, neither did he so much remember the king his brothers fauour vnto him, in graunting him his life, as he did the despite he had offered him, to be made prisoner. Insomuch that for this grudge and euill will, he euer after had a greater desire then before to be king. Some writers alleadge, that he entred into actuall rebellion against his brother by force of armes, because he had not sufficient reuenue to defray the ordinarie expence of his house: howbeit it is a meere folly to say so. For, though he had had no other helpe but his mother, he might haue had of her what he would haue taken and desired. Againe, to shew that of himselfe he had abilitie enough: we need but alleadge the souldiers and straungers he gaue pay vnto, in diuers places, (as *Xenophon* writeth.) For he brought them not all together into one armie, because he desired to keepe his enterprise as secret as he could: but he had friends and seruants that leauied them in diuerse places, and vnder diuerse colours. And furthermore, he had his mother alway about the king, that cleared all suspitions conceiued against him. He himselfe also on the other side, whilest he made these preparations, wrote very humbly vnto his brother, somtime asking somwhat of him, and another time accusing *Tiſaphernes*: all to blind the king, to make him thinke that he bent all his malice and spite against him: besides that, the king of his own nature was somwhat dull, & slow, which the common people thought to proceed of his curtesie and good nature. At his first comming to the crowne, he followed the first *Artaxerxes* goodnesse and curtesie, by whom he had his name. For he gaue more easie audience vnto suters: he did also more honorably reward & recompence those that had deserued well: and he vsed such moderation in punishing of offenders, that it appeared he did it not of any malicious mind and desire of reuenge, nor yet of will to hurt any man. When he had any thing giuen him, he tooke it as thankfully, as they offered it him, and did as willingly and frankely also giue againe. For, how litle a thing soeuer was offered him, he tooke it well. And it is reported, that one *Romiſes* on a time presenting him a maruellous faire pomgranate: By the Sun (said he) this man in a short time, of a litle towne would make a great city, he that would make him gouernor of it. Another time there was a poore labourer seeing euery man giue the king a present, some one thing, some another, as he

Arſicas, surnamed Artaxerxes, assigned to be king of Persia.

The manner of the consecrating of the kings of Persia, at Paſargada.

Cyrus accused vnto his brother Artaxerxes.

Cyrus lay in waite to kill Artaxerxes.

Note the flatterie and dissimulation of a woman.

Artaxerxes courteous, and easie to haue accesse vnto.

passed by them: he hauing nothing at hand to giue him, ranne to the riuers side, and tooke both his hands full of water, and came and offered it him. King *Artaxerxes* was so glad of it, that he sent him in a cup of massie gold, a thousand Dareckes, which were peeces of gold so named, because the image of *Darius* was stamped vpon them. And vnto one *Euclidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN, that presumed to giue him bold wordes, it pleased him to answer by one of his Captaines: Thou maist say what thou list; and I as king, may say and do what I list. An other time as he was a hunting, *Tiribazus* shewed the king his gown that was all too tattered: Well, said the king, and what wouldest thou haue me to do? *Tiribazus* answered him, I pray your Grace take another, & giue me that you haue on. The king did so, and told him: *Tiribazus*, I giue thee my gowne, but I cõmaund thee not to weare it. *Tiribazus* tooke it, and cared not for the kings commaundement that he should not weare it, not that he was any ebill disposed man, but because he was a fond light headed fellow that cared for nothing: thereupon he straight put the kings gowne on his backe, and not contented therwith, he did besides set on many iewels of gold which kings onely are wont to weare, & womens trinkets & ornaments. Therwithall euery man in the Court murmured at him, because it was a presumption, directly against the lawes & ordinances of PERSIA. Howbeit the king but laughed at it, & told him: I giue thee leaue *Tiribazus* to weare those womens gawds as a woman, & the kings robe as a foole. Furthermore, where the maner was in PERSIA, that no person sate at the kings boord, but his mother and wife, of the which, his mother sate vppermost, and his wife lowermost: *Artaxerxes* made his two brethren *Ostanes* and *Oxathres* sit at his owne bord: but yet he pleased the PERSIANS best of all, because he was content his wife *Statyra* should sit openly in her chariot, and that she might be seene and reuerenced by the other Ladies of the country. And this made him singularly beloued of the people. Now, such as desired innouation and change, and that could not away with quiet life: they gaue out that the Realme of PERSIA required such a Prince as *Cyrus*, that was liberall of nature, giuen to armes, and greatly rewarded his seruants; and that the greatnesse of the Empire of PERSIA stood in need of a King, whose mind was bent to high attempts and noble enterprises. So *Cyrus* thereupon began to make warre vpon his brother, not onely trusting vnto them that were of the low countries about him, but hoping of those also in the high prouinces neare vnto the king. Furthermore, he wrote also vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, to pray them to send him men of warre, promising to giue the footmen they sent, horses; and the horsemen, coaches; landed men, whole villages; and to those that had villages, to giue them cities: besides all this, that for the ordinarie wages of them that should serue him in this warre, he would not pay them by account, but by full measure. And boasting largely of himselfe, he said he had a greater mind then his brother, that he could better away with hardnesse then he, that he vnderstood Magicke better then he, and that he could drinke more wine then he, and carie it better: and that the king his brother in contrary manner was so womanish and fearefull, that when he went a hunting, he durst scarce get vp vpon his horse backe: and when he went to the warres, he would hardly take his chariot. When the LACEDÆMONIANS had read his letters, they sent a litle scrole vnto *Clearchus*, commaunding him to obey *Cyrus* in any thing he would command him. So *Cyrus* did set forward to make war against his brother, hauing leauied a great number of fighting men of barbarous nations, and of GRECIANS, litle lesse then thirteene thousand men: somtime aduertising one cause, somtime another, why he leauied such a multitude of men. But his purpose could not be long dissembled: for *Tisaphernes* went himself vnto the Court, to bring newes of his attempt. Then all the Court was straight in an vprore withall. Many men also did accuse the Queene mother, for the practise of this warre, and all her friends and seruants were vehemently suspected to be conspiratours with *Cyrus*: but the greatest thing that troubled *Parysatis* most, was Queene *Statyra* her daughter in lawe, who stormed maruellously to see this warre begun against king *Artaxerxes* her husband, and incessantly cryed out on her: O, where is the faith thou vowedst by oath? whereto are thy intercessions come thou madest, for the pardon of his life: who now conspireth his brothers death? By sauing of his life, art not thou now the cause of this warre and troubles we see at hand? After this reproch and shame receiued by *Statyra*, *Parysatis* being a cruell and malicious woman of nature, so hated her, that from thencefoorth she sought all the waies she could to put her to death. And *Dinon* the Historiographer saith: That during this war, she did execute her wicked purpose vpon her: but *Ctesias* writeth, that it was after the warre. And therfore it is liker, that he being daily in the king of PERSIAES court, shold certainly know the time when she did execute her

Artaxerxes liberalitie to a poore man that gaue him a litle water.

Tiribazus lightnesse, and Artaxerxes liberalitie.

Statyra, king Artaxerxes wife.

Cyrus maketh warre against his brother Artaxerxes.

Cyrus wonderfull promises.

her treason against her, and also there is no cause why he should rather write it in any other time, then in that in the which the fact was done: although in many other places he cõmonly vseth to fitten, & to write deuises of his owne head. Therfore let vs leaue the report of this fact to the selfe same time and place as he hath written it. Now when *Cyrus* drew neare vnto his brothers country, he had newes, and a rumor ran through his campe, that the king was not determined to come and fight with him so soone: and that he meant first to go further into PERSIA, and to tary there till he had gathered his army together out of all parts. And for proofe hereof, the king hauing cast a great trench of ten yards broad, & as many high, the space of foure hundred furlongs in length: he left it without guard, and let *Cyrus* win it, who came on further without any resistance, euen to the very citie selfe of BABYLON. Howbeit in the end, *Tiribazus* (as it is reported) was the first man that durst tell the king, that he should not flie fight in that sort, nor hide himselfe in the farthest part of PERSIA, leauing his enemie the Realmes of MEDIA, BABYLON, and SVSA: considering also that he had many moe souldiers in readinesse then his enemie, and an infinite number of Captaines more skilfull, and able to giue counsell, and to fight, then he was. These words of *Tiribazus* made the king alter his mind, and to determine to giue battell as soone as he could. Thereupon he marched forward against his enemy, with nine hundred thousand fighting men, excellently well armed, and marching in very good order. That maruellously astonied *Cyrus* men, and made them afraid at the first when they saw them in so excellent good order before them: for that they were dispersed straggling here and there without any order, and men vnarmed, trusting too much in themselues in despising of their enemie: so that *Cyrus* had much ado to set his men in battell ray, and yet was it with great noise and tumult. But the GRECIANS wondred most of all other, when they saw the kings armie march in so good order of battell without any noise: for they thought to haue seene a wonderfull great disorder and confusion, in such an infinite multitude of people; and supposed they would haue made such a noise, that one of them should not haue heard another. Where indeed to the contrary, all was so well martialled, specially because he had placed before his battel the best carts he had, armed with sythes, and drawne with the strongest and biggest great horse he had in all his armie: hoping by the fiercenesse and furie of their careire, to breake into the rankes of the enemies, before they could come to ioyne with theirs. But sith this battell is described by diuerse Historiographers, but specially by *Xenophon*, who hath (as a man would say) liuely set it out to the eye, and setteth it forth to the Reader, not as a battell alreadie fought, but presently a fighting, stirring vp their minds, as if themselues were in the action and instant danger (he hath so passingly set it downe) it were but a folly therefore of me to take vpon me to make any further description of it, sauing to touch some speciall points worthie of note, which he peraduenture hath left out. As, the place where the battell was fought, is called COVNAXA, fiue hundred furlongs from BABYLON: and how that before the battell, *Clearchus* gaue *Cyrus* counsell to keepe behind the squadron of the GRECIANS, and not to hazad his person among the first: and that *Cyrus* answered him, What sayest thou *Clearchus*? wouldest thou haue me that striues to be king, to shew my selfe vnworthie to be a king? But *Cyrus* hauing made this fault, not standing vpon his safety and guard, but ouer-rashly thrusting himselfe into great danger: *Clearchus* selfe also committed as great a fault (if it were not worse) when he would not set his men in order directly against the battell of the enemies, where the kings person stood, but went and pent them vp by the riuers side, being afraid least they should haue bene compassed in behind. For if he would haue looked so straightly to himselfe, and haue prouided euerie way for his safety, that no man might come to hurt him: he should haue kept himselfe at home, and not haue stirred one foote out of the doores. But sith he had come so farre, as from the low countries of ASIA, vnto the place where the field was fought, and vncompelled, onely to put *Cyrus* in his fathers seate and Imperiall crowne, to go chuse a place in the battell, not where he might do his Lord best seruice that had hired him, but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at lesse daunger: it was euen as much, as if through cowardlinesse his wits had bene taken from him when he should haue fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his enterprise. For, to proue that the troupes which were about the kings person, had neuer bene able to haue receiued the charge of the GRECIANS, and that those being ouerthrowne, the king had bene slaine in the field, or else forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the field, and by this victorie had bene king: the successe of this battell doth plainely shew it. And therefore *Clearchus* ouer-curious respect, deserued more blame for the losse of

Artaxerxes armie, of nine hundred thousand fighting men, against his brother Cyrus.

Xenophon the Historiographer excellently describeth this battell betwixt Artaxerxes and his brother Cyrus.

Safetie in a Generall, requisite in battell.

Clearchus cowardlinesse reproued.

this battell: then *Cyrus* ouerhardineſſe. For if king *Artaxerxes* would haue choſen or wiſhed a place where the GRECIANS might haue done him leſſe hurt: he could not haue deuiſed a fitter place that was ſo far from him, and from whence the GRECIANS could neither ſee nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in ſequele. For *Cyrus* was ſlain before he could preuaile by *Clearchus* victory, he was ſo far from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* therein knew before what was meeteſt to be done. For he commaunded *Clearchus* to place himſelfe with his company in the middeſt of the battell: who aunſwered him, he ſhould take no thought for any thing, for he would ſee all things well ordered. And when he had ſayd ſo, he marred all afterwards: For where the GRECIANS were, they ouerthrew the barbarous people that made head againſt them, and had them in chaſe while they were weary of following them. *Cyrus* being mounted vpon a hote ſtirring horſe, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called *Paſacas*, as *Cteſias* writeth: *Artagerſes*, the gouernor of the prouince of the CADVSIANS, ſpied him a farre off, and when he had found him, clapped ſpurres to his horſe, and came with full cariere vnto him, and cried out: O traytor, and moſt vnfaithfull and deſperate man, thou now diſhonoreſt the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodlieſt and moſt honorable name of all the PERSIANS) for that thou haſt brought ſo valiant GRECIANS hither to ſo wicked an enterpriſe, to ſpoile the PERSIANS goods, in hope to deſtroy thy ſoueraigne Lord & onely brother, who hath an infinite number of ſlaues and ſeruants farre honeſter men then thou wilt be while thou liueſt, and that thou ſhalt preſently know by proofe, for thou ſhalt die before thou ſee the king thy brothers face: and therwithall he threw his dart at him with all the force he had. But *Cyrus* armor was ſo good, that it pierced him not: yet the blow came with ſuch good will, that it made him ſtagger on his horſe backe. When *Artagerſes* had giuen him that blow, he preſently turned his horſe. But *Cyrus* therewithall threw a dart at him ſo happily, that he ſlue him right in the place aboue the bone that ioyneth the two ſhoulders together: ſo that the head of his dart, ran quite through his necke. Now, that *Cyrus* ſlue *Artagerſes* with his owne hands in the field, all the Hiſtoriographers do agree vpon it: but for the death of *Cyrus*, becauſe *Xenophon* toucheth it but a litle by the way, for that he was not preſent in the very place where he was ſlaine: it ſhall not be hurtfull particularly to ſet downe the maner thereof, both according to the report of *Dinon*, and alſo of *Cteſias*. Firſt, *Dinon* writeth, that after *Cyrus* had ſlaine *Artagerſes*, he went with great furie, and flew in amongſt the troupe of them which were neareſt vnto the kings perſon, and that he came ſo neare the king, that he ſlue his horſe ſtarke dead vnder him, & the king fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, ſtraight mounted the king againe vpon another horſe, and ſayd vnto him: Your Grace will remember this battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping ſpurres againe to his horſe, threw another dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the king told them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather dye then ſuffer it: ſo therewithall he ſpurring his horſe to charge *Cyrus* (who came fiercely and deſperately, hauing an infinite number of blows with darts throwne at him on euery ſide) threw his dart at him alſo. So did all thoſe that were about his perſon: and ſo was *Cyrus* ſlaine in this conflict. Some ſay, that he was ſlaine with the wound the king his brother gaue him. Others ſay, that it was a man at armes of the countrey of CARIA, vnto whom the king for reward of his good ſeruice, gaue him the honor in all battels to cary before the firſt ranke, a cocke of gold on the top of a ſpeare: for the PERSIANS do call the CARIANS cockes, becauſe in the warres they vſe to weare creaſts in the top of their head-peeces. And this is *Dinons* report. But *Cteſias*, to couch in few words that which *Dinon* reporteth at large, ſaith: that *Cyrus* after he had ſlaine *Artagerſes*, he gallopped on the ſpurre againſt the king himſelfe, and the king againſt him, and not a word betweene them both. *Arieus* one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threw the firſt dart at the king, but killed him not: and the king with all his force againe threw his dart, thinking to haue hit *Cyrus*, but he miſſed him, and ſlue *Tiſaphernes*, one of the valianteſt and ſtouteſt men *Cyrus* had about him, and ſo fell downe dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* ſo ſore a blow on his breaſt, that he pierced his armor, and entred into his fleſh two fingers deepe. The king with this blow fell downe to the ground: therewithall the moſt part of his men about him were ſo afraid, that they forſooke him and fled. Howbeit he got vp againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongſt whom *Cteſias* ſayd he was one: and ſo recouered a litle hill not farre off, to take a little breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* horſe that was hot in the mouth, and hard headed as we haue told you: caried his maiſter ſpite of his heart farre from the men, among his enemies, and no man

Paſacas: Cyrus horſe.

Artagerſes the gouernor of the prouince of Caduſii, giueth charge vpon Cyrus.

Cyrus ſlue Artagerſes.

Dinons report of Cyrus death.

The Carians be called cocks, becauſe they weare creſts on their head-peeces.

Cteſias report of Cyrus death.

Artaxerxes hurt by Cyrus.

man knew him, becauſe it was night, and his men were verie buſie in ſeeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had won the victory being of a hot ſtirring nature, and valiant: he went vp and downe in the thickeſt of his enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN tongue, Saue your ſelues poore men, ſaue your ſelues. When they heard him ſay ſo, ſome made a lane for him to paſſe by them, and did him reuerence: but by euill fortune his Tiara (which is the high royall hat after the PERSIAN maner) fell off from his head. Then a yong PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, paſſing by him, hit him a blow with his dart vpon one of his temples, hard by his eye, not knowing what he was. His wound ſtraight fell on a maruellous bleeding. Whereupon, *Cyrus* ſtaggering at it, fell to the ground in a ſownd, and his horſe ranne away from him: but the capariſon he had vpon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his page that had hurt him, tooke it vp. Shortly after *Cyrus* being come to himſelfe againe, ſome of his Eunuches (which were men gelt, and groomes of his chamber) that were about him, did lift him vp, thinking to ſet him vpon another horſe, and to get him out of the preaſe: but he was not able to ſit on his horſe. Thereupon he proued if he could better go on foote, and the Eunuches held him vp by the armes, and led him amazed as he was, not able to ſtand on his feete, although he thought he had won the battell: becauſe he heard his enemies flying about him cry, The gods ſaue king *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receiue them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certaine poore men of the city of CAVNVS, who followed the kings campe, getting their liuing as drudges and ſlaues, to do moſt vile ſeruice. They ioyned with the troupe where *Cyrus* was, ſuppoſing they had bin the kings men: but when they perceiued in the end by the red coates they wore vpon their armors, that they were enemies, for that the kings men wore white coats: there was one among the reſt that valiantly ſtrake at *Cyrus* behind with his partizan, not knowing indeed that it was *Cyrus*. The blow lighted full on the hamme of his legge and cut his ſinewes ſo, that *Cyrus* fell withall; and falling, by misfortune fell vpon a great ſtone with his brow, where he had bene hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Cteſias* report it: where me thinketh he cutteth his throat with a dull edged knife, he hath ſuch ado to bring *Cyrus* to his end. Now after *Cyrus* was dead, *Artaſyras*, one of king *Artaxerxes* Eunuches (whom they called the kings Eye in the Court) paſſing by on horſebacke, knew *Cyrus* Eunuches that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their maiſter. So he asked the Eunuch whom *Cyrus* loued beſt: Who is that that is dead, ô *Pariſcas*, that thou weepeſt ſo bitterly? *Pariſcas* anſwered him againe, Seeſt thou not *Artaſyras*, this it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artaſyras* wondred much when he ſaw him. So he comforted the Eunuch, and willed him in no caſe to go from the bodie: and in the meane time he galloped a pace to the king, who thought he had loſt all, and was verie ill beſides, both for the great thirſt he ſuffered, as alſo for the wound he had on his breaſt. Now when the Eunuch came vnto the king, and told him with a ſmiling countenance the newes, how he had ſeene *Cyrus* dead: the king was ſo ioyfull at the newes, that he was deſirous himſelfe foorthwith to go vnto the place where he lay to ſee him, and commanded *Artaſyras* to bring him thither. But after he had conſidered better of it, he was counſelled not to go thither himſelfe for feare of the GRECIANS, who they ſayd wonne all, and were yet chaſing and killing them in the field, that fled: but rather that he ſhould ſend a good company of men thither, to bring him iuſt report, whether the newes were true of his death, or not. Vpon this aduice he ſtayed, and ſent thither thirty men, euerie man with torches in their hands. In the meane time, one of the Eunuches called *Satibarzanes*, ranne vp and downe to ſee if he could get anie water for the king, that was almoſt dead for thirſt: for there was no water neare vnto him where he was, and beſides, his campe was far from him. His Eunuch hauing runne vp and downe a great way to ſeeke it, met by chaunce with theſe poore ſlaues and porters the CAVNIANS, among the which one of them caried in an old ragged goates skinne, about eight glaſſe-fuls of naughtie ſtinking water. So he preſently caried the ſame to the king, who dranke it vp euerie whit. When the king had drunke it, the Eunuch asked him, if that naughtie water did him no hurt. The king ſware by the gods vnto him, that he neuer dranke better wine, nor ſweeter water then that was, nor that pleaſed him better then that did: and therefore, ſayd he, I beſeech the gods, if it be not my hap to find him that gaue thee this water to reward him, yet that it will pleaſe them to ſend him good fortune. As the king was talking thus with his Eunuch, the thirtie men with their torches returned vnto him, who altogether with ioyfull countenance, confirmed the good newes he looked not for: and then there were come together againe a greater number of ſouldiers about him, and ſtill came moe

Cyrus hurt.

Cyrus miſerable deſtinie.

King Artaxerxes being a thirſt, dranke ſtinking puddle water, and ſayd he neuer taſted ſweeter.

one after another, that he began againe to be couragious. Then he came downe into the plaine, with a world of lights and torches about him, and went ſtraight to the place where his brother *Cyrus* bodie lay. There, following the ancient manner of the PERSIANS againſt traytors to the king: he cauſed his head and right hand to be ſtriken off, and then made his head be brought vnto him, the which he tooke by the haires of his head (for *Cyrus* wore them long and thicke) and did himſelfe ſhew it vnto them that fled ſtill and were afraid, to encourage them againe. They wondering to ſee it, did him humble reuerence, and ſo gathered by companies about the king, that in a ſmall time there were gathered together about him, threeſcore and ten thouſand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the campe. Indeed *Cteſias* ſaith, that he had but foure hundred thouſand fighting men in all: but *Dinon* and *Xenophon* ſay more. And for the number of them that were ſlaine, *Cteſias* ſaith: that word was brought to the king, that there were not aboue nine thouſand ſlaine, howbeit that to ſight they ſeemed to be no leſſe then twenty thouſand: but for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. And furthermore, where he ſaith that the king did ſend him with *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN vnto the GRECIANS, and others with him: that is a flat lie. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Cteſias* waited vpon the king, becauſe he ſpeaketh of him in diuerſe places of his hiſtory: and if he had bene appointed by the king to carie report vnto the GRECIANS of ſo waighty a matter, it is like inough *Xenophon* would not haue concealed it, when he nameth *Phayllus* ZACYNTHIAN. But *Cteſias* (as it appeareth by his writings) was a very ambitious man, & partiall vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS, but ſpecially vnto *Clearchus*: and is glad when he can get any occaſion to ſpeake of himſelfe for his glorie, of LACEDÆMON, and of *Clearchus*. Now after this battell, king *Artaxerxes* ſent goodly rich gifts vnto *Artagerſes* ſon, whoſe father *Cyrus* had ſlaine with his own hands and (as it is reported) did alſo greatly honor *Cteſias* and many others: and did not forget alſo to cauſe the poore CAVNIAN ſlaue to be ſought out, that had giuen him the water to be caried to him which ſaued his life: and when he had found him out, of a poore wretch vnknowne before, he made him a rich noble man. He ſeuerely puniſhed thoſe alſo that had offended the martial law, as amongſt others, *Arbazes*, one of the MEDES: who (when the battell was ioyned) fled firſt on *Cyrus* ſide, and then, when he vnderſtood he was ſlaine, he returned againe to the kings ſide. For, ſuppoſing that it was rather timorouſneſſe and cowardly nature, then for treaſon or ill will he bare him: he compelled him to carie a whore on his backe ſtarke naked, all day long about the market place. And to another (who beſides he had yeelded himſelfe to his enemies, falſly boaſting that he had ſlaine two) he made his toung to be boared through in three ſeuerall places with a cordiners aule. Now the king being of opinion that it was himſelfe that had ſlaine his brother *Cyrus* with his owne hand, and being deſirous that euery man ſhould ſo thinke and ſay: he ſent preſents vnto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him firſt in the forehead, and commanded him that caried the gifts vnto him, to tell him from the king: The king doth ſend thee theſe preſents, becauſe thou finding firſt the capariſon of *Cyrus* horſe, diddeſt bring it vnto the king. The CARIAN alſo, that had cut the ham of his legge wherewith *Cyrus* fell downe, asked his gift likewiſe: which the king gaue him, and bad the meſſenger tell him, The king doth giue thee this, becauſe thou waſt the ſecond perſon that brought him the good newes: for *Artaſyras* was the firſt, and thou the ſecond, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleaſed in his mind with theſe words, he went his way, and ſayd nothing then, nor made any thing ado: but the vnfortunate CARIAN fondly fell into a fooliſh vaine, cõmon vnto men. For, the ſudden ioy he felt (as it ſeemeth) to ſee ſuch a goodly rich preſent before him, as the king ſent him, made him ſo forget himſelfe, that he began to aſpire, and to pretend greater things then became his ſtate and calling. And therefore he would not take the kings gift, as in reſpect that he had brought him word of *Cyrus* death: but began to ſtorme, and to rage, calling the gods to witneſſe, that it was he onely, and none other, that ſlue *Cyrus*, and that they did him great wrong, to take this honour from him. The king being told of it, tooke it ſo angrily: that he preſently commanded them to ſtrike of his head. But *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) being preſent when the king gaue this commaundement, ſhe prayed him not to put him to death in that ſort: for the villaine (ſayd ſhe) let me alone, I will chaſtiſe him well inough for his preſumption and raſh ſpeech. The king was contented ſhe ſhould haue him. Thereupon ſhe ſent the Sergeant to take this curſed CARIAN, and made him be hanged vpon a gibbet ten dayes together; and at the ten dayes end cauſed his eyes to be pulled out of his head: and laſt of all, poured molten mettall into his eares, and ſo killed

The manner of the Perſians in warre, againſt a traytor to the king.

Plutarch reproueth Cteſias for a lyer.

How Artaxerxes rewarded the good, and alſo puniſhed the euill.

The puniſhment of him that ſlue Cyrus.

Paryſatis ſtrange cruelty putting the Carian to death.

killed the villaine with this kind of torment. *Mithridates* alſo ſhortly after, died miſerably by a like folly. He was bidden to ſupper at a feaſt, whither came alſo the king and Queene mothers Eunuches: and when they came, *Mithridates* ſate downe at the boord in the kings golden gowne he gaue him. When they had ſupped, and that they began to drinke one to another, one of *Paryſatis* Eunuches ſayd vnto *Mithridates*: The king hath indeed giuen thee a goodly gowne *Mithridates*, and goodly chaines and carcanets of gold, and ſo is the ſword very rich and good he gaue thee, ſo that when thou haſt that by thy ſide, there is no man (I warrant thee) but wil thinke thee a happy man. *Mithridates* then, the wine fuming into his braine, anſwered ſtraight: What meaneſt thou by that, *Sparamixes*? I deſerued a better then this, when the battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* laughing on him, anſwered, I do not ſpeake it for any hurt or euill will I beare thee, *Mithridates*: but to ſpeake frankly among our ſelues, becauſe the GRECIANS haue a common prouerbe, that Wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valiant act was it to take vp a capariſon of a horſe that fell on the ground, and to carie it to the king? which the Eunuch ſpitefully put foorth vnto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to prouoke him to ſpeake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a haſty man of nature, and could not keepe his tongue, and leaſt of all when he had drunke ſo well as he had done, and ſo it fell out indeed. For *Mithridates* could not bite it in, but replied ſtraight: You may talke as long as you liſt of the capariſon of a horſe, & ſuch traſh, but I tell you plainly, that *Cyrus* was ſlaine with mine owne hands, & with no mans elſe. For I hit him not in vaine as *Artagerſes* did, but full in the forehead hard by his eye, and ſtrake him through and through his head againe, and ſo ouerthrew him, of which blow he died. He had no ſooner ſpoken thoſe words, but the reſt that were at the boord, caſt down their eies, foreſeeing the death of this poore and vnfortunate *Mithridates*. But then the maiſter of the feaſt began to ſpeake, and ſayd vnto him: Friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let vs drinke and be merrie, and reuerence and thanke the good fortune of our king; and for the reſt, let this talke go, it is too high for vs. When the Eunuch went from thence, he told *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) what *Mithridates* had ſayd before them all: and ſhe went and told the king of it. Who was maruellouſly offended withall to be ſo belied, and to loſe the thing that was moſt honourable; and beſt pleaſed him in his victorie. For it was his mind, that all the world (both GRECIANS and barbarous people) ſhould certainely beleeue, that in the battell betwixt him and his brother he was hurt, but yet that he ſlue *Cyrus* with his owne hand. So the king commaunded that *Mithridates* ſhould ſuffer the paines of death in boates, the which is after this manner. They take two boates made of purpoſe ſo euen, that the one is neither broader nor longer then the other; and then lay the offender in one of them vpon his backe, and ſo couer him with the other, and do ſow both boates together: ſo that the parties feete, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpoſe for him, the reſt of his body is all hidden within. Now they giue him meate as much as he will eate, and if he will not eate, they force him to it, by thruſting aules in his eyes: then when he hath eaten, they giue him honey to drinke mingled with milke, and they do not onely poure it into his mouth, but alſo all his face ouer, turning him full into the Sunne, ſo that his face is all couered ouer with flies: and furthermore, being driuen to do his needs in that trough, of his excremẽts there ingender worms that eate his bodie to the very priuities. Then, when they ſee the man is dead, they take off the vppermoſt boate, and find all his fleſh deuoured with vermine ingendred of him, euen to his very intrals. So, when *Mithridates* had miſerably languiſhed in this maner, ſeuenteene dayes together: at length he died in extreame torments. Now *Paryſatis* (the Queene mother) lacked no more to accompliſh her wicked deſire, but *Meſabates*, one of the kings Eunuches that had cut off *Cyrus* head and hand: & ſeeing that he was very warie and circumſpect in his behauior, that ſhe could not take him at any aduantage: in the end ſhe deuiſed a fine way to intrap him. She had a maruellous wit, and among other things could play paſſingly well at all games at dice, and did manie times play with the king her ſon before the warres: and after the warres alſo, when he had made peace, ſhe did play at dice with him as ſhe had done before, in ſo much as ſhe knew all his ſecret loue, and furthered him to enioy it. To be ſhort, ſhe would neuer be out of his ſight but as litle as ſhe could, and would let his wife *Statira* haue as litle time with him as might be, that ſhe might gouerne and rule him as ſhe would: both becauſe ſhe hated her of al creatures liuing, and alſo for that ſhe would beare the greateſt ſway and credite about him. When ſhe ſaw the king one day at leiſure, not knowing how to paſſe the time away: ſhe inticed him to play a thouſand Dareckes at dice, and was contented to loſe them willingly, and payed the thouſand Dareckes downe,

See the perill of haſtineſſe and raſh anſwer.

The terrible death of offenders, in boates or troughes, among the Perſians.

The miſerable death of Mithridates.

The diuelliſh craft of Paryſatis, and her great skill and cunning at dice.

ſeeming notwithſtanding to be angrie with her loſſe. So ſhe prayed him alſo to play one of his Eunuches with her: and the king was well contented with it. But before they would play, they agreed betweene them that they ſhould both name and except fiue of the truſtieſt and chiefeſt Eunuches they had: and then, which of them loſt, ſhould preſently deliuer vnto the winner his choiſe of all the other Eunuches he would demand. Thus they fell to play, and ſhe imploying all the cũning ſhe had, & playing as warily as ſhe could poſſible, beſides that the dice ran on her ſide, her lucke ſerued her ſo, that ſhe wan: and then ſhe required *Meſabates* for her winnings, being none of thoſe the king had excepted. When ſhe had him deliuered her, ſhe gaue him to the hangman, & willed him to flea him aliue, & then that they ſhould crucifie him, & naile him to a croſſe, and hang his skin vpon another peece of timber by him: the which was done accordingly. The king was maruellous angry withall when he knew it, and grieuouſly offended with his mother. Howbeit ſhe ſported it out, and laughing told him: Indeed it becomes thee well to be angry for looſing an old gelded villaine, where I loſt a thouſand Darecks quietly, & ſayd neuer a word. So there came no other thing of it, ſauing that the king was a litle angry, & repented him that he had played ſo fondly and was ſo finely mocked. But Queene *Statira* on the other ſide (beſides that ſhe was againſt her in all other things) ſpared not to tell Queene mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the kings good and faithfull ſeruants ſo cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* ſake. But now, after that *Tiſaphernes* (king *Artaxerxes* Lieutenant) had deceiued *Clearchus*, and other Captaines of GREECE, deteſtably falſifying his word he had giuen them, & that he had ſent them bound vnto the king: *Cteſias* ſaith, that *Clearchus* prayed him to helpe him to a combe, & that hauing had one by his means, & ſo combed his head, it pleaſed him ſo well, that to requite his good-will, he gaue him his ſeale of armes from his finger wherewith he ſealed his letters, for a witneſſe of the great friendſhip that was betweene them two. He ſaith alſo, that in the ſtone of this ring there was grauen the daunce of the CARYATIDES. And furthermore, that the other ſouldiers which were priſoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the moſt part of the victuals that were ſent to him, & left him litle or nothing: & that he did remedy all this, procuring a greater quantitie to be ſent vnto thẽ, & that they ſhold put *Clearchus* portion apart, & all the other ſoldiers parts by thẽſelues. This he did, as he ſaith, by *Paryſatis* conſent & cõmandement, who knowing that amongſt other victuals they daily ſent *Clearchus* a gammon of bacon: ſhe told him one day he ſhould do well to hide a litle knife in this gammon of bacon, and to ſend it him, to the end that the life of ſo noble and valiant a man as he was, ſhould not fall to the cruelty of the king. Howbeit, that he was afraid to meddle withall, and durſt not do it: & that the king ſware, & promiſed his mother (who was an earneſt ſuter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithſtanding, the king being afterwards procured, and perſwaded to the contrary, by Queene *Statira* his wife: he put thẽ all to death, but *Menon*. Therfore *Paryſatis* (Queene mother) after that time (ſaith *Cteſias*) deuiſed all the waies ſhe could to poyſon Queene *Statira*, & to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this ſmelleth like a lie, that *Paryſatis* ſhould intend ſo wicked and dangerous an act, as to put the kings lawfull wife to death, by whom he had ſonnes that were to inherite the Crowne, only for the loue and reſpect of *Clearchus*: and it is too plaine that he coined that, to honor and magnifie *Clearchus* memory the more. But to proue it, a man may eaſily find it by the lies he addeth afterwards vnto it: ſaying, that after the Captaines were ſlaine, all the bodies of the reſt were torne in peeces by dogs and fowles: and alſo that there came a boiſterous wind, and couered all *Clearchus* body with a great hill of duſt, and that out of this hill of duſt ſhortly after there ſprung vp many palme trees, which made a prety thicke groue, that it ſhadowed all that place. Inſomuch that the king himſelfe did afterwards maruellouſly repent him for putting him to death, for that he was an honeſt man, & beloued of the gods. This was not for *Clearchus* ſake, but for an old cankered malice *Paryſatis* had long time borne in her heart againſt Queene *Statira*: becauſe ſhe ſaw well inough, that the credite and authoritie her ſelfe had with the king, was in reſpect of a ſons duty and obedience to his mother; and in contrary maner, *Statiraes* credit and authoritie had a better ground and foundation, becauſe it came of the loue and goodwill the king did beare her. And this is the only cauſe that made her to practiſe the death of Queene *Statira*, hauing determined that her ſelfe, or daughter in law, muſt needs die. Now Queene mother had one of the women of her chamber called *Gigis*, that was of great credite about her, & whom ſhe only truſted. *Dinon* writeth, that this *Gigis* did helpe *Paryſatis* to make the poyſon: but *Cteſias* writeth contrarily, and ſaith, that ſhe onely knew it, but otherwiſe that it was againſt her will:

Paryſatis craft and crueltie.

Tiſaphernes betrayeth the Captaines of Greece.

Clearchus and other Captains of Grèce put to death by king Artaxerxes.

Cteſias vanity.

The cauſe of Paryſatis hate vnto her daughter in lavv, Statira.

Paryſatis practiſeth to poyſon Queene Statira.

and

and that he that made the poyſon, was one *Belitaras*, but *Dinon* calleth him *Melantas*. Now, though in outward ſemblance and ſhew Queene mother and *Statira* ſeemed to haue forgotten all malice between them, & that they began againe one of thē to keepe company with the other, & did eate & drinke together: yet one of them miſtruſted the other, and tooke great heed to thē-ſelues, both of them eating one ſelfe meate, and in one diſh together, and were both ſerued with one ſelfe officers and men. In PERSIA there is a litle bird, of the which all the parts of it is excellent good to eate, and is full of fat within: ſo that it is thought it liueth by aire and dew, and in the PERSIAN tongue they call it Ryntaces. *Paryſatis*, as *Cteſias* ſaith, tooke one of theſe birds, and cut it in the middeſt with a litle knife, the which was poyſoned onely on one of the ſides, and gaue that halfe which was poyſoned vnto *Statira*. Yet *Dinon* writeth, that it was not *Paryſatis* her ſelfe that gaue it her, but her caruer *Melantas* that carued her meate, and ſtill gaue Queene *Statira* of that meate which the ſide of his poyſoned knife had touched. So Queene *Statira* preſently fell ſicke of the diſeaſe whereof ſhe died, with grieuous pangs and gripings in her bowels, and found plainely that ſhe was poyſoned by *Paryſatis* meanes: whereupon ſhe told the king as much, who was of the ſame opinion, and thought it was his mother, becauſe he knew her cruell reuenging mind, that neuer pardoned any, againſt whom ſhe conceiued any grudge. The king therefore to know the troth, when his wife *Statira* was dead, apprehended all his mothers houſhold ſeruants and officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confeſſe the troth, ſauing *Gigis*, whom Queene mother kept cloſe in her chamber a long time, and would neuer ſuffer the king to haue her: who earneſtly requeſted her to deliuer her vnto him. Notwithſtanding, *Gigis* her ſelfe at length prayed Queene mother to giue her leaue one night to go home to her houſe. The king vnderſtanding it, layed waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when ſhe was taken, he condemned her to ſuffer the paines of death ordained for poyſoners, the which in PERSIA is executed in this maner. They make them put their head vpon a great plaine ſtone, and with another ſtone they preſſe and ſtrike it ſo long, till they haue daſhed the braines of the malefactor out of their head. After this ſort was *Gigis* put to death. Now for *Paryſatis* his mother, the king did her no other hurt, nor ſayd any more vnto her, but cōfined her to BABYLON according to her deſire, and ſware, that whileſt ſhe liued, he would neuer ſee BABYLON. In this ſtate ſtood the affaires of the king. But now, *Artaxerxes* hauing done the vtmoſt he could to haue ouercome the GRECIANS which came to make warre with him in the heart of his Realme, and would haue bene as glad of that, as he was to haue ouercome *Cyrus*, and to keepe his crowne and Realme: he could neuer preuaile againſt them. For, though they had loſt *Cyrus* that gaue them entertainment, and all their priuate Captaines that led them: they ſaued themſelues notwithſtanding, being in the heart of his Realme, and ſhewed the PERSIANS by experience, that all their doings was nothing but gold and ſiluer, curioſity, and faire women; or otherwiſe, nothing but pompe and vanity. Hereupon all the GRECIANS became couragious, and deſpiſed the barbarous people: inſomuch that the LACEDÆMONIANS thought it a great ſhame and diſhonor vnto them, if they did not deliuer the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the ſlauery & bondage of the PERSIANS, & keepe them from the open violence & crueltie of the barbarous people. For they hauing at other times attempted to do it by their Captaine *Thimbron*, & afterwards alſo by *Dercillidas*, whom they ſent thither with an armie, & hauing done nothing worthy memory: at length they determined, to ſend their king *Ageſilaus* thither in perſon, who paſſing through ASIA with his ſhips, began preſently to make hote warre againſt the PERSIANS as ſoone as euer he had landed his armie. For, at the firſt conflict he ouerthrew *Tiſaphernes* (the king of PERSIAES Lieutenant) in battell, and made the moſt part of the cities of GRECE that are in ASIA, to rebell againſt him. *Artaxerxes* looking into this warre, and wiſely conſidering what way and meanes he was to take, to make warre with the GRECIANS: he ſent into GRECE one *Hermocrates* a RHODIAN (of great credite about him) with a maruellous ſumme of gold and ſiluer, bountifully to beſtow in gifts among the nobilitie and chiefe rulers of the cities of GRECE, to make all the other GRECIANS to riſe againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS. *Hermocrates* wiſely executed his commiſſion, for he made the chiefeſt cities of GRECE to rebell againſt LACEDÆMON: ſo that all PELOPONNESVS being vp in armes, and in great garboile, the *Ephori* at LACEDÆMON were inforced to ſend for *Ageſilaus* home againe. *Ageſilaus* being ſory to depart out of ASIA, ſayd vnto his friends: that the king of PERSIA had driuen him out of his Realme with thirtie thouſand archers: becauſe that the PERSIAN coine is ſtamped with an archer, hauing a bow in his hand.

Rintaces a bird of Perſia, that hath no excrements.

How Statira was poyſoned.

The puniſhment for poyſoners in Perſia.

Ageſilaus king of Lacedæmon, maketh warre with the Perſians.

The Perſian coine, how it is ſtamped.

Artaxerxes draue the Lacedæmonians from all their dominion by sea.

Artaxerxes also draue the LACEDÆMONIANS out of all their iurisdiction by sea, by the meanes of *Conon*, Generall of the ATHENIANS, whom *Pharnabazus* (one of his Lieutenants) had won to take his part. For *Conon*, after he was ouerthrowne in battell at a place called the Goats riuer, kept euer after in the Ile of CYPRVS, not so much for the safety of his person, as also for that it was a meete place to stay in, vntill the wars of GRECE were appeased. He, knowing that the deuice he had in his head, lacked power to put it in execution; and on the contrary side, that the power of the king lacked a man of deepe iudgement to be imployed: wrote letters vnto him of his aduice what he thought to do, straightly charging him whom he deliuered his letters vnto, that if he could possibly, she should cause the same to be deliuered vnto the king by *Zenon* the CRETAN, one of the kings dancers, or by one *Polycritus* his Phisitian, borne in the citie of MENDE: and in both their absences, then to giue it vnto *Ctesias*, to deliuer vnto the king. It chanced so, that this letter came to the hands of *Ctesias*; who (as it is reported) added moreouer vnto the contents of the letter, that the king should send him to *Conon*, because he was a necessary man to be imployed in his seruice, but specially by sea. *Ctesias* saith not so: but writeth that the king of his owne voluntary motion gaue him this charge. Now, after *Artaxerxes* had through the leading of *Conon* and *Pharnabazus*, won the battell by sea neare to the Ile of GNIDVS, & that thereby he had driuen all the LACEDÆMONIANS from their iurisdiction by sea, all GRECE had him in maruellous great estimation: so that he gaue vnto the GRECIANS with such cõditions as he would, that so famous peace, called *Antalcidas* peace. This *Antalcidas* was a citizen of SPARTA, the son of one *Leon*, who fauoring king *Artaxerxes* affaires, procured by the treaty of this peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left vnto *Artaxerxes* all the cities of GRECE in ASIA, & all the Iles contained in the same, to enioy quietly, making them pay tribute at his pleasure. This peace being concluded with the GRECIANS (if so shamefull a treason, reproch & common infamy to al GRECE may be called a peace, as neuer war fell out more dishonorable and infamous for the vanquished) king *Artaxerxes*, that otherwise hated the LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, and that esteemed them (as *Dinon* writeth) the impudentest men liuing: did notwithstanding loue *Antalcidas* passingly wel, and entertained him very honorably, when he came into PERSIA vnto him. It is reported, that the king one day tooke a garland of flowers, and did wet it with the most precious and sweetest oile of perfume that was prepared for the feast, & sent the same vnto *Antalcidas*: insomuch as euery man maruelled to see the king set so much by him. Indeed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curiositie of the PERSIANS, and had well deserued such a garland to be sent him: who was so bold to dance a dance before the PERSIANS, mocking and counterfeiting *Leonidas* & *Callicratidas*, two of the valiantest men that euer were in GRECE. Therefore one sayd at that time in the presence of king *Agesilaus*: O how vnhappie is poore GRECE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But *Agesilaus* presently answered him againe, Not so, sayd he: but rather the PERSIANS follow the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithstanding, this wise answer *Agesilaus* made, did not take away the shame of the fact: and shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS lost the battell of LEVCTRES, and therewith also the signiority and principality they had kept of long time ouer all GRECE, although they had lost their estimatiõ before, for consenting to so shamefull and dishonorable a peace. When SPARTA florished most, and was chiefe of all the other cities of GRECE: so long did *Artaxerxes* still continue to make much of *Antalcidas*, and called him, his friend. But after that the LACEDÆMONIANS had lost the battell of LEVCTRES, hauing receiued so great an ouerthrow and wanting money: they sent *Agesilaus* into ÆGYPT, and *Antalcidas* into PERSIA vnto king *Artaxerxes*, to pray him to aide and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit, the king made so small account of him, and disdained him so much, denying him and his requests: that he returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the king. And there also seeing that his enemies mocked him; and fearing that the *Ephori* would cõmit him to prison: he killed himselfe with famine. About that time also, the THEBANS after they had won the battell of LEVCTRES, sent *Ismenias* and *Pelopidas* into PERSIA, vnto king *Artaxerxes*: where *Pelopidas* did nothing vnworthy of himselfe. Howbeit, *Ismenias* being commanded to kneele to the king, he let fall his ring at his feet, and stouped to take it vp: whereby it was thought of some, that he did it to kneele to the king. Another time *Artaxerxes* liking a secret aduertisement very well, sent him from *Timagoras* the ATHENIAN: he gaue him ten thousand Daricks by his Secretarie called *Belluris*. And because he had a sickly bodie, and was driuen to drinke cowes milke to restore him: the king therefore sent foure score milch kine with him

Gnidus Inf.

Antalcidas peace.

Antalcidas Lacedæmonian greatly esteemed of Artaxerxes.

The Persians full of vanity and curiosity.

The death of Antalcidas Lacedæmonian.

Timagoras Athenian, bribed by king Artaxerxes.

him to giue milke to the paile, to haue freſh milke euerie day. Furthermore, he ſent him a bed throughly furniſhed with all things neceſſary, & groomes of the chãber to make his bed, ſaying, that the GRECIANS could not tell how to make it: and did alſo let him haue men to cary him vpon their armes to the ſea ſide, becauſe he was ſicke, and whileſt he was at the Court, he entertained him very honorably and bountifully. So *Oſtanes*, the kings brother, ſayd one day vnto him: *Timagoras*, remember how honourably thou art ſerued at thy boord, for it is for no ſmall matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his treaſon, then for any remembrance of the benefit receiued. So the ATHENIANS afterwards condemned the ſame *Timagoras* to die, becauſe he had taken bribes and money of the king of PERSIA. But *Artaxerxes* in recompence of ſo many other things that he had done, to deſpite the GRECIANS with, he did one thing that pleaſed them maruellouſly: when he did put *Tiſaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfulleſt enemie the GRECIANS had. *Paryſatis* the Queene mother did helpe to bring this to paſſe, aggrauating the accuſations brought in againſt him: for the king kept not his anger long againſt his mother, but fell in againe with her, & ſent for her, knowing that ſhe had an excellent wit & noble courage to gouerne a great kingdome: and beſides, that there was nothing now to let them to come together as much as they would, to giue any occaſion of iealouſie or malice to any perſon. So euer after, his mother *Paryſatis* endeuored her ſelfe to feed the king her ſonnes humour euerie maner of way, ſeeming to miſlike nothing that he did: whereby ſhe grew in ſo great credite with him, that he denied her nothing whatſoeuer ſhe asked him. So ſhe perceiued, that the king was extreamly in loue with one of his own daughters, that was called *Atoſſa*: howbeit that he diſſembled his loue the beſt he could, and kept it ſecret, chiefly for feare of her, although ſome write, that indeed he had already had her maiden-head. Now *Paryſatis* hauing found his loue, ſhe began to make more of his daughter then ſhe did before, and talking with her father, ſometime ſhe praiſed her beauty, another time her grace and good countenance, ſaying that ſhe was like a Queene and noble Princeſſe: ſo that at length by litle and litle ſhe perſwaded him to marry her openly, not paſſing for the lawes and opinions of the GRECIANS, conſidering that God had giuen him vnto the PERSIANS, to ſtabliſh lawes vnto them, to decide right from wrong, and the good from the bad. Some Hiſtoriographers do write, and amongſt them *Heraclides* of CVMES: that *Artaxerxes* did not onely marry the eldeſt of his daughters, but the ſecond alſo called *Ameſtris*, of whom we will ſpeake hereafter. Now when he had maried the eldeſt, *Atoſſa*, he loued her ſo entirely well, that though ſhe fell ſicke of the diſeaſe commonly called Vitiligo, that ran ouer all her bodie: he loued her not the worſe for it, but prayed continually for her vnto the goddeſſe *Iuno*, honoring no other goddeſſe but her onely, and fell downe on his knees before her image, and ſent by his friends and Lieutenants ſo many offerings, that all the way from his Court gates vnto the temple of *Iuno* (which was ſixteene furlongs off) was full of gold, ſiluer, rich purple ſilkes, and horſe that were ſent thither. He began to make warre alſo with the ÆGYPTIANS, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Iphicrates* ATHENIAN, his Lieutenants, who did no good, becauſe they fell at variance the one with the other. But afterwards, *Artaxerxes* himſelfe went in perſon to conquer the CADVSIANS with three hundred thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand horſemen. So he inuaded their country, which was a very rude country, alway darke and cloudie: the earth bringeth forth nothing that man ſoweth, but doth only feed the inhabitants with peares, apples, and ſuch like fruit, and yet the men be verie ſtrong and valiant notwithſtanding. So when he was entred farre into the country before he was ware, he fell into great want of victuals, and was alſo in great danger. For his ſouldiers found nothing in all the countrey that was good to eate; and worſt of all, no victuals could come vnto them from any place, becauſe of the hardneſſe and naughty wayes of the country: ſo that his campe liued onely with the fleſh of their beaſts of cariage, and yet they ſold it dearly; for, an Aſſes head was ſold for three ſcore ſiluer Drachmaes. To conclude, the famine was ſo great, that prouiſion failed for the kings owne mouth, and there were but few horſe left, for all the reſt were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes bene chiefe about the king, becauſe he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times alſo out of fauor, as at that preſent time, when he had no authoritie nor eſtimation: he deuiſed a ſtratageme, whereby he ſaued the king and all his campe. In this country of the CADVSIANS, there were two kings in the field with their armies, both of them camped aſunder one from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had ſpoken with king *Artaxerxes*, and had told him what he meant to do: he went vnto one of the kings, and at the ſelfe ſame time alſo ſecretly ſent his ſonne vnto the

Timagoras vvas put to death for taking bribes and gifts of the king of Perſia.

King Artaxerxes killeth Tiſaphernes.

Artaxerxes fell in againe vvith his mother Paryſatis, and ſent for her to come to the Court.

Artaxerxes maried his eldeſt daughter Atoſſa.

King Artaxerxes iourny againſt the Caduſians.

The country of the Caduſians very barren.

Great famine in Artaxerxes armie.

Tiribazus ſtratageme ſaued Artaxerxes, and all his armie.

other king, and told either of them, that the other king had sent Ambassadors vnto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, vnwitting to his companion; and therefore he counselled them, if they were wise, one of them to seeke to preuent another with all the possible speed he could, and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them the best he could. Both the one and the other of the kings gaue credite to his words, either of them both mistrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his Ambassadours vnto king *Artaxerxes*, with *Tiribazus*; and the other also his Ambassadors with his sonne. But *Tiribazus* tarying long in his iourney, king *Artaxerxes* began somewhat to suspect him: his enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the king grew very cholericke, and repented him that he had trusted him so farre, and was willing to heare euery man that spake against him. Howbeit, *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his son also, and either of them brought with them the Ambassadours of the CADVSIANS, and so peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* aloft againe, and in greater credite then euer he was, and so departed with the king. The king then shewed plainely, that cowardlinesse proceedeth not of pompe and curiosity, as some take it, beleeuing that it doth effeminate mens hearts, but rather of a vile base mind, that commonly followeth euill, and the worst counsell: for neither the iewels of gold, the kingly robe, nor other sumptuous ornaments which the king euer wore about him, worth twelue thousand talents (as it is reported) did not hinder him at that time to trauell, and to take as much paine as any man in all his armie. For he himselfe marched on foote the foremost man, carying his owne trusse in a scarfe vpon his shoulders, and his target on his arme, and trauelled through high stonie mountaines. So that, his souldiers seeing the courage and paine the king himselfe tooke, they marched so nimbly, that it seemed they had wings: for he daily marched aboue two hundred furlongs. Now the king at length by sore trauell, came to one of his owne houses, where there were goodly arbors & parks, with goodly trees passingly set forth: but all the countrey besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a tree a great way from thence, and it was maruellous cold. The king suffered his souldiers to hew downe the goodly pines and cypres trees in his parkes: and because they durst not presume to touch them, he himselfe as he was, tooke an axe in his hand and began to hew downe the goodliest tree there. The souldiers seeing that, fell euery man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short time they had prouided themselues well with wood, and made them great fires in euery place, and so past ouer the night quietly by the fires side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valiant men in this voyage, and almost all his horses. Therefore, thinking his men would mocke him because he did faile of his purpose: he began to grow mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefest noble men he had about him: so that in a rage he put many of them to death; but much more of them remained, whom he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud-sucker, then a cowardly tyrant: as in contrary maner nothing is more courteous, and lesse suspitious, then a valiant and hardie man. And therefore brute beasts, that be neuer made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly, and timorous: and the other on the contrary, that are noble and couragious, are bold, and do come straight to know a man, because they haue no feare, neither do they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they do. Afterwards, king *Artaxerxes* being growne very old, heard that there was great stirre and contention between his sonnes which of them should be heire after his death, and that this contention fell out also among his friends and men of great calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he himselfe came vnto the crowne, as his fathers eldest sonne: so, that he likewise should after his death leaue it vnto his eldest sonne, called *Darius*. But the yonger, which was called *Ochus*, being a valiant man, and of a hote stirring nature, had some in the Court also that tooke his part, and hoped to attaine to his purpose, by the meanes of his sister *Atossa*, whom he loued and honoured, promising to marry her, and to make her Queene, if he might come to be king after his fathers decease. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their fathers life time he secretly kept her: howbeit *Artaxerxes* neuer vnderstood it. Now, because he would betimes put his sonne *Ochus* out of all hope to succeed him in his kingdome, least this expectation might make him go about to practise that which *Cyrus* did, and that by this meanes his Realme should grow into faction and ciuill warres: he proclaimed his eldest sonne *Darius* (being fiftie yeares old) king after his death; and furthermore, gaue him leaue from thencefoorth to weare the point of his hat right vp. In PERSIA the custome is, that when any commeth to be proclaimed successour and heire apparant to the crowne, he should require a gift of him that proclaimeth him

Note, that soft apparell and riches, make not a man couardly and effeminate: but a vile base mind, that followeth euill aduice and counsell.

The courage of king Artaxerxes, and his great paines in marching.

King Artaxerxes curtesie to his souldiers.

Darius and Ochus, king Artaxerxes sons.

Artaxerxes proclaimeth his sonne Darius king.

himſucceſſour. The which the other doth graunt him, whatſoeuer it be that he asketh, ſo it be not impoſſible. *Darius* then asked his father a concubine called *Aſpaſia*, who was firſt with *Cyrus*, and in greateſt fauour with him aboue all the reſt, but then was for the kings owne body. She was borne in the countrey of IONIA, of free parents: and being vertuouſly brought vp, ſhe was brought one night vnto *Cyrus* as he was at ſupper, with other womē, who ſate them downe without too curious bidding hard by him, and were verie glad when *Cyrus* offered to play and be merry with them, giuing euery one of them ſome pleaſant word, and they made it not coy. But *Aſpaſia* ſtood on her feete by the table, and ſayd neuer a word: and notwithſtanding that *Cyrus* called her, ſhe would not come at him. Moreouer, when one of the groomes of his chamber would haue taken her to haue brought her to him: The firſt, ſaith ſhe, that layeth hands on me ſhall repent it. Thereupon all thoſe that were preſent, ſayd ſhe was a fooliſh thing, and ſimply brought vp, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit *Cyrus* being glad of it, paſſed it ouer with laughing, and told him that had brought them vnto him: Doeſt thou not ſee, that of all theſe thou haſt brought me, there is not an honeſt woman but ſhe? After that, *Cyrus* began to make much of her, and loued her better continually then all the reſt, and called her *Aſpaſia* the wiſe. This *Aſpaſia* was taken among the ſpoiles of *Cyrus* campe after he was ouerthrowne; and *Darius* as we haue told ye, did beg her of his father, who was very angry with it in his mind. For the barbarous people of all other things are maruellous iealous of their women, ſo that not onely he ſhould be put to death, that durſt but ſpeake to, or touch any concubine of the kings but in ſport: but alſo whoſoeuer came neare them, or neare their coaches as they trauelled. The kings daughter *Atoſſa*, whom he had maried againſt all law, was yet liuing, & beſides her he had alſo three hundred and threeſcore paſſing faire concubines: and yet when his ſonne *Darius* asked *Aſpaſia* of him, the king anſwered, ſhe was a free woman borne, and therefore if ſhe would, he was content he ſhould haue her: but if ſhe were vnwilling to go to him, then he would not haue him force her by any means. So *Aſpaſia* was ſent for, and ſhe was asked with whom ſhe had rather be. She anſwered, With *Darius*: contrary to king *Artaxerxes* expectation, who both by the cuſtome, and alſo the law, was compelled to let him haue her. But ſhortly after he tooke her from him againe, ſaying that he would place her in a Nunrie of *Diana*, in the countrey of ECBATANE, where they call her *Anitis*, there to ſerue the goddeſſe, and to liue chaſt all the dayes of her life: ſuppoſing by this meanes to puniſh his ſon, not rigorouſly, but moderatly, with griefe mixt with ſport and earneſt. Howbeit his ſon tooke it not ſo patiently, either becauſe he was deeply in loue with *Aſpaſia*, or elſe for that he ſaw his father mocked him in that point. *Tiribazus* finding this, & perceiuing that *Darius* tooke it very grieuouſly: he aggrauated his anger againſt his father, knowing the paſſion of loue in *Darius*, by his owne vpon the like occaſion. King *Artaxerxes* had many daughters, and had promiſed *Pharnabazus* one of them, called *Apama*: vnto *Orontes*, *Rodogoune*: and to *Tiribazus*, *Ameſtris*. The king performed the other two mariages, and did put *Tiribazus* by his wife. For the king himſelfe maried his owne daughter *Ameſtris*; and for her, he promiſed *Tiribazus* the yonger, *Atoſſa*: with whom alſo he himſelfe fell in loue, and maried her. *Tiribazus* herupon was in ſuch a rage with the king, that he hated him to the death: not becauſe he was any traytor or ſeditious man in nature, but a mad hare-brain'd fellow. For ſomtime he was aloft, and in as good credite and authority as the beſt: ſuddenly againe he would play ſome mad part to anger the king, and then he was in as much diſgrace, and out of countenance: and could away with neither fortune. For when he was in authoritie, he made euery man hate him for his pride: and being in diſgrace, he could not humble himſelfe, but looke bigger then before. Now there was fire and brimſtone met, when *Tiribazus* tooke part with *Darius*. For he daily blew into his eares, that it was to no purpoſe for him to weare his hat right vp, if his affaires alſo went not rightly forwardly: and that he deceiued himſelfe much, if he did not know that his brother (by meanes of the women he kept) ſecretly aſpired to the crowne: and that his father being ſo vnconſtant as he was, he muſt not truſt in any ſort to ſucceed his father in the kingdome, what proclamation ſoeuer he hath made in his behalfe to the contrary. For, ſayd he, he that for a GRECIAN woman hath broken and violated the holieſt law that was in PERSIA: thou muſt not looke that he will performe that he hath promiſed thee. And furthermore, he perſwaded him, that it was not a like repulſe vnto *Ochus*, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that euer he had gotten. For ſaid he, If it pleaſe *Ochus* to liue like a priuate man, he may ſafely do it, and no man will trouble him: but for himſelfe that was already proclaimed

Aſpaſia Ionian, one of Artaxerxes concubines.

The barbarous people cannot away with riuality in loue.

Tiribazus inciteth Darius againſt his father Artaxerxes.

Tiribazus maners, and conditions.

king, he muſt of neceſſity make himſelfe king, or elſe he muſt not liue. So, the Poet *Sophocles* his ſaying moſt commonly proueth true:

Ill counſell eaſily takes place.

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleeue as he liſt, and men commonly are giuen rather to beleeue the euill then the good, becauſe moſt men know not what goodneſſe meaneth. But now beſide theſe perſwaſions, the greatneſſe of the kingdome, and the feare *Darius* ſtood in of his brother *Ochus*, tooke great force and effect with him: and it may be alſo, that *Venus* herſelfe did ſomwhat in the matter, for the malice and ſpite that *Aſpaſia* was taken from him. But whatſoeuer the cauſe was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conſpired againſt his father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they hauing gotten many conſpirators to ioyne with them, one of the kings Eunuchs perceiuing it, ran and told the king of it, and how they had ſuddenly determined to aſſaile him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among themſelues, that they ſhould kill him in his bed in the night. *Artaxerxes* receiuing this aduertiſement, thought it was not good to be careleſſe of a matter of ſo great importance, as his life: and alſo that it were too great lightneſſe in him ſo ſuddenly to beleeue his Eunuch, without better proofe or knowledge. So he tooke this way with himſelfe. He commaunded the Eunuch that had giuen him this information, to keepe company ſtill with the conſpirators, and to follow them whereſoeuer they went, to ſee their doings: and in the meane time he beate downe his wall behind his bed, and made a doore through, and ſet vp a hanging of tapeſtry before it. When the time was come, as the Eunuch had aduertiſed the king, that the traytors meant to do their feate: *Artaxerxes* being layd on his bed, roſe not vp, till he had ſeene euery traytor of them in the face that came to kill him. Then, when he ſaw them comming towards him with their ſwords drawne, he ſuddenly lift vp the hanging, and got into his inner chamber, & ſhut the doore after him, making an out-cry, Murder, murder. So, the traytors being plainely ſeene and knowne by the king, fled the ſame way they came, and failed of their purpoſe, and bad *Tiribazus* ſaue himſelfe, becauſe he was knowne. So they diſperſed themſelues, & ſcaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardy, although he had ſlaine diuers of the kings guard, valiantly defending himſelfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was ſtriken with a dart a good way off, which ſlue him. *Darius* was alſo taken and apprehended, and brought priſoner with his ſons: and the king referred him to be iudged by his Peeres. For the king himſelfe would not be preſent to giue iudgement of him, but deputed others in his place to accuſe him: howbeit, he commanded his Secretaries to ſet downe in writing, the opinion and ſentence of euerie one of the Iudges, and to bring it to him. In fine, they all caſt him, and condemned him to die. Then the officers layd hold on him, & brought him into a chamber of the priſon, where the hangman came with a razer in his hand, with the which he vſed to cut mens throats ſo cõdemned to die. So the hangman comming into the chamber, when he ſaw it was *Darius*, he was afraid, and came out of the chamber againe, his heart failing him, and durſt not lay hands vpon the perſon of the king. But the Iudges that ſtood without the chamber, bad him go and do it, vnleſſe he would haue his owne throat cut. So the hangman then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the haire of the head, and made him hold downe his head, and ſo cut his necke with his razer he had in his other hand. Others do write, that this ſentence was giuẽ in the preſence of king *Artaxerxes* ſelfe, and that *Darius* ſeeing himſelfe conuicted by manifeſt proofes brought in againſt him, he fell downe at his fathers feete, and beſought him to pardon him: and then, that his father being angrie, roſe vp, and drew out his curtelax and wounded him in ſo many places withall, that at length he ſlue him. Then returning into his Court, he worſhipped the Sunne, & turning him to his Lords that were about him, he ſayd vnto them: My Lords, God be with you, and be merry at home in your houſes, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken reuenge of them, that practiſed treaſon againſt me. This was the end of *Darius* treaſon. Now *Darius* being dead, *Ochus* his brother ſtood in good hope to be next heire to the crowne, and the rather through the meanes and friendſhip of his ſiſter *Atoſſa*: but yet of his legitimate brethren, he feared *Ariaſpes*, who was onely left of all the reſt that were legitimate: and of his baſtard brethren, *Arſames*: not becauſe *Ariaſpes* was elder then he, but for that (he being of a ſoft and plaine nature) the PERSIANS therefore deſired he might be their king. On the other ſide, *Arſames* was wiſe, and valiant: and *Ochus* ſaw that his father loued him dearely. So he determined to intrap them both. Now *Ochus* being a ſubtile and malicious natured man, he firſt ſhewed his cruelty vpon *Arſames*, and his malice vpon *Ariaſpes* his legitimate brother. For, becauſe he knew he

Darius conſpireth againſt Artaxerxes his father.

A deuice of Artaxerxes, how to preuent the conſpirators, and to ſaue himſelfe.

Tiribazus the traytor ſlaine.

Darius condemned to die, and executed.

King Artaxerxes ſonnes.

was

was but simple and plaine, he sent daily some of the kings Eunuches vnto him, who brought him threatning words and messages, as from the king: telling him, that he had determined to put him to a shamefull and cruell death. So, forging these newes continually as things very secret, they did so terrifie poore *Ariaspes*, telling him, that the king was fully bent to put some of his threates in execution out of hand; that he was put in such feare and dispaire of his life, that he prepared himselfe a poison, and dranke it, to rid himselfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* vnderstanding of his death, took it very heauily, and began to mistrust the cause that made him to make himself away: howbeit, he could not seeke the proofe of it, for his extreame age. But this chaunce made him loue *Arsames* better then before, shewing plainely that he trusted him better then *Ochus*, and did make him priuie to all things. *Ochus* could no longer abide to deferre his intent, and therfore intised *Harpates*, *Tiribazus* sonne, to kill his bastard brother *Arsames*, the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was so extreame old, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his sonne *Arsames* was murthered, he could beare it no longer, but tooke it so to his heart for sorrow, that when he had liued fourescore and fourteene yeares, and raigned threescore and two, he died. When he was dead, they then found that he had bene a gracious and courteous Prince, and one that loued his people and subiects; when they saw the proofe of his successor *Ochus*, that passed all men liuing, in crueltie and seueritie.

The death of king Artaxerxes.

Artaxerxes was 94. yeares old at his death.

THE LIFE OF *Dion.*

LIke as *Simonides* (ô *Sossius Senecio*) saith, that the citie of ILLIVM was not offended with the CORINTHIANS, for that they came to make war with thē with other GRECIANS, because *Glaucus* (whose first ancestors came from CORINTH) had taken armes, and louingly fought for the same: euen so me thinkes, that neither the GRECIANS, nor ROMAINES haue cause to complaine of the Academie, sith they be both alike praised of the same in this present booke, in the which are contained the liues of *Dion* and *Brutus*. Of the which, the one of them hauing bene very familiar with *Plato* himselfe, and the other from his childhood brought vp in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe schoole-house to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no maruell if they two were much like in many of their doings, prouing that true, which their schoolemaister *Plato* wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the gouernement of a commonwealth, which should be famous and of credite, authoritie, and good fortune, must both meete in one selfe person, ioyned with iustice

Dion and Brutus both Platonians.

Plato de virtute.

How mens acts should be famous in the cōmonwealth.

and wiſedome. For as a certaine fencer (called *Hippomachus*) ſaid, that he knew his ſcholers fame off, if he did but ſee them comming from the market with meate in their hands: ſo it muſt needs follow, that men hauing bene vertuouſly brought vp, muſt needs be wiſe in all their doings, and beſide that it bringeth them to ciuilitie and honeſtie, euen ſo it frameth their conditions much like one to another: furthermore, their fortunes hauing alſo fallen out both alike, more by chance then by any reaſon, do make their liues very like to each other; for they were both of them ſlaine before they could bring their enterpriſes to paſſe which they had determined. But the greateſt wonder of all is this: that their deaths were foreſhewed vnto them both, by a wicked ſpirit that viſibly appeared vnto either of them: albeit there be ſome that cannot abide thoſe opinions, and do maintaine, that theſe ſights and euill ſpirits do neuer appeare to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of little children, or old women, or of ſome men whoſe wits are weakened by ſickneſſe, and ſo haue a certaine imagination of ſuch ſtrange ſights, being of this ſuperſtitious mind, that they haue a wicked ſpirit, and an euill angell in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them graue and learned Philoſophers, and very conſtant men, not ouercome by any ſodaine paſſion or imagination of mind, haue bene moued by ſuch ſights and ſpirits, and haue alſo told it vnto their friends: I cannot tell whether we ſhall be enforced, to grant the moſt ſtraunge and olde opinion of this, which ſaith: That there be euill ſpirits which enuying the vertue of good men to withdraw them from their godly minds, do make them affraid with theſe fearefull ſights, inticing them to forſake their godlineſſe, leſt that perſiſting therein, they ſhould be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let vs referre this diſputation to ſome other booke: and now in this twelfth couple of theſe famous mens liues compared, let vs firſt begin to write the life of him that is the elder of theſe two men we ſpeake of.

A wicked ſpirit appeared vnto Dion and Brutus.

Dionyſius the elder, after he had the gouernement of SICILIA in his hands, he maried the daughter of *Hermocrates*, a citizen of SYRACVSA. But yet not being throughly ſetled in his tyrannie, the SYRACVSANS did rebell againſt him, and did ſo cruelly & abhominably handle the bodie of his wife, that ſhe willingly poiſoned her ſelfe. So, after he had eſtabliſhed himſelfe in his gouernment with more ſuretie then before, he maried againe two other wiues together, the one a ſtranger of the citie of LOCRES, called *Doride*: and the other of the country it ſelfe, called *Ariſtomachè*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefeſt man of all SYRACVSA, and that had bene companion with *Dionyſius*, the firſt time he was choſen General. It was ſaid that *Dionyſius* maried them both in one day, and that they could neuer tell which of them he knew firſt: but otherwiſe, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly ſate together with him at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turnes, though the SYRACVSANS would haue their owne countriwoman preferred before the ſtraunger. Howbeit, the ſtraunge woman had this good happe, to bring foorth *Dionyſius* his eldeſt ſonne, which was a good countenance to defend her being a forreiner. *Ariſtomachè* in contrarie manner, continued a long time with *Dionyſius* without fruit of her wombe, although he was very deſirous to haue children by her: ſo that he put the LOCRIAN womans mother to death, accuſing her that ſhe had with ſorceries and witchcraft, kept *Ariſtomachè* from being with child. *Dion* being the brother of *Ariſtomachè*, was had in great eſtimation at the firſt, for his ſiſters ſake: but afterwards the tyrant finding him to be a wiſe man, he loued him then for his owne ſake. Inſomuch, that among many ſundrie things and pleaſures he did for him; he commanded his Treaſurers to let him haue what money he asked of them, ſo they made him acquainted withall the ſelfe ſame day they gaue him any. Now, though *Dion* had euer before a noble mind in him by nature, yet much more did that magnanimitie increaſe, when *Plato* (by good fortune) arriued in SICILE. For his comming thither ſurely was no mans deuiſe, (as I take it) but the very prouidence of ſome god: who (bringing far off the firſt beginning and foundation of the libertie of the SYRACVSANS, and to ouerthrow the tyrannicall ſtate) ſent *Plato* out of ITALY vnto the citie of SYRACVSA, and brought him acquainted with *Dion*, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to learne, & readier goodwill to follow vertue, then any yong man elſe that followed *Plato*; as *Plato* himſelfe writeth, and his owne doings alſo do witneſſe. For *Dion* hauing from a child bene brought vp with humble cõditions vnder a tyrant, & acquainted with a ſeruile timorous life, with a proud & inſolent raigne, with al vanitie and curioſitie, as placing chiefe felicitie in couetouſnes: neuertheleſſe, after he had felt the ſweet reaſons of Philoſophie, teaching the broad way to vertue, his hart was enflamed ſtraight with an earneſt deſire to follow the ſame. And becauſe he found that he

Dionyſius maried Hermocrates daughter

Dionyſius wiues, Doride of Locres: Ariſtomachè of Syracuſa, Hipparinus daughter and Dions ſiſter.

Dions kindred with Dionyſius

Plato came out of Italy vnto Syracuſa. Dion, Platoes ſcholer.

was

was so easily perswaded to loue vertue and honestie, he simply thinking (being of an honest plain nature) that the selfe same perswasions would moue a like affection in *Dionysius*; obtained of *Dionysius*, that being at leasure, he was contented to see *Plato*, and to speake with him. When *Plato* came to *Dionysius*, all their talke in maner was of vertue, and they chiefly reasoned, what was fortitude: where *Plato* proued that tyrants were no valiant men. From thence passing farther into iustice, he told him, that the life of iust men was happie; and contrarily, the life of vniust men, vnfortunate. Thus the tyrant *Dionysius* perceiuing he was ouercome, durst no more abide him, and was angry to see the standers by make such estimation of *Plato*, and that they had such delight to heare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, What businesse he had to do there? *Plato* answered him, he came to seeke a good man. *Dionysius* then replyed againe: What, in Gods name, by thy speech thē it seemeth thou hast found none yet. Now *Dion* thought, that *Dionysius* anger would proceed no further, & therfore at *Platoes* earnest request, he sent him away in a galley with three bankes of oares, the which *Pollis* a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine caried backe againe into GREECE. Howbeit, *Dionysius* secretly requested *Pollis* to kill *Plato* by the way, as euer he would do him pleasure: if not, yet that he would sell him for a slaue, howsoeuer he did: for, said he, he shall be nothing the worse for that; becausse, if he be a iust man, he shall be as happie to be a slaue, as a freeman. Thus (as it is reported) this *Pollis* caried *Plato* into the Ile of ÆGINA, and there sold him. For the ÆGINETES hauing war at that time with the ATHENIANS, made a decree, that all the ATHENIANS that were taken in their Ile, shold be sold. This notwithstanding, *Dionysius* refused not to honor & trust *Dion*, as much as euer he did before, & did also send him Ambassador in matters of great waight: as when he sent him vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, where he behaued himself so well, that he wan great reputation by his iourny: and the tyrant could well away with his plaine speech. For no man but he, durst say their minds so boldly vnto him, to speake what he thought good: as on a time he reproued him for *Gelon*. One day when they mocked *Gelons* gouernement before the tyrants face, and that *Dionysius* himselfe said (finely descanting on his name, which signifieth, laughter) that he was euen the very laughing stocke himselfe of SICILE: the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter passingly well: but *Dion* not being well pleased withall, said vnto him: For his sake men trusted thee, wherby thou camest to be tyrant: but for thine owne sake they will neuer trust any man: for (to say truly) *Gelon* shewed by his gouernment, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to see a citie gouerned by an absolute Prince: but *Dionysius* by his gouernmēt on the other side, made it appeare as detestable a thing. This *Dionysius* had by his LOCRIAN wife, three children; and by *Aristomachē*, foure: of the which, two were daughters, the one called *Sophrosynē*, and the other *Areté*. Of them, *Dionysius* eldest son maried *Sophrosyné*, and *Areté* was maried vnto his brother *Thearides*: after whose death *Dion* maried her, being his Neece. Now when *Dionysius* her father fell sicke, not likely to escape: *Dion* would haue spoken with him for his children he had by his sister *Aristomachē*. Howbeit the Phisitians about him, to curry fauor with the next heire and successor of the tyrannie, would neuer let him haue any time or oportunitie to speake with him. For (as *Timæus* writeth) they gaue *Dionysius* the elder (as he had cōmanded them) a strong opiat drinke to cast him in a sleepe, and so therby they tooke from him all his senses, and ioyned death with his sleepe. Notwithstanding, in the first counsell and assemblie holden by his friends, to consult about the state and affaires of the younger *Dionysius*: *Dion* moued matter so necessarie and profitable for that present time, that by his wisedome he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke speech made them know, that they were but slaues of the tyrannie: becausse they beastly and cowardly gaue such counsell and aduise, as might best please and feed the young tyrants humour. But, he made them most to wonder at him, when they fearing aboue all other things, the daunger *Dionysius* state was in, by reason of CARTHAGE, he did promise them, that if *Dionysius* would haue peace, he would then go foorthwith into AFRICKE, and find the meanes honourably to quench the warres: or, if otherwise he better liked of warre, that he would furnish him at his owne proper costs and charges, fiftie gallies readie to rowe. *Dionysius* wondred greatly at the noble mind of *Dion*, and thanked him much for the goodwill he bare vnto him, touching his estate. But all men else taking *Dions* noble offer to be a reproch of their auarice; and his credite and authoritie, an impaire vnto theirs: they presently vpon this liberall offer tooke occasion to accuse him, not sparing any reprochfull words against him, to moue *Dionysius* to be offended with him. For they complained of him, and said, that he cunningly practised to possesse the tyrannie, making him-

Plato & Dionysius the elder talke together.

Dionysius malice vnto Plato

Plato sold in the Ile of Aegina.

Dions boldnes in speaking plainly to the tyrant.

Gelō signifieth, laughter.

Sophrosynè & Areté, the daughters of Dionysius by Aristomachè.

Dion marieth his Neece Areté, the daughter of Dionysius and of his sister Aristomachè.

The death of Dionysius the elder.

Flattering Courtiers do incense Dionysius the younger to hate Dion.

ſelfe ſtrong by ſea, going about by his gallies to make the tyrannie fall into the hands of the children of *Ariſtomache* his ſiſter. But the chiefeſt cauſe of all why they did malice and hate him, was his ſtraunge maner of life: that he neither would keepe companie with them, nor liue after their maner. For they that from the beginning were crept in fauour and friendſhip with this young ill-brought-vp tyrant, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleaſures; ſtudied for no other thing, but to entertaine him in loue matters, and other vaine exerciſes, as to riot and banquet, to keepe light women companie, and all ſuch other vile vicious paſtimes and recreations: by the which the tyrannie became like iron ſoftened by fire, and ſeemed to be very pleaſant vnto the ſubiects, becauſe the ouer-great maieſtie and ſeueritie thereof was ſomwhat milder, not ſo much by the bountie and goodneſſe, as by the folly and retchleſneſſe of the Lord. Thus, this litle care and regard increaſing more and more, ſtill winning way with the young tyrant; did at length melt and breake a ſunder thoſe ſtrong Diamond chaines, with the which *Dionyſius* the elder made his boaſt that he left his Monarchie and tyrannie chained to his ſon. For ſometime he would be three daies together without intermiſſion, ſtill banquetting and being drunke: and all that time his Court gates were kept ſhut vnto graue and wiſe men; and for all honeſt matters; and was then full of drunkards, of common playes, dancings, masks, and mummeries, & full of al ſuch trumperie and diſſolute paſtimes. And therfore *Dion* vndoubtedly was much enuied of them, becauſe he gaue himſelfe to no ſport nor pleaſure: wherupon they accuſed him, and miſnamed his vertues, vices, being ſomewhat to be reſembled vnto them; as in calling his grauitie, pride; his plainneſſe and boldneſſe in his oration, obſtinacie; if he did perſwade them, that he accuſed them; and becauſe he would not make one in their fond paſtimes, that therfore he deſpiſed thē. For, to ſay truly, his maners by nature had a certaine haughtineſſe of mind and ſeueritie, and he was a ſower man to be acquainted with: wherby his company was not only troubleſome, but alſo vnpleaſant to this younger *Dionyſius*, whoſe eares were ſo fine, that they could not away to heare any other thing but flatterie. And furthermore, diuers of his very friends & familiars (that did like and commend his plaine manner of ſpeech and noble mind) did yet reproue his ſterneneſſe, and auſtere conuerſation with men: for it ſeemed vnto them, that he ſpake too roughly, & dealt ouer hardly with them that had to do with him, and more then became a ciuil or courteous man. And for proofe hereof, *Plato* himſelfe ſomtime wrote vnto him (as if he had propheſied what ſhould happen) that he ſhould beware of obſtinacie, the companion of ſolitarineſſe, that bringeth a man in the end to be forſaken of euery one. This notwithſtanding, they did more reuerence him at that time, then any man elſe, becauſe of the ſtate and gouernment, and for that they thought him the only man that could beſt prouide for the ſafetie and quietneſſe of the tyrannie, the which ſtood then in tickle ſtate. Now *Dion* knew well enough, that he was not ſo well taken and eſteemed through the goodwill of the tyrant, as againſt his will, and for the neceſſitie of the ſtate and time. So *Dion* ſuppoſing that ignorance, & want of knowledge in *Dionyſius* was the cauſe: he deuiſed to put him into ſome honeſt trade or exerciſe, & to teach him the liberal ſciences, to frame him to a ciuill life, that thenceforth he ſhould no more be afraid of vertue, and ſhould alſo take pleaſure & delight in honeſt things. For *Dionyſius* of his owne nature, was none of the worſt ſort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to haue a feeling and conceit of himſelfe, or that he companied with wiſe & learned men, he would go neare to enter into practiſe, & put him out of his ſeate; he euer kept him locked vp in a chamber, & would ſuffer no man to ſpeake with him. Then the yonger *Dionyſius*, hauing nothing elſe to do, gaue himſelfe to make litle chariots, candleſticks, chaires, ſtooles, and tables of wood: for his father *Dionyſius* was ſo fearefull & miſtruſtfull of euery body, that he would ſuffer no man with a paire of Barbers ſizers to poule the haires of his head, but cauſed an image-maker of earth to come vnto him, and with a hote bûrning cole to burne his goodly buſh of haire round about. No man came into his chamber where he was with a gowne on his backe, no not his owne brother nor ſon, but he was driuen (before he could come in) to put off his gowne, and the guard of his chamber to ſtrip him naked, whatſoeuer he was: and then they gaue him another gowne to caſt vpon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines* going about to deſcribe vnto him the ſituation of ſome place, he tooke a halbard from one of the guard, and with the point thereof beganne to drawe out a plot of the ſame vpon the ground. *Dionyſius* was terribly offended with him, and did put the ſouldier to death that gaue him his halbard. He ſaid, he was affraid of his friends, yea and of the wiſeſt of them; becauſe he knew that they deſired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to commaund,

The vices of Dionyſius the younger.

Dions maners, too graue and ſeuere.

Obſtinacie, fellow and companion of ſolitarineſſe.

Dionyſius the elder, a marueilous timorous and ſuſpitious man.

maund, then to obey. He ſlue one of his Captaines called *Marſyas* (whom he had preferred and had giuen him charge of men) becauſe he dreamed that he killed him: ſaying, that he dreamed of this in the night, becauſe that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionyſius* that was ſo timorous, and whoſe mind through fearefulneſſe was ſtill miſerably occupied; was notwithſtanding maruellouſly offended with *Plato*, becauſe he did not iudge him to be the nobleſt and valianteſt man aliue. *Dion* therefore ſeeing (as we haue ſaid) the younger *Dionyſius* cleane marred, and in manner caſt away for lacke of good education; perſwaded him the beſt he could to giue himſelfe vnto ſtudie, and by the greateſt intreatie he could poſſibly make, to pray the Prince of all Philoſophers to come into Sicile. And then, when through his intreatie he were come, that he would refer himſelfe wholly vnto him, to the end that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby, (the beſt example that can be poſſible, and by whom the whole world is ruled and gouerned, which otherwiſe were out of all order and confuſed) he ſhould firſt obtaine great happineſſe to himſelfe, & conſequently vnto all his citizens; who euer after through the temperance & iuſtice of a father, wold with good will do thoſe things, which they then vnwillingly did for the feare of a Lord; and in doing this, from a tyrant he ſhould come to be a king: for, the chaines of a Diamond to keepe a realme in ſafetie, were not force & feare, as his father *Dionyſius* held opinion: neither the great multitude of yong ſouldiers, nor the guard of 10000 barbarous people: but in cõtrary maner, that they were the loue & good will of their ſubiects, which the Prince obtaineth through vertue and iuſtice: the which chaines though they be ſlacker then the other that are ſo hard and ſtiffe, yet are they ſtronger, & will laſt longer time, to keepe a realme and kingdome in ſafetie. And furthermore, the Prince (ſaid he) is not deſirous of honor, neither is a man that deſerueth greatly to be praiſed & commended, that only ſtudieth to weare ſumptuous apparell, & that glorieth to ſee his Court richly furniſhed, and himſelfe curiouſly ſerued: and in the meane time doth not frame himſelfe to ſpeake better, to be wiſer, and to carie a greater maieſtie then any other meane or common perſon; not eſteeming to adorne & beautifie the princely pallace of his mind, as becommeth the royall Maieſtie of a king. *Dion* oftentimes rehearſing theſe exhortations vnto *Dionyſius*, and otherwhile enterlacing betweene, ſome reaſons he had learned of *Plato*: he graffed in him a wonderfull and (as it were) a vehement deſire to haue *Plato* in his companie, and to learne of him. So, ſundrie letters came frõ *Dionyſius* vnto Athens, diuers requeſts from *Dion*, & great intreatie made by certaine Pythagorian Philoſophers, that prayed & perſwaded *Plato* to come into Sicile, to bridle the light diſpoſition of this yong man, by his graue & wiſe inſtructions: who without regard of reaſon, led a diſſolute and licentious life. Therfore *Plato* (as himſelfe reporteth) bluſhing to himſelfe, and fearing leſt he ſhold giue men cauſe to think, that it was but the opinion men had of him, & that of himſelfe he was vnwilling to do any worthie act: & further, hoping that doing good but vnto one man alone, who was the only guide of all the reſt, he ſhould (as it were) recouer all Sicile frõ her corruption and ſickneſſe: he performed their requeſts that ſent vnto him. But *Dions* enemies fearing the chaunge & alteration of *Dionyſius*, they perſwaded him to call *Philiſtus* the Hiſtoriographer home again frõ baniſhment, who was a learned man, & had bene brought vp & acquainted with the tyrants faſhions: to the end he ſhold ſerue as a counter-peaſe, to withſtand *Plato* and his Philoſophie: for this *Philiſtus*, frõ the firſt time that the tyranny began to be eſtabliſhed, did ſhew himſelf very willing & conformable to the ſtabliſhment therof, and had of long time kept the caſtle: & the voice went, that he kept the mother of *Dionyſius* the elder, and as it was ſuppoſed, not altogether without the tyrants knowledg. But afterwards, *Leptines* hauing had two daughters by one woman, whom he intiſed to folly being another mans wife: he maried one of theſe his daughters vnto *Philiſtus*, and made not *Dionyſius* priuie to it before. The tyrant therewith was ſo offended, that he put *Leptines* woman in priſon faſt locked vp, and draue *Philiſtus* out of Sicile. He being baniſhed thus, repaired vnto ſome of his friends that dwelt about the Adriaticke ſea, where it ſeemeth, he wrote the moſt part of all his hiſtorie, being then at good leaſure. For he was not called home againe during the life of *Dionyſius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare vnto *Dion*, cauſed them to procure *Philiſtus* calling home againe (as we haue told you) as the man they thought would ſticke ſtoutly in defence of the tyranny. So, *Philiſtus* no ſooner returned, but he ſtoutly began to defend the tyranny: and others in contrarie maner, deuiſed accuſations to the tyrant againſt *Dion*, accuſing him that he had practiſed with *Theodotes* & *Heraclides*, to ouerthrow the tyranny of *Dionyſius*. For *Dion* (in my opinion) hoped

Marſyas dreame.

Dion perſwadeth the yonger Dionyſius to fall to ſtudie.

The aſſured guard of Princes, is the loue of their ſubiects.

Plato goeth into Sicile, to teach Dionyſius the yonger.

Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer.

Philiſtus the Hiſtoriographer, baniſhed out of Sicile by Dionyſius the elder.

by *Platoes* comming to bridle and leſſen a litle the ouer-licentious and imperious tyrannie of *Dionyſius*, and thereby to frame *Dionyſius* a wiſe and righteous gouernor. But on the other ſide, if he ſaw he would not follow his counſell, and that he yeelded not to his wiſe inſtructions: he then determined to put him down, and to bring the gouernment of the cõmonwealth into the hands of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democratia*, (to wit, where the people gouerne) but yet certainly thinking that *Democratia* was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come vnto *Ariſtocratia*, (to wit, the gouernment of a few of the Nobility.) Now things being in this ſtate, *Plato* arriued in SICILE, where he was maruellouſly receiued & honored by *Dionyſius*. For when he landed on the ſhore, leauing his galley that brought him; there was readie for him one of the kings rich and ſumptuous chariots to conuey him to the caſtell: & the tyrant made ſacrifice to giue the gods thanks for his coming, as for ſome wonderfull great good hap chaunced vnto his ſeigniorie. Furthermore, the wonderfull modeſty and temperance that was begun to be obſerued in feaſts & banquets, the Court cleane changed, and the great goodnes & clemencie of the tyrant in al things, in miniſtring iuſtice to euery man; did put the SYRACVSANS in great good hope of change, and euery man in the Court was very deſirous to giue himſelfe to learning and Philoſophy: ſo that, (as men reported) the tyrants pallace was full of ſand & duſt, with the number of ſtudents that drew plattes and figures of Geometry. Shortly after *Plato* was arriued, by chance the time was come about to do a ſolemn ſacrifice within the caſtell, at which ſacrifice the herald (as the maner was) proclaimed aloud the ſolemne prayer accuſtomed to be done: That it would pleaſe the gods, long to preſerue the ſtate of the tyranny. Wherat, *Dionyſius* being hard by him, ſaid vnto him: What, wilt thou not leaue to curſe me? This word grieued *Philiſtus* and his companions to the hart, thinking that with time, by litle & litle, *Plato* would win ſuch eſtimation and great authority with *Dionyſius*, that afterwards they ſhould not be able to reſiſt him: conſidering that in ſo ſhort a time as he had bene with *Dionyſius*, he had ſo altered his mind and courage. And therfore they now began, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuſe *Dion*: and ſaid, that it was eaſie to be ſeene, how he charmed and inchaunted *Dionyſius* through *Platoes* eloquence, to make him willing to reſigne his gouernment becauſe he would transfer it to the hands of the children of his ſiſter *Ariſtomaché*. Others ſeemed to be offended, for that the ATHENIANS hauing come before into SICILIA with a great armie, both by ſea and land, they were all loſt and caſt away, and could not win the citie of SYRACVSA: and that now by one only Sophiſter, they vtterly deſtroyed and ouerthrew the Empire of *Dionyſius*, perſwading him to diſcharge the ten thouſand ſouldiers he had about him for his guard, to forſake the foure hundred gallies, the ten thouſand horſemen, and as many mo footmen, to go to the Academy to ſeeke an vnknowne happineſſe neuer heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometrie, reſigning his preſent happineſſe and felicitie to be a great Lord, to haue money at will, and to liue pleaſantly, vnto *Dion* and his Nephewes. By ſuch like accuſations and wicked tongues, *Dionyſius* began firſt to miſtruſt *Dion*, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frowne vpon him. In the meane time they brought letters that *Dion* wrote ſecretly vnto the Gouernors of the city of CARTHAGE, willing them, that when they would make peace with *Dionyſius*, they ſhould not talke with him vnleſſe he ſtood by; aſſuring them that he would helpe them to ſet things in quietneſſe, and that all ſhould be wel againe. When *Dionyſius* had read theſe letters with *Philiſtus*, and had taken his aduice and counſell what he ſhould do, as *Timæus* ſaid: he deceiued *Dion* vnder pretence of reconciliation, making as though he meant him no hurt, and ſaying that he would become friends againe with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the ſea ſide vnder his caſtell, and ſhewed him theſe letters, burdening him to haue practiſed with the CARTHAGINIANS againſt him. And, as *Dion* went about to make him anſwer to cleare himſelfe; *Dionyſius* would not heare him, but cauſed him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnaſe, and commanded the mariners to ſet him a land vpon the coaſt of ITALIE. After this was done, and that it was knowne abroad in the city, euery man thought it a cruell part of *Dionyſius*: inſomuch that the tyrants pallace was in a maruellous pecke of troubles, for the great ſorow the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the city ſelfe of SYRACVSA began to look about them, looking for ſome ſodaine great change & innouation, for the tumult and vprore that wold happen by means of *Dions* baniſhment; & for the miſtruſt alſo that all men wold haue of *Dionyſius*. *Dionyſius* conſidering this, and being afraid of ſome misfortune, he gaue his friends and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not baniſhed him, but was contented

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Dion allowed not popular ſtate.

Ariſtocratia, the gouernment of a few of the nobility.

Plato came into Sicilia vnto Dionyſius the younger.

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Dions letters vnto Carthage.

Dion ſent away by Dionyſius into Italie.

ted that he ſhould abſent himſelfe for a time: being affraid, that in his ſodaine angrie moode, he might peraduenture be compelled to do him ſome worſe turne if he remained, becauſe of his obſtinacie and ſelfe-will. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* friends two ſhippes, to carie as much goods, mony, and as many of *Dions* ſeruants as they would, and to conuey them vnto him vnto PELOPONNESVS. *Dion* was a maruellous rich man, and for the pompe of his ſeruice, and ſumptuous moueables of his houſe, they were like vnto the perſon of a tyrant. All theſe riches *Dions* friends brought abord vpon thoſe ſhips, and caried them vnto him; beſides many other rich gifts, which the women and his friends ſent vnto him: ſo that by meanes of his great riches, *Dion* was maruellouſly eſteemed among the GRECIANS; who by the riches of a baniſhed citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyrannie might be. But now concerning *Plato*. When *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* cauſed him to be lodged in his caſtle, and by this means craftily placed (vnder cloke of friendſhip) an honorable guard about him, becauſe he ſhould not returne into GRECE to ſeek *Dion*, to tell him of the iniurie he had done vnto him. Howbeit, *Dionyſius* often frequenting his companie, (as a wild beaſt is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke ſo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue: for he would haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that he ſhould eſteeme him aboue all men liuing, being ready to put the whole realme into his hands, and all his forces; ſo that he would thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this paſſionate affection of *Dionyſius*, grieuous vnto *Plato*: for he was ſo drowned with the loue of him, as men extreamly iealous of the women they loue, that in a moment he would ſodainly fall out with him, and ſtraight againe become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to ſay truly, he had a maruellous deſire to heare *Platoes* Philoſophie: but on the other ſide, he reuerenced the that did diſwade him from it, and told him, that he would ſpoile himſelf, if he entred ouer-deeply into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereupon he ſent *Plato* againe away, promiſing him, that the next Spring he would ſend for *Dion* home. But he brake promiſe therein, and yet ſent him his reuenues: and prayed *Plato* to pardon him, though he had not kept promiſe at his time appointed. For he alleadged the warre was the cauſe, and that ſo ſoone as he had ended his war, he would ſend for *Dion*; whom in the meane time he prayed to haue patience, and not to attempt any ſtir or alteration againſt him, nor to ſpeak euill of him among the GRECIANS. This *Plato* ſought to bring to paſſe, & brought *Dion* to ſtudie Philoſophie, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. *Dion* lay in the city of ATHENS with one *Calippus*, whom he had known of long time; howbeit, he bought him a houſe in the country, to lie there ſomtime for his pleaſure, the which he gaue afterwards (at his returne into SICILE) vnto *Speuſippus* that kept him companie, and was continually with him, more then with any other friend he had in ATHENS, through *Platoes* counſell: who to ſoften and recreate *Dions* maners, gaue him the company of ſome pleaſant conceited man, knowing that this *Speuſippus* could modeſtly obſerue time and place to be pleaſant & mery; for which reſpect, *Timon* in his ſatyricall ieaſts, calleth *Speuſippus*, A good ieaſter. Now *Plato* himſelfe hauing vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dauncings of yong children: *Dion* took the paines to teach and exerciſe them; and moreouer was himſelfe at the whole charge of theſe playes, *Plato* ſuffering him to beſtow that liberalitie and courteſie vpon the ATHENIANS: the which wan *Dion* a great deale more goodwill, then *Plato* honor. *Dion* kept not ſtill at ATHENS; but went alſo to ſee the other good cities of GRECE, paſſing his time away. He being at common feaſts and aſſemblies with the chiefeſt men, and beſt learned in matters of ſtate and gouernment, and neuer ſhewing any light parts, nor ſigne of tyrannicall pride in his manner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought vp with all pompe and pleaſure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well ſtudied in Philoſophie, whereby he grew to be generally beloued and eſteemed of all men: the citie graunted him publike honors, and ſent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counſels and aſſemblies. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS made him a SPARTAN and Burgeſſe of the city, not paſſing for *Dionyſius* diſpleaſure, though at that time he had giuen them great aide, in the war they made againſt the THEBANS. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Ptæodorus* MEGARIAN, to come and ſee him at his houſe, and *Dion* went thither. This *Ptæodorus* was a maruellous great rich man, and therefore *Dion* ſeeing a great number of people ſtanding at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and ſpeake with him, he had ſuch great buſines: he turned vnto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tarie ſo long at the gate, and ſaid vnto them: What cauſe haue we to think euill of him, ſith we did the like when we were at SYRACVSA? But *Dionyſius* being incenſed with enuie againſt him, and

Dions wealth.

Dionyſius tyrannicall loue to Plato.

Dionyſius ſent Plato from him.

Dions life in Grecce.

Dions vertues and honors done vnto him by the Grecians.

by *Platoes* comming to bridle and leſſen a litle the ouer-licentious and imperious tyrannie of *Dionyſius*, and thereby to frame *Dionyſius* a wiſe and righteous gouernor. But on the other ſide, if he ſaw he would not follow his counſell, and that he yeelded not to his wiſe inſtructions: he then determined to put him down, and to bring the gouernment of the cõmonwealth into the hands of the SYRACVSANS: not that he allowed of *Democratia*, (to wit, where the people gouerne) but yet certainly thinking that *Democratia* was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come vnto *Ariſtocratia*, (to wit, the gouernment of a few of the Nobility.) Now things being in this ſtate, *Plato* arriued in SICILE, where he was maruellouſly receiued & honored by *Dionyſius*. 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In the meane time they brought letters that *Dion* wrote ſecretly vnto the Gouernors of the city of CARTHAGE, willing them, that when they would make peace with *Dionyſius*, they ſhould not talke with him vnleſſe he ſtood by; aſſuring them that he would helpe them to ſet things in quietneſſe, and that all ſhould be wel againe. When *Dionyſius* had read theſe letters with *Philiſtus*, and had taken his aduice and counſell what he ſhould do, as *Timæus* ſaid: he deceiued *Dion* vnder pretence of reconciliation, making as though he meant him no hurt, and ſaying that he would become friends againe with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the ſea ſide vnder his caſtell, and ſhewed him theſe letters, burdening him to haue practiſed with the CARTHAGINIANS againſt him. And, as *Dion* went about to make him anſwer to cleare himſelfe; *Dionyſius* would not heare him, but cauſed him to be taken vp as he was, and put into a pinnaſe, and commanded the mariners to ſet him a land vpon the coaſt of ITALIE. After this was done, and that it was knowne abroad in the city, euery man thought it a cruell part of *Dionyſius*: inſomuch that the tyrants pallace was in a maruellous pecke of troubles, for the great ſorow the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreouer, the city ſelfe of SYRACVSA began to look about them, looking for ſome ſodaine great change & innouation, for the tumult and vprore that wold happen by means of *Dions* baniſhment; & for the miſtruſt alſo that all men wold haue of *Dionyſius*. *Dionyſius* conſidering this, and being afraid of ſome misfortune, he gaue his friends and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not baniſhed him, but was contented

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Dions letters vnto Carthage.

Dion ſent away by Dionyſius into Italie.

ted that he ſhould abſent himſelfe for a time: being affraid, that in his ſodaine angrie moode, he might peraduenture be compelled to do him ſome worſe turne if he remained, becauſe of his obſtinacie and ſelfe-will. Furthermore, he gaue vnto *Dions* friends two ſhippes, to carie as much goods, mony, and as many of *Dions* ſeruants as they would, and to conuey them vnto him vnto PELOPONNESVS. *Dion* was a maruellous rich man, and for the pompe of his ſeruice, and ſumptuous moueables of his houſe, they were like vnto the perſon of a tyrant. All theſe riches *Dions* friends brought abord vpon thoſe ſhips, and caried them vnto him; beſides many other rich gifts, which the women and his friends ſent vnto him: ſo that by meanes of his great riches, *Dion* was maruellouſly eſteemed among the GRECIANS; who by the riches of a baniſhed citizen, coniectured what the power of a tyrannie might be. But now concerning *Plato*. When *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* cauſed him to be lodged in his caſtle, and by this means craftily placed (vnder cloke of friendſhip) an honorable guard about him, becauſe he ſhould not returne into GREECE to ſeek *Dion*, to tell him of the iniurie he had done vnto him. Howbeit, *Dionyſius* often frequenting his companie, (as a wild beaſt is made tame by companie of man) he liked his talke ſo well, that he became in loue with him, but it was a tyrannicall loue: for he would haue *Plato* to loue none but him, and that he ſhould eſteeme him aboue all men liuing, being ready to put the whole realme into his hands, and all his forces; ſo that he would thinke better of him, then of *Dion*. Thus was this paſſionate affection of *Dionyſius*, grieuous vnto *Plato*: for he was ſo drowned with the loue of him, as men extreamly iealous of the women they loue, that in a moment he would ſodainly fall out with him, and ſtraight againe become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to ſay truly, he had a maruellous deſire to heare *Platoes* Philoſophie: but on the other ſide, he reuerenced the that did diſwade him from it, and told him, that he would ſpoile himſelf, if he entred ouer-deeply into it. In the meane time fell out warre, and thereupon he ſent *Plato* againe away, promiſing him, that the next Spring he would ſend for *Dion* home. But he brake promiſe therein, and yet ſent him his reuenues: and prayed *Plato* to pardon him, though he had not kept promiſe at his time appointed. For he alleadged the warre was the cauſe, and that ſo ſoone as he had ended his war, he would ſend for *Dion*; whom in the meane time he prayed to haue patience, and not to attempt any ſtir or alteration againſt him, nor to ſpeak euill of him among the GRECIANS. This *Plato* ſought to bring to paſſe, & brought *Dion* to ſtudie Philoſophie, and kept him in the Academy at ATHENS. *Dion* lay in the city of ATHENS with one *Calippus*, whom he had known of long time; howbeit, he bought him a houſe in the country, to lie there ſomtime for his pleaſure, the which he gaue afterwards (at his returne into SICILE) vnto *Speuſippus* that kept him companie, and was continually with him, more then with any other friend he had in ATHENS, through *Platoes* counſell: who to ſoften and recreate *Dions* maners, gaue him the company of ſome pleaſant conceited man, knowing that this *Speuſippus* could modeſtly obſerue time and place to be pleaſant & merie; for which reſpect, *Timon* in his ſatyricall ieaſts, calleth *Speuſippus*, A good ieaſter. Now *Plato* himſelfe hauing vndertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dauncings of yong children: *Dion* took the paines to teach and exerciſe them; and moreouer was himſelfe at the whole charge of theſe playes, *Plato* ſuffering him to beſtow that liberalitie and courteſie vpon the ATHENIANS: the which wan *Dion* a great deale more goodwill, then *Plato* honor. *Dion* kept not ſtill at ATHENS; but went alſo to ſee the other good cities of GREECE, paſſing his time away. He being at common feaſts and aſſemblies with the chiefeſt men, and beſt learned in matters of ſtate and gouernment, and neuer ſhewing any light parts, nor ſigne of tyrannicall pride in his manner of life, nor of a man that had bene brought vp with all pompe and pleaſure, but like a graue vertuous man, and well ſtudied in Philoſophie, whereby he grew to be generally beloued and eſteemed of all men: the citie graunted him publike honors, and ſent him decrees of his glorie, made in their counſels and aſſemblies. Furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS made him a SPARTAN and Burgeſſe of the city, not paſſing for *Dionyſius* diſpleaſure, though at that time he had giuen them great aide, in the war they made againſt the THEBANS. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Ptæodorus* MEGARIAN, to come and ſee him at his houſe, and *Dion* went thither. This *Ptæodorus* was a maruellous great rich man, and therefore *Dion* ſeeing a great number of people ſtanding at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and ſpeake with him, he had ſuch great buſines: he turned vnto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tarie ſo long at the gate, and ſaid vnto them: What cauſe haue we to think euill of him, ſith we did the like when we were at SYRACVSA? But *Dionyſius* being incenſed with enuie againſt him, and

Dions wealth.

Dionyſius tyrannicall loue to Plato.

Dionyſius ſent Plato from him.

Dions life in Greece.

Dions vertues and honors done vnto him by the Grecians.

fearing the goodwill the GRECIANS bare him: he kept backe his reuenue, and would no more send it him, and seazed all the goods, the which he gaue to his receiuers to keepe. Furthermore, becauſe he wold cleare himſelfe of the infamie he had gotten amongſt the Philoſophers for *Platoes* ſake, he went for diuers wiſe and learned men, and vainely coueting to excell them all in wiſedome, he was driuen improperly, and out of time, to alleadge many wiſe ſayings he had learned of *Plato*. Thereupon he began againe to wiſh for him, and to condemne himſelfe, for that he had no wit to vſe him well when he had him at his commandement, and that he had not heard him ſo much as he ſhould haue done: and like a tyrant as he was, madly caried away with light deſires, and eaſily chaunging mind from time to time, a ſodaine vehement deſire tooke him in the head, to haue *Plato* againe. So he ſought all the meanes and waies he could deuiſe, to pray *Archytas* the Pythagorian Philoſopher, to tell him, that he might boldly come; and to be his ſuretie vnto him, for that he would promiſe him: for firſt of all, they were acquainted together by his meanes. Therefore *Archytas* ſent thither *Archidamus* the Philoſopher. *Dionyſius* alſo ſent certaine gallies, and ſome of his friends thither, to pray *Plato* to come to him: and he himſelfe wrote ſpecially and plainely, that it ſhould not go well with *Dion*, if *Plato* came not into SICILE: but if he would be perſwaded to come, that then he would do what he would haue him. Many letters and requeſts came vnto *Dion* from his wife and ſiſter, inſomuch as *Dion* ſo vſed the matter, that *Plato* obeyed *Dionyſius*, without making any excuſe at all. So *Plato* writeth himſelfe, that he was driuen to come againe the third time into the ſtreight of SICILE;

Archytas a Pythagorian Philoſopher.

Dionyſius ſendeth againe for Plato to come into Sicile.

Platoes third iourney into Sicile.

To trie, if once he could Charibdis dangers paſſe.

Now *Plato* being arriued in SICILE, he made *Dionyſius* a great ioyfull man, and filled all SICILE againe with great good hope: for they were all very deſirous, and did what they could, to make *Plato* ouercome *Philiſtus* and the tyrannie, with his Philoſophie. The women of *Dionyſius* Court did entertaine *Plato* the beſt they could: but aboue all, *Dionyſius* ſeemed to haue a maruellous truſt and affiance in him, & more then in any other of all his friends. For he ſuffered *Plato* to come to him without ſearching of him, and oftentimes offered to giue him a great ſumme of money: but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Ariſtippus* CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrants Court in SICILE, ſaid, that *Dionyſius* beſtowed his liberalitie ſurely: for, to vs that aske much, he giueth litle; and much vnto *Plato*, that requireth nothing. After *Dionyſius* had giuen *Plato* his welcome, he beganne to moue him againe of *Dion*. *Dionyſius* on the other ſide, at the firſt did vſe him with fine delayes, but afterwards he ſhewed himſelfe angrie indeede: and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet ſo couertly, that others ſaw it not: for *Dionyſius* diſſembled that; but otherwiſe in all other things he did him as much honour as he could deuiſe, practiſing thereby to make him to forſake *Dions* friendſhip. Now *Plato* found him at the firſt, that there was no truſt to be giuen to his wordes, and that all were but lyes and deuiſes he either ſaid or did: howbeit, he kept it to himſelfe, and euer patiently bare all things, hoping for the beſt, and made as though he beleeued him. They two thus finely diſſembling with each other, thinking to deceiue all men, and that none ſhould vnderſtand their ſecrets: *Helycon* CYZICENIAN, one of *Platoes* friendes, did prognoſticate the eclipſe of the Sunne. The ſame falling out as he had prognoſticated, the tyrant eſteemed maruellouſly of him, and gaue him a ſiluer talent for his labour. Then *Ariſtippus* ſporting with other Philoſophers, ſaid, he could tell them of a ſtraunger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was: I do prognoſticate (ſaid he) that *Plato* and *Dionyſius* will be enemies ere it be long. In the end it came to paſſe, that *Dionyſius* made port-ſale of all *Dions* goods, and kept the money to himſelfe, and lodged *Plato* (that before lay in the next Court to his pallace) among the ſouldiers of his guard, whom he knew maliced him of long time, and ſought to kill him: becauſe he did perſwade *Dionyſius* to leaue his tyrannie, and to liue without his guard. *Plato* being in this inſtant daunger, *Archytas* ſent Ambaſſadours foorthwith vnto *Dionyſius*, in a galley of thirtie oares, to demand *Plato* againe: declaring that *Plato* came againe to SYRACVSA, vpon his word and caution. *Dionyſius* to excuſe himſelfe, and to ſhewe that he was not angrie with him: at his departure from him, he made him all the great cheare and feaſtes he could, and ſo ſent him home with great ſhewes of goodwill. One day among the reſt, he ſaid vnto *Plato*: I am afraid *Plato*, (ſaid he) that thou wilt ſpeake euill of me when thou art among thy friends and companions in the Academie. Then *Plato* ſmiling, anſwered him againe: The goddes forbid, that they ſhould haue ſuch ſcarcitie of matter in the Academie, as that they muſt needes talke of thee. Thus was *Platoes* returne, (as it is reported) although that

Ariſtippus ſaying of Dionyſius.

Helycon, a Mathematicia.

Ariſtippus diuination.

Archytas requireth Plato of Dionyſius.

that which he himſelfe writeth, agreeth not much with this report. Theſe things went to *Dions* heart, ſo that ſhortly after he ſhewed himſelfe an open enemie vnto *Dionyſius*, but ſpecially when he heard how he had handled his wife. *Plato* vnder couert words, ſent *Dionyſius* word of it by his letters: and thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled, *Dionyſius* returning *Plato* backe againe, he willed him ſecretly to feele *Dions* mind, whether he wold not be angrie that his wife ſhould be maried to another man; becauſe there ranne a rumour abroad, (whether it were true, or inuented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his mariage, and could not liue quietly with his wife. Therfore when *Plato* was at ATHENS, and had told *Dion* of all things, he wrote a letter vnto *Dionyſius* the tyrant, and did ſet all other things downe ſo plainely, that euery man might vnderſtand him; but this one thing onely ſo darkely, that he alone and none other could vnderſtand him, but he to whome he had written: declaring vnto him, that he had ſpoken with *Dion* about the matter he wote of, and that he did let him vnderſtand he would be maruellous angrie, if *Dionyſius* did it. So at that time, becauſe there was great hope of reconciliation betweene them, the tyrant did nothing lately touching his ſiſter, but ſuffered her ſtill to remaine with *Dions* ſonne. But when they were ſo farre out, that there was no more hope to returne in fauour again, and that he had alſo ſent home *Plato* in diſgrace & diſpleaſure: then he maried his ſiſter *Areté* (*Dions* wife) againſt her will, vnto one of his friends called *Timocrates*, not following therein his fathers iuſtice and lenitie. For *Polyxenus*, that had maried his fathers ſiſter *Theſta*, being alſo become his enemie, fled out of SICILE. *Dionyſius* the elder ſent for his ſiſter *Theſta*, and tooke her vp very ſharpely, for that ſhe knowing her husband would flye, did not come and tell him of it. *Theſta* nobly anſwered him againe, and neuer was afraid nor abaſhed: Why, *Dionyſius*, doeſt thou thinke me a woman ſo faint-hearted and beaſtly, that if I had knowne my husband would haue gone his way and left me, I would not haue taken ſea with him, and both haue runne one fortune together? Truly, I knew not of his departure till he was gone: for it had bene more for mine honour, to haue bene called the wife of the baniſhed *Polyxenus*, then the ſiſter of thee a tyrant. *Dionyſius* maruelled to heare his ſiſter ſpeake thus boldly, and the SYRACVSANS wondered at her noble courage: inſomuch, that when the tyranny was vtterly deſtroyed, they did not refuſe to do her all the honor they could deuiſe, as vnto a Queene. And when ſhe was dead alſo, all the citizens of SYRACVSA by a common decree, did accompanie her body at her buriall. This litle digreſſion from our hiſtory, is not altogether vnprofitable. But now againe to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth diſpoſed himſelf altogether vnto war, againſt *Platoes* counſell and aduiſe: who did his beſt indeuour to diſſwade him from it, both for the reſpect of *Dionyſius* good entertainment he had giuen him, as alſo for that *Dion* was of great yeares. Howbeit, on the other ſide, *Speuſippus* and his other friends did prouoke him vnto it, and perſwade him to deliuer SICILE from the ſlauerie and bondage of the tyrant, the which held vp her hands vnto him, and would receiue him with great loue and goodwill. For whilſt *Plato* lay at SYRACVSA, *Speuſippus* keeping the citizens cõpanie more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the firſt, they were afraid to open themſelues vnto him, and franckly to ſpeake what they thought, miſtruſting he was a ſpie vnto the tyrant, ſent amongſt them to feele their minds: but within a ſhort time they began to truſt him, and were all of one mind; for they prayed & perſwaded *Dion* to come, & not to care otherwiſe for bringing of ſhips, ſouldiers, nor horſes with him, but only to hire a ſhip, and to lend the SICILIANS his body and name againſt *Dionyſius*. *Speuſippus* reporting theſe newes vnto *Dion*, did put him in good heart againe: wherupon he began ſecretly to leauie men by other mens meanes, to hide his purpoſe & intent. The Philoſophers do ſet forward *Dions* wars; many citizens dealing in the affaires of the cõmonwealth, did aide him, and diuers of them alſo that only gaue their minds to the ſtudie of Philoſophie: and among thẽ, *Eudemus* CYPRIAN (on whoſe death *Ariſtotle* wrote his Dialogue of the ſoule) and *Timonides* LEVCADIAN, went with him. Furthermore, there ioyned alſo with him *Miltas* THESSALIAN, a Soothſayer, and that had bene his companion in ſtudie in the Academie. Now, of all them whom the tyrant had baniſhed, (which were no leſſe then a thouſand perſons) there were but only fiue and twenty that durſt accompany him in this war: for all the other were ſuch daſtards, that they forſooke him, and durſt not go with him. The place where they appointed to meete, was the Ile of ZACINTH, where they leauied all their ſouldiers, that were not aboue eight hundred in all; but all of them braue ſouldiers, and valiant men, and excellently well trained in wars: and to conclude, ſuch luſtie men, as would encourage all the armie *Dion* hoped of at his arriuall in SICILE, to fight like valiant men

Dionyſius maried Dions wife to another man.

Polyxenus maried Theſta, his father Dionyſius ſiſter.

The noble anſwer of Theſta vnto her brother Dionyſius the elder.

Dion beginneth to make warre againſt Dionyſius.

The Philoſophers aduanced Dions war.

Ariſtotles Dialogue, de anima.

Dions armie.

with them. These hired souldiers, the first time that they vnderstood it was to go into Sicile to make warre with *Dionysius*: they were amazed at the first, and misliked the iourney, because it was vndertaken rather of malice and spite that *Dion* had to be reuenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrell; who hauing no better hope, tooke vpon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therfore the souldiers were offended with their Captains that had pressed them, because they had not told them of this warre before. But, after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies haue euill foundations, and are subiect vnto ruine; and that he led the not into Sicile so much for souldiers, as he did to make them Captaines of the Syracvsans: and the other Sicilians; who of long time desired nothing more then occasion to rise: and, whē after him also *Alcimenes* (a companion with him in this warre, and the chiefest man of all the Achaians, both for nobilitie and estimation) did speake vnto them in like manner; then they were all contented to go whither they would leade them. It was then in the heart of Sommer, and the wind blew, called the Grecian wind, the Moone being at the full; and *Dion* hauing prepared to make a sumptuous sacrifice vnto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corslets in procession into the temple: & after the sacrifice done, he made them a feast in the parke or shew-place of the Zazinthians. There the tables were layed, and the souldiers wondred to see the great state and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold & siluer, and such other furniture & preparation, as passed a priuat mans wealth: then they thought with themselues, that a man being so old, & Lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such danger, without good ground, & great assurance of his friends aide & help. But, after his oblations of wine, & common prayers made to the gods at feastes, sodainly the Moone eclipsed. *Dion* thought it not strange to see an eclipse, considering the reuolutions of the eclipses, and knowing very well it is a shadow that falleth vpon the body of the Moone, because of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her & the Sun. But because the soldiers that were afraid & astonied withal, stood in need of some cōfort & encoragement, *Miltas* the Soothsayer standing vp in the midst amongst them, said vnto them: My fellow soldiers, be of good cheare, & assure your selues that we shall prosper: for God doth foreshew vs by this sight we see, that some one of the chiefest things now in highest place & dignity shall be eclipsed. And at this present time what thing carieth greater glory and fame, then the tyranny of *Dionysius*? Therfore you must think, that so soone as you arriue in Sicile, your selues shall put out his light & glory. This interpretation of the eclipse of the Moone, did *Miltas* the Soothsayer make, before all the whole company. But touching the swarme of Bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* ship, he told him and his friends priuatly: That he was affraid his acts (which should fall out famous and glorious) should last but awhile, and flourishing a few daies, would straight consume away. It is reported also, that *Dionysius* in like manner had many strange signes & wonderfull tokens from aboue. Among others, there came an Eagle, that snatched a partisan out of a souldiers hand, and caried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the sea. The sea also beating against the wals of the castell, was as sweet to drinke a whole day together, as any conduit or running water: as those that tasted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a Sowe farrowed Pigges that lacked no parts of the bodie, but onely their eares. This the Soothsayers sayed, did signifie rebellion, and disobedience of his subiects: and that the Citizens would no more heare him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetnesse of the salt water, prognosticated to the Syracvsans, change of cruell and euill time, vnto good and ciuill gouernment: and that the Eagle, *Iupiters* minister; and the partisan, the mark and token of the kingdome and Empire; did betoken, that *Iupiter* (the chiefe of all the gods) had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So, *Dions* souldiers were embarked into two great ships of burden, and another third ship that was not very great, and two pinnaces with thirtie oares, followed them. For their armor and weapon, beside those the souldiers had; he caried two thousand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pikes, and plentie of victuals: that they should lacke nothing all the time they were vpon the sea, considering that their iourney stood altogether at the courtesie of the winds and sea; and for that they were affrayed to land, vnderstanding that *Philistus* rode at anker in the coast of Apvglia, with a fleete of shippes that lay in waite for their comming. So hauing a pleasant gale of wind, they sayled the space of twelue dayes together, and the thirteenth day they came to the fore-land of Sicile called Pachynus. There the Pylot thought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly looffed into the sea, and lost that point, they were sure they should lose also many nights

Dions sumptuous fare in feasting.

The eclipse of the Moone, & cause of the eclipse.

VVonders shewed to Dion.

VVonders appearing vnto Dionysius.

Dions preparations.

Pachynus, the foreland of Sicile.

nights and daies in vaine in the midſt of the ſea, being then Sommer time, and the wind at the South. But *Dion* being affraid to land ſo neare his enemies, he was deſirous to go farther, and ſo paſt by the foreland of PACHYNVS. Then the North wind roſe ſo bigge and great, that with great violence it draue backe their ſhips from the coaſts of SICILE. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withall, (becauſe it was at that time when the ſtarre Acturus beginneth to ſhew) it made ſo terrible a tempeſt, and powred downe ſuch a ſore ſhower of raine vpon them, that al the mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whither the wind would driue them: till that ſuddenly they ſaw the ſtorm had caſt them vpon the Ile of CERCINA, (which is on the coaſt of LYBIA) and ſpecially where it is moſt dangerous to arriue for the rockes, for their ſhips were like to haue run vpon them, and to haue made ſhipwracke. But with much ado they bare off the ſhips with their great long poles, and wandred vp and down the ſea, not knowing whither they went, vntill the ſtorme ceaſed. Then they met a ſhippe, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Mariners call, The heads of the great Syrte. Thus they wandring vp and downe, being maruellous angry that the ſea was calme; there roſe a litle South wind from the land, although they leaſt looked for any ſuch wind at that time; and litle thinking it would ſo haue changed: but ſeeing the wind riſe bigger and bigger, they packed on all the ſailes they had, and making their prayers vnto the gods, they croſſed the ſea, and ſailed from the coaſt of LYBIA, directly vnto SICILE, and had the wind ſo luckie, that at the fifth day they were neare vnto a litle village of SICILE, called MINOA, the which was ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS. *Synalus* CARTHAGINIAN, being at that time Captaine and gouernour of the towne of MINOA, and *Dions* friend, was there by chaunce at that preſent, who being ignorant of his enterpriſe and comming, did what he could to keepe *Dions* ſouldiers from landing. But they notwithſtanding ſodainly leapt a land armed, but ſlue no man: for *Dion* had commaunded them the contrarie, for the friendſhip he bare the Captaine: and they following the townesmen hard that fled before them, entred the towne, hand ouer head amongſt them, and ſo wan the market place. When both the Captaines met, and that they had ſpoken together, *Dion* redeliuered the towne into *Synalus* hands againe, without any hurt or violence offered him. *Synalus* on the other ſide, did indeuour himſelfe all he could to make much of the ſouldiers, and holpe *Dion* to prouide him of all things neceſſarie. But this did moſt of all encourage the ſouldiers, becauſe *Dionyſius* at their arriuall, was not then in SICILE: for it chaunced ſo, that not many daies before he went into ITALY with foureſcore ſaile. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remaine there a few daies to refreſh themſelues, becauſe they had bene ſo ſore ſea-beaten a long time together; they thēſelues wold not, they were ſo glad to imbrace the occaſion offered them, and prayed *Dion* to leade them foorthwith to SYRACVSA. *Dion* leauing all his ſuperfluous armor and prouiſion in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to ſend them to him when time ſerued: he tooke his way towards SYRACVSA. So by the way, two hundred horſemen of the ARGENTINES, which dwell in that part called ECNOMVS, came firſt to ioyne with him, and after them, the GELOIANS. The rumor of their comming ran ſtraight to SYRACVSA: therupon *Timocrates* that had maried *Areté*, *Dions* wife, and *Dionyſius* the fathers ſiſter, and to whom *Dionyſius* the younger had left the charge and gouernment of all his men and friends in the citie: he preſently diſpatched a poſt with letters, to aduertiſe *Dionyſius* of *Dions* coming. He himſelfe alſo in the meane time had taken ſuch order, that there roſe no tumult nor mutinie in the citie, though they all of them lacked no goodwill to rebell: but becauſe they were vncertaine whether this rumour was true or falſe, (being afraid) euery man was quiet. Now there chaunced a ſtrange misfortune vnto the meſſengers, which caried the letters vnto *Dionyſius*. For after he had paſſed the ſtraight, and that he was arriued in the citie of RHEGIO of ITALIES ſide, making haſt to come to the citie of CAVLONIA, where *Dionyſius* was: he met by the way one of his acquaintance that caried a mutton but newly ſacrificed. This good fellow gaue him a peece of it, and the meſſenger ſpurred away with al the ſpeed he could poſſible: but when he had ridden the moſt part of the night, he was ſo wearie and drowſie for lacke of ſleepe, that he was driuen to lye downe: ſo he lay downe vpon the ground in a wood hard by the high way. The ſauour of this fleſh brought a Wolfe to him that caried away the fleſh and the portmantle it was wrapt in, and in the which alſo were his letters of aduertiſement, which he caried vnto *Dionyſius*. When he awoke out of his ſleepe, and ſaw that his portmantle was gone; he enquired for it, and went wandring vp and downe a long time to ſeeke it: howbeit, all in vaine, for he could neuer find it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to go to the tyrant with-

A tempeſt on the ſea againſt Dion.

Synalus, Captaine of Minoa for the Carthaginians.

Dion wan Minoa.

Dion went to Syracuſa.

A ſtraunge chaunce happened vnto the meſſenger, ſent to Dionyſius.

A wolfe caried away the meſſengers portmantle.

out his letters, but rather to flie into ſome vnknowne place where no bodie knew him. Thus ouerlate receiued *Dionyſius* aduertiſement by others of this war, which *Dion* made in Sicile. In the meane time, the Camarinians came and ioyned with *Dions* armie, in the high-way towards Syracvsa: and ſtill there came vnto him alſo a great number of the Syracvsans that were vp in armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other ſide, certaine Campanians and Leontines, which were gotten into the caſtell of Epipoles with *Timocrates* of purpoſe to keepe it; vpon a falſe rumour *Dion* gaue out (and which came vnto them) that he would firſt go againſt their townes: they forſooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* vnderſtanding that, being lodged with his armie in a place called Macræ: he preſently remoued his campe being darke night, and marched forward till he came vnto the riuer of Anapus, which is not from the citie aboue ten furlongs off: and there ſtaying awhile, he ſacrificed vnto the riuer, and made his prayer, and worſhipped the riſing of the Sunne. At the ſelfe ſame inſtant alſo, the Soothſayers came and told him, that the gods did promiſe him aſſured victorie. And the ſouldiers alſo ſeeing *Dion* weare a garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremonie of the ſacrifice: all of them with one ſelfe goodwill, tooke euery man one of them, (being no leſſe then fiue thouſand men that were gathered together by the way, and but ſlenderly armed with ſuch things as came firſt to hand; howbeit, ſupplying with good will their want of better furniture and armor) and when *Dion* commaunded them to march, for ioy they ranne, and encouraged one another with great cries, to ſhew themſelues valiant for recouerie of their libertie. Now for them that were within the city ſelfe of Syracvsa, the Noblemen and chiefe Citizens went to receiue them at the gates, in their beſt gownes. The common people on the other ſide, ran and ſet vpon them that tooke part with the tyrant, and ſpoiled them that were called the Prosagogides (as much to ſay, The common Promooters of men) the deteſtableſt villaines, hatefull to the gods and men: for they like Sycophants and buſie tale-bearers, would iet vp and downe the citie, and mingle among the Citizens, hauing an oare in euery mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and buſie-headed, to know what euery man ſaid and did, and then to go carie it to the tyrant. Theſe men were they that had their payment firſt of all, for they killed them with drie blowes, beating them to death with ſtaues. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the caſtell with them that kept it, he tooke his horſebacke, and fled out of the citie; and flying made all men afraid and amazed where he came, enlarging *Dions* power by his report, becauſe it ſhould not ſeeme, that for feare of a trifle, he had forſaken the citie. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the citie with his men, and was come ſo neare, that they might ſee him plainely from the citie, marching foremoſt of all, armed with a faire bright white corſelet, hauing his brother *Megacles* on his right hand of him, & *Calippus* Athenian on the left hand, crowned with garlands of flowers: and after him alſo there followed an hundred ſouldiers that were ſtrangers, choſen for his guard about him, and the reſt came marching after in good order of battell, being lead by their Captaines. The Syracvsans ſaw him comming, & went out and receiued him as a holy & bleſſed proceſſion, that brought them their libertie and popular ſtate againe, the which they had loſt the ſpace of eight and fortie yeares. When *Dion* was come into the citie by the gate called Menitide, he cauſed his trumpeter to ſound, to appeaſe the rumor and tumult of the people. The he commaunded an Herald to proclaime aloud: That *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put downe the tyranny, did ſet all the Syracvsans at libertie, and all the other Sicilians alſo from the bondage and ſubiection of the tyrant. And becauſe *Dion* himſelf was deſirous to ſpeake vnto the peoople, he went to the vpper part of the towne, called Acradina. The Syracvsans all the ſtreetes through as he paſſed by, had on either hand of him prepared ſacrifices, and ſet vp tables and cuppes vpon them: and as he paſſed by their houſes, they caſt flowers and fruites on him, and made prayers vnto him, as if he had bene a god. Now, vnder the caſtell there was a place called Pentapyla (a clocke, to know by the Sunne how the day went) the which *Dionyſius* had cauſed to be made, and it was of a good pretie height. *Dion* got vp vpon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perſwading his countrimen to do their indeuor to recouer their liberty againe, and to maintaine it. They being in a maruellous ioy withall, and deſirous to pleaſe *Dion*: did chooſe him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieutenants generall, with abſolute power and authoritie. Afterwards alſo, by the conſent of *Dion* himſelfe and his brother, and at their requeſtes in like manner, they choſe twentie other Captaines, of the which the moſt part of them had bene baniſhed by the tyrant,

Dionyſius pickthawks ſlaine.

Dion receiued into Syracuſa.

Dion reſtoreth the Syracuſans to libertie.

Dionyſius clocke.

and

and were returned againe with *Dion*. The Soothſayers and Prognoſticators liked it well, and ſayd it was a good ſigne for *Dion*, that he trode that ſumptuous building and workmanſhip of the tyrant vnder his feete, when he made his Oration: but becauſe the hand of the Diall did ſhew the courſe of the Sunne, which neuer leaueth going, vpon the which he got vp when he was choſen Lieutenant generall with abſolute power and authoritie: they were afraid againe, that it was a ſigne *Dions* affaires ſhould haue a ſudden change of fortune. After this, *Dion* hauing taken the caſtell of EPIPOLES, he ſet all the citizens at libertie which were kept there as priſoners in captiuitie by the tyrant, and enuironed the caſtell round about with a wall. Within ſeuen dayes after, *Dionyſius* returned by ſea to the caſtell of SYRACVSA, and therewithall alſo came the carts loaden with armour and weapon to SYRACVSA, which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which, *Dion* cauſed to be diſtributed among the citizens of SYRACVSA that had none. Others did furniſh themſelues as well as they could, and ſhewed that they had courage and good-will to fight for the maintenance and defence of their libertie. In the meane time, *Dionyſius* ſent Ambaſſadors, firſt vnto *Dion* priuatly, to ſee if he would yeeld to anie compoſition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bad them tell the SYRACVSANS openly what they had to ſay, being men that were free, and enioyed libertie. Then the Ambaſſadors ſpake in the behalfe of the tyrant, vnto the people of SYRACVSA, promiſing them with mild and gentle words, that they ſhould pay no more ſubſidies and taxes, but verie litle, and ſhould be no more troubled with warres, other then ſuch as they themſelues ſhould like of. The SYRACVSANS made a mockerie at thoſe offers, and *Dion* alſo anſwered the Ambaſſadours, and willed *Dionyſius* to ſend no more to the SYRACVSANS, before he had diſpoſſeſt himſelfe of his tyranny: and, ſo that he would leaue it, he would be his meane to obtaine all things iuſt and reaſonable of the people. *Dionyſius* liked very well of this good offer: and therfore ſent his Ambaſſadors againe to pray the SYRACVSANS, that they would appoint ſome amongſt them to come to the caſtell, to talke with him for the benefit and commodity of the commonwealth; that he might heare what they would alleadge, and they alſo what anſwer he would make. *Dion* choſe certaine whom he ſent vnto him. Now there ranne a rumor in the city among the SYRACVSANS, which came from the caſtell: that *Dionyſius* would willingly of himſelfe, rather then by reaſon of *Dions* comming, depoſe himſelfe of the tyranny. But this was but a falſe allarme, and crafty fetch of *Dionyſius*, to intrap the SYRACVSANS by. For thoſe that were ſent him from the city, he kept them priſoners euerie man of them, and one morning hauing made his ſouldiers drinke wine luſtily, which he kept in pay to guard his perſon, he ſent them with great fury to aſſault the wall the SYRACVSANS had built againſt the caſtel. Now, becauſe the SYRACVSANS looked for nothing leſſe then for the ſudden aſſault, & for that theſe barbarous people with a wonderfull courage and great tumult ouerthrew the wall, and others of them alſo did ſet vpon the SYRACVSANS: there was not a man of them that durſt make head to fight with them, ſauing the ſouldiers that were ſtrangers, whom *Dion* had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noiſe, ranne ſtraight to repulſe them, and yet they themſelues could not well tell what they ſhould do vpon that ſudden. For, they could heare nothing for the great noiſe and hurley burley of the SYRACVSANS, which fled with great diſorder, and came and mingled themſelues amongſt them. Till at length, *Dion* perceiuing he could not be heard, to ſhew them by deed what they ſhould do: he went firſt himſelfe againſt theſe barbarous people, and about him there was a cruell and bloudie fight: for his enemies knew him as well, as his owne men, and they all ranne vpon him with great cries. Now for *Dion* himſelfe, indeed becauſe of his age, he was heauier then was requiſite for one that ſhould away with the paines of ſuch battels: but he had ſuch a valiant courage in him, that he went through withall luſtily, and ſlue them that did aſſaile him. Yet he had his hand alſo thruſt through with a pike, and very hardly did his curaces hold out the blowes of the darts and thruſts by hand which he receiued on them, they were ſo mangled and hacked with ſuch a number of darts and pikes paſſed through his ſheld and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten downe: howbeit his ſouldiers reſcued him ſtraight. Then he made *Timonides* their Captaine, and he himſelfe tooke his horſe-backe, and went vp and downe the citie, ſtaying and quieting the flying of the SYRACVSANS. Then he ſent for his ſouldiers the ſtraungers, which he had put in garriſon in that part of the citie called the ACRADINE to keepe it; and brought them being freſh, againſt the barbarous people of the caſtell that were wearied, and almoſt all of them diſcouraged to attempt any further enterpriſe. For they had made this ſallie out, in hope to haue taken all the citie at the firſt

The predictions of the Soothſayers.

Dionyſius ſent Ambaſſadors vnto Dion.

Dion fighteth with Dionyſius.

Dion hurt.

onſet, onely running vp and downe: but when contrary to their expectation, they met theſe valiant ſouldiers and freſh ſupply, they then began to retire againe into the caſtell. And the GRECIAN ſouldiers on the other ſide, perceiuing they gaue backe, they came the faſter vpon them, ſo that they were compelled to turne their backes, and were driuen within their wals, after they had ſlaine three ſcore and fourteene of *Dions* men, and loſt a great number of their owne. This was a noble victory, and therefore the SYRACVSANS gaue the ſouldiers that were ſtrangers, an hundred ſiluer Minaes, in reward for ther good ſeruice: and they gaue *Dion* their Generall, a crowne of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a trumpet from the caſtell, written from the women of his houſe: & among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed to my father, the which *Hipparinus* wrote vnto him. For that was *Dions* ſonnes name, though *Timæus* writeth he was called *Areteus*, after his mothers name *Aretè*. But in ſuch matters, me thinkes *Timonides* is better to be credited, becauſe he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were ſent, were openly read before the aſſembly of the SYRACVSANS, and did onely concerne requeſts of theſe women vnto *Dion*. The SYRACVSANS would not haue the ſuppoſed letter of his ſonne to be openly read: but *Dion* againſt their minds opened it, and found that it was *Dionyſius* letter; who by words, made the direction of it vnto *Dion*, but in effect, he ſpake vnto the SYRACVSANS. For in ſight, it ſeemed a manner of requeſt and iuſtification of him: but in truth, it was written of purpoſe to accuſe *Dion*. Firſt of all, he remembred him of the things he had done before, for the eſtabliſhing and preſeruation of the tyranny: and afterwards, of cruell threats againſt thoſe whom he ſhould loue beſt, as his wife, his ſonne and ſiſter: and laſt of all, full of moſt humble requeſts and intreaties with ſorow and lamentation. But that which moſt moued *Dion* of all other was, that he required him not to deſtroy the tyranny, but rather to take it for himſelfe, and not to ſet them at libertie that hated him, and would alwayes remember the miſchiefe he had done vnto them: and that he would himſelfe take vpon him to be Lord, ſauing by that means the liues of their parents and friends. When theſe letters had bin read before the whole aſſembly of the people, the SYRACVSANS thought not how to reuerence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible conſtancy & magnanimity of *Dion*, that ſtood firme and faſt for iuſtice and vertue, againſt ſuch vehement intreatie & perſwaſion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be afraid, and to miſtruſt him, as he that of neceſſity ſhould be forced to pardon the tyrant, for the great pledges and hoſtages he had of him. Wherfore, they began to chuſe them new gouernours, and the rather, becauſe they heard that *Heraclides* was coming vnto them, whom they loued ſingularly well. This *Heraclides* was one of them that had bene baniſhed, a good ſouldier and Captaine, and well eſteemed of for the charge and office he bare vnder the tyrants: howbeit, a very vnconſtant man in euery thing, and would not continue long in a mind, and leaſt conſtant in warres where he had great charge of honor in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in PELOPONNESVS; wherefore he determined to come with a power by himſelfe, and with his owne fleet againſt the tyrant. So, he ariued at length in SYRACVSA, with ſeuen galleys, and three other ſhips: where he found *Dionyſius* againe ſhut vp into his caſtell with a wall, and the SYRACVSANS alſo to haue the better hand of him. Then he began to curry fauour with the common people all the waies he could poſſibly deuiſe, hauing by nature a certaine pleaſing maner to win the comon people, which ſeeke nothing elſe but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the eaſier for him to win them, becauſe the people did already miſlike *Dions* ſeuerity, as a man too ſeuere and cruell to gouerne a common-wealth. For they had now their will ſo much, and were growne ſo ſtrong headed, becauſe they ſaw themſelues the ſtronger: that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free cities, where they only be Lords, and do rule) before they were fully ſet at libertie. Therefore firſt of all, not being called together by the authoritie of the gouernours: they ranne in a furie, of their owne light heads, vnto the place of common aſſemblies, and there choſe *Heraclides* Admirall. Then *Dion* vnderſtanding this, came to complaine of the iniurie they had done him, declaring vnto them, that to giue this power now vnto *Hiraclides*, was to take that away which they had firſt giuen vnto him: becauſe he ſhould no more be Generall, if they choſe any other Admirall by ſea then himſelfe. The SYRACVSANS then, as it were againſt their wils, did reuoke the power they had giuen vnto *Heraclides*: but afterwards *Dion* ſent for *Heraclides*, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a litle, and told him it was not honeſtly, nor profitably done of him, to ſue to the people, and to contend for honour againſt him in ſo dangerous a time, when the leaſt occaſion in

Dions victorie of Dionyſius.

Hipparinus, Dions ſonne.

Dionyſius craft vnto Dion.

Heraclides, what he was.

Heraclides returneth to Syracuſa.

The Syracuſans do chuſe Heraclides Admirall, to ſpite Dion.

in the world was inough to haue marred all. Afterwards, *Dion* himself called an assembly againe of the city, and established *Heraclides* Admirall, and perswaded the citizens to giue him souldiers, as he had indeed. *Heraclides* outwardly seemed to honour *Dion*, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound vnto him, and was alwayes at his heeles very lowly, being ready at his commaundement: but in the meane time, secretly he inticed the common people to rebell, and to stirre vp those whom he knew meete men to like of change. Whereby he procured *Dion* such trouble, and brought him into such perplexity, that he knew not well what way to take. For, if he gaue the aduice to let *Dionysius* quietly come out of the castell, then they accused him, and sayd he did it to saue his life: if on the contrary side, because he would not trouble them, he continued siege still, and did establish nothing; then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the wars in length, because he might the longer time remaine their Chiefraine generall, & so to keepe the citizens longer in feare. At that time there was one *Sosis* in Syracvsa, a man of no name, but noted among the Syracvsans for his villanie and wickednesse, esteeming that full and ample libertie, when he might vnchecked licentiously speake what he would, as indeed he did. For, he seeking to do *Dion* a displeasure: first of all one day at a common counsell he stood vp on his feete, and called the Syracvsans beasts (amongst many other vile words he gaue them) if they did not perceiue, that being come from a fond and drunken tyrannie, they had now receiued a sober maister, and a wise warie tyrant. So, when he had thus openly shewed himselfe an enemie vnto *Dion*, he came no more that day into the market place: but the next morning he was seene running vp and downe the citie naked, his head and face all of a gore-bloud, as if he had bene followed of men to haue slaine him. Thus *Sosis*, comming in this maner into the middest of the market place, cried out that *Dions* straungers had lyen in waite for him, and had handled him in this sort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grieuously, and cried out vpon *Dion*, and sayd it was vilely and tyrannically done of him: by feare of murther and daunger, to take away the libertie from the citizens to speake. Now, though the whole assembly hereupon fell into an vprore withall, *Dion* notwithstanding came thither to cleare himselfe of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this *Sosis* was brother to one of *Dionysius* guard: who had put into his head, in this sort to put the citie of Syracvsa in an vprore, because *Dionysius* had no other hope nor meane to escape, but by stirring vp faction and sedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgeons were sent for forthwith to search the wound of this *Sosis*: who found, that it was rather a litle scratch, then any violent wound giuen him. For the wounds or cuts of a sword, are euer deepest in the middest: and *Sosis* cut was but very litle, and not deepe, hauing had many beginnings, & giuen him (as it seemed) at sundry times, that for very paine, the party that cut him, was driuen to leaue off, & came to cut him at diuerse times. Furthermore, there came certaine of his friends in the meane time, that brought a razer before the assembly, and reported that as they came, they met *Sosis* by the way all bloudied: who sayd, that he fled from *Dions* souldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they presently followed them, but found no man, and onely they saw a razer, which some bodie had cast vpon a hollow stone thereabout, where they first saw him comming vnto them. Thus, *Sosis* deuice had but euill successe. For beside all these proofes and tokens, *Dions* houshold seruants came to be witnesse against him: that very early in the morning he went abroad alone with a razer in his hand. Then they that before did burthen and accuse *Dion*, knew not what to say to the matter, but shrunke away: whereupon the people condemning *Sosis* to death, they were quiet againe with *Dion*. Yet were they alwaies afraid of these souldiers that were strangers, specially when they saw the greatest cõflicts they had with the tyrant, was by sea, after that *Philistus* was come from the coast of Apvglia with a great number of galleys to aide the tyrant. For then they thought, that these souldiers (the strangers) being armed at all parts to fight by land, they would do him no more seruice by sea: because the citizens themselues were they that kept them in safetie, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by meanes of their ships. But beside all this, the onely thing that made them to be couragious againe, was the good fortune they had at the battell by sea, in the which when they had ouercome *Philistus*, they cruelly and barbarously vsed him. Truly *Ephorus* saith, that *Philistus* slue himselfe, when he saw his galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway with *Dion* from the first beginning of this war) writing vnto *Speusippus* the Philosopher, saith: that *Philistus* was taken aliue, because his galley ran a land: and that the Syracvsans first

Heraclides, a dissembler, practising to make the people rebell against Dion.

Sosis a wicked man, moueth sedition against Dion.

Dion cleareth Sosis accusatiõ against him.

Sosis condemned to death.

Philistus slaine.

tooke off his curaces, and ſtripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villany & ſpite they coule, they cut off his head, and gaue his bodie vnto boyes, commanding them to dragge it into that part of the citie called ACRADINE, and then to caſt it into the common priuy. *Timæus* alſo to ſpite him the more, ſaith that the boyes tied the dead body by his lame-legge, and ſo dragged him vp and downe the city, where all the SYRACVSANS did what villany to it they could, being glad to ſee him dragged by the legge, that had ſayd: *Dionyſius* ſhould not flie from the tyranny vpon a light horſe, but that they ſhould pull him out by the legge againſt his will. Now *Philiſtus* reporteth this matter thus: not as ſpoken to *Dionyſius* by himſelfe, but by ſome other. But *Timæus* taking a iuſt occaſion and colour to ſpeake euill of the good will, fidelity, & care that *Philiſtus* had alwayes ſeemed to ſhew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny: doth liberally beſtow iniurious words on him in this place. Now for them, whom he had indeed offended, if they of malice and ſpite to be reuenged, did offer him cruelty, peraduenture they were not much to be blamed: but for them that ſince his death haue written the geſts, who were neuer offended by him in his life time, and who ought to ſhew themſelues diſcreet in their writing, me thinkes that if they had regarded their owne credite & eſtimation, they ſhould not ſo fondly and outragiouſly haue reproued the aduerſities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chance to the honeſteſt man, as vnto him. Thus fondly did *Ephorus* praiſe *Philiſtus*, who although he haue an excellent fine wit to counterfeit goodly excuſes, and cunningly to hide wicked and diſhoneſt parts, and eloquently to deuiſe by honeſt words to defend an euill cauſe: yet cannot he with all the fine wit he hath, excuſe himſelfe, that he hath not bene the onely man of the world that hath moſt fauored tyrants, and that hath euer loued, and ſpecially deſired power, wealth and alliance with tyrants. But he (in my opinion) taketh the right courſe of an Hiſtoriographer, that neither doth commend *Philiſtus* doings, nor yet caſteth his aduerſities in his teeth to his reproch. After *Philiſtus* death, *Dionyſius* ſent vnto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliuer him the caſtell, armor, munition, and ſouldiers that were in it, with money alſo to pay them for fiue moneths ſpace. For himſelfe, he prayed that he might be ſuffered to go ſafely into ITALIE, and to lie there, to take the pleaſure of the fruits of the countrey called GYARTA, which was within the territory of SYRACVSA, & lieth out from the ſea towards the main land. *Dion* refuſed this offer, & anſwered the Ambaſſadors, that they muſt moue the SYRACVSANS in it. They ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily take *Dionyſius* aliue, would not heare the Ambaſſadours ſpeake, but turned them away. *Dionyſius* ſeeing no other remedie, left the caſtell in the hands of his eldeſt ſonne *Apollocrates*, and hauing a luſtie gale of wind, he ſecretly imbarked certaine of his men he loued beſt, with the richeſt things he had, and ſo hoiſed ſaile, vnwares to *Heraclides*, the Admirall of SYRACVSA. The people were maruellouſly offended with *Heraclides* for it, and began to mutine againſt him. But *Heraclides*, to pacifie this tumult of the people, ſuborned one *Hippon* an Orator, who preferred the law Agraria vnto the people, for the diuiſion of all the Iland among them: and that the beginning of libertie was equalitie, and of bondage pouertie, vnto them that had no lands. *Heraclides* giuing his conſent to this decree, and ſtirring the common people to ſedition againſt *Dion*, that withſtood it: perſwaded the SYRACVSANS, not onely to confirme the law *Hippon* had propounded, but alſo to diſcharge the hired ſtraungers, to chuſe other Captaines and gouernours, and to rid themſelues of *Dions* ſeuere gouernement. But they ſuppoſing ſtraight to haue bene rid from the tyrannie, as from a long and grieuous ſickneſſe, ouer-raſhly taking vpon them like people that of long time had bene at libertie, they vtterly vndid themſelues, and ouerthrew *Dions* purpoſe: who like a good Phyſitian was carefull to ſee the citie well ordered and gouerned. So when they were aſſembled to chuſe new officers in the middeſt of ſommer, there fell ſuch horrible thunders, and other terrible ſtormes, and vnfortunate ſignes in the element, that for the ſpace of fifteene dayes together, the people were ſtill ſcattered and diſperſed when they were aſſembled: in ſo much, that being afraid of theſe ſignes aboue, they durſt not at that time create any new Captains. Certaine daies after, as the Orators had choſen a faire time to proceed to the election of officers, an Oxe drawing in a cart (being daily acquainted with euerie ſight and noiſe) ſuddenly without any occaſion offered, fell into a madneſſe againſt the carter that draue him, and breaking his yoke aſunder, ran ſtraight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into euery corner, to flie and ſaue themſelues: and then flinging, and bearing all downe before him that ſtood in his way, he ran through as much of the citie, as the enemies afterwards wan of them. This notwithſtanding, the SYRACVSANS making light account of all theſe

Timæus, and Ephorus the Hiſtoriographers, reproued.

Dionyſius flyeth from Syracuſa. Apollocrates the eldeſt ſonne of Dionyſius the yonger.

Signes appearing to the Syracuſans.

theſe ſignes, they choſe fiue and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was one: and ſecretly they ſent to feele the hired ſouldiers, to ſee if they could entice them from *Dion*, to cauſe them to take their part, and made them large promiſes to make them free men (as themſelues) of SYRACVSA. The ſouldiers would not be enticed from him; but faithfully and louingly tooke *Dion* amongſt them with their armor and weapon: and putting him in the middeſt of them, led him in this maner out of the citie, and did no man hurt, but reproued their vnthankfulneſſe and villanie vnto all thoſe they met by the way. Then the SYRACVSANS deſpiſing thē for their ſmall number; & becauſe they did not firſt ſet vpon them, but truſting on the other ſide to themſelues, for that they were the greater number: they came to aſſaile them, ſuppoſing they ſhould eaſily ouercome them in the citie, and kill euery man of them. *Dion* being thus in a ſtraight, that of neceſſity he muſt fight againſt his owne countrimen, or elſe be ſlaine himſelfe with his ſouldiers: he held vp his hands to the SYRACVSANS, and very earneſtly prayed them to be content, pointing them with his finger to the caſtell that was full of their enemies, which ſhewed themſelues vpon the wals, & ſaw what they did. In the end, when he ſaw that he could not pacifie their furie & tumult, and that all the citie was in an vproare with the prittle prattle of theſe ſeditious people, who like the ſea were caried with the wind: he did yet forbid his ſouldiers to giue any charge vpon them; who notwithſtanding made a countenance with great cries, and ratling of their harneſſe, as if they had meant to runne on them. Then the SYRACVSANS durſt not abide by it, but ran away like ſheepe through the ſtreets & no man chaſed them. So *Dion* called backe againe his men, and led them directly into the coūtry of the LEONTINES. Then the new officers & gouernors of SYRACVSA, perceiuing that the women laughed them to ſcorne: becauſe they would recouer the ſhame they had loſt, they armed their men anew again, & did march after *Dion* to fight with him; whom they ouertooke at a riuer, as he was ready to paſſe ouer. Then began their horſemen a litle to skirmiſh with *Dions* company: but when they ſaw he did no more beare with their faults for countries ſake, but frowned indeed vpon them, & did ſet his men in battell ray againſt thē: then they turned their backes againe, with more ſhame and reproch then before, & ſo fled vnto the city of SYRACVSA, & had not many of their men ſlaine. The LEONTINES receiued *Dion* very honorably, tooke the ſtrangers his ſouldiers, & gaue them pay, & made them free citizens with them: and ſent Ambaſſadors alſo vnto the SYRACVSANS, to will them, to let the ſtrangers haue their pay. The SYRACVSANS on their ſide alſo, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the LEONTINES to accuſe *Dion*. So, all their confederates were aſſembled in the city of the LEONTINES; & in that aſſembly, after both parties had bin heard, to heare what they would ſay; it was iudged: That the SYRACVSANS were too blame. Howbeit, they would not ſtand to the iudgement of their confederats, for they were now growne proud & careleſſe, becauſe they were gouerned by no man, but had Captains that ſtudied to pleaſe thē, & were afraid alſo to diſpleaſe thē. After that, there ariued certain gallies of *Dionyſius* at SYRACVSA, of the which *Nypſius* NEAPOLITAN was captain: which brought victuals & money, to helpe thē that were beſieged within the caſtell. Theſe galleys were fought with, and the SYRACVSANS obtained victory, and tooke foure of the tyrants galleys with three bankes of oares a peece: howbeit they fondly abuſed their victorie. For they hauing no body to command or rule them, imployed all their ioy, in rioting and banquetting, and in fond and diſſolute meetings, taking ſo litle care and regard to their buſineſſe, that now when they thought the caſtell was ſure their owne, they almoſt loſt their citie. For *Nypſius* perceiuing that euery part of the citie was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long vnto darke night, but bib and drinke drunke, dauncing after their pipes and howboyes; and that the gouernours themſelues were verie glad alſo to ſee ſuch feaſting, or elſe for that they diſſembled it, and durſt not commaund and compell them that were drunke: he wiſely tooke the occaſion offered him, and ſcaled the wall which had ſhut vp the caſtell, and wanne it, and ouerthrew it. Then he ſent the barbarous ſouldiers into the citie, and commaunded them to do with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACVSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gaue preſent remedie, they were ſo amazed and ſuddenly ſet on: for indeed they made a right ſacke of the citie. Here men were killed; there they ouerthrew the wall; in another place they caried away women and little children priſoners into the caſtell, weeping and crying out: and laſtly, they made the Captaines at their wits end, who could giue no preſent order, nor haue their men to ſerue them againſt their enemies, that came hand ouer head on euerie ſide amongſt them. The citie being thus miſerably in garboile, and the AGRADINE alſo in great hazard of

Dion departeth out of Syracuſa.

The cowardlineſſe of the Syracuſans.

The Leontines do receiue Dion.

The negligence and troubles of the Syracuſans.

taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to riſe againe: euery man thought then with himſelfe, that *Dion* muſt be ſent for, but yet no man moued it notwithſtanding, being aſhamed of their vnthankfulneſſe and ouer-great folly they had committed, in driuing him away. Yet neceſſity enforcing them vnto it, there were certaine of the horſmen and of their confederates that cried, that they muſt ſend for *Dion* & the PELOPONNESIANS his ſouldiers, which were with him in the territory of the LEONTINES. Aſſoone as the firſt word was heard, and that one had the hart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACVSANS cried out, There was the point: and they were ſo glad of it, that the water ſtood in their eyes for ioy, & beſought the gods it would pleaſe them to bring him vnto them, they were ſo deſirous to haue him againe. For they called to mind how valiant and reſolute he was in danger, & how that he was neuer afraid, but did encourage them with his manhood in ſuch ſort, that being led by him, they were not afraid to ſet vpon their enemies. So the confederates of them, ſent preſently *Archonides* and *Teleſides* vnto him: and the noblemen that ſerued on horſebacke, they ſent him alſo fiue amongſt them, beſide *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their horſes, and poaſted for life, ſo that they came vnto the citie of the LEONTINES about Sunne-ſet: & lighting off from their horſes, they went firſt of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* feet, and weeping, told him the miſerable ſtate of the SYRACVSANS. Straight there came diuerſe of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN ſouldiers vnto *Dion*, miſtruſting then that there was ſome newes in hand, to ſee the earneſt and humble ſute the Ambaſſadors of SYRACVSA made vnto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them preſently with him, and brought them himſelfe vnto the Theater, where the common councels and aſſemblies of the city were holden: thither ranne euery man to heare what the matter was. Then *Archonides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, told openly before the whole aſſembly the greatneſſe of their miſery, and requeſted the hired ſouldiers to come and aide the SYRACVSANS, forgetting the iniurie they had receiued: conſidering, that they had more dearly payed for their folly, then they themſelues (whom they had ſo iniuried) would haue made them to haue ſuffered. When they had ſayd their minds, there was a great ſilence through all the Theater: and then *Dion* roſe vp, & began to ſpeake. But the great teares that fell from his eyes would not ſuffer him to ſpeake: wherefore the hired ſouldiers being ſory to ſee him weepe, prayed him not to trouble himſelfe, but to be of good courage. Then *Dion* letting go the ſorow and griefe he had conceiued, began to ſpeake vnto them in this maner. My Lords of PELOPONNESVS, and you alſo the confederates: I haue called you together to conſult with you, what you ſhould do. For my ſelfe, it were no honeſty for me to conſult what I ſhould do now, when the citie of SYRACVSA ſtandeth in peril of deſtruction: and therfore if I cannot ſaue it from deſtruction, yet at the leaſt I will

» burie my ſelfe in the fire and ruine of my countrey. But for you, if it pleaſe you once more to
» helpe vs vnaduiſed and moſt vnfortunate people: you ſhall by your meanes ſet the poore di-
» ſtreſſed city of SYRACVSA againe on foot, which is your deed. Or if it be ſo, that remembring
» the iniuries the SYRACVSANS haue offered you, you will ſuffer it to be deſtroyed: yet I beſeech
» the gods, that at the leaſt they wil requite your valiantneſſe, fidelity & good loue you haue borne
» me vntill this preſent, beſeeching you to remember *Dion*, who neither forſooke you at any time
» when you haue bin iniuried, nor his countrimen, when they were in trouble. So going on ſtill

with his tale, the mercenary ſtraungers ſtepped forth with great noiſe, and prayed him to leade thē to aid SYRACVSA. Then the Ambaſſadors alſo that were ſent from the SYRACVSANS ſaluted & imbraced them, and prayed the gods to bleſſe *Dion* & them, with all the good hap that might be. So when all was whiſht & quiet, *Dion* willed them forthwith to go & prepare themſelues, & that they ſhould be there ready armed after ſupper, determining the very ſame night to go to aid SYRACVSA. But now at SYRACVSA, while day light laſted, *Dionyſius* ſouldiers & Captaines did all the miſchiefe & villany, they could in the city, & when night came, they retired again into the caſtell, hauing loſt very few of their men. Then the ſeditious gouernours of the SYRACVSANS tooke hart again vnto thē, hoping that the enemies wold be contented with that they had done: & therefore began a new to perſwade the citizens to let *Dion* alone, & not to receiue him with his mercenary ſouldiers if they came to aide him, ſaying that they themſelues were honeſter men then the ſtrangers, to ſaue their citie, and to defend their libertie without helpe of any other. So, other Ambaſſadors were ſent again vnto *Dion*, ſome from the Captaines & gouernors of the city, to ſtay them that they ſhould not come, and other alſo from the horſemen, & noble citizens his friends to haſten his iourny: whereupon by reaſon of this variance, *Dion* marched very ſoftly

The Syracuſans do ſend for Dion againe.

Dions Oration vnto his ſouldiers, perſwading them to aide the Syracuſans

The inconſtancy of the Syracuſans.

at

at his eaſe. Now by night, *Dions* enemies within the citie got to the gates, and kept them that *Dion* ſhould not come in. *Nypſius* on the other ſide made a ſallie out of the caſtell, with his mercenarie ſouldiers, being better appointed, and a greater number of them then before: and with them he ſtraight plucked downe all the wall which they had built before the caſtell, and ranne and ſacked the citie. At this ſallie out of the caſtell, they did not onely kill the men they met, but women and litle children alſo, and ſtayed no more to ſpoile but to deſtroy and put all to hauock. For, becauſe *Dionyſius* ſaw that he was brought to a ſtraight and deſperat caſe, he bare ſuch mortall malice againſt the SYRACVSANS, that ſith there was no remedie but that he muſt needs forgo his tyrannie: he determined to burie it, with the vtter deſtruction & deſolation of their city. And therfore to preuent *Dions* aide, and to make a quicke diſpatch to deſtroy all: they came with burning torches in their hands, and did ſet fire on all things they could come too: and farther off, they fired their darts and arrowes, and beſtowed them in euery part of the citie. So, they that fled for the fire, were met withall, and ſlaine in the ſtreetes by the ſouldiers, and others alſo that ran into their houſes, were driuen out againe by force of fire: for there were a number of houſes that were on fire, and fell downe vpon them that went and came. This miſery was the chiefeſt cauſe why all the SYRACVSANS agreed together to ſet open the gates vnto *Dion*. For when *Dion* heard by the way, that *Dionyſius* ſouldiers were gone againe into the caſtell, he made no great haſt to march forward: but when day was broken, there came certaine horſemen from SYRACVSA vnto *Dion*, who brought him newes that the enemies had once againe taken the citie. Then alſo came other of his enemies vnto him, and prayed him to make haſt. Now their miſerie increaſing ſtill, and they being brought into hard ſtate: *Heraclides* firſt ſent his brother vnto *Dion*, and then *Theodotes* his Vncle, to pray him to come quickly and helpe them. For now there was no man left to reſiſt the enemies, becauſe he himſelf was hurt, and the citie alſo was in manner cleane burnt and deſtroyed. When theſe men came to *Dion*, he was yet about threeſcore furlongs from the town. So he told his mercenarie ſouldiers the daunger that the towne was in, and hauing encouraged them, he led them no more faire and ſoftly, but running toward the city, and meeting meſſengers one of anothers necke as he went, that prayed him to make al the poſſible ſpeed he could. By this meanes, the ſoldiers marching with wonderfull ſpeed and good will together, he entred the gates of the city at a place called Hecatompedon. Firſt of all, he ſent the lighteſt armed he had againſt the enemies, to the end that the SYRACVSANS ſeeing them, they might take a good heart againe to them, whilſt he himſelfe in the meane time did ſet all the other heauie armed ſouldiers & citizens that came to ioyne with him, in battell ray, & did caſt thē into diuers ſquadrons, of greater length and breadth, & appointed thē that ſhould haue the leading of thē, to the end that ſetting vpon the enemies in diuers places together, they ſhould put them in greater feare and terror. When he had ſet all things in this order, & made his prayer vnto the gods, and that they ſaw him marching through the city againſt their enemies: then there roſe ſuch a cōmon noiſe and reioycing, and great ſhout of the ſouldiers, mingled with vowes, prayers, & perſwaſions of all the SYRACVSANS: that they called *Dion* their god and ſauiour, & the mercenarie ſouldiers their brethrē and fellow citizens. Furthermore, there was not a SYRACVSAN that ſo much regarded his owne life and perſon, but he ſeemed to be more afraid of the loſſe of *Dion* only, then of all the reſt. For they ſaw him the formoſt man running through the danger of the fire, treading in bloud, & vpon dead bodies that lay ſlaine in the midſt of the ſtreets. Now indeed to charge the enemies, it was a maruellous dangerous enterpriſe: for they were like mad beaſts, and ſtood beſide in battell ray alongſt the wall which they had ouerthrowne, in a very dangerous place, and hard to win. Howbeit, the danger of the fire, did moſt of all trouble and amaze the ſtrangers, & did ſtop their way: for on which ſide ſoeuer they turned them, the houſes round about them, were all on a fire, and they were driuen to march ouer the burnt timber of the houſes, & to run in great daunger of the wals of the houſe ſides that fell on them, & to paſſe through the thicke ſmoke mingled with duſt, and beſide to keepe their rankes with great difficulty. And when they came to aſſaile the enemies they could not come to fight hand to hand, but a few of them in number, becauſe of the ſtraightneſſe of the place: howbeit, the SYRACVSANS with force of cries & ſhowts did ſo animate and incourage their men, that at length they draue *Nypſius* and his men to forſake the place. The moſt part of them got into the caſtle, being very neare vnto them: the other that could not get in in time, fled ſtraglingly vp and down, whō the GRECIAN ſouldiers ſlue, chaſing of thē. The extremity of the time did not preſently ſuffer the conquerors to reape the fruit of their victory, neither

Syracuſa ſet on fire by Dionyſius ſoldiers.

Dions fight in the citie of Syracuſa.

Nypſius compelled by Dion to flie into the caſtell.

the ioyes and imbracings meete for ſo great an exploit. For the SYRACVSANS went euery man home to his owne houſe, to quench the fire, the which could ſcarcely be put out all the night. When day brake, there was none of theſe ſeditious flatterers of the people that durſt tary in the city, but condemning themſeluhs, they fled to take their fortune. *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* came together of their owne goodwils to yeeld themſelues vnto *Dion*, confeſſing that they had done him wrong, and humbly praying him to ſhew himſelfe better vnto them, then they had ſhewed themſelues vnto him: and that it was more honorable for him, being euery way vnmachable for his vertues, to ſhew himſelfe more noble to conquer his anger, then his vnthankfull enemies had done: who contending with him before in vertue, did now confeſſe themſelues to be far inferior vnto him. This was the ſumme and effect of *Heraclides* and *Theodotes* ſubmiſſion vnto *Dion*. But his friends did perſwade him not to pardon two ſuch wicked men, who did malice and enuy his honor: and as he would do the ſtrangers his ſouldiers any pleaſure, that he ſhould put *Heraclides* into their hands, to roote out of the common-wealth of SYRACVSA, his vile maner to flatter and curry fauor with the people, the which was as dangerous and great a plague to a city, as the tyranny. *Dion* pacifying them, anſwered: Other Generals of armies ſayd he, do imploy all their wits in martiall exerciſe and wars: but for himſelfe, that he had of long time ſtudied and learned in the ſchoole of the Academy, to ouercome anger, enuy, and all malice and contention. The noble proofe whereof is moſt ſeene, not in vſing honeſt men and his friends moderately, but ſhewing mercy alſo vnto his enemies, & forgetting his anger againſt them that haue offended him: and that for his part, he had rather ouercome *Heraclides*, not in riches and wiſdome, but in clemencie and iuſtice, for therein chiefly conſiſted excellency, ſith no man elſe in wars can chalenge power and gouernement, but fortune, that ruleth moſt. And though *Heraclides*, ſaid he, through enuy hath done like a wicked man: muſt *Dion* therefore through anger bleamiſh his vertue? Indeed by mans law it is thought meeter to reuenge an iniury offered, then to do an iniurie: but nature ſheweth, that they both proceed of one ſelfe imperfection. Now though it be a hard thing to change & alter the euill diſpoſition of a man, after he is once nuſled in villany: yet is not man of ſo wild & brutiſh a nature, that his wickedneſſe may not be ouercome with often pleaſures, whē he ſeeth that they are continually ſhewed him. *Dion* anſwering his friends thus, he forgaue *Heraclides*, & beginning againe to ſhut vp the caſtell with a wall round about, he commanded the SYRACVSANS euery man of them to cut downe a ſtake, and to bring it thither. So when night was come, ſetting his ſouldiers the ſtrangers in hand withall whileſt the SYRACVSANS ſlept & tooke their eaſe: by morning he had compaſſed the caſtell round about with a pale. The next day, they that ſaw the greatneſſe and ſudden expedition of this worke, wondred much at it, as wel the enemies, as alſo the citizens: and when they had buried the dead bodies, and redeemed thē that were taken priſoners (which were not much leſſe then 2000 perſons) he called a common councell of the city, in the which *Heraclides* made a motion, that *Dion* ſhould be choſen Generall of SYRACVSA, with abſolute power & authority, both by ſea and land. The chiefeſt men of the city liked very well of it, & would haue had the people to haue paſſed it. But the rabble of theſe mariners, & other mechanicall people liuing by their labour, would not ſuffer *Heraclides* to be put from his Admiralſhip, but fell to mutinie, thinking that though *Heraclides* did them no pleaſure elſe, yet he would euer be a more popular man then *Dion*, and pleaſe the common people better. *Dion* granted their deſire, and made *Heraclides* Admirall againe of the ſea: howbeit he did anger them as much another way, when he did not only reiect the earneſt ſute they made to haue the law Agraria paſſe for diuiſion of lands in equality amongſt them, but did alſo cancell and reuoke al that had bene done before. Wherefore *Heraclides* remaining at MESSINA, began thenceforth to enter into new practiſes againe, and to flatter the ſouldiers and ſea-faring men he had brought thither with him, and to ſtirre them vp againſt *Dion*, ſaying that he would make himſelfe tyrant: and himſelfe in the meane time ſecretly practiſed with *Dionyſius*, by meanes of a SPARTAN called *Pharax*. The nobleſt man of the SYRACVSANS miſtruſted it, and therupon there fell out great mutiny in their campe, whereby alſo followed great famine in SYRACVSA: ſo that *Dion* was at ſuch a ſtraight, that he could not tell what to ſay to it, and was reproued of all his friends for that he had againe preferred to great authoritie againſt himſelfe, ſo vntractable a man and ſo malicious and wicked a perſon as *Heraclides* was. Now when *Pharax* lay in campe with an armie neare vnto the citie of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES: *Dion* did bring the armie of the SYRACVSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him till an other

Dions mercy to his enemies & the great profit he tooke by ſtudy in the Academy at Athēs.

No man ſhould be worſe by anothers wickednesſe.

The forwardneſſe of the Syracuſans againſt Dion.

Heraclides againe ſtirreth vp the Syracuſans, to rebell againſt Dion.

other time. But through *Heraclides*, and the ſea-mens crying out, that ſaid, he would not trie this warre by battell, but would draw it out in length, becauſe he would be ſtill Generall: he was forced to giue battell, and loſt it. Howbeit, the ouerthrow was not great, and happened rather, becauſe his men were at a iarre among themſelues, by reaſon of their faction and diuiſion, then otherwiſe. *Dion* therefore prepared to fight another battell, and gathered his men together againe encouraging them, when euen at twi-light word was brought him, that *Heraclides* with all his fleete was vnder ſaile towards SYRACVSA meaning to take the citie, and to ſhut *Dion* and his armie out of it. Wherefore he preſently tooke with him the chiefeſt men of authoritie in the citie, and the moſt willingeſt men, and rode all night with them in ſuch haſt, that they were at the gates of SYRACVSA the next morning by nine of the clocke, hauing ridden ſeuen hundred furlongs. *Heraclides* that had ſailed with all the poſſible ſpeede he could to preuent him with his ſhippes, perceiuing that he came ſhort, he turned ſaile, and taking ſeas at all aduenture, by chance he met with *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who told him he was ſent from LACEDÆMON, to be Generall to the SICILIANS in this warre, as *Gylippus* was ſent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him to haue ſuch a remedie and defence againſt *Dion*, and boaſted of it vnto the friends and confederates of SYRACVSA, and ſent an Herauld before vnto the SYRACVSANS, ſummoning them to receiue *Gæſylus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was ſent to be their Generall. *Dion* made anſwer: That the SYRACVSANS had gouernours enough; and though that their affaires did of neceſſitie require a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine, yet that himſelfe was he; for that he was made free in SPARTA. Then *Gæſylus* perceiuing he could not obtaine to be Generall, he went vnto SYRACVSA, and came to *Dion*, and there made *Heraclides*, and him friends againe, by the great and ſolemne othes he made: and becauſe *Gæſylus* alſo ſware, that he himſelfe would be reuenged of him for *Dions* ſake, and puniſh *Heraclides*, if euer after he did once more conſpire againſt him. After that, the SYRACVSANS brake vp their armie by ſea, becauſe it did them no ſeruice, and was beſide chargeable keeping of it, and further did alſo breed ſedition and trouble amongſt their gouernours: and ſo went to lay ſtraighter ſiege to the caſtell then euer they did, and built vp the wall againe, which the enemies had ouerthrowne. Then *Dionyſius* ſonne ſeeing no aide to come to him from any part, and that victuals failed them: and further, that the ſouldiers began to mutine, being vnable to keepe them; he fell to a compoſition with *Dion*, and deliuered vp the caſtell into his hands, with all the armour and munition in it: and ſo tooke his mother and his ſiſters of *Dion*, and put them abord vpon fiue gallies, with the which he went vnto his father, through the ſafe conduct of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time in all SYRACVSA, but was there to ſee this ſight; or if by chaunce there were any abſent, the other that were there called them thither as loude as they could crie, ſaying: That they did not ſee the goodlieſt day and Sunſhine, which the citie of SYRACVSA might ſee then at her riſing, the ſame being now reſtored againe to her former libertie. If vntill this preſent day they do recken the flying of *Dionyſius*, for one of the rareſt examples of fortunes chaunge, as one of the greateſt and notableſt things that euer was: what ioy (thinke we) had they that draue him out, and what pleaſure had they with themſelues, that with the leaſt meane that could be poſſible, did deſtroy the greateſt tyrannie in the world? So when *Apollocrates* (*Dionyſius* ſonne) was imbarked, and that *Dion* was entred into the caſtel: the women within the caſtell would not tarie till he came into the houſe, but went to meete him at the gates; *Ariſtomaché* leading *Dions* ſonne in her hand, and *Areté* following her weeping, but very fearefull how ſhe ſhould call and ſalute her husband, hauing lyen with another man. *Dion* firſt ſpake to his ſiſter, and afterwards to his ſonne: and then *Ariſtomaché* offering him *Areté*, ſaid vnto him: Since thy baniſhment ô *Dion*, we haue led a miſerable and captiue life, but now that thou art returned home with victorie, thou haſt rid vs out of care and thraldome, and haſt alſo made vs againe bold to lift vp our heads, ſauing her here, whom I (wretched creature) haue by force (thy ſelfe aliue) ſeene maried vnto another man. Now then, ſith fortune hath made thee Lord of vs all, what iudgement giueſt thou of this compulſion? How wilt thou haue her to ſalute thee, as her Vncle, or husband? As *Ariſtomaché* ſpake theſe words, the water ſtoode in *Dions* eyes: ſo he gently and louingly taking his wife *Areté* by the hand, he gaue her his ſonne, and willed her to go home to his houſe where he then remained, and ſo deliuered the caſtell vnto the SYRACVSANS. He hauing this proſperous ſucceſſe and victorie, would not reape any preſent benefite or pleaſure thereby, before he had ſhewed himſelfe thankefull to his friends, giuen great gifts alſo vnto the confederats of SYRACVSA, and ſpecially before he had giuen euery one

Gæſylus Lacedæmonian cõmeth to Syracuſa, to be Generall of the Syracuſans.

Gæſylus maketh Dion and Heraclides friends again.

The caſtell of Syracuſa ſurrendred vnto Dion.

The words of Ariſtomache vnto Dion, at his entrie into the caſtell of Syracuſa.

Dion taketh his wife Arete againe, which had forcibly bene maried to another man.

Dions temperance and thriftinesse.

of his friends in the city, & his mercenary souldiers the strangers, some honorable reward according to their deserts, exceeding his hability with magnanimity of mind: when he himselfe liued soberly, and kept a moderate diet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Euerie man that heard of it, wondred at him, considering that not onely all SICILE and CARTHAGE, but generally all GRECE looked vpon his great prosperity and good fortune, thinking no man liuing greater then himselfe, nor that any Captaine euer attained vnto such fame and wonderfull fortune, as he was come vnto. This notwithstanding, *Dion* liued as temperately and modestly in his apparell, and also in his number of seruants, and seruice at his boord, as if he had liued with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, & had not bene conuersant amongst souldiers and Captaines, which haue no other comfort nor pleasure for all the paines and dangers they suffer continually, but to eate and drinke their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. *Plato* wrote vnto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Dion*, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one city (to wit, the Academy) and would haue no other Iudges nor lookers into his doings, but the scholers of the same: who neither wondred at his great exploits, valiantnesse, nor victorie, but only considering if he did wisely and modestly vse the fortune he had, and could so keepe himselfe within modest bounds, hauing done so great things. Furthermore, touching the grauity he had when he spake to any body, & his inflexible seuerity which he vsed towards the people, he determined neuer to alter or change it: notwithstanding that his affaires required him to shew courtesie and lenity, and that *Plato* also reproued him for it, and wrote, that seuerity and obstinacy (as we sayd before) was the companion of solitarinesse. But it seemeth to me that *Dion* did vse it for two respects. The first, because nature had not framed him, courteous and affable to win men: secondly he did what he could to draw the SYRACVSANS to the contrary, who were ouer licencious, and spoiled with too much flattery: for *Heraclides* began againe to be busie with him. First of all, *Dion* sending for him to come to councel, he sent him word he would not come: and that being a priuate citizen, he would be at the common councell amongst others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not ouerthrowne & razed the castell: & also because he would not suffer the people to breake open the tombe of *Dionysius* the elder, to cast out his body: and because he sent for counsellors to CORINTH, & disdained to make the citizens his companions in the gouernment of the commonwealth. Indeed to confesse a troth, *Dion* had sent for certaine CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to stablish the forme of a cõmonwealth, which he had in his mind, whẽ they were come. For his mind was vtterly to breake the gouernment of *Democratia* (to wit, the absolute gouernment & authority of the people in a city, not being as it were a commonwealth, but rather a faier & market where things are sold, as *Plato* saith) & to establish the LACONIAN or CRETAN cõmonwealth, mingled with a princely, & popular gouernment: & that should be, *Aristocratia*, to wit, the number of a few noble men that should gouerne and direct the chiefest and waightiest matters of state. And for that purpose, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meetest men to help him to frame this cõmonwealth, cõsidering that they gouerned their affaires more by chusing a few nũber of the nobility, then otherwise, & that they did not refer many things to the voice of the people. And becaus he was assured that *Heraclides* would be against him in it all that he could, and that otherwise he knew he was a seditious, a troublesome, & light headed fellow: he then suffered thẽ to kil him who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it, & so they went home to his house, & slue him there. The murther of *Heraclides* was much misliked of the SYRACVSANS: howbeit *Dion* caused him to be honorably buried, & brought his body to the groũd, folowed with all his army. Thẽ he made an Oration himselfe to the people, & told thẽ, that it was impossible to auoid seditiõ & trouble in the city, so long as *Dion* & *Heraclides* did both gouern together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an ATHENIAN, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* saith) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occasion of his study in Philosophy: but because he had bin his guide to bring him to see the secret mysteries & ceremonies of the sacrifices, and for such other like common talke and company. This notwithstanding, *Callippus* did accõpany him in all this war, & was very much honored of him, and was one of the first of all his friends that entred into SYRACVSA with him, & did valiantly behaue himself in all the battels & conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* seeing that *Dions* best and chiefest friends were all slaine in this war, & that *Heraclides* also was dead, that the people of SYRACVSA had no more any head, & besides, that the soldiers which were with *Dion* did loue him better then any other man: he became the vnfaithfullest man, & the verie villaine

Heraclides conspireth againe against Dion.

Dion sent to the Corinthiãs to stablish a cõmon wealth to the Syracusãs.

Dion meant to abolish Democratia, and to aduance Aristocratia.

The authoritie of the people, resembled by Plato to a faier or market.

The commonwealth of the Corinthians.

The murther of Heraclides.

Callippus Athenian, conspireth against Dion.

of

of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend *Dion*, he ſhould vndoubtedly come to haue the whole gouernment of all SICILE, and as ſome do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies of twenty talents for his labor to commit this murther. So he began to practiſe, to bribe, and to ſubborne certaine of the mercenarie ſouldiers againſt *Dion*, & that by a maruellous crafty and ſubtile fetch. For, vſing commonly to report vnto *Dion* certaine ſeditious words, ſpoke̅ peraduenture by the ſouldiers indeed, or elſe deuiſed of his owne head: he wanne ſuch a liberty and boldneſſe by the truſt *Dion* had in him, that he might ſafely ſay what he would to any of the ſouldiers, & boldly ſpeake euill of *Dion* by his owne commandement: to the end he might thereby vnderſtand the better, whether anie of his ſouldiers were angry with him, or wiſhed his death. By this pollicie, *Calippus* ſtraight found out thoſe that bare *Dion* grudge, & that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conſpiracy. And if any man vnwilling to giue eare vnto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* wold haue intiſed him to conſpire againſt him: *Dion* was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did but as he had cōmanded him to do. Now as this treaſon was practiſing againſt *Dion*, there appeared a great and monſtrous ghoſt or ſpirit vnto him. By chaunce ſitting late one euening all alone in a gallery he had, and being in a deepe thought with himſelfe, ſuddenly he heard a noiſe: and therewith caſting his eye to the end of his gallery (being yet day light) he ſaw a monſtrous great woman, like vnto one of the furies ſhewed in playes, and ſaw her ſweeping of the houſe with a broome. This viſion ſo amazed and affrighted him, that he ſent for his friends, and told them what a ſight he had ſeene: and prayed them to tarie with him all night, being as it were a man beſide himſelfe, fearing leſt the ſpirit would come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithſtanding he neuer heard more afterwards. Howbeit ſhortly after, his ſonne being growne to mans ſtate, for a certaine light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he caſt himſelfe headlong downe from the top of the houſe, and ſo was ſlaine. *Dion* being in this ſtate, *Callippus* went on ſtil with his treaſon, and ſpread a rumor abroad among the SYRACVSANS, that *Dion* ſeeing himſelfe now deſtitute of children, was determined to ſend for *Apollocrates*, *Dionyſius* ſon, to make him his heire and ſucceſſor, being coſin germaine to his wife, and his ſiſters daughters ſonne. Then began *Dion*, his wife, and ſiſters to miſtruſt *Callippus* practiſes, and they were told of it by diuerſe and manifeſt proofes. But *Dion* being ſory (as I ſuppoſe) for *Heraclides* death, and inwardly taking that murther in verie euill part, as a fowle blot to his life & doings: he ſaid he had rather dye a thouſand deaths, & to offer his throat to be cut to any that would, rather then he would liue in that miſerie, to be compelled to take heed as well of his friends, as of his enemies. *Callippus* then ſeeing the women ſo buſie and inquiſitiue of his doings, and fearing leaſt he ſhould be bewrayed: he came weeping vnto them, and told them it was nothing, & that he was ready to aſſure them of it by any maner of way they would deuiſe. The women then willed him to ſweare by the great oath, which was in this maner. He that muſt take this oath, commeth into the temple of the goddeſſes *Theſmophores*, which are, *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*: and after certaine ſacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddeſſe *Proſerpina*, holding a burning torch in his hand, and ſweareth in this maner. *Callippus* hauing done all theſe ceremonies, & made the oath in forme as I haue told you: he made ſo light account of the goddeſſes, that he taried no lōger to do the murther he had determined, but till the very feaſt day of the goddeſſe ſhould come, by whom he had ſworne: and ſlue him on the day of the feaſt of *Proſerpina*. Now, I do not thinke that he choſe that day of ſet purpoſe, knowing right well that he did alwayes ſinne againſt her, what time ſoeuer he had killed his brother, being by his meanes ſpecially admitted to the ſociety and brotherhood with him, of the fraternity & myſteries of *Ceres* and *Proſerpina*. Of this conſpiracie there were diuerſe. For, as *Dion* was ſet in his chamber talking with his friends where there were many beds to ſit on: ſome cōpaſſed the houſe round about, others came to the doores and windowes of his chamber, and they that ſhold do the deed to diſpatch him, which were the ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers, came into his chamber in their coates without any ſword. But when they were come in, they that were without did ſhut the doores after them, and locked them in, leſt any man ſhould come out: and they that were within, fell vpon *Dion*, and thought to haue ſtrangled him. But when they ſaw they could not, they called for a ſword. Neuer a man that was within, durſt open the doores, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought euerie man to ſaue their owne liues, by ſuffering him to be killed, and therefore durſt not come to helpe him. So the murtherers taried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a SYRACVSAN, that gaue one of the ZACYNTHIAN ſouldiers

Note the ſubtilty of tale-bearers.

A ſpirit appeared vnto Dion.

The lamentable death of Dions ſonne.

Apollocrates Dionyſius ſonne.

The great oath of the Syracuſans.

Dion ſlaine by Callippus Athenian.

a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throate, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, euen dead for feare. The murther being executed, they caſt his ſiſter and wife, great with child into priſon, and there the poore ladie was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring vp, then otherwiſe to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, becauſe *Callypus* began then a litle to grow to ſome trouble: for at the firſt, after he had ſlaine *Dion*, he bare all the whole ſway for a time, and kept the citie of SYRACVSA in his hands: and wrote vnto ATHENS, the which next vnto the immortall gods he was moſt afraid of, hauing defiled his hands in ſo damnable a treaſon. And therefore (in my opinion) it was was not euill ſpoken, That ATHENS is a citie of all other that bringeth forth the beſt, when they giue themſelues to goodneſſe, & the wickedeſt people alſo, when they diſpoſe themſelues to euil: as their countrie alſo bringeth foorth the beſt honie that is, and hemlocke in like manner that quickely diſpatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit, the gods and fortune did not ſuffer this treaſon and wicked man to raigne long, hauing come to the gouernment of a Realme by ſo damnable a murther: but ſhortly after they gaue him his payment he had deſerued. For *Callyppus* going to take a litle towne called * CATANA, he loſt the citie of SYRACVSA: whereupon he ſaid, That he had loſt a citie, and got a * cheeſe-knife. Afterwards he went to aſſaile the MESSENIANS, and there he loſt a great number of his men, and amongſt them were ſlaine thoſe that killed *Dion*. Now *Callyppus* finding no citie in all SICILE that would receiue him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him: he went to take the citie of RHEGIO in ITALIE. There being in great diſtreſſe and need of all things, and not able to maintaine his ſouldiers; he was ſlaine by *Laptines* and *Polyperchon*, with the ſelfe ſame dagger wherewith *Dion* before was ſlaine: the which was knowne by the faſhion, being ſhort after the LACONIAN daggers, and alſo by the workmanſhip vpon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callyppus*. Now for *Ariſtomachè* and *Aretè*, they were taken out of priſon: & *Icetes* SYRACVSAN, that ſomtimes had bene one of *Dions* friends, took thē home to his owne houſe, and vſed them very well and faithfully for a certaine time, but afterwards was wonne and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he cauſed a ſhip to be prouided for them, and bare them in hand that he would ſend them into PELOPONNESVS: but he gaue them charge that caried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them ouer boord into the ſea. Some ſay, that the two women, and the litle young boy, were caſt aliue into the ſea. But this reward of the ſinfull act that he committed, returned againe vpon himſelfe, as it had done before vnto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and beſides, the SYRACVSANS did alſo kill two of his daughters in reuenge of the vnfaithfulneſſe he had ſhewed vnto *Dion*.

Dions wife brought to bed of a ſoune in priſon.

The puniſhment of Callyppus.

**Καρτάνη* in corrupt ſpeech, ſignifieth a knife to ſcrape or cut cheeſe, which is trulier called τυροκνήστις. Iulius Pollux. lib. 10. cap. 24.*

Callyppus ſlain with the ſame dagger that ſlue Dion.

The crueltie of the Syracuſans vnto Dion and his poſteritie.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Marcus Brutus.

Marcus Brutus came of that *Iunius Brutus*, for whom the auncient Romaines made his ſtatue of braſſe to be ſet vp in the Capitoll, with the images of the kings, holding a naked ſword in his hand: becauſe he had valiantly put downe the Tarqvines from their kingdome of Rome. But that *Iunius Brutus* being of a ſower ſterne nature, not ſoftened by reaſon, being like vnto ſword blades of too hard a temper: was ſo ſubiect to his choller and malice he bare vnto the tyrants, that for their ſakes he cauſed his owne ſonnes to be executed. But this *Marcus Brutus* in contrarie manner, whoſe life we preſently write, hauing framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue, and ſtudie of Philoſophie, and hauing employed his wit, which was gentle and conſtant, in attempting of great things: me thinkes he was rightly made and framed vnto vertue. So that his very enemies which wiſh him moſt hurt, becauſe of his conſpiracie againſt *Iulius Cæſar*: if there were any noble attempt done in all this conſpiracie, they referre it wholy vnto *Brutus*, and all the cruell and violent actes vnto *Caſsius*, who was *Brutus* familiar friend, but not ſo well giuen, and conditioned as he. His mother *Seruilia*, it is thought came of the bloud of *Seruilius Hala*; who, when *Spurius Melius* went about to make himſelfe king, and to bring it to paſſe had entiſed the common people to rebell: tooke a dagger, and hid it cloſe vnder his arme, and went into the market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had ſomwhat to ſay vnto him, and preſſed as neare him as he could: wherfore *Melius* ſtouping downe with his head, to heare what he would ſay, *Brutus* ſtabbed him in with his dagger and ſlue him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father, ſome for the euill will and malice they bare vnto *Brutus*, becauſe of the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, do maintaine, that he came not of *Iunius Brutus* that draue out the Tarqvines: for there were none left of his race, conſidering that his two ſons were executed for conſpiracie with the Tarqvins: and that *Marcus Brutus* came of a meane houſe, the which was raiſed to honour and office in the commonwealth, but of late time. *Poſidonius* the Philoſopher writeth the contrarie, that *Iunius Brutus* indeed ſlue two of his ſonnes which were men growne, as the hiſtories do declare: howbeit, that there was a third ſonne, being but a litle child at that time, from whome the houſe and family afterwards was deriued: and furthermore, that there were in his time certaine

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus manners.

Seruilia, M. Brutus mother

Brutus parentage by his father.

famous men of that familie, whose stature and countenance resembled much the image of *Iunius Brutus*. And thus much for this matter. *Marcus Cato* the Philosopher was brother vnto *Seruilia*, *Marcus Brutus* mother: whom *Brutus* studied most to follow of all the other Romaines, because he was his vncle, and afterwards he maried his daughter. Now touching the Grecian Philosophers, there was no sect nor Philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but aboue all the rest, he loued *Platoes* sect best, and did not much giue himselfe to the new or meane Academie (as they call it) but altogether to the old Academie. Therefore he did euer greatly esteeme the Philosopher *Antiochus*, of the citie of Ascalon: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariston*, who for learning and knowledge was inferiour to many other Philosophers, but for wisdome and curtesie, equall with the best and chiefest. Touching *Empylus*, whom *M. Brutus* himselfe doth mention in his Epistles, and his friends also in many places: he was an Orator, & left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of *Iulius Cæsar*, & intituled it, *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latin tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it: beside that he could also plead very well in Latine. But for the Greeke tong, they do note in some of his Epistles, that he counterfeited that briefe compendious maner of speech of the Lacedæmonians. As when the war was begun, he wrote vnto the Pargamenians in this sort: I vnderstand you haue giuen *Dolabella* money: if you haue done it willingly, you confesse you haue offended me; if against your wils, shew it then by giuing me willingly. Another time againe vnto the Samians: Your councels be long, your doings be slow, consider the end. And in another Epistle he wrote vnto the Patareians: The Xanthians despising my good wil, haue made their country a graue of dispaire; and the Patareians that put themselues into my protection, haue lost no iot of their liberty: and therefore whilst you haue libertie, either chuse the iudgement of the Patareians, or the fortune of the Xanthians. These were *Brutus* maner of letters which were honored for their briefenesse. So *Brutus* being but a young stripling, went into Cyprvs with his Vncle *Cato*, who was sent against *Ptolomy* king of Ægypt, who hauing slaine himself, *Cato* staying for certain necessarie busines he had in the Ile of Rhodes, had already sent * *Caninius*, one of his friends before to keepe his treasure and goods. But *Cato* fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote vnto *Brutus* forthwith to come out of Pamphilia (where he was but newly recouered of a sickenesse) into Cyprvs, the which he did. The which iourney he was sory to take vpon him, both for respect of *Caninius* shame, whom *Cato* (as he thought) wrongfully slaundered: as also because he thought this office too meane and vnmeet for him, being a young man, and giuen to his booke. This notwithstanding, he behaued himselfe so honestly and carefully, that *Cato* did greatly commend him: and after all the goods were sold and conuerted into readie money, he tooke the most part of it, and returned withall to Rome. Afterwardes, when the Empire of Rome was deuided into factions, and that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* both were in armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of Rome was in garboile and vprore: it was thought then that *Brutus* would take part with *Cæsar*, because *Pompey* not long before had put his father to death. But *Brutus* preferring the respect of his countrie and commonwealth before priuate affection, and perswading himselfe that *Pompey* had iuster cause to enter into armes, then *Cæsar*: he then tooke part with *Pompey*, though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorne to speake to him, thinking it a great sin and offence in him, to speake to the murtherer of his father. But then submitting himselfe vnto *Pompey*, as vnto the head of the commonwealth: he sailed into Sicile, Lieutenant vnder *Sestius* that was Gouernor of that prouince. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were both camped together, and fought for victorie: he went of himselfe vnsent for into Macedon, to be partaker of the danger. It is reported, that *Pompey* being glad, and wondering at his comming; when he saw him come to him, he rose out of his chaire, and went and imbraced him before them all, and vsed him as honorably, as he could haue done the noblest man that tooke his part. *Brutus* being in *Pompeys* campe, did nothing but studie all day long, except he were with *Pompey*, and not only the dayes before, but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fields of Pharsalia, where *Pompey* was ouerthrowne. It was in the middest of Sommer, and the Sunne was very hote, besides that the campe was lodged neare vnto marishes, and they that caried his tent, taried long before they came: whereupon, being very wearie with trauell, scant any meate came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morow after, he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long til night, writing a breuiarie of *Polybius*.

Seruilia, Catoes sister.

Brutus studies.

Brutus followed the old Academickes.

Empylus an Orator, wrote a booke of Cæsars death, and intituled it, Brutus.

Brutus maner of writing his Epistles in Grecke.

A briefe letter to the Samiãs.

Brutus followed Cato into Cyprus.

* *Or Canidius.*

Brutus taketh part with Pompey.

Brutus studied in Pompeys campe.

It

It is reported that *Cæsar* did not forget him, and that he gaue his Captaines charge before the battell, that they should beware they killed not *Brutus* in fight, and if he yeelded willingly vnto them, that then they should bring him vnto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, thē that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for *Seruiliaes* sake, *Brutus* mother. For when he was a young man, he had bene acquainted with *Seruilia*, who was extreamely in loue with him. And because *Brutus* was borne in that time when their loue was hotest, he perswaded himselfe that he begate him. For proofe hereof the report goeth, that when the waightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracie of *Catiline*, which was likely to haue vndone the citie of Rome, *Cæsar* and *Cato* sate neare together, and were both of contrarie minds to each other: and then, that in the meane time one deliuered *Cæsar* a letter. *Cæsar* tooke it, and read it softly to himselfe: but *Cato* cryed out vpon *Cæsar*, and sayed he did not well to receiue aduertisements from enemies: whereupon the whole Senate beganne to murmure at it. Then *Cæsar* gaue *Cato* the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it was a loue-letter sent from his sister *Seruilia*: therupon he cast it againe to *Cæsar*, and sayed vnto him; Hold, drunken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintained his opinion as he did before: so commonly was the loue of *Seruilia* knowne, which she bare vnto *Cæsar*. So, after *Pompeys* ouerthrowe at the battell of Pharsalia, and that he fled to the sea: when *Cæsar* came to besiege his campe, *Brutus* went out of the campe gates vnseene of any man, and leapt into a marish full of water and reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went vnto the citie of Larissa: from whence he wrote vnto *Cæsar*, who was very glad that he had scaped, and sent for him to come vnto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onely pardon him, but also kept him alwaies about him, and did as much honour and esteeme him, as any man he had in his companie. Nowe, no man could tell whither *Pompey* was fled, and all were maruellous desirous to knowe it: wherefore *Cæsar* walking a good way alone with *Brutus*, he did aske him which way he thought *Pompey* tooke. *Cæsar* perceiuing by his talke that *Brutus* guessed certainely whither *Pompey* should be fledde: he left all other wayes, and tooke his iourney directly towardes Ægypt. *Pompey* (as *Brutus* had coniectured) was indeede fled into Ægypt, but there he was villanously slaine. Furthermore, *Brutus* obtained pardon of *Cæsar* for *Cassius*: and defending also the King* of Lybians cause, he was ouerlayed with a world of accusations against him; howbeit, intreating for him, he saued him the best part of his Realme and Kingdome. They say also, that *Cæsar* sayed, when he heard *Brutus* pleade: I knowe not (sayed he) what this young man would, but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as *Brutus* grauitie and constant minde would not graunt all men their requestes that sued vnto him, but being mooued with reason and discretion, did alwayes encline to that which was good and honest: euen so when it was mooued to followe any matter, he vsed a kind of forcible and vehement perswasion that calmed not, till he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him, a man could neuer obtaine any thing at his handes, nor make him to doe that which was vniust. Further, he thought it not meete for a man of calling and estimation, to yeeld vnto the requestes and intreaties of a shameleese and importunate suter, requesting things vnmeete: the which notwithstanding some men doe for shame, because they dare denie nothing, and therefore he was wont to say, That he thought them evill brought vp in their youth, that could deny nothing. Nowe when *Cæsar* tooke sea to goe into Africke against *Cato* and *Scipio*, he left *Brutus* Gouernour of Gavle in Italie on this side of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that Prouince. For where others were spoyled and polled by the insolencie and couetousnesse of the Gouernours, as if it had bene a country conquered: *Brutus* was a comfort and rest vnto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholy vnto *Cæsars* grace and goodnesse. For when *Cæsar* returned out of Africke, and progressed vp and downe Italie: the things that pleased him best to see, were the cities vnder *Brutus* charge and gouernment, and *Brutus* himselfe; who honoured *Cæsar* in person, and whose companie also *Cæsar* greatly esteemed. Now there were diuerse sorts of Prætorships at Rome, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Cassius* would make sute for the chiefest Prætorship, which they called, The Prætorship of the citie: because he that had that office, was as a Iudge to minister iustice vnto the citizens. Therefore they stroue one against the other, though some say, that there was some litle grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did set them further out, though they were allyed together: for *Cassius* had maried *Iunia*, *Brutus* sister. Others say, that

Iulius Cæsar carefull of Brutus safety.

Iulius Cæsar loued Seruilia, Brutus mother

Brutus saued by Iulius Cæsar after the battell of Pharsalia.

**This king was Iuba: howbeit it is true also, that Brutus made intercession for Deiotarus king of Galatia: who was depriued notwithstāding of the most part of his country by Cæsar, and therefore this place were best to be vnderstanded, by Deiotarus.*

Cæsar made Brutus gouernor of Gaule on this side the mountaines.

Brutus and Cassius cōtend for the Prætorship of the city.

Cassius maried Iunia, Brutus sister.

this contention betwixt them came by *Cæsar* himselfe, who secretly gaue either of them both hope of his fauor. So their sute for the Prætorship was so followed and laboured of either partie, that one of them put another in sute of law. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploits in armes, which *Cassius* had done against the PARTHIANS. So *Cæsar*, after he had heard both their obiections, told his friends with whom he consulted about this matter: *Cassius* cause is the iuster (said he) but *Brutus* must be first preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the first Prætorship, and *Cassius* the second: who thanked not *Cæsar* so much for the Prætorship he had, as he was angrie with him for that he had lost. But *Brutus* in many other things tasted of the benefite of *Cæsars* fauour in any thing he requested. For if he had listed, he might haue bene one of *Cæsars* chiefest friends, and of greatest authoritie and credite about him. Howbeit, *Cassius* friends did dissuade him from it (for *Cassius* and he were not yet reconciled together sithence their first contention and strife for the Prætorship) & prayed him to beware of *Cæsars* sweet entisements, and to flie his tyrannicall fauors: the which they said *Cæsar* gaue him, not to honor his vertue, but to weaken his constant mind, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now *Cæsar* on the other side did not trust him ouermuch, nor was without tales brought vnto him against him: howbeit he feared his great mind, authoritie and friends. Yet on the other side also, he trusted his good nature, and faire conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conspire against him: he answered, That these fat long haired men made him not affraid, but the leane and whitely faced fellowes, meaning that by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. At an other time also when one accused *Brutus* vnto him, and bad him beware of him: What, (said he againe, clapping his hands on his breast) thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarie till this bodie die? meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to haue such power as he had. And surely, (in my opinion) I am perswaded that *Brutus* might indeed haue come to haue bene the chiefest man of ROME, if he could haue contented himselfe for a time to haue bene next vnto *Cæsar*, and to haue suffered his glorie and authoritie, which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But *Cassius* being a cholericke man, and hating *Cæsar* priuatly, more then he did the tyrannie openly; he incensed *Brutus* against him. It is also reported, that *Brutus* could euill away with the tyrannie, and that *Cassius* hated the tyrant: making many complaints for the iniuries he had done him; and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lions from him. *Cassius* had prouided them for his sports, when he should be Ædilis, and they were found in the citie of MEGARA, when it was wonne by *Calenus*, and *Cæsar* kept them. The rumor went, that these lions did maruellous great hurt to the MEGARIANS: for when the city was taken, they brake their cages where they were tyed vp, & turned the loose, thinking they wold haue done great mischiefe to the enemies, and haue kept them from setting vpon them: but the lions (contrarie to expectation) turned vpon themselues that fled vnarmed, and did so cruelly teare some in peeces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause, (as some do report) that made *Cassius* conspire against *Cæsar*. But this holdeth no water: for *Cassius* euen from his cradle could not abide any manner of tyrants, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went vnto the same schoole that *Faustus*, the son of *Sylla* did. And *Faustus* bragging among other boyes, highly boasted of his fathers kingdom: *Cassius* rose vp on his feet, and gaue him two good whirts on the eare. *Faustus* gouernors would haue put this matter in sute against *Cassius*: but *Pompey* would not suffer them, but caused the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them, how the matter came to passe. Then *Cassius* (as it is written of him) said vnto the other: Go too *Faustus*, speake againe and thou darest, before this Nobleman here, the same words that made me angrie with thee, that my fistes may walke once againe about thine eares. Such was *Cassius* hote stirring nature. But for *Brutus*, his friends and countrimen, both by diuers procurements, and sundrie rumours of the citie, and by many bils also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For vnder the image of his auncestor *Iunius Brutus*, (that draue the kings out of ROME) they wrote: O, that it pleased the gods thou wert now aliue, *Brutus*! and againe, That thou wert here among vs now! His tribunall or chaire, where he gaue audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such billes: *Brutus* thou art asleepe, and art not *Brutus* indeed. And of all this, *Cæsars* flatterers were the cause: who beside many other exceeding and vnspeakeable honours they daily deuised for him, in the night time they did put Diademes vpon the heades of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him King, in steade of Dictator. Howbeit, it turned to the contrarie, (as we haue written more at large in *Iulius Cæsars* life.) Now when

The first cause of Cassius malice against Cæsar.

Cæsar suspected Brutus.

Cæsars saying of Brutus.

Cassius incenseth Brutus against Cæsar.

Cassius Lions in Megara.

Cassius an enemy of tyrants.

How Brutus was incensed against Cæsar.

Cassius

Caſsius felt his friends, and did ſtirre them vp againſt *Cæſar*: they all agreed and promiſed to take part with him, ſo *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conſpiracie. For they told him, that ſo high an enterpriſe and attempt as that, did not ſo much require men of manhood, and courage to draw their ſwords: as it ſtood the vpon to haue a man of ſuch eſtimation as *Brutus*, to make euery man boldly thinke, that by his onely preſence the fact were holy and iuſt. If he tooke not this courſe, then that they ſhould go to it with fainter hearts, and when they had done it, they ſhould be more fearefull: becauſe euery man would thinke that *Brutus* would not haue refuſed to haue made one with them, if the cauſe had bene good and honeſt. Therefore *Caſsius* conſidering this matter with himſelfe, did firſt of all ſpeake to *Brutus*, ſince they grew ſtraunge together for the ſute they had for the Prætorſhip. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had embraced one another; *Caſsius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate houſe, the firſt day of the moneth of March, becauſe he heard ſay that *Cæſars* friendes ſhould moue the councell that day, that *Cæſar* ſhould be called King by the Senate. *Brutus* anſwered him, he wold not be there. But if we be ſent for (ſayed *Caſsius*) how then? For my ſelfe then (ſayed *Brutus*) I meane not to hold my peace, but to withſtand it, and rather die then loſe my libertie. *Caſsius* being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why, (quoth he) what Romaine is he aliue that will ſuffer thee to dye for the libertie? What, knoweſt thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkeſt thou that they be coblers, tapſters, or ſuch like baſe mechanicall people, that write theſe billes and ſcrolles which are found daily in thy Prætors chaire, and not the nobleſt men and beſt citizens that do it? No, be thou well aſſured, that of other Prætors they looke for giftes, common diſtributions amongſt the people, & for common playes, and to ſee fencers fight at the ſharp, to ſhew the people paſtime: but at thy hands, they ſpecially require (as a due debt vnto them) the taking away of the tyrannie, being fully bent to ſuffer any extremitie for thy ſake, ſo that thou wilt ſhew thy ſelfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kiſſed *Brutus*, and embraced him: and ſo each taking leaue of other, they went both to ſpeake with their friends about it. Now amongſt *Pompeys* friends, there was one called * *Caius Ligarius*, who had bene accuſed vnto *Cæſar* for taking part with *Pompey*, and *Cæſar* diſcharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæſar* ſo much for his diſcharge, as he was offended with him, for that he was brought in daunger by his tyrannicall power. And therefore in his heart he was alway his mortall enemie, and was beſides very familiar with *Brutus*, who went to ſee him being ſicke in his bed, and ſayed vnto him: *Ligarius*, in what a time art thou ſicke? *Ligarius* riſing vp in his bed, and taking him by the right hand, ſaid vnto him: *Brutus* (ſaid he) if thou haſt any great enterpriſe in hand worthie of thy ſelfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feele all their acquaintance whom they truſted, and layed their heads together conſulting vpon it, and did not onely picke out their friends, but all thoſe alſo whom they thought ſtout enough to attempt any deſperate matter, and that were not affraid to loſe their liues. For this cauſe they durſt not acquaint *Cicero* with their conſpiracie, although he was a man whom they loued dearely, and truſted beſt: for they were affraid that he being a coward by nature, and age alſo hauing increaſed his feare, he would quite turne and alter all their purpoſe, and quench the heate of their enterpriſe the which ſpecially required hote and earneſt execution, ſeeking by perſwaſion to bring all things to ſuch ſafetie, as there ſhould be no perill. *Brutus* alſo did let other of his friends alone, as *Statilius* Epicvrian, and *Faonius*, that made profeſſion to follow *Marcus Cato*: becauſe that hauing caſt out words a farre off, diſputing together in Philoſophie to feele their minds: *Faonius* anſwered, That ciuill war was worſe then tyrannicall gouernment vſurped againſt the law. And *Statilius* told him alſo, That it were an vnwiſe part of him, to put his life in daunger, for a ſight of ignorant fooles and aſſes. *Labeo* was preſent at this talke, and maintained the contrarie againſt them both. But *Brutus* held his peace, as though it had bene a doubtfull matter, and a hard thing to haue bene decided. But afterwardes, being out of their companie, he made *Labeo* priuie to his intent; who very readily offered himſelfe to make one. And they thought good alſo to bring in another *Brutus* to ioyne with him, ſurnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his handes himſelfe, but becauſe he was able to bring good force of a great number of ſlaues, and fencers at the ſharpe, whom he kept to ſhew the people paſtime with their fighting, beſides alſo that *Cæſar* had ſome truſt in him. *Caſsius* and *Labeo* told *Brutus Albinus* of it at the firſt, but he made them no aunſwer. But when he had ſpoken with *Brutus* himſelfe alone, and that *Brutus* had told him he was the chiefe ring-leader of all this conſpiracie: then he willingly promiſed

Caſſius prayeth Brutus firſt, to helpe him to put downe the tyrant.

** In another place they call him Quintus.*

Brutus maketh Ligarius one of the conſpiracie.

They do hide the conſpiracie againſt Cæſar from Cicero.

Ciuill warre worſe then tyrannicall gouernment.

him the beſt aide he could. Furthermore, the onely name aud great calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the moſt of them to giue conſent to this conſpiracie: who hauing neuer taken othes together, nor taken or giuen any caution or aſſurance, nor binding themſelues one to another by any religious othes: they all kept the matter ſo ſecret to themſelues, and could ſo cunningly handle it, that notwithſtanding, the gods did reueale it by manifeſt ſignes and tokens from aboue, and by predictions of ſacrifices: yet all this would not be beleeued. Now *Brutus*, who knewe very well, that for his ſake all the nobleſt, valianteſt, and moſt couragious men of ROME did venture their liues, weighing with himſelfe the greatneſſe of the daunger: when he was out of his houſe, he did ſo frame and faſhion his countenance and lookes, that no man could diſcerne he had any thing to trouble his mind. But when night came that he was in his owne houſe, then he was cleane chaunged: for, either care did wake him againſt his will when he would haue ſlept, or elſe oftentimes of himſelfe he fell into ſuch deepe thoughts of this enterpriſe, caſting in his mind all the daungers that might happen: that his wife lying by him, found that there was ſome maruellous great matter that troubled his mind, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himſelfe. His wife *Porcia* (as we haue told you before) was the daughter of *Cato*, whom *Brutus* maried being his couſin, not a mayden, but a young widow after the death of her firſt husband *Bibulus*, by whome ſhe had alſo a young ſonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwardes wrote a booke of the actes and geſtes of *Brutus*, extant at this preſent day. This young Ladie being excellently well ſeene in Philoſophie, louing her husband well, and being of a noble courage, as ſhe was alſo wiſe: becauſe ſhe would not aske her husband what he ayled before ſhe had made ſome proofe by her ſelfe: ſhe tooke a little razour ſuch as Barbers occupie to pare mens nayles, and cauſing her maydes and women to go out of her chamber, gaue her ſelfe a great gaſh withall in her thigh, that ſhe was ſtraight all of a goare bloud: and incontinently after, a vehement feauer tooke her, by reaſon of the paine of her wound. Then perceiuing her husband was marueilouſly out of quiet, and that he could take no reſt: euen in her greateſt paine of all, ſhe ſpake in this ſort vnto him: I being, ô *Brutus*, (ſaid ſhe) the daughter of *Cato*, was maried vnto thee, not to be thy bed-fellowe and companion in bedde and at boord onely, like a harlot, but to be partaker alſo with thee, of thy good and euill fortune. Now for thy ſelfe, I can find no cauſe of fault in thee touching our match: but for my part, how may I ſhew my dutie towardes thee, and how much I would do for thy ſake, if I cannot conſtantly beare a ſecret miſchaunce or griefe with thee, which requireth ſecrecie aud fidelitie? I confeſſe, that a womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a ſecret ſafely: but yet (*Brutus*) good education, and the companie of vertuous men, haue ſome power to reforme the defect of nature. And for my ſelfe, I haue this benefite moreouer, that I am the daughter of *Cato*, and wife of *Brutus*. This notwithſtanding, I did not truſt to any of theſe things before: vntil that now I haue found by experience, that no paine nor griefe whatſoeuer can ouercome me. With thoſe wordes ſhe ſhewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what ſhe had done to proue her ſelfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what ſhe ſayed vnto him, and lifting vp his handes to heauen, he beſought the goddes to giue him the grace he might bring his enterpriſe to ſo good paſſe, that he might be found a husband, worthie of ſo noble a wife as *Porcia*: ſo he then did comfort her the beſt he could. Nowe, a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæſar* would not faile to come: the conſpiratours determined then to put their enterpriſe in execution, becauſe they might meete ſafely at that time without ſuſpition, and the rather, for that all the nobleſt and chiefeſt men of the citie would be there: who when they ſhould ſee ſuch a great matter executed, would euery man then ſet too their handes, for the defence of their libertie. Furthermore, they thought alſo that the appointment of the place where the councell ſhould be kept, was choſen of purpoſe by diuine Prouidence, and made all for them. For it was one of the porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of ſeates for men to ſit in, where alſo was ſet vp the image of *Pompey*, which the citie had made and conſecrated in honour of him: when he did beautifie that part of the citie with the Theater he built, with diuerſe porches about it. In this place was the aſſembly of the Senate appointed to be, iuſt on the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, which the ROMAINES call, Idus Martias: ſo that it ſeemed ſome god of purpoſe had brought *Cæſar* thither to be ſlaine, for reuenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his houſe with a dagger by his ſide vnder his long gowne, that no bodie ſaw nor knew, but his wife

The wonderfull faith and ſecrecie of the conſpirators of Cæſars death.

Porcia, Catoes daughter, wife vnto Brutus.

Bibulus booke of Brutus actes.

Porcia ſtudied in Philoſophie.

The courage of Porcia.

Great difference betwixt a wife and a harlot.

Porciaes words vnto her husband Brutus.

wife onely. The other conſpiratours were all aſſembled at *Caſſius* houſe, to bring his ſonne into the market place, who on that day did put on the mans gowne, called Toga Virilis, and from thence they came all in a troupe together vnto *Pompeys* porch, looking that *Cæſar* would ſtraight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull aſſured conſtancie of theſe conſpirators, in ſo daungerous and waightie an enterpriſe as they had vndertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reaſon of their office, whoſe dutie is to miniſter iuſtice to euery bodie: they did not onely with great quietneſſe and courteſie heare them that ſpake vnto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gaue them attentiue eare, as if they had no other matter in their heads: but moreouer, they gaue iuſt ſentence, and carefully diſpatched the cauſes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine ſumme of money, refuſed to pay it, and cryed out, that he did appeale vnto *Cæſar*. Then *Brutus* caſting his eyes vpon the conſpiratours, ſaid: *Cæſar* ſhall not let me to ſee the lawe executed. Notwithſtanding this, by chance there fell out many misfortunes vnto them, which was enough to haue marred the enterpriſe. The firſt and chiefeſt, was *Cæſars* long tarying, who came very late to the Senate: for, becauſe the ſignes of the ſacrifices appeared vnluckie, his wife *Calphurnia* kept him at home, and the Soothſayers bad him beware he went not abroad. The ſecond cauſe was, when one came vnto *Caſca* being a conſpiratour, and taking him by the hand, ſaid vnto him: O *Caſca*, thou kepteſt it cloſe from me, but *Brutus* hath told me all. *Caſca* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and ſayed: Why, how now, how commeth it to paſſe thou art thus rich, that thou doeſt ſue to be Ædilis? Thus *Caſca* being deceiued by the others doubtfull wordes, he told them it was a thouſand to one, he blabbed not out all the conſpiracie. Another Senatour called *Popilius Læna*, after he had ſaluted *Brutus* and *Caſſius* more friendly then he was wont to do: he rounded ſoftly in their eares, and told them: I pray the goddes you may goe through with that you haue taken in hand; but withall, diſpatch I reade you, for your enterpriſe is bewrayed. When he had ſayed, he preſently departed from them, and left them both affrayed that their conſpiracie would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men poſt haſt vnto him, and told him his wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being very carefull and penſiue for that which was to come, and being too weake to away with ſo great and inward griefe of mind: ſhe could hardly keepe within, but was frighted with euery litle noyſe and crye ſhe heard, as thoſe that are taken and poſſeſt with the furie of the Bacchantes, asking euery man that came from the market place, what *Brutus* did, and ſtill ſent meſſenger after meſſenger, to know what newes. At length *Cæſars* comming being prolonged, (as you haue heard) *Porciaes* weakeneſſe was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon ſhe ſodainely ſwounded, that ſhe had no leyſure to goe to her chamber, but was taken in the middeſt of her houſe, where her ſpeech and ſenſes failed her. Howbeit ſhe ſoone came to her ſelfe againe, and ſo was layed in her bed, and tended by her women. When *Brutus* heard theſe newes, it grieued him, as it is to be preſuppoſed: yet he left not off the care of his countrie and commonwealth, neither went home to his houſe for any newes he heard. Nowe, it was reported that *Cæſar* was comming in his Litter: for he determined not to ſtay in the Senate all that day (becauſe he was affrayed of the vnluckie ſignes of the ſacrifices) but to adiourne matters of importance vnto the next Seſſion and Councell holden, fayning himſelfe not to be well at eaſe. When *Cæſar* came out of his Litter, *Popilius Læna* (that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Caſſius*, and had prayed the goddes they might bring this enterpriſe to paſſe) went vnto *Cæſar*, and kept him a long time with a talke. *Cæſar* gaue good eare vnto him. Wherefore the conſpiratours (if ſo they ſhould be called) not hearing what he ſaid to *Cæſar*, but coniecturing by that he had told them a litle before, that his talke was none other but the very diſcouerie of their conſpiracie: they were affrayed euery man of them, and one looking in anothers face, it was eaſie to ſee that they all were of a mind, that it was no tarying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they ſhould kill themſelues with their owne handes. And when *Caſſius* and certaine other clapped their hands on their ſwordes vnder their gownes to drawe them; *Brutus* marking the countenance and geſture of *Læna*, and conſidering that he did vſe himſelfe rather like an humble and earneſt ſuter, then like an accuſer: he ſayed nothing to his companion (becauſe there were many amongeſt them that were not of the conſpiracie) but with a pleaſaunt countenance encouraged *Caſſius*. And immediately after, *Læna* went from *Cæſar*, and kiſſed his hand: which ſhewed plainely that it was for ſome matter concerning himſelfe, that he had held him ſo long in talke. Now all the Senatours being entred firſt

The wonderful conſtancie of the conſpirators in killing of Cæſar.

Sundrie misfortunes to haue broken off the enterpriſe.

The weakeneſſe of Porcia, notwithſtanding her former courage.

Brutus with his countenãce encouraged his fearefull conſorts.

into this place or chapter house where the councell should be kept, all the other conspiratours straight stood about *Cæsars* chaire, as if they had had had something to say vnto him. And some say, that *Cassius* casting his eyes vpon *Pompeys* image, made his prayer vnto it, as if it had bene aliue. * *Trebonius* on the other side, drew *Antonius* aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sate, and held him with a long talke without. When *Cæsar* was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his comming in. So when he was set, the conspiratours flocked about him, and amongest them they presented one * *Tullius Cimber*, who made humble sute for the calling home againe of his brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessours for him, and tooke him by the handes, and kissed his heade and breast. *Cæsar* at the first, simply refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwardes, perceiuing they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his hands plucked *Cæsars* gowne ouer his shoulders, and *Casca* that stood behind him, drew his dagger first, & strake *Cæsar* vpon the shoulder, but gaue him no great wound. *Cæsar* feeling himselfe hurt, tooke him straight by the hand he held his dagger in, & cryed out in Latin: O traitor *Casca*, what dost thou? *Casca* on the other side cried in Greeke, and called his brother to helpe him. So diuers running on a heape together to flie vpon *Cæsar*, he looking about him to haue fled, saw *Brutus* with a sword drawne in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let *Castaes* hand goe, and casting his gowne ouer his face, suffered euery man to strike at him that wold. Then the conspirators thronging one vpon another, because euery man was desirous to haue a cut at him, so many swords and daggers lighting vpon one body, one of them hurt another, and among them *Brutus* caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murthering of him, and all the rest also were euery man of them bloudied. *Cæsar* being slaine in this maner, *Brutus* standing in the middest of the house, would haue spoken, and stayed the other Senatours that were not of the conspiracie, to haue told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both affrayed and amazed, fled one vpon anothers necke in hast to get out at the doore, and no man followed them. For it was set downe, and agreed betwene them, that they should kill no man but *Cæsar* onely, and should intreate all the rest to looke to defend their libertie. All the conspiratours, but *Brutus*, determining vpon this matter, thought it good also to kill *Antonius*, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature fauoured tyrannie: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with souldiers, hauing bene conuersant of long time amongst them: and specially hauing a mind bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authoritie at that time, being Consull with *Cæsar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest: secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that *Antonius* being a noble minded and couragious man (when he should know that *Cæsar* was dead) would willingly help his countrey to recouer her libertie, hauing them an example vnto him, to follow their courage and vertue. So *Brutus* by this meanes saued *Antonius* life, who at that present time disguised himself, and stale away: but *Brutus* and his consorts, hauing their swords bloudie in their hands, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMAINES as they went, to take their libertie againe. Now, at the first time when the murther was newly done, there were sudden outcries of people that ranne vp and downe the citie, the which indeed did the more increase the feare and tumult. But when they saw they slue no man, neither did spoile or make hauock of any thing: then certaine of the Senators, and many of the people imboldening themselues, went to the Capitoll vnto them. There a great number of men being assembled together one after another, *Brutus* made an oration vnto them to win the fauour of the people, and to iustifie that they had done. Al those that were by, said they had done well, and cried vnto them, that they should boldly come downe from the Capitoll: wherupon *Brutus* and his companions came boldly downe into the market place. The rest followed in troupe, but *Brutus* went formost, very honorably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the citie, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the market place, to the pulpit for oratiõs. Whẽ the people saw him in the pulpit, although they were a multitude of rakehels of all sorts, and had a good will to make some stirre: yet being ashamed to do it, for the reuerence they bare vnto *Brutus*, they kept silence to heare what he would say. Whẽ *Brutus* began to speake, they gaue him quiet audience: howbeit immediatly after, they shewed that they were not all contented with the murther. For when another called *Cinna* would haue spoken, and beganne to accuse *Cæsar*: they fell into a great vprore among them, and maruellously reuiled him. Insomuch that the conspiratours returned againe into the Capitoll. There *Brutus*

* *In Cæsars life it is sayd, it was Decius Brutus Albinus, that kept Antonius with a talke without.*

* *In Cæsars life he is called Metellus Cimber.*

The murther of Cæsar.

Casca, the first that wounded him.

VVhy Antonius was not slaine with Cæsar.

Brutus with his consorts went vnto the Capitoll.

tus being affrayed to be beſieged, ſent backe againe the Noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reaſon, that they which were no partakers of the murther, ſhould be partakers of the daunger. Then the next morning the Senate being aſſembled, and holden within the temple of the goddeſſe *Tellus*, to wit, the Earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancus*, and *Cicero*, hauing made a motion to the Senate in that aſſembly, that they ſhould take an order to pardon and forget all that was paſt, and to eſtabliſh friendſhip and peace againe: it was decreed, that they ſhould not only be pardoned, but alſo that the Conſuls ſhould referre it to the Senate what honours ſhould be appointed vnto them. This being agreed vpon, the Senate brake vp, and *Antonius* the Conſull, to put them in heart that were in the Capitoll, ſent them his ſonne for a pledge. Vpon this aſſurance, *Brutus* and his companions came downe from the Capitoll, where euery man ſaluted and embraced each other, among the which, *Antonius* himſelfe did bid *Caſſius* to ſupper to him: and *Lepidus* alſo bad *Brutus*, and ſo one bad another, as they had friendſhip and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to councell, did firſt of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wiſely ſtayed and quenched the beginning of a ciuill warre: then they alſo gaue *Brutus* and his conſorts great prayſes, and laſtly they appointed them ſeuerall gouernments of prouinces. For vnto *Brutus*, they appointed Creta; Africke vnto *Caſſius*; Asia vnto *Trebonius*: Bithynia, vnto *Cimber*; and vnto the other *Detius Brutus Albinus*, Gaule on this ſide the Alpes. When this was done, they came to talke of *Cæſars* will and teſtament, and of his funerals and tombe. Then *Antonius* thinking good his teſtament ſhould be read openly, and alſo that his bodie ſhould be honorably buried, and not in hugger mugger, leſt the people might thereby take occaſion to be worſe offended if they did otherwiſe: *Caſſius* ſtoutly ſpake againſt it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, and agreed vnto it: wherein it ſeemeth he committed a ſecond fault. For the firſt fault he did, was when he would not conſent to his fellow conſpirators, that *Antonius* ſhould be ſlaine: and therefore he was iuſtly accuſed, that thereby he had ſaued and ſtrengthened a ſtrong and grieuous enemy of their conſpiracie. The ſecond fault was, when he agreed that *Cæſars* funerals ſhould be as *Antonius* would haue them, the which indeed marred all. For firſt of all, when *Cæſars* teſtament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed vnto euery citizen of Rome, 75. Drachmes a man; and that he left his gardens & arbors vnto the people, which he had on this ſide of the riuer of Tyber, in the place where now the temple of Fortune is built: the people then loued him, & were maruellous ſorie for him. Afterwards, when *Cæſars* body was brought into the marketplace, *Antonius* making his funeral Oration in praiſe of the dead according to the auncient cuſtome of Rome, and perceiuing that his words moued the common people to compaſſion: he framed his eloquence to make their harts yerne the more, and taking *Cæſars* gowne all bloudy in his hand, he layed it open to the ſight of them all, ſhewing what a number of cuts and holes it had vpon it. Therewithall the people fell preſently into ſuch a rage and mutinie, that there was no more order kept amongſt the common people. For ſome of them cryed out, Kill the murtherers: others plucked vp formes, tables, and ſtalles about the market place, as they had done before at the funerals of *Clodius*, and hauing laid them all on a heape together, they ſet them on fire, and thereupon did put the body of *Cæſar*, and burnt it in the midſt of the moſt holy places. And furthermore, when the fire was throughly kindled, ſome here, ſome there, tooke burning firebrands, and ran with them to the murtherers houſes that killed him, to ſet them a fire. Howbeit, the conſpiratours foreſeeing the daunger before, had wiſely prouided for themſelues, and fledde. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had bene no partaker of the conſpiracie, but was alway one of *Cæſars* chiefeſt friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Cæſar* bad him to ſupper with him, and that he refuſing to go, *Cæſar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, ſo that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being maruellouſly affrayed, he was driuen to follow him in ſpite of his heart. This dreame put him all night into a feauer, and yet notwithſtanding, the next morning when he heard that they caried *Cæſars* bodie to buriall, being aſhamed not to accompanie his funerals: he went out of his houſe, and thruſt himſelfe into the preaſe of the common people that were in a great vprore. And becauſe ſome one called him by his name, *Cinna*: the people thinking he had bene that *Cinna*, who in an oration he made, had ſpoken very euill of *Cæſar*; they falling vpon him in their rage, ſlue him outright in the market place. This made *Brutus* and his companions more affraid then any other thing, next vnto the chaunge of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of Rome, and kept at the firſt in the city of Antium, hoping to returne

Honours decreed for the murtherers of Cæſar.

Cæſars will, & funerals.

Brutus committed two great faults after Cæſars death.

Antonius funerall oration for Cæſar.

The ſtrange dreame of Cinna the Poet.

The murther of Cinna the Poet, being miſtaken for another of that name.

Brutus and his conſorts do flie from Rome.

againe to Rome, when the furie of the people was a litle asswaged. The which they hoped would be quickely, considering that they had to deale with a fickle and vnconstant multitude, easie to be caried, and that the Senate stood for them: who notwithstanding made no enquirie of them that had torne poore *Cinna* the Poet in peeces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended, that went with firebrands to set fire of the conspiratours houses. The people growing wearie now of *Antonius* pride and insolencie, who ruled all things in manner with absolute power: they desired that *Brutus* might returne againe, and it was also looked for, that *Brutus* would come himselfe in person to play the playes which were due to the people, by reason of his office of Prætorship. But *Brutus* vnderstanding, that many of *Cæsars* souldiers which serued vnder him in the warres, and that also had lands and houses giuen them in the cities where they lay, did lye in waite for him to kill him, and that they daily by small companies came by one and by one into Rome: he durst no more returne thither, but yet the people had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to see the games and sports he made them, which were sumptuously set foorth and furnished with all things necessarie, sparing for no cost. For he had brought a great number of straunge beastes, of the which he would not giue one of them to any friend he had, but that they should all be employed in his games: and went himselfe as farre as Byzantivm, to speak to some players of comedies and musitians that were there. And further he wrote vnto his friends for one *Canutius* an excellent player, that whatsoeuer they did, they should intreat him to play in these playes. For (said he) it is no reason to compell any Grecian, vnlesse he will come of his owne goodwill. Moreouer, he wrote also vnto *Cicero*, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these playes. Now the state of Rome standing in these tearmes, there fell out another chaunge and alteration, when the young man *Octauius Cæsar* came to Rome. He was the sonne of *Iulius Cæsars* Neece, whom he had adopted for his son, and made his heire, by his last will and testament. But when *Iulius Cæsar* his adopted father was slain, he was in the city of Apollonia (where he studied) tarying for him, because he was determined to make war with the Parthians: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to Rome, where to begin to currie fauour with the common people, he first of all tooke vpon him his adopted fathers name, and made distribution among them of the money which his father had bequeathed vnto them. By this meanes he troubled *Antonius* sorely, and by force of money, got a great number of his fathers souldiers together, that had serued in the wars with him. And *Cicero* himself, for the great malice he bare *Antonius*, did fauour his proceedings: but *Brutus* maruellously reproued him for it, and wrote vnto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorie to haue a maister, but only to be afraid to haue one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the commonwealth did witnesse, that he chose to be subiect to a mild and curteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octauius Cæsar*, to be a good and gentle Lord. For our predecessors (said he) would neuer abide to be subiect to any Maisters, how gentle or mild soeuer they were: and for his owne part, that he had neuer resolutely determined with himselfe to make war, or peace; but otherwise, that he was certainly minded neuer to be slaue nor subiect. And therefore he wondred much at him, how *Cicero* could be afraid of the danger of ciuill wars, and would not be affraid of a shamefull peace: and that to thrust *Antonius* out of the vsurped tyrannie, in recompence he went about to stablish yong *Octauius Cæsar* tyrant. These were the contents of *Brutus* first letters he wrote vnto *Cicero*. Now the citie of Rome being deuided in two factions, some taking part with *Antonius*, other also leaning vnto *Octauius Cæsar*, and the souldiers making port sale of their seruice to him that would giue most: *Brutus* seeing the state of Rome would be vtterly ouerthrowne, he determined to goe out of Italie, and went a foote through the countrey of Lvke, vnto the citie of Elea, standing by the sea. There *Porcia* being readie to depart from her husband *Brutus*, and to returne to Rome, did what she could to dissemble the griefe and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certaine painted table bewrayed her in the end, although vntill that time she shewed alwaies a constant and patient mind. The deuise of the table was taken out of the Greeke stories, how *Andromachè* accompanied her husband *Hector*, when he went out of the citie of Troy to go to the warres, and how *Hector* deliuered her his litle sonne, and how her eyes were neuer off him. *Porcia* seeing this picture, and likening her selfe to be in the same case, she fell a weeping: and comming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friends perceiuing that, rehearsed the verses *Andromache* speaketh to this purpose in *Homer*:

Brutus playes and sports at Rome in his absence.

Octauius Cæsars comming to Rome.

Brutus reproued Cicero, for taking part with Octauius Cæsar.

Porciaes sorowfull return to Rome for the absence of her husband Brutus.

The storie of Hector and Andromachè, set foorth in painted tables.

Thou

Thou Hector art my father, and my mother, and my brother,
And husband eke, and all in all: I mind not any other.

Then *Brutus* ſmiling, anſwered againe: But yet (ſaid he) I cannot for my part ſay vnto *Porcia*, as *Hector* anſwered *Andromache* in the ſame place of the Poet:

Tuſh, meddle thou weighing duly out
Thy maydes their taske, and pricking on a clout,

For indeed the weake conſtituion of her bodie, doth not ſuffer her to performe in ſhew, the valiant actes that we are able to do: but for courage and conſtant mind, ſhe ſhewed her ſelfe as ſtout in the defence of her countrey, as any of vs. *Bibulus* the ſonne of *Porcia*, reporteth this ſtorie thus. Now *Brutus* embarking at Elea in Lvke, he ſayled directly towards Athens. When he arriued there, the people of Athens receiued him with common ioyes of reioycing, and honorable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to heare the Lectures of *Theomneſtus* the Academick Philoſopher, and of *Cratippus* the Peripateticke, and ſo would talke with them in Philoſophie, that it ſeemed he left all other matters, and gaue himſelfe only vnto ſtudie: howbeit, ſecretly notwithſtanding, he made preparation for warre. For he ſent *Heroſtratus* into Macedon, to win the Captaines and ſouldiers that were vpon thoſe marches, and he did alſo entertaine all the young Gentlemen of the Romaines, whom he found in Athens ſtudying Philoſophie: amongſt them he found *Ciceroes* ſon, whom he highly praiſed and commended, ſaying: That whether he waked or ſlept, he found him of a noble mind and diſpoſition, he did in nature ſo much hate tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being aduertiſed that there came out of Asia a certaine fleet of Romaine ſhippes that had good ſtore of money in them, and that the Captaine of thoſe ſhips (who was an honeſt man, & his familiar friend) came towards Athens: he went to meete him as far as the Ile of Carystos, and hauing ſpoken with him there, he handled him ſo, that he was contented to leaue his ſhips in his hands: whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his houſe, becauſe it was on his birth day. When the feaſt day came, and that they began to drinke luſtily one to another; the gueſtes dranke to the victorie of *Brutus*, and the libertie of the Romaines. *Brutus* therfore to encourage them farther, called for a bigger cup, and holding it in his hand, before he dranke ſpake this aloud:

How Brutus beſtowed his time at Athens.

Brutus prepareth himſelfe to warre.

Brutus commendeth Ciceroes ſonne.

My deſtinie and Phœbus are agreed,
To bring me to my finall end with ſpeed.

And for proofe hereof, it is reported, that the ſame day he fought his laſt battell by the citie of Philippes, as he came out of his tent, he gaue him for the word and ſignall of battell, *Phœbus*: ſo that it was thought euer ſince, that this his ſodaine crying out at the feaſt, was a prognoſtication of his misfortune that ſhould happen. After this, *Antiſtius* gaue him of the money he caried into Italie, fiftie Myriades. Furthermore, all *Pompeys* ſouldiers that ſtraggled vp and downe Theſſaly, came with very good will vnto him. He tooke from *Cinna* alſo, fiue hundred horſemen, which he caried into Asia, vnto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by ſea vnto the citie of Demetriade, and there tooke a great deale of armour and munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had bene made and forged there by *Iulius Cæſars* commaundement, for the wars againſt the Parthians. Furthermore, *Hortenſius* Gouernor of Macedon, did reſigne the gouernement thereof vnto him. Beſides, all the Princes, Kings and Noblemen thereabouts, came and ioyned with him, when it was told him, that *Caius* (*Antonius* brother) comming out of Italie, had paſſed the ſea, and came with great ſpeed towards the citie of Dyrrachivm, and Apolloni a, to get the ſouldiers into his hands, which *Cabinius* had there. *Brutus* therefore to preuent him, went preſently with a fewe of his men in the middeſt of winter when it ſnewe hard, and tooke his way through hard and foule countries, and made ſuch ſpeede indeede, that he was there long before *Antonius* ſumpters, that caried the victuals. So that when he came neare vnto Dyrrachivm, a diſeaſe tooke him, which the Phiſitians call Βουλιμία, to ſay, A cormorant and vnſatiable appetite to eate: by reaſon of the cold and paines he had taken. This ſickeneſſe chaunceth often, both to men and beaſtes, that trauell when it hath ſnowen: either becauſe the naturall heate being retired into the inward partes of the bodie, by the coldneſſe of the aire hardening the skinne, doth ſtraight digeſt and conſume the meate: or elſe becauſe a ſharpe ſubtil wind coming by reaſon of the ſnow when it is molten, doth pierce into the bodie, and driueth out the naturall heate which was caſt outward. For it ſeemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall comming out of the skinne of the bodie: cauſeth

A ſtrange diſeaſe tooke Brutus at Dyrrachium.

Why by ſnow this hungry diſeaſe taketh men that are wearied with trauell.

the ſweates that follow the diſeaſe. But hereof we haue ſpoken at large in other places. *Brutus* being very faint, and hauing nothing in his campe to eate: his ſouldiers were compelled to go to their enemies, and comming to the gates of the citie, they prayed the warders to helpe them to bread. When they heard in what caſe *Brutus* was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requitall whereof, afterwards when he wanne the citie, he did not onely intreate and vſe the citizens thereof curteouſly, but all the inhabitants of the citie alſo for their ſakes. Now when *Caius Antonius* was arriued in the citie of Apollonia, he ſent vnto the ſouldiers thereabouts to come vnto him. But when he vnderſtoode that they went all to *Brutus*: and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apollonia did fauour him much: he then forſooke that citie, and went vnto the city of Bythrotvs, but yet he loſt three of his enſignes by the way, that were ſlaine euery man of them. Then he ſought by force to winne certaine places of ſtrength about Bylis, and to driue *Brutus* men from thence, that had taken it before: and therfore to obtaine his purpoſe, he fought a battell with *Cicero*, the ſonne of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, by whom he was ouercome. For *Brutus* made the younger *Cicero* a Captaine, and did many notable exploites by his ſeruice. Shortly after, hauing ſtolen vpon *Caius Antonius* in certaine marriſhes farre from the place from whence he fled: he would not ſet on him with furie, but only rode round about him, commaunding his ſouldiers to ſpare him and his men, as reckoning them all his owne without ſtroke ſtriking: and ſo indeed it happened: for they yeelded themſelues and their Captaine *Antonius*, vnto *Brutus*; ſo that *Brutus* had now a great army about him. Now *Brutus* kept this *Caius Antonius* long time in his office, and neuer took frō him the markes and ſignes of his Conſulſhip, although many of his friends, and *Cicero* among others, wrote vnto him to put him to death. But when he ſaw *Antonius* ſecretly practiſed with his Captaines to make ſome alteration: then he ſent him into a ſhip, and made him to be kept there. When the ſouldiers whom *Caius Antonius* had corrupted, were gotten into the citie of Apollonia, and ſent from thence vnto *Brutus* to come vnto them: he made them anſwer, That it was not the manner of Romaine Captaines to come to the ſouldiers, but the ſouldiers to come to the Captaine, and to craue pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So *Brutus* preparing to goe into Asia, newes came vnto him of the great chaunge at Rome: for *Octauius Cæſar* was in armes, by commanndement and authoritie from the Senate, againſt *Marcus Antonius*. But after that he had driuen *Antonius* out of Italie, the Senate then began to be affraid of him, becauſe he ſued to be Conſull, which was contrarie to the lawe, and kept a great armie about him, when the Empire of Rome had no neede of them. On the other ſide, *Octauius Cæſar* perceiuing the Senate ſtayed not there, but turned vnto *Brutus* that was out of Italie, and that they appointed him the gouernment of certaine Prouinces: then he began to be affraid for his part, and ſent vnto *Antonius* to offer him his friendſhip. Then coming on with his army neare to Rome, he made himſelfe to be choſen Conſull, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a ſtripling or ſpringall of twentie yeares old, as himſelfe reporteth in his owne Commentaries. So when he was Conſull, he preſently appointed Iudges to accuſe *Brutus* and his companions, for killing of the nobleſt perſon in Rome, and chiefeſt Magiſtrate, without lawe or iudgement: and made *L. Cornificus* accuſe *Brutus*, and *M. Agrippa Caſſius*. So the parties accuſed were condemned, becauſe the Iudges were compelled to giue ſuch ſentence. The voice went, that when the Herauld (according to the cuſtome after ſentence giuen) went vp to the chaire or pulpit for orations, and proclaimed *Brutus* with a loude voyce, ſummoning him to appeare in perſon before the Iudges: the people that ſtoode by ſighed openly, and the Noblemen that were preſent hung downe their heades, and durſt not ſpeake a word. Among them the teares fell from *Publius Silicius* eyes: who ſhortly after, was one of the proſcripts or outlawes appointed to be ſlaine. After that, theſe three *Octauius Cæſar*, *Antonius* and *Lepidus* made an agreement betweene themſelues, and by thoſe articles deuided the Prouinces belonging to the Empire of Rome among themſelues, and did ſet vp billes of proſcription and outlawrie, condemning two hundred of the nobleſt men of Rome to ſuffer death, & among that number, *Cicero* was one. Newes being brought thereof into Macedon: *Brutus* being then inforced to it, wrote vnto *Hortenſius*, that he ſhould put *Caius Antonius* to death, to be reuenged of the death of *Cicero*, and of the other *Brutus*, of the which the one was his friend, and the other his kinſman. For this cauſe therfore, *Antonius* afterwards taking *Hortenſius* at the battell of Philippes, he made him to be ſlaine vpon his brothers tombe. But when *Brutus* ſaid, that he was more aſhamed of the cauſe for the which *Cicero* was ſlaine,

Brutus thankefulneſſe and clemencie.

C. Antonius yeelded vnto *Brutus*.

Octauius Cæſar ioyneth with *Antonius*

Brutus accuſed & condemned, by *Octauius Cæſars* means, for the death of *Iulius Cæſar*.

The Triumuirate.

C. Antonius murthered.

slaine, then he was otherwise sorie for his death: and that he could not but greatly reproue his friends he had at Rome, who were slaues more through their owne fault, then through their valiantnesse or manhood which vsurped the tyrannie: considering that they were so cowardly and faint hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should onely haue grieued them to the heart. Now when *Brutus* had passed ouer his armie (that was verie great) into Asia, he gaue order for the gathering of a great number of ships together, as well in the coast of Bithynia, as also in the citie of Cyzicvm, because he would haue an armie by sea: and himselfe in the meane time went vnto the cities, taking order for all things, and giuing audience to Princes and noble men of the country that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent vnto *Cassius* in Syria, to turne him from his iourney into Egypt, telling him that it was not for the conquest of any kingdome for themselues, that they wandred vp and downe in that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their countrey againe to their liberty: and that the multitude of souldiers they gathered together, was to subdue the tyraunts that would keepe them in slauerie and subiection. Wherefore regarding their chiefe purpose and intent, they should not be farre from Italie, as neare as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could, to helpe their countrimen. *Cassius* beleeued him, and returned. *Brutus* went to meete him, and they both met at the citie of Smyrna, which was the first time that they saw together since they tooke leaue each of other, at the hauen of Piræa in Athens: the one going into Syria, and the other into Macedon. So they were maruellous ioyfull, and no lesse couragious, when they saw the great armies together which they had both leuied: considering that they departed out of Italie, like naked and poore banished men, without armour and money, nor hauing anie ship readie, nor souldier about them, nor any one towne at their commaundement: yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, hauing ships, money and souldiers enough, both footmen and horsemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now *Cassius* would haue done *Brutus* as much honour, as *Brutus* did vnto him: but *Brutus* most commonly preuented him, and went first vnto him, both because he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skilfull in warres, but otherwise maruellous chollericke and cruell, who sought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenitie: and on the other side he was too familiar with his friends, and would iest too broadly with them. But *Brutus* in contrary maner, for his vertue and valiantnesse, was well beloued of the people and his owne, esteemed of noble men, and hated of no man, not so much as of his enemies: because he was a maruellous lowly and gentle person, noble minded, and would neuer be in any rage, nor caried away with pleasure and couetousnesse, but had euer an vpright mind with him, and would neuer yeeld to any wrong or iniustice, the which was the chiefest cause of his fame, of his rising, & of the goodwill that euery man bare him: for they were all perswaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainely beleeue, that if *Pompey* himselfe had ouercome *Cæsar*, he would haue resigned his authorie to the law: but rather they were of opinion, that he would still keepe the soueraignetie and absolute gouernement in his hands, taking onely, to please the people, the title of Consull, or Dictator, or of some other more ciuill office. And as for *Cassius*, a hote, chollericke and cruell man, that would oftentimes be caried away from iustice for gaine: it was certainly thought that he made warre, and put himselfe into sundrie dangers, more to haue absolute power and authority, then to defend the liberty of his countrey. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as *Cinna*, *Marius*, and *Carbo*: it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their victorie, was to be Lords of their countrey: and in manner they did all confesse, that they fought for the tyranny, and to be Lords of the Empire of Rome. And in contrary manner, his enemies themselues did neuer reproue *Brutus* for any such change or desire. For, it was sayd that *Antonius* spake it openly diuerse times that he thought, that of all them that had slaine *Cæsar*, there was none but *Brutus* onely that was moued to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it selfe: but that all the other conspirators did conspire his death, for some priuate malice or enuie, that they otherwise did beare vnto him. Hereby it appeareth, that *Brutus* did not trust so much to the power of his armie, as he did to his owne vertue: as it is to be seene by his writings. For approching neare to the instant danger, he wrote vnto *Pomponius Atticus*, that his affaires had the best hap that could be. For, sayd he, either I will set my countrey at libertie by battell, or by honorable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certaine and assured of all things else, this one thing

Brutus and Cassius do ioyne armies together.

The sharpe and cruel condition of Cassius. Brutus gentle and faire conditions.

Brutus intent good, if he had ouercome.

Antonius testimony of Brutus.

Brutus noble mind to his countrey.

onely was doubtfull to them: whether they ſhould liue or dye with liberty. He wrote alſo that *Antonius* had his due paiment for his folly. For where he might haue bin a partner equally of the glory of *Brutus*, *Caſsius*, and *Cato*, and haue made one with them: he liked better to chuſe to be ioyned with *Octauius Cæſar* alone: with whō, though now he be not ouercome by vs, yet ſhal he ſhortly after alſo haue war with him. And truly he proued a true Prophet, for ſo came it indeed to paſſe. Now whileſt *Brutus* and *Caſsius* were together in the city of Smyrna: *Brutus* prayed *Caſsius* to let him haue ſome part of his money whereof he had great ſtore, becauſe all that he could rap and rend of his ſide he had beſtowed it in making ſo great a number of ſhips, that by meanes of them they ſhould keepe all the ſea at their commandement. *Caſsius* friends hindered this requeſt, and earneſtly diſſwaded him from it: perſwading him, that it was no reaſon that *Brutus* ſhould haue the money which *Caſsius* had gotten together by ſparing, and leauied with great euill will of the people their ſubiects, for him to beſtow liberally vpon his ſouldiers, and by this meanes to win their goodwils, by *Caſsius* charge. This notwithſtanding, *Caſsius* gaue him the third part of this totall ſumme. So *Caſsius* and *Brutus* then departing from each other, *Caſsius* tooke the city of Rhodes, where he too diſhoneſtly and cruelly vſed himſelfe: although when he came into the city, he anſwered ſome of the inhabitants, who called him Lord and King, that he was neither Lord nor King, but he only that had ſlaine him, that would haue bene Lord and King. *Brutus* departing from thence, ſent vnto the Lycians to require money, and men of war. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naucrates*, that made the cities to rebell againſt him, inſomuch that the countrimen of that countrey kept the ſtraights and litle mountaines, thinking by that means to ſtop *Brutus* paſſage. Wherfore *Brutus* ſent his horſemen againſt them, who ſtale vpon them as they were at dinner, and ſlue ſixe hundred of them: and taking all the ſmall townes and villages, he did let all the priſoners he tooke, go without payment of ranſome, hoping by this his great courteſie to win them, to draw all the reſt of the countrey vnto him. But they were ſo fierce and obſtinate, that they would mutine for euery ſmall hurt they receiued as they paſſed by their countrey, and did deſpiſe his curteſie and good nature: vntill that at length he went to beſiege the city of the Xanthians, within the which were ſhut vp the cruelleſt and moſt warlike men of Lycia. There was a riuer that ranne by the wals of the city, in the which many men ſaued themſelues, ſwimming betweene two waters, and fled: howbeit they layd nets ouerthwart the riuer, and tied litle bels on the top of them, to ſound when any man was taken in the nets. The Xanthians made a ſally out by night, and came to fire certaine engines of battery that beate downe their wals: but they were preſently driuen in againe by the Romaines, ſo ſoone as they were diſcouered. The wind by chance was maruellous bigge, and increaſed the flame ſo ſore, that it violently caried it into the cranewes of the wall of the city, that the next houſes vnto them were ſtraight ſet on fire thereby. Wherefore *Brutus* being afraid that all the city would take on fire, he preſently commanded his men to quench the fire, and to ſaue the towne if it might be. But the Lycians at that inſtant fell into ſuch a frenſie, and ſtraunge and horrible deſpaire, that no man can well expreſſe it: and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it, then to a franticke and moſt deſperate deſire to die. For all of them together, with their wiues and children, maiſters and ſeruants, and of all ſorts of age whatſoeuer, fought vpon the ramper of their wals, and did caſt downe ſtones and fire-workes on the Romaines, which were very buſie in quenching the flame of the fire, to ſaue the citie. And in contrary manner alſo, they brought faggots, drie wood, and reeds, to bring the fire further into the citie as much as might be, increaſing it by ſuch things as they brought. Now when the fire had gotten into all parts of the city, and that the flame burnt bright in euery place: *Brutus* being ſorie to ſee it, got vpon his horſe, and rode round about the wals of the citie, to ſee if it were poſſible to ſaue it, and held vp his hands to the inhabitants, praying them to pardon their citie, and to ſaue themſelues. Howbeit they would not be perſwaded, but did all that they could poſſible to caſt themſelues away, not only men and women, but alſo litle children. For ſome of them weeping and crying out, did caſt themſelues into the fire: others headlong throwing themſelues downe from the wals, brake their neckes: others alſo made their neckes bare, to the naked ſwords of their fathers, and vndid their cloaths, praying them to kill them with their owne hands. After the citie was burnt, they found a woman hanged vp by the necke, holding one of her children in her hand dead by her, hanged vp alſo: and in the other hand a burning torch ſetting fire on her houſe. Some would haue had *Brutus* to haue ſeene her, but he would not ſee ſo horrible and tragicall a ſight: but when

Brutus, a true Prophet of Antonius.

Caſſius vwanne the citie of Rhodes.

Brutus geſts in Lycus.

The citie of Xanthus ſet on fire.

The deſperate end of the Xanthians.

when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and cauſed a Herauld to make proclamation by ſound of trumpet, that he would giue a certaine ſumme of money, to euery ſouldier that could ſaue a XANTHIAN. So there were not (as it is reported) aboue fiftie of them ſaued, and yet they were ſaued againſt their wils. Thus the XANTHIANS hauing ended the reuolution of their fatall deſtiny, after a long continuance of time: they did through their deſperation, renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their Auncestors. Who in like manner, in the warres of the PERSIANS, did burne their citie, and deſtroyed themſelues. Therefore *Brutus* likewiſe beſieging the citie of the PATARBIANS, perceiuing that they ſtoutly reſiſted him: he was alſo afraid of that, and could not well tell whether he ſhould giue aſſault to it, or not, leſt they would fall into the deſpaire and deſperation of the XANTHIANS. Howbeit hauing taken certain of their women priſoners, he ſent them backe againe, without payment of ranſome. Now they that were the wiues and daughters of the nobleſt men of the citie, reporting vnto their parents, that they had found *Brutus* a merciſull, iuſt, and courteous man: they perſwaded them to yeeld themſelues and their citie vnto him, the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themſelues, diuerſe other cities alſo followed them, and did the like: and found *Brutus* more merciſull and courteous, then they thought they ſhould haue done, but ſpecially farre aboue *Caſsius*. For *Caſsius*, about the ſelfe ſame time, after he had compelled the RHODIANS euerie man to deliuer all the readie money they had in gold and ſiluer in their houſes, the which being brought together, amounted to the ſumme of eight thouſand talents: yet he condemned the citie beſides, to pay the ſumme of fiue hundred talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrarie manner, after he had leuied of all the country of LYCIA but a hundred and fiftie talents onely: he departed thence into the countrie of IONIA, and did them no more hurt. Now *Brutus* in all this iourney, did many notable actes and worthie of memorie, both for rewarding, as alſo in puniſhing thoſe that had deſerued it: wherefore among the reſt, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himſelfe, and all the Noblemen of the ROMAINES were maruellous glad. When *Pompey* the Great (hauing loſt the battell againſt *Iulius Cæſar*, in the fields of PHARSALIA) came and fell vpon the coaſt of ÆGYPT, hard by the citie of PELVSIVM: thoſe that were protectours to the young king *Ptolomie*, being then but a child, ſate in councell with his ſeruants and friendes, what they ſhould determine in that caſe. They were not all of one minde in this conſultation: for ſome thought it good to receiue *Pompey*: others alſo, that they ſhould driue him out of ÆGYPT. But there was a certaine Rethoritian called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the Iſle of CHIO, who was the kings ſchoolemaiſter to teach him Rethoricke. He being called to this councell for lacke of ſufficient men, ſayed, That both the one and the other ſide went awrie, aſwell thoſe that were of opinion to receiue *Pompey*, as the other that would haue had him driuen away: and that the beſt way was (conſidering the preſent time) that they ſhould lay hold on him, and kill him; adding withall this ſentence, That a dead man biteth not. The whole councell ſtucke to this opinion. So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and vnlooked for vnto *Pompey*: *Pompey* the Great was ſlaine, by the motion and counſell of this wicked Rethoritian *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* afterwards did himſelfe boaſt of it. But when *Iulius Cæſar* came afterwards into ÆGYPT, the wicked men that conſented to this counſell, had their payment according to their deſerts: for they dyed euery man of them a wicked death, ſauing this *Theodotus*, whome fortune reſpighted a litle while longer, and yet in that time he liued a poore and miſerable life, neuer tarying long in any one place. So *Brutus* going vp and downe ASIA, *Theodotus* could hide himſelfe no longer, but was brought vnto *Brutus*, where he ſuffered paines of death: ſo that he wanne more fame by his death, then euer he did in his life. About that time, *Brutus* ſent to pray *Caſsius* to come to the citie of SARDIS, and ſo he did. *Brutus* vnderſtanding of his comming, went to meete him with all his friendes. There both their armies being armed, they called them both Emperors. Now (as it commonly happeneth in great affaires betweene two perſons, both of them hauing many friendes, and ſo many Captaines vnder them: there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a litle chamber together, and bad euery man auoid and did ſhut the dores to them. Then they began to powre out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earneſtly accuſing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry betweene themſelues, they were both amazed and afraid alſo, leſt it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded, that no man ſhould come to them. Notwithſtanding one *Mar-*

The Patarians do yeeld themſelues vnto Brutus.

The extreame couetouſneſſe and crueltie of Caſſius to the Rhodians.

Brutus clemẽcie vnto the Lycians.

Theodotus born in Chio, a Rethoritian ſchoolemaiſter to Ptolomy the young king of Aegypt.

Theodotus ſaying: A dead man biteth not.

Theodotus Chian, the Rethoritian, that gaue counſell to kill Pompey, was put to death by Brutus.

Brutus and Caſſius do meet at the citty of Sardis.

Brutus and Caſſius complaints one vnto the other.

M. Thaonius a follower of Cato.

Phaonius, that had bene a friend and follower of *Cato* while he liued, & tooke vpon him to counterfeit a Philosopher, not with wisdome and discretion, but with a certaine bedlem and franticke motion: he would needs come into the chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let *Phaonius*, when a madde mood or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hote hasty man, and sudden in all his doings, and cared for neuer a Senator of them all. Now, though he vsed this bold maner of speech after the profession of the Cynicke Philosophers (as who would say, Dogs) yet his boldnesse did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This *Phaonius* at that time, in despite of the doore-keepers, came into the chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the verses which old *Nestor* sayd in *Homer*:

Cynicke Philosophers, counted dogges.

My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me;
For I haue seene moe yeares then suchie three.

Cassius fell a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thrust him out of the chamber, and called him dogge, and counterfeit Cynicke. Howbeit his comming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The selfe same night *Cassius* prepared his supper in his chamber, and *Brutus* brought his friends with him. So when they were set at supper, *Phaonius* came to sit downe after he had washed. *Brutus* told him aloud, no man sent for him, and bad them set him at the vpper end: meaning indeed at the lower end of the bed. *Phaonius* made no ceremony, but thrust in amongst the middest of them, and made all the company laugh at him: So they were merry all supper time, and full of their Philosophie. The next day after, *Brutus*, vpon complaint of the Sardians, did condemne and note *Lucius Pella* for a defamed person, that had bene a Prætor of the Romaines, and whom *Brutus* had giuen charge vnto: for that he was accused and conuicted of robbery, and pilferie in his office. This iudgement much misliked *Cassius*: because he himselfe had secretly (not many dayes before) warned two of his friends, attainted and conuicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leaue to employ them in any manner of seruice as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproued *Brutus*, for that he would shew himselfe so straight and seuere in such a time, as was meeter to beare a litle, then to take things at the worst. *Brutus* in contrarie manner answered, that he should remember the Ides of March, at which time they slue *Iulius Cæsar*: who neither piled nor polled the countrey, but onely was a fauourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoile, by his countenance & authoritie. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly set aside iustice and equitie: they should haue had more reason to haue suffered *Cæsars* friends, to haue robbed and done what wrong and iniurie they had would, then to beare with their owne men. For then sayd he, they could but haue sayd they had bene cowards: and now they may accuse vs of iniustice, beside the paines we take, and the danger we put our selues into. And thus may we see what *Brutus* intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to passe ouer againe, out of Asia into Evrope: there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderfull signe vnto him. *Brutus* was a carefull man, and slept very litle, both for that his diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He neuer slept in the day time, and in the night no longer, then the time he was driuen to be alone, and when euery body else tooke their rest. But now whilest he was in warre, and his head euer busily occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen: after he had slumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his waightiest causes, and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would reade some booke till the third watch of the night, at what time the Captaines, petty Captaines and Colonels, did vse to come to him. So, being ready to go into Evrope, one night very late (when all the campe tooke quiet rest) as he was in his tent with a litle light, thinking of waightie matters: he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the doore of his tent, that he saw a wonderfull straunge and monstrous shape of a bodie comming towards him, and sayd neuer a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a god or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The spirit aunswered him, I am thy euill spirit, *Brutus*: and thou shalt see me by the citie of Philippes. *Brutus* being no otherwise afraid, replied againe vnto it: Well, then I shall see thee againe. The spirit presently vanished away: and *Brutus* called his men vnto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw any thing at all. Thereupon *Brutus* returned againe to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went vnto *Cassius*, to tell him what vision had appeared vnto him in the night.

Iulius Cæsar slaine at the Ides of March.

The wonderfull constancy of Brutus, in matters of iustice and equitie.

Brutus care and watching.

A spirit appeared vnto Brutus in the citie of Sardis.

night. *Cassius* being in opinion an EPICVRIAN, and reasoning thereon with *Brutus*, spake to him touching the vision thus. In our sect, *Brutus*, we haue an opinion, that we do not alwayes feele, or see, that which we suppose we do both see & feele: but that our senses being credulous, and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and vnoccupied in their owne obiects) are induced to imagine they see and coniecture that, which they in truth do not. For, our mind is quicke and cunning to worke (without either cause or matter) any thing in the imagination whatsoeuer. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay: and the mind to the potter: who without any other cause then his fancie and pleasure, chaungeth it into what fashion and forme he will. And this doth the diuersitie of our dreames shew vnto vs. For our imagination doth vpon a small fancie grow from conceipt to conceipt, altering both in passions and formes of things imagined. For the mind of man is euer occupied, and that continuall mouing is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature giuen to melancholicke discoursing, and of late continually occupied: your wits and senses hauing bene ouer-laboured, do easilier yeeld to such imaginations. For, to say that there are spirits or angels, and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voyces, or any power at all to come vnto vs: it is a mockerie. And for mine owne part, I would there were such, because that we should not onely haue souldiers, horses, and ships, but also the aide of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts. With these words *Cassius* did somewhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they raised their campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a maruellous force, lighted vpon two of the foremost ensignes, and alwayes followed the souldiers, which gaue them meate, and fed them, vntill they came neare to the citie of PHILIPPES: and there one day onely before the battell, they both flew away. Now *Brutus* had conquered the most part of all the people, and nations of that countrey: but if there were any other citie or Captaine to ouercome, then they made all cleare before them, and so drew towards the coasts of THASSOS. There *Norbanus* lying in campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called SYMBOLON (which is a port of the sea) *Cassius* and *Brutus* compassed him in in such sort, that he was driuen to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to haue lost all his army. For, *Octauius Cæsar* could not follow him because of his sickenesse, & therfore stayed behind: whereupon they had taken his army, had not *Antonius* aide bene, which made such wonderfull speed, that *Brutus* could scant beleeue it. So *Cæsar* came not thither of ten dayes after: & *Antonius* camped against *Cassius*, and *Brutus* on the other side against *Cæsar*. The ROMAINS called the valley between both camps, the PHILIPPIAN fields: and there were neuer seene two so great armies of the ROMAINES, one before the other, ready to fight. In truth, *Brutus* army was inferior to *Octauius Cæsars*, in number of men: but for brauery & rich furniture, *Brutus* army far excelled *Cæsars*. For the most part of their armours were siluer and gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully giuen thē: although in all other things he taught his captaines to liue in order without excesse. But for the brauery of armor, & weapon, which souldiers should cary in their hands, or otherwise weare vpon their backes: he thought that it was an encouragement vnto them that by nature are greedy of honor, & that it maketh them also fight like diuels that loue to get, and to be afraid to lose: because they fight to keepe their armor and weapon, as also their goods and lands. Now when they came to muster their armies, *Octauius Cæsar* tooke the muster of his armie within the trenches of his camp, & gaue his men only a litle corne, & fiue siluer Drachmaes to euerie man to sacrifice to the gods, and to pray for victorie. But *Brutus* scorning this misery and nigardlinesse, first of all mustered his army, and did purifie it in the fields, according to the maner of the ROMAINS: and then he gaue vnto euery band a number of weathers to sacrifice, and fifty siluer Drachmaes to euery souldier. So that *Brutus* & *Cassius* souldiers were better pleased, & more coragiously bent to fight at the day of battel, then their enemies souldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certaine vnlucky signes vnto *Cassius*. For one of his Sergeants that caried the rods before him, brought him the garland of flowers turned backwards, the which he shold haue worne on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreouer it is reported also, that another time before, in certaine sports and triūph where they caried an image of *Cassius* victory of cleane gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that caried it. And yet further, there were seene a maruellous number of fowles of prey, that feed vpon dead carcasses: and Bee-hiues also were found, where Bees were gathered together in a certain place within the trenches of the camp: the which

Cassius opinion of spirits, after the Epicurian sect.

The cause of dreames.

A vvonderfull signe by two Eagles.

Brutus and Cassius campes before the city of Philippes: against Octauius Cæsar and Antonius.

Brutus souldiers brauely armed.

Brutus opinion for the brauery of souldiers, in their armour and vveapon.

Vnluckie signes vnto Cassius.

place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the precinct of the campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would haue of it. The which began somewhat to alter *Cassius* mind from *Epicurus* opinions, and had put the souldiers also in a maruellous feare. Therupon *Cassius* was of opinion not to try this war at one battell, but rather to delay time, & to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in mony, and the weaker in men and armors. But *Brutus* in contrary maner, did alway before and at that time also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of battell, as soone as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his countrey to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great armies together. But perceiuing that in the daily skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were alway the stronger, and euer had the better: that yet quickened his spirits againe, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yeelded themselues to their enemies, and that it was suspected moreouer diuerse others would do the like: that made many of *Cassius* friends, which were of his mind before (when it came to be debated in councell whether the battell should be fought or not) that they were then of *Brutus* mind. But yet was there one of *Brutus* friends called *Atellius*, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tary the next winter. *Brutus* asked him what he should get by taryng a yeare longer? If I get nothing else, quoth *Atellius* againe, yet haue I liued so much longer. *Cassius* was very angry with this answer: & *Atellius* was maliced & esteemed the worse for it of all men. Therupon it was presently determined they shold fight battell the next day. So *Brutus* all supper time looked with a chearful coūtenance, like a man that had good hope, & talked very wisely of Philosophy, & after supper went to bed. But touching *Cassius*, *Messala* reporteth that he supped by himself in his tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper time he looked verie sadly, & was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: & that after supper he tooke him by the hand, & holding him fast (in token of kindnesse as his maner was) told him in Greeke: *Messala*, I protest vnto thee, & make thee my witnesse, that I am compelled against my mind and will (as *Pompey* the great was) to ieopard the libertie of our country, to the hazard of a battell. And yet we must be liuely, & of good corage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we folow euill counsell. *Messala* writeth, that *Cassius* hauing spoken these last words vnto him, he bad him farewell, & willed him to come to supper to him the next night folowing, because it was his birth day. The next morning by breake of day, the signall of battell was set out in *Brutus* and *Cassius* campe, which was an arming scarlet coate: & both the Chieftaines spake together in the midst of their armies. There *Cassius* began to speake first, and sayd: The gods grant vs, ô *Brutus*, that this day we may win the field, and euer after to liue all the rest of our life quietly, one with another. But sith the gods haue so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most vncertaine, and that if the battell fall out otherwise to day then we wish or looke for, we shall hardly meet againe: what art thou then determined to do, to flie, or die? *Brutus* answered him, being yet but a yong man, and not ouer greatly experienced in the world: I trust (I know not how) a certaine rule of Philosophie, by the which I did greatly blame and reproue *Cato* for killing himselfe, as being no lawfull nor godly act, touching the gods: nor concerning men, valiant; not to giue place and yeeld to diuine prouidence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoeuer it pleaseth him to send vs, but to draw backe and flie: but being now in the middest of the danger, I am of a contrary mind. For if it be not the will of God, that this battell fall out fortunate for vs: I will looke no more for hope, neither seeke to make any new supply for war againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I gaue vp my life for my countrey in the Ides of March, for the which I shall liue in another more glorious world. *Cassius* fell a laughing to heare what he sayd, & imbracing him, Come on then (said he) let vs go & charge our enemies with this mind. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to feare the conquerors. After this talke, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the battell. Then *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* he might haue the leading of the right wing, the which men thought was farre meeter for *Cassius*: both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet *Cassius* gaue it him, and willed that *Messala* (who had charge of one of the warlikest legions they had) should be also in that wing with *Brutus*. So *Brutus* presently sent out his horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his footemen also were as willing and readie to giue charge. Now *Antonius* men did cast a trench from the marrish by the which they

Cassius and Brutus opinions about battell.

Atellius opinion for the battell.

Cassius words vnto Messala, the night before the battell.

Brutus and Cassius talke before the battell.

Brutus answer to Cassius.

The battell at Philippes, against Octauius Cesar, and Antonius.

they lay, to cut off *Cassius* way to come to the sea: and *Cæsar*, at the least his armie stirred not. As for *Octauius Cæsar* himselfe, he was not in his campe, because he was sicke. And for his people, they little thought the enemies would haue giuen them battell, but onely haue made some light skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the trench, and with their darts and slings to haue kept them from finishing of their worke: but they taking no heed to them that came ful vpon them to giue them battell, maruelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their trench. In the meane time *Brutus* that led the right wing, sent little bils to the Colonels and Captaines of priuate bands, in the which he wrote the word of the battell: and he himselfe riding a horse-backe by all the troupes, did speake to them, and encouraged them to sticke to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them vnderstood what was the word of the battell, and besides, the most part of them neuer taried to haue to haue it told them, but ranne with great furie to assaile the enemies: whereby through this disorder, the legions were marueilously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For, first of all *Missalaes* legion, and then the next vnto them, went beyond the left wing of the enemies, and did nothing, but glauncing by them, ouerthrew some as they went, and so going on further, fell right vpon *Cæsars* campe, out of the which (as himselfe writeth in his commentaries) he had bene conueyed away a litle before, through the counsell and aduise of one of his friends called *Marcus Artorius*: who dreaming in the night, had a vision appeared vnto him, that commanded *Octauius Cæsar* should be caried out of his camp. Insomuch as it was thought he was slaine, because his litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with pikes and darts. There was great slaughter in this campe. For amongst others, there were slaine two thousand LACEDÆMONIANS, who were arriued but euen a litle before, comming to aide *Cæsar*. The other also that had not glanced by, but had giuen a charge full vpon *Cæsars* battell: they easily made them flie, because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their camp, and of them there were slaine by hand three legions. Then being very earnest to follow the chase of them that fled, they ranne in amongst them hand ouer head into their campe, and *Brutus* among them. But that which the conquerours thought not of, occasion shewed it vnto them that were ouercome: and that was, the left wing of their enemies left naked, and vnguarded of them of the right wing, who were strayed too farre off, in following of them that were ouerthrowne. So they gaue a hot charge vpon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not breake into the middest of their battell, where they found them that receiued them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and ouerthrew the left wing where *Cassius* was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right wing had sped. So they chased them, beating them into their campe, the which they spoiled, none of both the Chiefetaines being present there. For *Antonius*, as it is reported, to flie the furie of the first charge, was gotten into the next marrish: and no man could tell what became of *Octauius Cæsar*, after he was caried out of his campe. Insomuch that there were certaine souldiers that shewed their swords bloudied, and said that they had slaine him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore, the voward and the middest of *Brutus* battell, had alreadie put all their enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter: so that *Brutus* had conquered all on his side, and *Cassius* had lost all on the other side. For nothing vndid them, but that *Brutus* went not to help *Cassius*, thinking he had ouercome them, as himselfe had done: and *Cassius* on the other side taried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had bene ouerthrowne, as himselfe was. And to proue that the victorie fell on *Brutus* side, *Messala* confirmeth it: that they wan three Eagles, and diuers other ensignes of their enemies, and their enemies wan neuer a one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chase, after he had slaine and sacked *Cæsars* men: he wondred much that he could not see *Cassius* tent standing vp high as it was wont, neither the other tents of his camp standing as they were before, because all the whole camp had bin spoiled, and the tents throwne downe, at the first comming of the enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whose sight serued them better, told him that they saw a great glistering of harnesse, and a number of siluered targets, that went and came into *Cassius* camp, and were not (as they tooke it) the armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the camp: and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, & great ouerthrow, as there should haue bin, if so many legions had bene slaine. This made *Brutus* at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the camp of his enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chase, and gathered them together, thinking to

Octauius Cæsar falsly reported to be slaine at the battell of Philippes.

Cassius misfortune.

Caſſius offended vvith the ſundrie errors Brutus and his men committed in battell.

leade them to aide *Caſſius*, who was in this ſtate as you ſhall heare. Firſt of all he was maruellous angrie to ſee how *Brutus* men ran to giue charge vpon their enemies, and taried not for the word of the battell, nor commaundement to giue charge: and it grieued him beſide, that after he had ouercome them, his men fell ſtraight to ſpoile, and were not carefull to compaſſe in the reſt of the enemies behind. But with tarying too long alſo, more then through the valiantneſſe or foreſight of the Captaines his enemies: *Caſſius* found himſelfe compaſſed in with the right wing of his enemies armie. Whereupon his horſmen brake immediatly, and fled for life towards the ſea. Furthermore, perceiuing his footmen to giue ground, he did what he could to keepe them from flying, and tooke an enſigne from one of the enſigne-bearers that fled, and ſtucke it faſt at his feete: although with much ado he could ſcant keepe his owne guard together. So *Caſſius* himſelfe was at length compelled to flie, with a few about him, vnto a litle hill, from whence they might eaſily ſee what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Caſſius* himſelfe ſaw nothing, for his ſight was very bad, ſauing that he ſaw (and yet with much ado) how the enemies ſpoiled his campe before his eyes. He ſaw alſo a great troupe of horſmen, whom *Brutus* ſent to aide him, and thought that they were his enemies that followed him: but yet he ſent *Titinnius*, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. *Brutus* horſemen ſaw him comming a farre off, whom when they knew that he was one of *Caſſius* chiefeſt friends, they ſhouted out for ioy: and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their horſes, and went and embraced him. The reſt compaſſed him in round about a horſe-back, with ſongs of victorie and great ruſhing of their harneſſe, ſo that they made all the field ring againe for ioy. But this marred all. For *Caſſius* thinking indeed that *Titinnius* was taken of the enemies, he then ſpake theſe words: deſiring too much to liue, I haue liued to ſee one of my beſt friends take, for my ſake, before my face. After that, he got into a tent where no body was, and tooke *Pindarus* with him, one of his freed bondmen, whom he reſerued euer for ſuch a pinch, ſince the curſed battell of the PARTHIANS, where *Craſſus* was ſlaine, though he notwithſtanding ſcaped from that ouerthrow: but then caſting his cloke ouer his head, and holding out his bare necke vnto *Pindarus*, he gaue him his head to be ſtriken off. So the head was found ſeuered from the body: but after that time *Pindarus* was neuer ſeene more. Whereupon, ſome tooke occaſion to ſay that he had ſlaine his maiſter without his commaundement. By and by they knew the horſmen that came towards them, and might ſee *Titinnius* crowned with a garland of triumph, who came before with great ſpeed vnto *Caſſius*. But when he perceiued by the cries and teares of his friends which torméted themſelues, the misfortune that had chanced to his Captaine *Caſſius*, by miſtaking: he drew out his ſword, curſing himſelf a thouſand times that he had taried ſo long, & ſo ſlue himſelfe preſently in the field. *Brutus* in the meane time came forward ſtill, and vnderſtood alſo that *Caſſius* had bin ouerthrowne: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neare to his campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Caſſius*, calling him the laſt of all the ROMAINES, being vnpoſſible that ROME ſhould euer breed againe ſo noble and valiant a man as he: he cauſed his bodie to be buried, and ſent it to the citie of THASSOS, fearing leſt his funerals within the campe ſhould cauſe great diſorder. Then he called his ſouldiers together, and did encourage them againe. And when he ſaw that they had loſt all their cariage, which they could not brooke well: he promiſed euery man of them two thouſand Drachmaes in recompence. After his ſouldiers had heard his oration, they were al of them pretily cheared again, wondring much at his great liberalitie, & waited vpon him with great cries when he went his way, praiſing him, for that he onely of the foure Chieftaines, was not ouercome in battel. And to ſpeake the truth, his deeds ſhewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conquerour. For with few legions, he had ſlaine and driuen all them away that made head againſt him: and yet if all his people had fought, and that the moſt of them had not out gone their enemies to runne to ſpoile their goods: ſurely it was like enough he had ſlaine them all, and had left neuer a man of them aliue. There were ſlaine of *Brutus* ſide about eight thouſand men, counting the ſouldiers ſlaues, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies ſide, as *Meſſala* writeth, there were ſlaine as he ſuppoſeth, more then twiſe as many moe. Wherefore they were more diſcouraged then *Brutus*, vntill that very late at night, there was one of *Caſſius* men called *Demetrius*, who went vnto *Antonius*, and caried his maiſters clothes, whereof he was ſtripped not long before, and his ſword alſo. This encouraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them ſo braue, that the next morning betimes they ſtood in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus* ſide, both his campes ſtood wauering, and that in great daunger. For his owne campe being full

Caſſius valiantneſſe in vvarres.

The importance of error and miſtaking in vvarres.

Caſſius ſlaine by his man Pindarus.

The death of Titinnius.

The number of men ſlaine at the battell of Philippes.

full of prisoners, required a good guard to looke vnto them: and *Cassius* campe on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine very heauily; and beside, there was some vile grudge betweene them that were ouercome, and those that did ouercome. For this cause therefore *Brutus* did set them in battell ray, but yet kept himselfe from giuing battell. Now for the slaues that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to & fro amongst the armed men, not without suspition: he commanded they should kill them. But for the free men, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them, they were slaues and seruants: and with him, they were free men and citizens. So when he saw that diuers captaines and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no meanes saue their liues: *Brutus* himselfe hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one *Volumnius* a iester, and *Sacculio* a common player, of whom *Brutus* made no account at all. Howbeit his friends brought them vnto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorne, and to iest broadly with them. *Brutus* made no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherwayes. Whereupon *Messala Coruinus* said, that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, vnto the Captaines of their enemies, to shew them their shame, to keepe such mates as those in their campe, to play the fooles, to make them sport. Some that stood by, laughed at his deuise. But *Publius Casca*, that gaue *Iulius Cæsar* the first wound when he was slaine, said then: It doth not become vs to be thus merrie at *Cassius* funerals: and for thee *Brutus*, thou shalt shew what estimation thou madest of such a Captaine thy compeere, by putting to death, or sauing the liues of these blouds, who hereafter will mocke him and defame his memorie. *Brutus* answered againe in choller: Why then do you come to tell me of it, *Casca*, and do not your selues what you thinke good? When they heard him say so, they tooke his answer for a consent against these poore vnfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good: and therefore they caried them away, and slue them. Afterwards *Brutus* performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gaue them the two thousand Drachmas a peece, but yet he first reproued them, because they went and gaue charge vpon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell giuen them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battel they fought like men, he would giue them the sacke and spoile of two cities, to wit, THESSALONICA and LACEDÆMON. In all *Brutus* life there is but this onely fault to be found, and that is not to be gainesaid: though *Antonius* and *Octauius Cæsar* did reward their souldiers farre worse for their victorie. For when they had driuen all the naturall ITALIANS out of ITALY, they gaue their souldiers their lands and townes, to the which they had no right: and moreouer, the only marke they shot at in all this warre they made, was but to ouercome and raigne. Where in contrary maner they had so great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to ouercome, nor to saue himselfe, otherwise then iustly and honestly, and specially after *Cassius* death; whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moued *Brutus* to great crueltie. But now, like as the mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ship is broken by tempest, do seeke to naile on some other peece of wood in liew thereof, and do helpe themselues to keepe them from hurt, as much as may be vpon that instant danger: euen so *Brutus*, hauing such a great armie to gouerne, and his affaires standing very tickle, and hauing no other Captaine coequal with him in dignitie and authoritie; he was forced to employ them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himselfe also to graunt them any thing, that he thought might make them serue like noble souldiers at time of need. For *Cassius* souldiers were very euil to be ruled, and did shew themselues very stubborne and lustie in the camp, because they had no Chieftaine that did commaund them: but yet ranke cowards to their enemies, because they had once ouercome them. On the other side, *Octauius Cæsar* and *Antonius* were not in much better state: for first of all they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharp winter, being camped as they were by the marish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plentie of raine about the autumne, where through, all their tents were full of myre and durt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these dicommodities, there came newes vnto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For *Brutus* ships met with a great aide and supply of men, which were sent them out of ITALY, and they ouerthrew them in such sort, that there scaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eate the tackle & sailes of their ships. Therupon they were very

Brutus clemencie and curtesie

Brutus fault wisely excused by Plutark.

Brutus victory by sea.

Wonderfull famine among Cæsars souldiers by sea.

desirous to fight a battell againe, before *Brutus* should haue intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chanced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selfesame day it was fought by land. But by il fortune, rather then through the malice or negligence of the captaines, this victory came not to *Brutus* eare till twentie daies after. For had he known of it before, he would not haue bene brought to haue fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good prouision for his armie for a long time; and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his camp could not be greatly hurt by the winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had bene a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would haue maruellously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of Rome (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be gouerned by many Lords, but required one onely absolute Gouernour: God, to preuent *Brutus* that it should not come to his gouernment, kept this victorie from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a litle too late. For the day before the last battell was giuen, very late in the night came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his camp, who told that *Cæsar* hearing of the ouerthrow of his armie by sea, desired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* vnderstood it. Howbeit they gaue no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they wold not vouchsafe to bring him vnto *Brutus*, because they thought it was but a lie deuised, to be the better welcome for this good news. The selfsame night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before vnto *Brutus* in the citie of Sardis, did now appeare again vnto him in the selfesame shape and forme, and so vanished away, and said neuer a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a graue and wise Philosopher, that had bin with *Brutus* frō the beginning of this war, he doth make no mention of this spirit, but saith: that the greatest Eagle and ensigne was couered ouer with a swarme of bees, and that there was one of the captaines, whose arme sodainly fel a sweating, that it dropped oile of roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good. And that before the battel was fought, there were two Eagles fought between both armies, and all the time they fought, there was a maruellous great silence all the valley ouer, both the armies being one before the other, marking this fight betweene them; and that in the end, the Eagle towards *Brutus* gaue ouer and flew away. But this is certaine, and a true tale, that when the gate of the campe was open, the first man the standard-bearer met that caried the Eagle, was an Æthiopian, whom the souldiers for ill luck mangled with their swords. Now after that *Brutus* had brought his army into the field, and had set them in battel ray, directly against the voward of his enemy, he paused a long time before he gaue the signall of battell. For *Brutus* riding vp and downe to view the bands and companies, it came in his head to mistrust some of them; besides, that some came to tell him so much as he thought. Moreouer, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to giue charge, but stil staid to see what the footmen would do. Then sodainly, one of the chiefest knights he had in all his army called *Camulatius*, and that was alway maruellously esteemed of for his valiantnes, vntil that time: he came hard by *Brutus* on horseback, and rode before his face to yeeld himselfe vnto his enemies. *Brutus* was maruellous sorie for it; wherfore partly for anger, and partly for feare of greater treason and rebellion, he sodainly caused his armie to march, being past three of the clocke in the after noone. So in that place where he himselfe fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gaue him way, through the help of his horsemen that gaue charge with his footmen, when they saw the enemies in a maze and afraid. Howbeit, the other also on the right wing, when the Captaines would haue had them to haue marched, they were affraid to haue bin compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number then their enemies, and therfore did spread themselues, and leaue the middest of their battell. Whereby they hauing weakened themselues, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned taile straight and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight vpon it to compasse *Brutus* behind, who in the middest of the conflict, did all that was possible for a skilful captaine and valiant souldier, both for his wisedome, as also his hardinesse, for the obtaining of victorie. But that which wanne him the victorie at the first battell, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in peeces: but at the second battell, of *Cassius* men that were put to flight, there were few slaine: and they that saued themselues by speed, being affraid because they had bene ouercome, did discourage the rest of the armie when they came to ioyne with them, and filled all the armie with feare and disorder. There was the sonne of *Marcus Cato* slaine, valiantly fighting among the lustie youths. For, notwithstanding that he was very

The ignorance of Brutus victorie by sea, was his vtter destruction.

The euill spirit appeared again vnto Brutus.

Strange sights before Brutus second battell.

Brutus second battell.

Brutus valiantnesse and great skill in warre.

The death of the valiant yong man Cato, the sonne of Marcus Cato.

weatie

wearie and ouer-harried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and alſo his fathers name; at length he was beaten downe amongſt many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had ſlaine round about him. So there were ſlaine in the field, all the chiefeſt Gentlemen and Nobilitie that were in his armie: who valiantly ranne into any danger to ſaue *Brutus* life. Amongſt them there was one of *Brutus* friends called *Lucilius*, who ſeeing a troupe of barbarous men making no reckoning of all men elſe they met in their way, but going all together right againſt *Brutus*, he determined to ſtay them with the hazard of his life, and being left behind, told them that he was *Brutus*: and becauſe they ſhould beleeue him, he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he ſaid he was affraid of *Cæſar*, and that he did truſt *Antonius* better. Theſe barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking them ſelues happie men, they caried him in the night, and ſent ſome before vnto *Antonius*, to tel him of their comming. He was maruellous glad of it, and went out to meete them that brought him. Others alſo vnderſtanding of it, that they had brought *Brutus* priſoner: they came out of all parts of the campe to ſee him, ſome pitying his hard fortune, and others ſaying, that it was not done like himſelf ſo cowardly to be taken aliue of the barbarous people, for feare of death. When they came neare together, *Antonius* ſtaid awhile bethinking himſelf how he ſhould vſe *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who ſtoutly with a bold countenance ſaid: *Antonius*, I dare aſſure thee, that no enemie hath taken nor ſhall take *Marcus Brutus* aliue: and I beſeech God keepe him from that fortune. For whereſoeuer he be found, aliue or dead: he will be found like himſelfe. And now for my ſelfe, I am come vnto thee, hauing deceiued theſe men of armes here, bearing them downe that I was *Brutus*: and do not refuſe to ſuffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* words made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other ſide, looking vpon all them that had brought him, ſaid vnto them: My companions, I thinke ye are ſorie you haue failed of your purpoſe, and that you think this man hath done you great wrong: but I do aſſure you, you haue taken a better bootie, then that you followed. For in ſtead of an enemy, you haue brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me *Brutus* aliue, truly I can not tell what I ſhould haue done to him. For, I had rather haue ſuch men my friends, as this man here, then enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time deliuered him to one of his friends in cuſtodie; and *Lucilius* euer after ſerued him faithfully, euen to his death. Now *Brutus* hauing paſſed a litle riuer, walled in on either ſide with high rockes, and ſhadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but ſtaid at the foote of a rocke with certaine of his Captaines and friends that followed him: and looking vp to the firmament that was full of ſtarres, ſighing, he rehearſed two verſes, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect:

The fidelitie of Lucilius vnto Brutus.

Brutus flying

Let not the wight from whom this miſchiefe went
(O Ioue) eſcape without due puniſhment.

And ſaith, that he had forgotten the other. Within a litle while after, naming his friends that he had ſeene ſlaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater ſigh then before, ſpecially when he came to name *Labio* and *Flauius*, of the which the one was his Lieutenant, and the other captain of the pioners of his camp. In the meane time one of the companie being a thirſt, and ſeeing *Brutus* a thirſt alſo: he ran to the riuer for water, and brought it in his ſallet. At the ſelfſame time they heard a noiſe on the other ſide of the riuer. Wherupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* ſeruant with him, to ſee what it was: and returning ſtraight againe, asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* ſmiling, gently told them all was drunke, but they ſhall bring you ſome more. Thereupon he ſent him againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly ſcaped, being ſore hurt. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought that there was no great number of men ſlaine in battel, and to know the truth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promiſed to go through his enemies (for otherwiſe it was impoſſible to go ſee their camp) and from thence if all were well, that he would lift vp a torch-light in the aire, and then returne againe with ſpeed to him. The torch-light was lift vp as he had promiſed, for *Statilius* went thither. Now *Brutus* ſeeing *Statilius* tarie long after that, and that he came not againe, he ſaid: if *Statilius* be aliue, he will come againe. But his euill fortune was ſuch, that as he came backe, he lighted in his enemies hands and was ſlaine. Now the night being far ſpent, *Brutus* as he ſate bowed towards *Clitus* one of his men, and told him ſomewhat in his eare: the other anſwered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proued *Dardanus*, and ſaid ſomewhat alſo to him: at length he came to *Volumnius* himſelf, and ſpeaking to him in Greeke, prayed him for the ſtudies ſake which brought

Appian meaneth this by Antonius.

The death of Statilius.

them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his ſword, to thruſt it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his requeſt, and ſo did many others: and amongſt the reſt, one of them ſaid, there was no tarying for them there, but that they muſt needs flie. Then *Brutus* riſing vp, we muſt flie indeed ſaid he, but it muſt be with our hands, not with our feet. Then taking euery man by the hand, he ſaid theſe words vnto them with a chearefull countenance. It reioyceth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but onely for my countries ſake: for, as for me, I thinke my ſelfe happier then they that haue ouercome, conſidering that I leaue a perpetuall fame of our courage and manhood, the which our enemies the conquerors ſhall neuer attaine vnto by force or money; neither can let their poſteritie to ſay, that they being naughtie and vniuſt men, haue ſlaine good men, to vſurpe tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Hauing ſaid ſo, he prayed euery man to ſhift for them ſelues, and then he went a litle aſide with two or three onely, among the which *Strato* was one, with whom he came firſt acquainted by the ſtudie of Rhetoricke. He came as neare to him as he could, and taking his ſword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling downe vpon the point of it, ranne himſelfe through. Others ſay, that not he, but *Strato* (at his requeſt) held the ſword in his hand, and turned his head aſide, and that *Brutus* fell downe vpon it; and ſo ran himſelfe through, and died preſently. *Meſſala*, that had bene *Brutus* great friend, became afterwards *Octauius Cæſars* friend. So, ſhortly after, *Cæſar* being at good leiſure, he brought *Strato*, *Brutus* friend vnto him, and weeping ſaid: *Cæſar*, behold, here is he that did the laſt ſeruice to my *Brutus*. *Cæſar* welcomed him at that time, and afterwards he did him as faithfull ſeruice in all his affaires, as any GRECIAN elſe he had about him, vntill the battell of ACTIVM. It is reported alſo that this *Meſſala* himſelfe anſwered *Cæſar* one day, when he gaue him great praiſe before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affectiō for him at the battell of ACTIVM: (notwithſtanding that he had bene his cruel enemie before, at the battel of PHILIPPES, for *Brutus* ſake) I euer loued, ſaid he, to take the beſt and iuſteſt part. Now *Antonius* hauing found *Brutus* bodie, he cauſed it to be wrapped vp in one of the richeſt coate-armors he had. Afterwards alſo, *Antonius* vnderſtanding that this coate-armor was ſtolne, he put the theefe to death that had ſtolne it, and ſent the aſhes of his bodie vnto *Seruilia* his mother. And for *Porcia*, *Brutus* wife; *Nicolaus* the Philoſopher, and *Valerius Maximus* do write, that ſhe determining to kill her ſelfe (her parents and friends carefully looking to her to keepe her from it) tooke hote burning coles and caſt them into her mouth, and kept her mouth ſo cloſe, that ſhe choked her ſelfe. There was a letter of *Brutus* found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being ſicke, they would not helpe her, but ſuffered her to kill her ſelfe; chuſing to die, rather then to languiſh in paine. Thus it appeareth that *Nicolaus* knew not well that time, ſith the letter (at the leaſt if it were *Brutus* letter) doth painely declare the diſeaſe and loue of this Ladie, and alſo the manner of her death.

Brutus ſaying of flying with hands, and not with feete.

Brutus ſlue himſelfe. Strato, Brutus familiar and friend.

Strato receiued into Cæſars friendſhip. Meſſala Coruinus, Brutus friend.

Porcia, Brutus wife, killed her ſelfe with burning coles.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Dion with Brutus.

TO come now to compare theſe two noble perſonages together, it is certaine that both of them hauing great gifts in them (and ſpecially *Dion*) of ſmall occaſions they made themſelues great men: and therefore *Dion* of both deſerueth chiefeſt praiſe. For he had no co-helper to bring him vnto that greatneſſe, as *Brutus* had of *Caſſius*: who doubtleſſe was not comparable vnto *Brutus*, for vertue and reſpect of honour, though otherwiſe in matters of warre, he was no leſſe wiſe and valiant then he. For many do impute vnto *Caſſius*, the firſt beginning and originall of all the warre and enterpriſe: and ſaid it was he, that did encourage *Brutus* to conſpire *Cæſars* death. Where *Dion* furniſhed himſelfe with armor, ſhips, and ſouldiers, and wanne thoſe friends and companions alſo that did helpe him to proſecute his warre. Nor he did not as *Brutus*, who roſe to greatneſſe by his enterpriſes, and by warre got all his ſtrength and riches: but he in contrary maner, ſpent of his owne goods to make warre for the libertie of his countrie, and diſburſed of his owne money that ſhould haue kept him in his baniſhment. Furthermore, *Brutus* and *Caſſius* were compelled of neceſſitie to make warres, becauſe they could not haue liued ſafely in peace, when they were driuen out of Rome: for that they were condemned to death, and purſued by their enemies. And for this cauſe therefore they were driuen to hazard themſelues in warre, more for their owne ſafetie, then for the libertie of their countrie men. Whereas *Dion* on the other ſide, liuing more merily and ſafely in his baniſhment, then the tyrant *Dionyſius* himſelfe that had baniſhed him: did put himſelfe to that danger, to deliuer Sicile from bondage. Now the matter was not alike vnto the Romaines, to be deliuered from the gouernement of *Cæſar*: as it was for the Syracvsans, to be rid of *Dionyſius* tyrannie. For *Dionyſius* denied not, that he was not a tyrant, hauing filled Sicile with ſuch miſerie and calamitie. Howbeit, *Cæſars* power and gouernement when it came to be eſtabliſhed, did indeed much hurt at his firſt entrie and beginning vnto thoſe that did reſiſt him: but afterwards, vnto them that being ouercome had receiued his gouernment, it ſeemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a tyrant, then otherwiſe that he was ſo indeed. For there neuer followed any tyrannicall or cruell act, but contrarily, it ſeemed that he was a mercifull Phyſitian, whom God had ordained of his ſpeciall grace to be Gouernour of the Empire of Rome, and to ſet all things againe at quiet ſtay, the which required the counſell and authoritie of an abſolute Prince. And therefore the Romaines were maruellous ſorie for *Cæſar* after he was ſlaine, and afterwards would neuer pardon them that had ſlaine him. On the other ſide, the cauſe why the Syracvsans did moſt accuſe *Dion*, was, becauſe he did let *Dionyſius* eſcape out of the caſtle of Syracvsa, and becauſe he did not ouerthrow and deface the tombe of his father. Furthermore, touching the

warres, *Dion* alway ſhewed himſelfe a Captaine vnreproueable, hauing wiſely and skilfully taken order for thoſe things, which he had enterpriſed of his owne head and counſell: and did amend the faults others committed, and brought things to better ſtate then he found them. Where it ſeemeth, that *Brutus* did not wiſely to receiue the ſecond battell, conſidering his reſt ſtood vpon it. For after he had loſt the battell, it was vnpoſſible for him euer to riſe againe: and therefore his heart failed him, and ſo gaue vp all, and neuer durſt ſtriue with his euill fortune as *Pompey* did, conſidering that he had preſent cauſe enough in the field to hope of his ſouldiers, and being beſide a dreadfull Lord all the ſea ouer. Furthermore, the greateſt reproch they could obiect againſt *Brutus*, was, that *Iulius Cæſar* hauing ſaued his life, and pardoned all the priſoners alſo taken in battell, as many as he had made requeſt for, taking him for his friend, and honouring him aboue all his other friends: *Brutus* notwithſtanding had imbrued his hands in his bloud, wherewith they could neuer reprooue *Dion*. For on the contrarie ſide, ſo long as *Dion* was *Dionyſius* friend and kinſeman, he did alway helpe him to order and gouerne his affaires. But after he was baniſhed his countrey, and that his wife was forcibly maried to another man, and his goods alſo taken from him: then he entred into iuſt and open warres againſt *Dionyſius* the tyrant. But in this point they were contrary together. For wherein their chiefeſt praiſe conſiſted, to wit, in hating of tyrãts & wicked men: it is moſt true that *Brutus* deſire was moſt ſincere of both. For hauing no priuate cauſe of complaint or grudge againſt *Cæſar*, he ventred to kill him, only to ſet his countrie againe at libertie. Where if *Dion* had not receiued priuate cauſe of quarrell againſt *Dionyſius*: he would neuer haue made warre with him. The which *Plato* proueth in his Epiſtles, where is plainely ſeene, that *Dion* being driuen out of the tyrants court againſt his will, and not putting himſelfe to voluntarie baniſhment, he draue out *Dionyſius*. Furthermore, the reſpect of the commonwealth cauſed *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemy, to become his friend, and enemy vnto *Cæſar*, that before was his friend: onely referring his friendſhip and enmitie, vnto the conſideration of iuſtice and equitie. And *Dion* did many things for *Dioniſius* ſake and benefit, all the while he truſted him: and when he began to miſtruſt him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherfore all his friends did not beleeue, but after he had driuen out *Dionyſius*, he would ſtabliſh the gouernement of himſelfe, flattering the people with a more courteous and gentle title then the name of a tyrant. But for *Brutus*, his very enemies themſelues confeſſed, that of all thoſe that conſpired *Cæſars* death, he onely had no other end and intent to attempt his enterpriſe, but to reſtore the Empire of Rome againe to her former ſtate and gouernement. And furthermore, it was not al one thing to deale with *Dionyſius*, as it was to haue to do with *Iulius Cæſar*. For no man that knew *Dionyſius*, but would haue deſpiſed him, conſidering that he ſpent the moſt part of his time in drinking, dicing, and in haunting leud womens companie. But to haue vndertaken to deſtroy *Iulius Cæſar*, and not to haue ſhrunke backe for feare of his great wiſedome, power, and fortune, conſidering that his name onely was dreadfull vnto euery man, and alſo not to ſuffer the kings of Parthia and India to be in reſt for him: this could not come but of a maruellous noble mind of him, that for feare neuer fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, ſo ſoone as *Dion* came into Sicile, many thouſands of men came and ioyned with him againſt *Dionyſius*. But the fame of *Iulius Cæſar* did ſet vp his friends againe after his death, and was of ſuch force, that it raiſed a yong ſtripling *Octauius Cæſar* (that had no meanes nor power of himſelfe) to be one of the greateſt men of Rome: and they vſed him as a remedie to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will ſay, that *Dion* draue out the tyrant *Dionyſius* with force of armes, and ſundrie battels: and that in contrarie maner *Brutus* ſlue *Cæſar*, being a naked man, and without guard: then do I anſwer againe, that it was a noble part, and of a wiſe Captaine, to chuſe ſo apt a time and place, to come vpon a man of ſo great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not ſodainly in a rage and alone, or with a ſmall companie to aſſaile him: but his enterpriſe was long time before determined of, and that with diuers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he choſe them honeſt men, or elſe that by his choiſe of them, he made them good men. Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wiſe choiſe in truſting of euill men; or elſe becauſe he could not tell how to vſe them he had choſen, of good men he made them become euill: ſo that neither the one nor the other could be the part of a wiſe man. For *Plato* himſelfe reproueth him, for that he had choſen ſuch men for his friends, that he was ſlaine by them: and after he was ſlaine, no man would then reuenge his death. And in contrary maner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the

In what things Dion was inferior vnto Brutus.

the one (who was *Antonius*) gaue his bodie honourable buriall: and *Octauius Cæſar* the other, reſerued his honours and memories of him. For at MILLAN (a citie of GAVLE on ITALIE ſide) there was an image of his in braſſe, very like vnto him: the which *Cæſar* afterwards paſſing that way, beheld very aduiſedly, for that it was made by an excellent workeman, and was very like him, and ſo went his way. Then he ſtaid ſodainly againe, and called for the Gouernors of the citie, and before them all told them that the citizens were his enemies, and traitors vnto him, becauſe they kept an enemie of his among them. The Gouernours of the citie at the firſt were aſtonied at it, and ſtoutly denied it: and none of them knowing what enemie he meant, one of them looked on another. *Octauius Cæſar* then turning him vnto *Brutus* ſtatue, bending his browes, ſaid vnto them: this man you ſee ſtanding vp here, is he not our enemie? Then the Gouernours of the citie were worſe affraid then before, and could not tell what anſwer to make him. But *Cæſar* laughing and commending the GAVLES for their faithfulneſſe to their friends, euen in their aduerſities: he was contented *Brutus* image ſhould ſtand ſtill as it did.

Brutus honoured of his enemies after his death.

Brutus image or ſtatue ſtanding in braſſe in Millan, was preſerued and kept by Octauius Cæſar.

The end of Marcus Brutus life.

THE LIFE OF *Aratus.*

CHRISTOPPVS the Philoſopher (my friend *Polycrates*) being afraid as it ſeemeth of the euill ſound of an auncient prouerb not rightly as it was ſpoken, and in vſe, but as he thought it beſt, he wrote in this manner:

What children do their aunceſtors commend,
But thoſe whom fortune fauours to the end?

But *Dionyſodorus* TROEZENIAN reprouing him, doth rehearſe the prouerb rightly as indeed it is:

What children do their aunceſtors commend,
But thoſe whoſe life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this prouerb ſtoppeth their mouthes, who of themſelues are vnworthie of praiſe, and yet are ſtill boaſting of the vertues of their aunceſtors, whoſe praiſe they highly extoll. But before thoſe that (as *Pindarus* ſaith)

Do match their noble aunceſtors in proweſſe of their owne,
And by their fruites commend the ſtocke whence they themſelues are growne.

(As thy ſelfe that conformeſt thy life vnto the examples and maners of thy vertuous anceſtors:)

The example of our auncestors, wherein profitable to their posteritie.

it is no small good hap for them, often to remember the noble deeds of their parents in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for themselues oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praise and glorie: but in ioyning their owne vertues, to the vertues of their auncestors, they do increase their glorie, as inheriting their vertuous life, as chalenging their discent by bloud. Therefore, hauing written the life of *Aratus* thy countriman, and one of thy auncestors, whose glorie and greatnesse thou doest not blemish, I do send it vnto thee, not that I thinke but that thou hast more diligently then any man else searched out all his deeds and sayings: but yet, because that thy two sonnes, *Polycrates* and *Pythocles*, reading and still hearing something reported, might be brought vp at home by the example of their auncestors, whose deeds shall lie before them to follow. For he loueth himselfe more, then he regardeth perfect vertue, or his credite: that thinketh himselfe so perfect, as he need not follow any others example.

The common-weale of the Sicyonians conuerted into tyrannie.

The citie of SICYONE, after it fell from her first gouernement of the optimacie and nobilitie, which is proper to the citie of the DORIANS: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into ciuill warres and seditious practises, through the Orators of the people: and neuer ceased to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway changing new tyrants, vntill that *Cleon* being slaine, they chose *Timoclidas* and *Clinias* their Gouernours, two of the noblest men and of greatest authoritie in all the citie. Now when the common-wealth began to grow to a certaine state of gonernement, *Timoclidas* died: and *Abantidas* the sonne of *Paseas*, pretending to make himselfe Lord of the citie, he slue *Clinias*, and put to death some of his parents and friends, draue away others, and sought also to put his sonne *Aratus* to death, that was then but seuen yeare old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandring vp and downe the citie, being scared and afraid, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he got into a womans house, called *Soso*, which was *Abantidas* sister, and wife vnto *Periphantus*, his father *Clinias* brother. She being of a noble mind, and iudging that the child *Aratus* by Gods prouidence fled vnto her; hid him in her house, and in the night secretly sent him vnto the citie of ARGOS. Now after that *Aratus* had scaped, and was safe from this danger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice against tyrants, the which still increased in him as he grew in yeares. So he was vertuously brought vp in the citie of ARGOS, with his fathers friends: and perceiuing with himselfe that he waxed bigge and strong, he disposed his bodie to diuers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contended in fiue manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the maiestie of his countenance argueth that he vsed such exercise: and such commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not giue himselfe so much to pleading, as peraduenture was requisite for a Gouernour of a common-wealth. Howbeit, some do iudge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquenter tongue then seemed vnto some: because he wrote them in haste, hauing other businesse in hand, and euen as things came first into his mind. But afterwards, *Dinias* and *Aristotle* Logician slue *Abantidas*, who did commonly vse to sit in the market place, to heare their matters, and to talke with them. And this gaue them good meanes and oportunitie to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Paseas* possessed the tyrannie: whom *Nicocles* afterwards slue also by treason, and made himselfe tyrant in his place. It is reported that this *Nicocles* did liuely resemble the countenance of *Periander*, the sonne of *Cypselus*, as *Orontes* PERSIAN was very like vnto *Alcmæon*, the sonne of *Amphiaraus*: and another young LADEDÆMONIAN, vnto *Hector* of TROIA, whom *Myrsillus* writeth, was troden vnder mens feete, through the ouer-great prease of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This *Nicocles* was tyrant foure moneths together, in the which he did wonderfull great hurt to the citie, and had almost lost it; the ÆTOLIANS comming on a sodaine, who were like to haue taken it. Now *Aratus* was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatly esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they found in him, which was no such matter: and besides that, he had a maiestie in his countenance, being wiser then was looked for in a yong man of his yeares: therefore the banished men from the citie of SICYONE, repaired vnto him before any other man. *Nicocles* for his part also was not careless of his doings, but had an eye euer to see what *Aratus* intended, although he little mistrusted any such bold enterprise, nor so daungerous an exploit of him: but did

Abantidas tyrant of Sicyone

Aratus the son of Clinias, scaped the hands of the tyrant Abantidas.

Aratus malice against tyrants.

Aratus fauor.

Aratus wrote a booke of Commentaries.

Abantidas the tyrant slaine. Aristotle the Logitian.

onely

onely coniecture that he did ſtirre vp the Kings which had bene his dead fathers friends. And ſo indeed *Aratus* tooke that courſe. But when he ſaw that *Antigonus* ſtill delayed his promiſes, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aide from King *Ptolomie* of ÆGYPT was to farre off: at length he determined to vndertake to deſtroy the tyrant himſelfe. So he firſt conſulted with *Ariſtomachus* and * *Ecdelus*: of the which, the one was baniſhed from SICYONE, and the other an ARCADIAN, from the citie of MEGALIPOLIS, a Philoſopher, and a valiant man of his hands, and had bene ſcholler to *Arceſilaus* the Academicke, in the citie of ATHENS. Theſe two men being contented to ioyne with *Aratus*, he practiſed with other of the baniſhed men alſo: of the which there were ſome that were aſhamed, not to be partakers of his hope and noble attempt, and ſo did alſo ioyne with him. Howbeit the moſt part of them did not onely refuſe to enter into that practiſe, but further, went about to diſſwade *Aratus* from his enterpriſe, ſaying: that for lack of knowledge and experience, he vnderſtood not the daunger in vndertaking ſuch a matter, altogether ſo vnlikely. Now, as *Aratus* was thinking in his mind to keepe a certaine place in the territorie of SICYONE, from whence they might make warre with the tyrants: there came a priſoner vnto them out of the citie of ARGOS, that had broken priſon from the tyrant of SICYONE, and was brother vnto *Xenocles*, one of the baniſhed men. He being brought by the ſame *Xenocles* vnto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he ſaued himſelfe, the ground within was almoſt as high as the top of the wall, the which in that part ioyned vnto high ſtonie places: and that without the wall the height was not ſo great, but that it was eaſily ſcalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he ſent two of his men, *Seuthas* and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to view the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to proue ſecretly to execute his pretended enterpriſe, and quickly to put it to a venture: then to begin a long warre, and to prepare an open armie, he being a priuate man, to go againſt the power of a tyrant. *Xenocles* being returned againe to *Aratus*, after he had meaſured the height of the wall: he reported that the place was not vnſcalable, but yet very hard to come to it vndiſcouered, becauſe of certaine litle curſt curres a gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would neuer leaue barking. Howbeit *Aratus* would not leaue off his enterpriſe ſo. Now it was not ſtrange to ſee euery man prepare themſelues of armour and weapon, becauſe at that time there were great robberies and cruell murthers committed by high wayes, and one would aſſault another: but for the ladders, *Euphranor* that was a carpenter and maker of engines, did not ſticke to make them openly, becauſe his common occupation did take away all ſuſpition why they were made. For this carpenter was himſelfe alſo a baniſhed man from SICYONE, as the reſidue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* friends he had in ARGOS, of thoſe few men they had, did euery man of them lend him ten men, and armed thirtie of his owne men: beſide them, *Aratus* himſelfe alſo did hire ſome pretie number of ſouldiers, by the practiſe of *Xenophilus*, whom the captaines of the theeues did furniſh. They were giuen to vnderſtand that they ſhould be led to the territorie of SICYONE, to take a prey of cattell and coltes of the King: and they were ſent before, ſome one way, ſome another, with commaundement, all to meete together at the tower of Polygnotus, where they ſhould tarie. So he ſent *Capheſias* alſo before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who ſhould come to this gardiners houſe in the night, like ſtrangers and trauellers, to lie in his houſe, and to locke him vp and his dogges, becauſe they had no other deuice to get in but that way. But in the meane time, there were certaine ſpials of *Nicocles* the tyrant diſcouered, that walked vp and downe the citie (making no countenance of any matter) to ſee what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out of his houſe early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the market place with his friends. Then he went to the ſhew place (or place of exerciſes) and there ſtripped himſelfe, annointed him, and wreſtled, and in the end tooke certaine of the yong gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merrie, and to paſſe the time away with him: and immediatly after, one of his ſeruants was ſeene in the market place, carying garlands of flowers: another was ſeene alſo buying of linkes and torches, and another hiring of theſe common dauncing and ſinging women, which follow feaſts and banquets with their inſtruments. *Nicocles* ſpials ſeeing that, were deceiued: for one of them laughing on another ſaid, that they might eaſily ſee by that, there was nothing more feareful and timorous then a tyrant: conſidering that *Nicocles* being Lord of ſo great a citie, was afraid of a yong ſtripling, that ſpent all that he could rap and rend to keepe him in his baniſhment, vpon vaine bankets and feaſts at noone dayes. And thus were the tyrants ſpials finely mocked. *Aratus* ſelfe departed immediatly after dinner out of ARGOS, and went vnto his ſouldiers, whom he had appointed

Aratus goeth about to deliuer his countrie from the tyrannie.

* *In another place he calleth him Ecdemus. Ariſtomachus and Ecdelus, do ioyne with Aratus.*

Aratus preparation to deliuer his country from tyrannie.

Aratus policie to deceiue Nicocles ſpials.

before to meet him at the tower of Polignotus, and led them ſtraight vnto NEMEA. There he told them openly his ful intent and purpoſe, hauing before made an Oration vnto them to encourage them, and alſo made them maruellous faire promiſes. Then he gaue them for their watch-word, *Apollo* fauourable, and ſo went directly to the citie of SICYONE, marching with great ſpeed at the firſt becauſe of the going downe of the Moone, and afterwards ſlackned his pace a litle, ſo that they had Moone-light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not downe, vntill they were come to the gardiners houſe that was hard by the wall. So *Capheſias*, whom he had ſent before vnto the gardiners houſe, came to meete with *Aratus*, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, becauſe they ranne away: howbeit that he had made faſt the gardiner in his owne houſe. This diſcouraged the moſt part of all the companie, who would needes haue him in any caſe to returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then began to comfort them, and promiſed that he would leade them backe againe, if it chanced that the dogges were too buſie with them: and therewithall preſently cauſed the ladder men to go before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus* led, and he himſelfe came faire and ſoftly after. The dogges made a foule barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* and his company. This notwithſtanding, they came ſafe to the wall, and did ſet vp their ſcaling ladders. But euen as the firſt men got vp on them, the Captaine of the watch that had giuen place to him that ſhould ward in the morning, came by chance, and paſſed hard by them, viſiting the ſouldiers with a litle bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noiſe of men that followed him. They that were vpon the ladders hearing them, ducked downe, and ſtirred not: and thereby the ſouldiers that paſſed by them, could not ſee them. But now the new morning watch came towards them alſo, which did put them in great danger to be diſcouered: but yet they once againe ſcaped them, and were not diſcouered, becauſe the ſecond watch went beyond them, and ſtayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnaſitheus* immediatly ſcaled the wall, and ſent *Technon* with all poſſible ſpeed vnto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the haſte he could to come to them. Now there was no great diſtance betwixt the garden where the dogs were, and the wall, and a litle tower where they kept a great greyhound to keepe watch: but the greyhound neuer heard their comming, either becauſe he was a cowardly curre of nature, or elſe for that he had bin ouer-courſed and wearied the day before. But the gardiners litle curres that balled and barked beneath, had wakened the greyhound with their barking, who at the firſt began to anſwer them with a ſoft girning: but when they came by the tower where he lay, he barked out aloud, that all the place thereabouts rang of his barking. Inſomuch, that the skout which was farther off, called aloud to the hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made ſuch a barking, and whether there were any thing ſtirring or not that angred him. The hunt within the tower anſwered, that it was nothing, but that his dog was naked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that paſſed by, and at the noiſe of the bell. This made *Aratus* ſouldiers a great deale the bolder: becauſe they thought that the hunt had bene made priuie to their enterpriſe, and that he went about to hide their ſecret attempt, and hoped alſo that there were many other within the citie that would further their enterpriſe. When they came to get vp vpon the wall, it was of a great height and very daungerous, becauſe the ladders ſhooke and bowed, by reaſon of the weight of the men, vnleſſe they did come vp faire & ſoftly one after another. Furthermore, the time did put them in ſome peril, becauſe the cockes began to crow, and the countrie folke that brought things to the market to ſell, beganne to come a pace to the towne out of euery quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made haſte to get vp, hauing onely fortie men aboue with him, and looked for ſome beſides to come vp, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly towards the tyrants pallace, where his hired ſouldiers kept watch and ward: and comming ſodainly vpon them, laid hold of euery man of them, and ſlue not one. Then he ſent into the citie to his friends, to will them to come vnto him. Thereupon they ranne out of euery corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to breake, and ſtraight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, becauſe of the noiſe and ſtirre they heard in the citie, not knowing what the matter meant: vntill at length an Herauld proclaimed with open voice that it was *Aratus* the ſonne of *Clinias*, who called his countrie men and citizens to the recouerie of their libertie. Then they perſwading themſelues, that the thing which they long wiſhed and looked for, was now come to paſſe: they ranne all in a troupe together to the tyrants houſe, and ſet it a fire. But the flame roſe ſo high and great after the fire had taken it in euery part, that it was ſeene to the citie of CORINTH: inſomuch that the CORINTHIANS wondring what the matter ſhould be, were in mind to haue gone to helpe it.

Aratus dangers, in deliuering of his countrey from the tyrannie of Nicocles.

Aratus vvan the citie of Sicyone without bloudſhed.

Now

Now for *Nicocles*, he saued himselfe, and got out of the city by secret vaults he had made vnder the ground. The souldiers on the other side quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did sacke all they found in the tyrants pallace: the which *Aratus* hindred not, but did moreouer make all the rest of the tyrants goods common amongst them. So his enterprise had so good successe, that there was none of his owne companie slaine he brought with him, neither any of their enemies that were within the citie, fortune kept this exploit so pure and cleane from any bloudshed. Then *Aratus* restored fourescore men vnto their lands and goods againe, whom the tyrant *Nicocles* had banished: and others also, that had bene banished by former tyrants, to the number of fiue hundred men, who had bene wel-neare fiftie yeares space banished out of their countrey. Now the most of them being come home poore and needie, would haue entred on their goods and lands they enioyed before: and so, entring againe vpon their lands in their countrey, and their houses in the citie, they amazed *Aratus* withall, seeing *Antigonus* on the one side practise all the meanes he could to winne SICYONE being now free, and they all in an vprore and mutinie in the citie. Therefore, following the best councell he could thinke vpon and deuise, cõsidering the daunger of the present time: he ioyned the citie in league and friendship with the ACHAIANS, and of them all made but one bodie. And because the Citizens of SICYONE were DORIANS, they were glad to submit themselues to be gouerned & protected by the name of the ACHAIANS, who were at that time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in litle villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very speciall good, for that they stood vpon the sea side, where was no maner of hauen nor port, but stones and rockes good store: and the sea beating vpon them, did eate into the maine land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of GREECE when it was vnited and gouerned by good policy was of great force, and almost inuincible. For the ACHAIANS being in comparison of the ancient force of GREECE, of no regard, and but a part of one city enfeebled with ciuill and forreine warre; so long as they could submit themselues to be ruled by the wisedome and vertue of their Captaine, and not enuy nor malice his prosperity and soueraignty: they did not only maintaine themselues as free men, in the middest of the seruitude of so many great cities, large and mighty, but did also deliuer many other people of GREECE from their tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* maners: he was one that in nature loued ciuill gouernement, and equality among citizens in one selfe city: he was nobly minded, and more painefull about the affaires of the commonweale, then carefull of his owne businesse, and hated tyrants to the death, and imployed his good or euill will wholy for the seruice of the commonwealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so sound a friend, as he was a gentle and mercifull enemy: framing himselfe in either of both, as time serued for the comonwealth. To be short, it was a generall and common voyce among all the cities confederates, in priuate company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* loued nothing but vertue, and honesty; that in open wars he was not so valiant and couragious, as he was crafty & subtile, to take a city on the sudden. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he wold neuer haue brought to passe: yet it seemeth he left many things possible vndone, the which he might easily haue done, for that he durst not venter on them. For as there be beasts whose sight is perfectest by night, and by day they can see nothing, because the subtilty of the humor and moisture in their eyes is dried vp, and cannot abide the bright light of the day: euen so, men that otherwise by nature are very wise, are easily afraid of danger, when they must venter on it at noone dayes: where contrarily they are bold in secret enterprises, suddenly to attempt any thing. Now, this contrariety and difference in men well brought vp, groweth through ignorance and lacke of instruction of Philosophy, which of it selfe doth norish vertue, as fruit that springeth vp without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So *Aratus* hauing ioyned himselfe and his city SICYONE vnto the ACHAIANS, and seruing in person as a man of armes among the rest: he was maruellously beloued of his Generals, that saw him so obedient. For, notwithstanding that he had made so large a contribution as the estimation of himselfe, and the force of his city vnto the commonwealth of the ACHAIANS: yet he was as ready to obey & execute the commandements of the Generals, as the poorest and meanest souldier, were he of DYMA, or of TRITA, or of any other small village whatsoeuer. Furthermore, a great summe of money being sent him from king *Ptolomie* for a gift, amounting to twenty and fiue talents, he tooke it, but foorthwith disposed it amongst his poore countrimen, both to relieue their want, as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding the banished men

Nicocles the tyrant flieth.

Aratus ioyneth the citie of Sicyone vnto the Achaians.

Aratus referred all things to the common wealth.

Why owles see bill by night and not by day. Men ignorant of Philosophy be likened vnto owles.

ſtill vexed and troubled them that had their goods and lands, to haue them out of their hands, and otherwiſe would be ſatisfied by no meanes. Their commonwealth therefore being in great danger to fall into ciuill warre, *Aratus* perceiuing there was no other way to helpe this miſchiefe, but by *Ptolomies* liberality: he determined to go vnto him, to pray him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he imbarked at the hauen of METHONA, aboue the foreland of MALEA, to ſaile from thence into ÆGYPT: howbeit he had ſuch a contrary wind, and the ſea roſe ſo high, that the maſter of the ſhip was driuen to let her go whither ſhe would to take ſea roome. So being driuen quite from his direct courſe, with great danger he got to the city of ADRIA, which was his enemy: becauſe *Antigonus* kept it, and had a garriſon in it. But *Aratus* did wiſely preuent it, going a ſhoare, and wandred farre from the ſea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wood, whereby they had an euill nights reſt. He had not gone far after he had left his ſhip, but the Captaine of the garriſon came, and ſought for him. Notwithſtanding, his ſeruants had mocked him finely (being before inſtructed by *Aratus* what anſwer they ſhould make) ſaying that he was gone, and fled into the Ile of EVBOEA. Howbeit, the Captaine of the garriſon ſtayed the ſhip, his men, and all things elſe ſhe had in her, and tooke her for a good prize. Within few daies after, *Aratus* being maruellouſly troubled, and at a ſtraight with himſelfe what he ſhould do: there happily arriued a ROMAINE ſhip hard by the place where he kept moſt, partly to hide himſelfe, and partly alſo to ſee if he could diſcouer any thing. This ſhip was bound for SYRIA. So he had dealt with the maiſter of the ſhip in that ſort, that he tooke him aboord, and promiſed he would deliuer him in CARIA, and ſo he did. But he was in as much daunger this ſecond iourney againe by ſea, as he was in the firſt he made towards ÆGYPT. From CARIA, a long time after, *Aratus* went into ÆGYPT, and ſpake with the king, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* fed him ſtill by ſending of him paſſing faire tables, and pictures of GREECE, of excellent workmanſhip. And indeed hauing a ſingular good wit, he alwayes got together, and brought the excellenteſt painted pictures he could get, but ſpecially the pictures of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus*, to ſend them vnto the king. For learning flouriſhed yet in the city of SICYONE, and they eſteemed the painting of tables in that city, to be the perfecteſt for true colours, and fine drawing, of all other places. Inſomuch as *Apelles* (though he was then of a maruellous fame for painting) went thither, and gaue to theſe two excellent painters a talent, to remaine a while in their company: not ſo much to attaine to the perfection of the art, as thereby to win himſelfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had reſtored his city againe to liberty, he cauſed all the images of the tyrants to be defaced and plucked downe: howbeit he ſtood doubtfull a long time, whether he ſhould deface *Ariſtratus* picture, or not, who raigned in the time of *Philip*. For he was painted with the hands of all the ſcholers of *Melanthus*, being by a triumphant chariot, that caried a victory, and as *Polemon* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a paſſing peece of worke to ſee to, ſo that *Aratus* at the firſt yeelded, and was contented to ſaue it for the excellency of the workmanſhip: yet in the end, ouercome with the extreame hate he bare vnto tyrants, he bad it ſhould be defaced. Now it is reported alſo, that *Nealces* the painter being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon ſuch a notable peece of worke. But when he ſaw *Aratus* ſo hard harted that he would not grant it: he told him it was good reaſon to make war with tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let vs then (quoth he) leaue the chariot of triumph and victory, and I will make thee ſee *Ariſtratus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was contented to let him haue his will. Then *Nealces* defaced the picture of *Ariſtratus*, and in place thereof drew onely a palme tree, and durſt adde nothing elſe to it of his owne deuice. Some ſay, that vnder the chariot were conueied *Ariſtratus* feet defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of theſe tables and pictures, was maruellouſly well beloued of king *Ptolomie*. But after he was acquainted with him, and knew his conuerſation: he loued him then better then before. Inſomuch that he gaue him a hundred and fifty talents to helpe his city withall: of the which, he caried forty away with him vnto PELOPONNESVS, and the king afterwards ſent him the reſt at ſundry times. Now this was a maruellous matter of him to get ſuch a maſſe of money together for his citizens: conſidering that the Orators, Captaines and Gouernors of free cities, for a litle ſumme of mony only which they haue taken of Kings and Princes, haue bin corrupted & betrayed their townes & country. But this was a more wonder, that by meanes of this mony he made peace and loue betwixt the poore and rich: and furthermore, ſaued vpright all the people of SICYONE, where he ſhewed himſelfe maruellous wiſe and temperate, being of that great

Aratus taketh ſea to go to king Ptolomy into Egypt.

The pictures and painted tables made in the city of Sicyone, did paſſe all the other paintings in Greece.

The excellency of Ariſtratus picture the tyrant of Sicyone painted by all Melanthus ſcholers and Apelles helpe: and Aratus conſultation for the defacing of it.

The ſaying of Nealces the painter, touching tyrants.

The great liberalitie of Ptolomie vnto Aratus.

great power and authority he was. For after they had choſen him arbitrator to iudge, compound and abſolutely to decide all quarels and ſtrife betweene the baniſhed men: he would neuer vndertake it himſelfe alone, but tooke fifteene other of the chiefeſt citizens with him, and with them, with great paines and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his citizens, & made them good friends one with another. Therefore, not only all the inhabitants and citizens of SICYONE together, did not onely decree publike honors meet for him: but alſo the baniſhed men themſelues did priuatly caſt his image in braſſe, and ſet it vp, vnder the which they cauſed this inſcription to be grauen: *Aratus temperance.*

Thy proweſſe and thy feats of armes, thy counſell ſage and wiſe,
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skies,
But alſo to the vtmoſt ſtraights of Marroke blowne by fame.
And we that through thy goodneſſe home into our countrey came,
Haue ſet this image vp to thee Aratus, as a ſigne
Of our deliu'rance through thy loue, and through the power diuine.
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth reſtore
Vs countrey, lawes, and liberty, bereft vs quite before.

Aratus hauing done all theſe things, he ſuppreſſed the enuie of the citizens, through the great good turnes he had done vnto them. But then king *Antigonus* being angrie with *Aratus* in his mind, and ſeeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be miſtruſted of *Ptolomie*: he did him many other great curteſies, *Aratus* neuer ſeeking them at his hands. But one day ſpecially aboue the reſt, as he did ſacrifice vnto the gods at CORINTH, he ſent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had ſacrificed, vnto SICYONE. And at the feaſt of his ſacrifice in the hearing of many noble men that were bidden gueſts, he ſayd openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this yong SICYONIAN could not but haue a liberall mind, louing the liberty of his country and countrimen: but I perceiue now he is a man that can iudge of Princes maners and affaires. For heretofore he made no account of vs, becauſe his hope was out of his countrey, and he greatly eſteemed the riches of ÆGYPT, hearing talke of ſo many Elephants, of ſuch a great fleete of ſhips, and of ſuch a ſumptuous Court, as king *Ptolomies* Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is onely but a ſmoake and vaine pompe, he is come ts vs: and for my part, he is welcome to me, and I wil haue you all to take him for my friend. Theſe words of king *Antigonus*, were ſtraight taken at bound of certaine enuious men, and caried for lacke of better matter vnto king *Ptolomy*, euery man ſtriuing who ſhould write all the euill they could againſt him: ſo that *Ptolomie* thereupon ſent a meſſenger of purpoſe vnto him, to reproue him for it. Thus fell there out much enuy and malice, betweene the earneſt loue of theſe Princes and Kings, that contended with each other who ſhould haue *Aratus*. Furthermore, the firſt time that *Aratus* was choſen Lieutenant generall of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, he forraged and ſpoiled the countrey of LOCRIDE, which lieth directly ouer againſt ACHAIA, and CALYDONIA alſo. Howbeit he came not time inough to aide the BOEOTIANS, in the battell which they loſt before the city of CHÆRONEA, againſt the ÆTOLIANS: where *Abæocritus*, gouernour of BOEOTIA was ſlaine in the field, with a thouſand other BOEOTIANS. Howbeit the next yeare following, he being the ſecond time choſen Lieutenant generall, he attempted to winne the caſtell of CORINTH againe, being an enterpriſe which not onely concerned the priuate benefit of SICYONE it ſelfe, and the tribe of the ACHAIANS, but alſo of all GRECE beſides. For, he was fully bent to driue the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS thence, the which ſeemed euen a very yoke that held all the GRECIANS noſes to the grindſtone. For like as *Chares*, Captaine of the ATHENIANS, hauing in a certaine conflict, diſcomfited the kings Lieutenants, wrote vnto the ATHENIANS that had won a victory halfe ſiſter to the victorie of MARATHON: euen ſo me thinkes it were no diſgrace to ſay, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrãts, which was done by *Pelopidas* THEBAN, and *Thraſybulus* ATHENIAN, ſauing that this laſt act was more famous, becauſe it was not againſt GRECIANS, but againſt ſtrangers and forreine power and gouernment, vpon whom it was executed. For the Iſthmus or barre of PELOPONNESVS, which ſeparateth the ſea Ægeum from the ſea Ionium, doth come and ioyne the firme land of the reſt of GRECE, with the PRESCHE an Iland of PELOPONNESVS. Euen ſo likewiſe the mountaine called Acrocorinth, on the which the caſtell ſtandeth, riſing vp in the middeſt of GRECE, when there is any garriſon of men of war in it, it cutteth off all traffike and paſſage by, of any armies of them which inhabit within

Aratus doing in his firſt Prætorſhip.

Preſche, an Iland of Peloponneſus.
Acrocorinthus mons.

the ſtraight: for them that are without the ſtraight, both by ſea and by land, and maketh him only Lord of the countrey that keepeth the caſtell. So that it was not for ſport, but for truth, and in good earneſt, that *Philip* the young king of MACEDON was wont to call the citie and caſtell of CORINTH, the ſtockes and giues of GREECE. And therefore was this caſtell maruellouſly wiſhed and deſired of euery man, but ſpecially of Kings and Princes. But the deſire *Antigonus* had of it was ſo vehement, that it differed nothing from the paſſions of a franticke louer. For he did nothing elſe continually but ſtudy and deuiſe how he might winne it vpon the ſudden, from them that kept it: becauſe otherwiſe by open force, it was impoſſible to be had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that caſtell, being poiſoned (as it is reported) by *Antigonus* practiſe, the caſtell being left in the hands of his wife *Nicæa*, who gouerned the ſtate of CORINTH, & did carefully cauſe the Acrocorinth to be kept: he immediatly ſent his ſonne *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicæa* in good hope to marry her with this yong Prince: a thing that pleaſed this Ladie well, though ſhe was very old. So, for her ſelfe ſhe was wonne ſtraight, by meanes of his yong ſonne *Demetrius*, whom he vſed as a ſtale to intrap her. Howbeit *Nicæa* for all this goodly offer, forſooke not her caſtell, but alwayes made it ſtraightly to be looked vnto. *Antigonus* ſeemed to make no account of it, but daily gaue himſelfe to make ſumptuous ſacrifices, feaſts, and playes to the gods, within the city of CORINTH for the mariage: as though he had meant no other thing, but banquetting and iollity all that might be. When the houre was come to ſee theſe ſports, and that the Muſitian *Amœbeus* began to ſing: he himſelfe made as though he would accompany *Nicæa* vnto the Theater, being conueyed thither in a ſumptuous rich litter, as it had bene for a Queene. She was very glad of this honour, and thought nothing leſſe then of that which happened her. But when *Antigonus* came to the end of a ſtreete that turned to go vp the hill towards the caſtell, he bad her keepe on ſtill to the Theater: and himſelfe in the meane time left *Amœbeus* there with his ſinging, and all the feaſt of the mariage, and went ſtraight vp to the caſtell, forcing himſelfe aboue his ſtrength and yeares. When he was at the top of the hill, and found the gates ſhut, he knocked with his ſtaffe, and commanded the garriſon to open him the gates. They wondring to ſee him there in perſon, did let him in. When he was gotten into the caſtell, he was ſo exceeding ioyfull of it, that he had no reaſon to moderate his ioy, but would banquet in the middeſt of ſtreetes, and in the market place, hauing minſtrels to play vpon their inſtruments at his table, wearing garlands of flowers on their heads for ioy, and did ſo fondly and lightly behaue himſelfe, as if he had bene a light yong man (and not as he was) an old man: who had proued ſuch ſundry changes of fortune, and yet ſuffered himſelfe to be thus caried away with pleaſure, that he embraced, and ſpake to euery man he met. Whereby it is eaſie to iudge, that ioy poſſeſſing a man without wit or diſcretion, it maketh him beſides himſelfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then paine or feare. Now *Antigonus* hauing won the caſtell of the Acrocorinth, as you haue heard, he put it into the hands of thoſe he truſted beſt, to be ſafely kept: and therfore made *Perſæus* the Philoſopher, Captaine of the caſtell. But indeed *Aratus* was in mind to haue attempted the taking of the caſtell, in *Alexanders* life time: yet he let it alone, becauſe he ioyned himſelfe with the ACHAIANS. But at that time there was offered him another occaſion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At CORINTH, there were foure brethren borne in SYRIA, of the which, one of them being called *Diocles*, was a ſouldier of the caſtell: and the reſt hauing robbed the kings treaſure, went ſtraight vnto SICYONE, to *Ægias* the banker, whom *Aratus* imployed in his facultie. Theſe three brethren immediatly ſold him part of the gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them (called *Erginus*) comming often to ſee him, by litle and litle ſold him all the reſt. By this meanes *Ægias* fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the garriſon of the caſtell of the Acrocorinth. *Erginus* told him, that going vnto his brother vp thoſe ſteepe and high rockes, he found a path as it were cut out of the rocke, that went to a place of the wall of the caſtell, which was verie low. *Ægias* hearing that, aunſwered him ſmiling: Alas, my friend, what meane you to ſteale a little peece of gold to hinder the king, when in one houres ſpace you can ſell ſuch a great maſſe of money together? For as well ſhall you die if you be apprehended for this fellonie, as if you were otherwiſe attainted for treaſon. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promiſed that he would feele his brother *Diocles* minde in it, for he did not greatly truſt his other brethren. So, returning ſhortly after, he bargained with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the wall that was not aboue fifteene foote high, promiſing that he would helpe him to execute the reſt, with his brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promiſed then

Yong king Philips laying of the caſtell of Corinth.

Antigonus craft and deceipt.

Antigonus craftily taketh the caſtell of the Acrocorinth.

Ouer-great ioy to a ſimple man, maketh him mad.

Perſæus the Philoſopher, made Captaine of the Acrocorinth.

Aratus determination for the taking of the Acrocorinth.

to

to giue him fiftie talents, if he brought his enterprise to passe: and if he failed, that he would then giue either of them, a house & a talent. *Erginus* would haue the whole fifty talents put into *Ægias* the bankers hands. *Aratus* had not so much readie money, and besides, he would not take it vp at vsury, for feare of giuing cause to suspect his enterprise. Wherefore he tooke all his plate of gold and siluer, and his wiues iewels, and layed them to gage to *Ægias*, to disburse the sayd summe. But *Aratus* had so great & noble a mind in him, and was so bent to do notable acts: that knowing how *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* had bene esteemed for the iustest and honestest men of GREECE, because they had refused great gifts that were offered them, and would neuer sell nor staine their honour for money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his owne, to bring any good enterprise to passe, and did put his life in danger for the common benefit of his countrey men, they themselues knowing nothing of his enterprise, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimitie & courage of such a man, and that will not euen now as it were, be willing to aide him, considering how dearely he bought so great a danger of his person, and how he layed his plate and all the riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the middest of his enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, hauing no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of such a noble enterprise, and nothing else? But now, though the enterprise of it selfe was dangerous, an error chancing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more dangerous. For *Aratus* had sent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to view the wall. This *Technon* had neuer spoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his mind what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had giuen him of him: that he had a blacke curled haire, that his face was blacke, and that he had no beard. Now *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* sayd he would be with *Diocles*: he stayed before the towne in a place called ORNIS. So whilest he was tarying there, the elder brother of *Diocles* (called *Dionysius*, who knew nothing of the enterprise, nor was made acquainted withall, & looked very like his brother *Diocles*) came that way by chance. *Technon* being moued by the markes he saw in him, like vnto those he was told of: asked him if he were nothing a kin vnto *Erginus*. The other answered, he was his brother. Then *Technon* perswading himself it was certainly *Diocles* that spake to him, without asking him his name, or making other enquirie of him: he tooke him by the hand, & began to talke with him of the practise he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Dionysius* taking the matter vpon him, and feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the city, holding him on still with talke; *Technon* mistrusting nothing. But euen as *Dionysius* was ready to take him fast by the coller: his brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceiuing how *Technon* had mistaken the matter, and the danger he was in: bekned to him with his head to flie, and so they both ran for life vnto *Aratus*, to saue themselues. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more discouraged for this, but sent *Erginus* straight to cary his brother *Dionysius* money, and to pray him not to be acknowne of any thing: who furthermore brought him with him vnto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him sure for starting: for they bound him, and locked him vp fast in a chamber, whilest they went about their enterprise. So when all things were readie, *Aratus* commanded the rest of his armie that they should tarie behind, armed all night: and he himselfe with foure hundreth of the best men he had (not knowing themselues whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the gates of the citie, passing by the temple of *Iuno*. This was about the middest of summer, when the Moone was at the full, and the element very cleare without clouds: insomuch that they were afraid their armors would glister by Moone-light, and bewray them. But as the foremost of them came neare vnto the city, there arose clouds out of the sea that darkned all the city and places thereabouts, and shadowed them. Then all of them sitting downe on the ground, plucked off their shooes, both because they should make lesse noise, as also for that their footing should be surer, and that they should slip lesse vpon the ladders. But *Erginus*, and seuen other companions with him like men that trauell, came secretly into the gate of the citie, and slue the porter and warders there. At that very instant, *Aratus* caused the ladders to be set vp against the wals, and made an hundreth of his souldiers get vp on them: and sent also to command the rest, that they should follow him with all possible speed. Then drawing vp his ladders after him, as fast as he could, he went through the city with his hundred men toward the castell, with such a ioyfull cheare, as if he had had it already in his hand, for that he saw he was not discouered. But as he went on, he saw foure of the watch comming with a light against them. They saw not *Aratus* and his company, but the enemies saw them plainly a farre of. *Aratus* and

The error and danger by likenesse of men one vnto another.

his men therefore ſtood vp cloſe againſt old wals to tarrie their comming, and at the firſt onſet, ſlue three of them: but the fourth hauing a blow on his head with a ſword, ranne away, making an out-cry, that the enemies were in the city. The trumpets forthwith ſounded the allarme, all the citie was in an vprore, the ſtreetes were ſtraight full of people running vp and downe, and of lights in euerie corner, both beneath the citie, as alſo in the caſtell, and the noiſe was great euerie where. *Aratus* in the meane time forced to get vp the high rockes faire and ſoftly at the firſt, and with great paine and difficulty, being out of his path he ſhould haue found, which he miſſed being very deepe into the rockes, and with many crooks and crankes went to the foot of the caſtell: but ſuddenly, euen as it had bene by miracle, the moone appearing through the clouds, when they were in their worſt way, it gaue them light, and brought them to that part of the wall where they ſhould be, and ſtraight the Moone was ſhadowed againe. Now the three hundreth ſouldiers whom *Aratus* had left by the gate of the temple of *Iuno*, when they were come into the citie being full of lights and in vprore; and beſides could not find the path by the which their Captaine *Aratus* went before them: they ſtood cloſe together vnder a rocke that ſhadowed them, ſorowfully looking to heare ſome newes of *Aratus*: who was then fighting with the garriſon of the caſtell, the which made head againſt him with all the force and power he could. Vnder the caſtell there was a great noiſe heard of men that fought, but yet the noiſe was ſo confuſed by the ſound rebounding againſt the rockes and mountaine, that they could not deuiſe whence it ſhould come. So they being in this perplexity, not knowing which way to turne themſelues: *Archelaus*, Captaine of king *Antigonus* men, hauing a good number of ſouldiers with him, went vp the hill with great cries and noiſe of trumpets to ſet vpon *Aratus* and his company behind. But after he was paſſed by theſe three hundred ſouldiers of *Aratus* band, they gaue charge vpon him, as if they had bene layd there in ambuſh of purpoſe, and ſlue the firſt they encountred withall, and made the others ſo afraid, and *Archelaus* himſelfe, that they diſperſed them, and made ſome flie one way, ſome another way. So, as they were ouerthrowne, *Erginus* came to theſe three hundred men, comming immediatly from them that fought, and brought them newes that *Aratus* and them of the caſtell, were come to the ſword together, and valiantly defended themſelues, luſtily fighting for the wall, and therefore it was time for them to helpe him quickly. Then the ſouldiers bad him bring them thither ſtraight, and ſo he did. So they climing vp the hil, did ſignifie by their cries to their men, that they came to aide him. Furthermore, the Moone being then at the full, and ſhining on their harneſſe, made their enemies in the caſtell thinke that they were a greater number then indeed they were, becauſe of the long way they had to make to get vp vpon the rockes: and alſo becauſe of the ſound in the night, that made their cry ſeeme to be of a greater number then they were. At length they ioyning with *Aratus*, they fought it out ſo luſtily, that they draue the garriſon out of the wals, and by breake of day wanne the caſtell. So that their exploit was diſcouered by the riſing of the Sunne, and beſides, all the reſt of their armie that came from the citie of Sicyone: whom the Corinthians verie gladly receiued, and did ſet open their gates vnto them, and aided them to take King *Antigonus* men. Afterwards, when they thought that all was ſafe, then *Aratus* ranne from the caſtell vnto the Theater of the citie, whither repaired an infinite number of people, as well for the deſire they had to ſee him, as alſo to heare him ſpeake vnto the Corinthians. So, hauing placed the Achaians of either ſide, at the comming into the Theater: *Aratus* being armed went vp into the chaire or pulpit for Orations, hauing his face quite chaunged, both for the great paines he had taken, and alſo for lacke of ſleepe: ſo that his bodie being ouer-wearied, his ſpirits were euen done. Now when all the aſſembly of the people (ſeeing him in the chaire) did humble themſelues to ſhew him all the honour and kindneſſe they could poſſible: he tooke his ſpeare out of his left hand into his right, and bowing his knee and bodie ſomewhat, he leaned vpon it, and ſo ſtood a great while in this manner before he ſpake, receiuing the cryes of ioy and clapping of hands which the people made, praiſing his valiantneſſe, and bleſſing his good hap and fortune. Then when they had done, and were quiet againe, he framed his countenance, and began to make an Oration vnto them in the name of all the tribe and commonwealth of the Achaians, meet for the enterpriſe from whence he came: and perſwaded them to ioyne to the Achaians. So therewithall, they preſently deliuered him the keyes of their citie, the which were neuer before that time in their power, ſince the raigne of king *Philip*. Now touching the other Captaines of king *Antigonus*: *Aratus* hauing taken *Archelaus* priſoner, he let him go, but put *Theophraſtus*

to

Aratus great danger in taking of the caſtell of the Acrocorinth.

The happy benefit of the Moone.

Aratus taketh the Acrocorinth.

Aratus ioyneth the citie of Corinth vnto Achaia.

to death, becauſe he would not go out of CORINTH. *Perſæus* (Captaine of the caſtle) ſeeing the caſtle but loſt: he ſecretly ſaued himſelfe, and fled vnto the citie of CENCHREES. And it is reported, that as he was afterwards in talke of Philoſophie, where one maintaining, that a man could not be a good Captaine, vnleſſe he were a perfect wiſe man: This (quoth he) is one of *Zenoes* opinions rightly, the which heretofore pleaſed me beſt: but now this yong SICYONIAN *Aratus*, hath made me of another mind. Many writers do report this ſaying of *Perſæus*. Furthermore, *Aratus* wan preſently the temple of *Iuno*, and the hauen of LECHÆVM, where he took fiue and twentie ſhips of king *Antigonus*, and fiue hundred horſe of ſeruice for the war, and foure hundred SYRIANS, which he ſold euery one of them. The ACHAIANS left within the caſtell of the Acrocorinth, a garriſon of foure hundred footmen, and fiftie dogges, and as many hunts, all the which were kept for the watch of the caſtell. Now, the ROMAINES wondring at the valiantneſſe of *Philopœmen*, they called him the laſt of the GRECIANS. Euen ſo might I alſo (in my opinion) ſay, that this act is the laſt and moſt famous of all the GRECIANS, and deſerueth to be equall, aſwell for valiantneſſe, as alſo good ſucceſſe, with the greateſt exploites of the moſt famous auncients: as that which followed immediatly after, doth amply declare. For the MEGARIANS reuolting from king *Antigonus*, did ſtraight ioyne with *Aratus*: and the TROEZENIANS alſo with the EPIDAVRIANS, did likewiſe enter into leagu and friendſhip with the ACHAIANS. So at the firſt inuaſion he made, he went to ſpoile the country of ATTICA, and croſſed ouer to the Iſle of SALAMINA, and ſpoiled and deſtroyed it; euen as if he had deliuered the power and force of the ACHAIANS out of priſon, to ſerue his owne turne in any thing he thought good of. Howbeit, he ſent home the ATHENIAN priſoners without paying of ranſome: and all of pollicie to make them deſirous to rebell againſt the MACEDONIANS. Furthermore, he made king *Ptolomy* a friend and confederate of the ACHAIANS, with condition, that he ſhould be Lieutenant generall both by ſea & by land. For theſe reſpects *Aratus* was of maruellous eſtimation and credite with the ACHAIANS: inſomuch that where they could not yearely chuſe him their Generall, being contrary to their lawe; they choſe him at the leaſt euery ſecond yeare: but in effect, all was done by his aduice & counſell. For they ſaw plainely, that it was neither honor, nor riches, nor friendſhip of kings & princes, nor the priuate benefit of his owne city wherin he was born, nor any other thing elſe that he preferred, before the glory and increaſe of the commonwealth of the ACHAIANS. For he was of opinion, that cities by themſelues were but weake, and being ioyned together with the chaine of cõmon benefit, they were a ſtrength one to preſerue the other. And in like maner, euen as the parts that are in the bodies of brute beaſts, haue life and ſuſtenance, being ioyned and knit together, and ſtraight ſo ſoone as there is any ſeparation of them the one from the other, they liue no more and putrifie: euen ſo cities alſo were brought to decay by them that did diſperſe their ſocietie among them; & in contrary maner did then againe increaſe, when ioyning with any other great body & city, they were gouerned with wiſdome and good councell. So *Aratus* ſeeing the chiefeſt cities therabouts enioy their lawes and liberties: thought it a ſhamefull thing to leaue the ARGIVES in ſlauery & bondage. Wherfore he practiſed to kil the tyrant *Ariſtomachus* that gouerned thẽ, both to ſhew himſelf thankfull to the city for his bringing vp there: as alſo to ioyne that great & mightie city vnto the tribe of the ACHAIANS. Now there were diuers men, that had the hearts & courage to vndertake to do it, of the which the chiefeſt were *Æſchylus* & *Charimenes* the Soothſayer, but they had no ſwords: for they were ſtraightly forbidden by the tyrant, and grieuous puniſhments ordained for them that ſhould be found with their ſwords. *Aratus* therefore cauſed litle ſhort daggers to be made at CORINTH for them, the which he ſowed vp in packes caried on certaine beaſtes loden with other baggage and ſtuffe. But the Soothſayer *Charimenes* did impart this enterpriſe vnto a third man, and made him one of the conſpiracie with them. *Æſchylus* being very much offended with it, began therefore to enter into practiſe by himſelfe, and left their companie. *Charimenes* perceiuing that, tooke ſuch a toy in his head in a mad mood, that he bewrayed them as they went about to execute their enterpriſe. This notwithſtanding, the moſt part of the conſpiratours ſaued themſelues, and fled to CORINTH. So the tyrant *Ariſtomachus* was ſlaine ſhortly after by his owne men. But then another tyrant *Ariſtippus*, a crueller man then the firſt, made haſt to take the tyrannie before he could be reſiſted. This notwithſtanding, *Aratus* with all the young men of the ACHAIANS able to ſerue in the field, went ſodainely thither with aide, hoping to find them of the city very glad to recouer their liberty. Howbeit the people being acquainted, & of long time vſed patiently to beare the yoke of bondage: there was not a man of thẽ

Zenoes opinion, That a man could not be a good Captaine, vnleſſe he were a perfect wiſe man.

Perſæus anſwer to Zenoes opinion.

Philopœmen the laſt famous man of the Grecians.

Aratus power and authoritie with the Achaians.

Aratus goeth about to ſet Argos at libertie.

Aratus prepared litle ſhort daggers againſt the tyrants decree and ordinance.

Ariſtippus tyrant of the city of Argos.

that would once take his part. So he returned backe againe and did nothing, saiuing that thereby the Achaians were accused, because that in open peace they had made war, and therefore they were put in sute before the Mantinians, at *Aristippus* request, tyrant of Argos. The matter was pleaded in *Aratus* absence, and the Achaians were condemned to pay the summe of thirty Minaes. After this proofe and attempt of *Aratus*, *Aristippus* being affraid of *Aratus*, and hating him to the death, sought waies to kill him, with the helpe of *Antigonus*, who did aide him in it: and almost there were spials in enery corner, that did nothing else but lye in waite to execute *Aristippus* mind. Now, there is no surer guard vnto a Prince, then the perfect loue and goodwill of his subiects. For after that the Nobilitie and common people haue bene vsed to feare, not him, but those that for him commaund them: he then seeth with many eyes, heareth with many eares: and knoweth what is done farre off. Here therefore I will a litle digresse from my historie, to shew you the manner of *Aristippus* life the tyrant, wherunto he was brought by this so much desired tyrannicall gouernment, and smoke of seigniorie, so esteemed of all men. Nowe, though *Aristippus* had king *Antigonus* his friend, and that he kept a great guard of souldiers about him for the safetie of his person, & that there was not an enemie of his left aliue in all the city: yet he made his souldiers watch and lye without his pallace, vnder the cloisters and galleries thereabouts, and after supper turned all his men out of the doores, and then shut his court gates to him, and locked himself alone with his concubine, in a litle high chamber with a trap doore, and set his bed vpon it, and so slept, as one that continually was affraid of himselfe. Then, after he was come vp, his concubines mother came to take vp the ladder, and locked it in another chamber: and so did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trimme tyrant, that went downe out of his chamber, like a snake that should haue crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrarie manner not hauing obtained by force of armes, but lawfully through vertue a continuall gouernement, being simply apparelled with a poore gowne of small price, and shewing himselfe a mortall enemy vnto all sorts of tyrants: hath left a race and noble offspring among the Grecians, which remaine yet vntill this present day. Contrarily also, there are few tyrants that do vsurpe the castels of free cities, that keepe so many souldiers in pay, that make such prouision for armor and weapō, and haue so many gates and draw-bridges for the saftie of their persons, that in the end can keepe themselues from violent death, no more then hares: neither do leaue also any posteritie, house, or graue, why their memorie should be honored after their death. So *Aratus* hauing diuerse waies made sundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwise, suddenly to take the city of Argos, and to thrust out the tyrant *Aristippus*: he euer failed of his purpose, but specially one night among the rest, when he entred the citie very dangerously, with a few souldiers with him, & slue the souldiers that came to giue supply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, & that the tyrant with all his forces came to set vpon him; the Argiues stirred not at all, as if *Aratus* had not fought for their libertie, but as though they had bene Iudges appointed to sit to see the sports of the games Nemee, to iudge the game vnto the conqueror without partialitie, and with indifferencie. *Aratus* in the meane time fighting like a valiant man, was thrust at with a pike, and runne through the thigh. This notwithstanding, at length he wan that part of the city where he fought and was not thrust out till night, what force soeuer the enemies made vpon him: and if he could possibly haue holden it out all night, he had vndoubtedly obtained his purpose: for the tyrant looked for none other but to flie, and had already sent diuers of his goods to the sea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it, besides also lacking water, and for that he could not helpe himselfe because of his wound, he was driuen to lead his men away, and failed of his purpose. So, despairing that he could euer take it by stealth, he went thither with open wars, & spoiled and destroyed all the country of Argos: and hauing fought a great battell against the tyrant *Aristippus*, by the riuer of Chares, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forsooke the victory, & cowardly retired out of the battell. For the rest of his army doubtlesse had the better, and had followed the enemies farre in chase: when he fled being afraid, not compelled by his enemies, but mistrusting his fortune, and retired to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chase of their enemies were offended, for that they hauing put them to flight, and also slaine a great number more of them, then they had lost of theirs, and yet for cowardlinesse should suffer their enemies (whom they had ouercome and put to flight) to set vp markes of triumph in token of victorie: *Aratus* being ashamed of it, determined to fight once againe, for the markes of triumph. Whereupon resting his men but one day, he lead them againe into the field, and setting his

Aristippus laid waite to kill Aratus.

No surer guard to a Prince, then the loue of his subiects.

The miserable life of Aristippus, the tyrant of Argos.

Aratus gouernment obtained by vertue.

Chares fl. Aratus gaue Aristippus the victorie.

his armie in battell raye, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when he sawe a great supply comming to his enemie, and that the tyrants men came to fight more lustily, and with better courage then before: *Aratus* durst not abide them, but retired, and sent to demaund leaue to take away his dead men to burie them, yet he could speake so courteously, and behaue himselfe so wisely, by the experience he had in gouernement, and also for the goodwill they bare him: that they forgate the fault he committed, and he wanne the citie of CLEONES vnto the ACHAIANS, where he caused the feastes of the games of Nemee to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquitie, rather vnto the CLEONEIANS, then vnto the ARGIVES. This notwithstanding, the ARGIVES did keepe it also, and then was the first time that the sanctuarie and priuiledge was broken, which was wont to be graunted vnto all them that came to play for the games: because the ACHAIANS did make them prisoners that fought in ARGOS, as they returned through their countrey, and sold them as enemies. So maruellously did *Aratus* and the ACHAIANS hate all sorts of tyrants, without respect of pardon. Shortly after he was aduertised, that the tyrant *Aristippus* did lye in wayte to spie oportunitie, to take the citie of CLEONES from him: howbeit that he was affrayed of it, because he remained at that time in CORINTH. So *Aratus* straight sent out commaundement into euery place, to assemble the armie of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, and that they should bring victuals with them for many daies: and so craftily came downe to the citie of CENCHREES, to intice *Aristippus*, by his going away so farre off, that in his absence he should attempt to set vpon the CLEONEIANS, as indeede he did. For he failed not presently to goe thither with his armie. But *Aratus* returning from CENCHREES vnto CORINTH, very late in the night, and hauing layed good watch euerie waye: he sodainely brought the armie of the ACHAIANS vnto CLEONES with such speede and quietnesse, that they were not seene as they came, but entred into the citie of CLEONES by night, and were readie to fight with the tyraunt, before he knewe they were come. So the gates of the citie were set open by breake of day, and the signall of battell giuen by sound of trumpets: and so setting vpon the tyraunts men with great cryes, they suspecting nothing, they were presently put to flight. And becaus the place where the ouerthrow was giuen, had many turnings: *Aratus* following the chase, tooke the way which he thought the tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the citie of MYCENES: there the tyrant was ouertaken by a CRETAN called *Tragiscus*, (as *Dinias* reporteth) who slue him: and there were slaine of his men also aboue fifteene thousand. But now *Aratus* hauing wonne such a famous victorie, and lost neuer a man: he could not yet winne the citie of ARGOS, nor set it againe at libertie. For one *Ægias*, and another *Aristomachus*, got into the towne with the kings armie, and kept it: but notwithstanding, by this noble victory *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproch that they gaue him, and of the scoffes and slents the flatterers of the tyrants deuised of him: who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight indeed, the Generall of the ACHAIANS had the wind collike in his belly, and a dimnesse in his eyes, with a guydinesse in his head, when he heard but the sound of the trumpets. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in battell ray, and giuen them the word of battell: he asked the Generals if he should neede to be there in person, because he was hurt in the heele, and then would get him as farre off as he could, to see the end of the battell. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers themselues disputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble and chaunge colour in present daunger and perill, be signes of a faint heart, or of an ill complexion and coldnesse of bodie: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had bene a good and valiant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was euer in that taking. So when he had ouercome *Aristippus*, he sought means also to destroy *Lysiadas* MEGALIPOLITAN, who as absolute Lord and king of the countrey, kept the citie of MEGALIPOLIS. Notwithstanding he had no base mind in him, neither was he caried away with a cruell desire of tyrannie to liue at his pleasure, nor through extreame couetousnesse, as most Princes be: but being a young man, and pricked forward with desire of honor and fame, and hauing vnaduisedly conceiued in his mind, (which was great and highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of principality, as of a state most blessed, and worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make himselfe Lord of his country. But afterwards he was soone weary of the dangers and troubles such maner of gouernment bringeth with it, and desired to follow *Aratus*, whom he saw prosper, and of great honor. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke hold of a noble deuice: first to rid himselfe of the malice and feare of the prison and guard of his souldiers: and lastly, to be a benefactor to his

Aratus stratagems to intrap the tyrant Aristippus.

Aratus victory of the tyrant Aristippus.

Aristippus the tyrant slaine.

A Philosophicall question, whether trembling and chāging of colour in danger, be a sign of cowardlinesse.

Lysiadas tyrāt of Megalipolis.

Lyſiadas tyrãt of Megalipolis, leaueth the tyrannie, & yeelded himſelfe and his dominion vnto the Achaians.

countrie. So he ſent for *Aratus*, gaue vp his gouernment, and deliuered vp his citie to the tribe of the ACHAIANS. They ſo extolled him for this acte, that they choſe him their Lieutenant generall of all their tribe. Wherefore, *Lyſiadas* ſtriuing at the firſt to excell *Aratus* in honour, attempted diuerſe things which were not very needefull: as among others, to make warre with the LACEDÆMONIANS. But *Aratus* was very much againſt him in that, though ſome think it was for enuie. Thereupon they choſe *Lyſiadas* Generall of the ACHAIANS the ſecond time: although *Aratus* openly both ſpake and made what meanes he could to the contrarie, and would haue had another to haue bene choſen. For he himſelfe was euery other yeare Generall. So *Lyſiadas* was choſen againe Generall of the ACHAIANS the third time, with euery bodies goodwill: and *Aratus* and he had abſolute power and gouernement by turnes, one after the other. But when they

Diſſention betwixt Aratus and Lyſiadas.

ſawe that *Lyſiadas* became open enemie vnto *Aratus*, and did ſtill accuſe him in all their councels & aſſemblies: they fell in ſuch miſliking with him, that they reiected him. For they thought his but a counterfeit vertue, to contend with the perfectneſſe of *Aratus* vertue. Much like vnto

One of Aeſopes tales of the cuckowes queſtion to litle birds.

one of *Æſopes* fables, ſaying, That litle birds did anſwer the cuckow on a time, asking them why they did flie from her: Becauſe we are affraid (ſaid they) thou wilt be a ſparhawke one day. Euen ſo it ſeemeth, that there was a certaine ſuſpition in mens minds of *Lyſiadas* tyrannie, which made them miſtruſt that he went not from his tyrannie with goodwill. Nowe *Aratus* on the other

Aratus noble counſell againſt the Aetolians.

ſide, wanne as great praiſe and honour by his doings againſt the ÆTOLIANS. For when the ACHAIANS would needes haue fought vpon the confines of the territorie of the MEGARIANS, and that *Agis* king of LACEDÆMON, being come with his armie to the campe of the tribe of the ACHAIANS, did perſwade them hardily to giue battell: *Aratus* was ſtoutly againſt it, and did abide many mockes and taunts they gaue him, ſaying, That it was for cowardlineſſe he would not go. This notwithſtanding, he would not leaue his wiſe and ſafe determination, for all that open

Gerania mons.

ſhame: but ſuffered the enemies to paſſe ouer the mountaine Gerania, and to inuade PELOPONNESVS, and would neuer fight with them. But afterwards, when he ſaw that at their firſt comming they had taken the citie of PALLENA: he then chaunged his mind, and would deferre time no longer to tarie till all his power were come together, but marched foorthwith againſt his ene-

Aratus ſitteth vpon his laſcitious enemies.

mies, with thoſe few he had, who maruellouſly weakened themſelues by their inſolencie and diſorder after their victorie, keeping no watch nor ward. For after they had entred the citie of PALLENA, the ſouldiers ran into euery houſe, one thruſting in anothers necke, and fighting for the goods they found. The Captaines alſo fell to rauiſhing of maides, & the PALLENIANS wiues, and put their burganets and morrions vpon their heades, that none other ſhould take them, becauſe that by the ſame the ſouldiers ſhold know whoſe they were, and to whom the women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and iolitie, newes came ſuddenly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they ſawe they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all vnderſtood of the daunger by their ſudden ſetting on them, the ACHAIANS were fighting alreadie within the ſuburbes and gates of the citie, againſt the firſt that reſiſted, whom they ſlue. They being broken and put to flight, made the reſt ſo afraid that were gathered together to aide them, that they wiſt not what to do. In this tumult and hurly burly, there was one of the La-

A womã with a burganet on her head, ſeemeth a monſtrous thing.

dies a priſoner, that was the daughter of *Epigethes* one of the nobleſt men of the citie, and ſhe a maruellous goodly woman, and paſſing faire: who being ſet in the temple of *Diana*, whither a Captaine had brought her that had choſen her for himſelfe, and had put his burganet on her head: ſhe ſuddenly ranne to the gate of the temple with the burganet on her head, when ſhe heard the noiſe of them that fought, to ſee them fight. The Citizens ſeeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater maieſtie, then any worldly creature. The ene-

The ſigne of Diana with the Pallenians.

mies on the other ſide were ſo affraid to ſee her, thinking ſhe had bene ſome ſpirit: that not a man of them durſt once defend themſelues. So the PALLENIANS ſay, that the image of *Diana* all the reſt of the time is kept locked vp, and no bodie toucheth it, and that when the Nunne that keepeth it doth carie it elſe where, no man dare looke on it, but euery man turneth his eyes away: becauſe the ſight of it is not onely fearefull and hurtfull vnto men, but it alſo killeth the fruite of the trees it paſſeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cauſe that then troubled the ÆTOLIANS mindes ſo much, becauſe the Nunne remouing the image of the goddeſſe *Diana*, ſhe turned it towards them. Howbeit *Aratus* in his Commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth, that when he had defeated the ÆTOLIANS, following them in chaſe, he entred hand ouer head with them that fled into the citie, out of the which he draue them,

and

and slue seuen hundred of them. This noble victorie hath bene esteemed amongest the chiefest afterwards: and the paynter *Timanthes* hath drawne and set it foorth in table very liuely. This notwithstanding, because diuerse Princes and people did immediatly prepare force against the Achaians: *Aratus* presently made peace with the Ætolians by the practise of *Pantaleon*, who bare great sway and authoritie amongst them. Furthermore, *Aratus* being desirous to set the Athenians at libertie, he sodainly attempted to take the hauen of Pirea: for the which the Achaians reproued him, because he had broken the peace they had made with the Macedonians. But *Aratus* in his Commentaries doth stoutly deny that it was he, and layeth the fault vpon *Erginus*, by whose meanes he wanne the castell of the Acrocorinth: saying, that it was he, that of his owne mind did set a scaling ladder to the wall, and that his ladder breaking vnder him, he fled vpon it, and perceiuing he was followed neare by the enemies, he still cryed out, *Aratus*, as if he had bene there, and by this pollicie mocked his enemies, and saued himselfe. Howbeit, me thinketh this answer is not true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a priuate souldier, and a Sycian borne, should haue so great an enterprise in his head, vnlesse it had bene by *Aratus* consent and commaundement, who had giuen him men, time and meanes to vndertake it. And this appeared plainely afterwardes: for, *Aratus* did not attempt it twise or thrise only, but oftener then so (as those that extreamely desired a thing) to take the hauen of Pirea on the sodaine, not giuing ouer for once failing, but rather emboldening himselfe againe with good hope, because he missed it but litle, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another time also amongest others, flying through the plaine of Thriasia, he brake his legge, and was driuen to make many incisions to heale it: so that he was a long time together caried in his lytter vnto the warres. After that king *Antigonus* was dead, and that *Demetrius* his sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome: he attempted then more earnestly then euer before, to set the citie of Athens at libertie, making small account of the Macedonians. *Aratus* therefore being ouerthrowne in battell neare vnto Phylacia, by King *Demetrius* Lieutenaunt, called *Bithys*, and the rumour running straight abroade, that *Aratus* was dead, or at the least that he was taken prisoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the hauen of Pirea, wrote a letter vnto Corinth, and commaunded the garrison of the Achaians that kept it, to deliuer the towne, for *Aratus* was dead. But he by chaunce was at the selfe same time in Corinth: so that they which brought the letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the companie merrie. Furthermore, King *Demetrius* himselfe sent a Galley out of Macedon, to bring *Aratus* bound vnto him. The Athenians themselues also, to please the Macedonians, exceeding all lightnesse of flatterie, wore garlands on their heades a whole day together, in token of common ioye, when newes was brought them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his armie presently against them, euen to the very suburbes of the Academie. Notwithstanding at their earnest requestes, he did no hurt there. And afterwardes the Athenians acknowledging his valiantnesse, when king *Demetrius* dyed: it tooke them in the heades to recouer their libertie againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was Generall of the Achaians, and that he kept his bedde lying sicke of a long disease: yet to further this, he was caryed vnto Athens in a lytter, and so perswaded *Diogenes*, (Captaine of the Garrison there) that for the summe of an hundred and fiftie talents (towards the which *Aratus* gaue of his owne, twentie talents) he made him deliuer to the Athenians the hauen of Pirea, the castell of Mvnychia, the Isle of Salamina, and the castell of Svnivm. After this, the Æginetes, the Hermionians, and the most part of Arcadia it selfe, did presently ioyne with the Achaians: so that the Macedonians being occupied with warres at that time in other places against their neighbours, the power of the Achaians marueilously encreased, hauing also the Ætolians their confederates. Then *Aratus* to perfourme his ould promise, and being angrie to see the citie of Argos (being so neare neighbour vnto them) yet kept in bondage: he sent vnto *Aristomachus*, to perswade him to be contented to set his citie againe at libertie, and to ioyne it to the tribe of the Achaians, as *Lysiadas* had done his towne of Megalipolis, and rather to like to be made a Generall with honour and prayse of so great and famous a state as the Achaians, then tyraunt of one onely Citie, hated, and euery houre of the night and daye in daunger of his life. *Aristomachus* gaue eare to his perswasions, and sent vnto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fiftie talentes to discharge the souldiers he had about him. The money was straight prepared. And *Lysiadas* that was at that

Aratus bringeth the Aetolians in league with the Achaians.

Aratus attempteth to set Athens at libertie.

Aratus ouerthrowne by the Macedonians.

Aratus by perswasion deliuered Argos frō tyrannie.

time Generall of the Achaians, and that maruellously desired this matter might be brought to passe by his meanes: he secretly sent vnto *Aristomachus* to accuse *Aratus*, and shewed how he had bene alwaies a mortall enemie vnto tyrants, and therefore counselled him rather to put himselfe into his hands, as indeede he did. For *Lysiadas* brought *Aristomachus* vnto the councell of the Achaians. There all the councell plainely shewed their good wils, and the confidence they had in *Aratus*: for when he spake against it, that they should not receiue *Aristomachus*, they reiected him with great anger. But afterwards also when *Aratus* was won, and that he began to moue the contrarie to the councell, they straight agreed to receiue the Argives, and the Phliasians in league with them, and also the next yeare following they chose *Aristomachus* Lieutenant generall of all their tribe. *Aristomachus* seeing himselfe in credit now with the Achaians, would needes inuade the countrie of Laconia with a maine armie, and sent for *Aratus* being then at Athens: *Aratus* wrote vnto him, and wished him in anywise not to meddle with that iourney, becausse he would not haue the Achaians to deale with *Cleomenes* king of Lacedæmon, that was a couragious and stout young Prince, and maruellously growne in short time. Howbeit, *Aristomachus* being self-willed in that point, *Aratus* obeyed him, and was there in person all that iourney. So *Cleomenes* being come to them vpon the sodaine with his armie, neare vnto the citie of Palantium: *Aristomachus* would needs fight with him, but *Aratus* disswaded him from it. Wherupon *Lysiadas* afterwards accused him to the Achaians, and the next yeare following he contended with him, suing to be Generall: howbeit he was reiected by most voices, and *Aratus* chosen Generall the twelfth time. The selfe same yeare he was ouerthrowne in battell by *Cleomenes*, neare vnto the mountaine Lycæum, and being fled, wandred vp and down in the night, that euery man thought he had bene slaine, and it ran for good payment among all the Grecians. Howbeit, he saued himselfe, and hauing gathered his men together againe, not contenting him that he had escaped with life, but wisely taking the oportunitie and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor mistrusting his comming: he suddenly went to assaile the Mantineans, which were confederates of *Cleomenes*, and hauing taken the city of Mantinea, he left a great garrison in it, and made the strangers that were there, free of the citie. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being ouercome, wan the Achaians that which they themselues could scarcely haue won if they had bene conquerors. Afterwards, the Lacedæmonians inuading the territories of the Megalipolitans with a great armie, *Aratus* sodainly went thither to aide thē, but would hazard battel no more, nor giue *Cleomenes* vantage, who desired only to fight, and still constantly resisted the Megalipolitans, that prouoked him to come into the field. For besides that in nature he was not meete for a set battell, at that time also he was the weaker in men, and had to do with a venturous young man, that was all fire: where his courage and ambition on the other side was coole, and quiet enough. Furthermore, he considered, that as king *Cleomenes* sought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before: euen so it was his part wisely to keepe that which he had long since gotten, and to stand vpon his guard and safetie. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being put out into the field, and hauing chased the Lacedæmonians euen into their campe, and entring in with them hand ouer head: *Aratus* would neuer bring out his citizens, but stayed them in a great valley that lay between them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Wherwithall *Lysiadas* being mad with himselfe, and falling out with *Aratus*, he called for the horsmen, and said that he would yet helpe them that followed the chase, and prayed them not to lose the victorie so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to forsake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their country. So hauing gotten a great number of choise horsemen together, he went with great furie, and gaue charge on the right wing of his enemies battell, and hauing dispersed them, and put them to flight, he vnaduisedly followed thē with great courage, into euill fauored crooked waies, among trees and great broad ditches. Wherupon *Cleomenes* came, and so lustily set on him, that he slue him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending himselfe. The other men of armes flying also, rushed in againe, into the battell of the footmen, and so disordered their rankes, that they made all their armie flie for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed *Aratus*, becausse he had forsaken *Lysiadas*: and being enforced vnto it by the Achaians that went without his leaue, he followed them at length, and fled himselfe also vnto the citie of Ægium. There the Achaians sitting in councell, they decreed that they wold furnish *Aratus* with no more mony, neither would they pay his strangers any more: and bad him pay them at his owne charge, if he would entertaine them for the warre.

The loue and faith of the Achaians vnto Aratus.

Aratus ouerthrowne in battell by king Cleomenes, hard by the mountaine Lycæum.

Aratus tooke the citie of Mantinea.

The death of Lysiadas.

Aratus once againe ouerthrowne by Cleomenes.

Aratus perceiuing that they did him great wrong, ſtood euen indifferent to deliuer vp his commiſſion of Lieutenancie, and to diſcharge himſelf of his office: but after he had bethought himſelfe better, he bare it patiently, and led the ACHAIANS directly to the citie of ORCHOMENE. There he valiantly fought with *Megiſtonus*, king *Cleomenes* father in law, and had the vpper hand of him: for he ſlue three hundred of his men, and tooke *Megiſtonus* ſelfe priſoner. Furthermore, where before euery ſecond yeare they did vſe to chuſe him their Lieutenant generall: when his turne came about againe, they called him to giue him the office, but he refuſed it, and *Timoxenus* was choſen in his roome. Now the cauſe alleadged for his refuſall, was ſaid to be, for that he miſliked of the common people. But that ſoundeth like a lye: for the truth of it, to my ſeeming was, for that he ſaw the ſtate of the ACHAIANS to decline. For king *Cleomenes* proceeded no more faire and ſoftly as he did at the firſt, when he was controlled and bridled by the Ephori: but hauing ſlaine them, and equally deuided the lands through LACEDÆMONIA, and made the ſtrangers free citizens of SPARTA, being then abſolute Lord of LACEDÆMON: he ſtraight ſet vpon the ACHAIANS with all the power he could, and ſought to conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deſerueth iuſt reproofe, for that he forſooke his countrie in ſuch extreme trouble and danger, that being as the maiſter of a ſhip, he gaue another the ſterne to ſteare, when it had bene moſt honorable and meeteſt for him to haue taken it in hand (though they would not haue giuen it him) to haue ſaued his countrie. Or otherwiſe, if he had indeed vtterly diſpaired of the good ſucceſſe of the ACHAIANS, he ſhould then haue put it rather into *Cleomenes* hands, and not to haue poiſoned PELOPONNESVS again, with the maners of the barbarous people (bringing in as he did, the garriſon of the MACEDONIANS, filling the caſtle of the Acrocorinth with GAVLES and ILLYRIAN ſouldiers, and making them his Lords and Maiſters, whom he had ſo often ouercome in wars, and deceiued of their gouernement, and of whom he alſo ſpake ſo much euill in his Commentaries) nor to haue put them into townes, and calling them friends and confederats, to think thereby to colour and diſguiſe his wicked practiſe. Admit *Cleomenes* had bene a tyrant, and a cruell man (if I ſhould ſo tearme him) yet came he of the bloud of *Hercules*, and was born in SPARTA: from whence they ſhould rather haue choſen the meaneſt man Gouernor, then the greateſt king of MACEDON, and thoſe ſpecially that prefer the honor and glorie of GREECE, before ſtrangers. Yet king *Cleomenes* required no more of all the ACHAIANS, but the name only to be their Lieutenant generall: and ſo they would graunt him that honor, he promiſed he would be very good vnto the cities confederates to ACHAIA. Where *Antigonus* notwithſtanding, when they had choſen him their Lieutenant generall with abſolute power and authoritie both by ſea and alſo by land, refuſed the charge, vnleſſe they would let him haue the caſtell of the Acrocorinth for his hire. The which was euen like to *Æſopes* hunter, that bridled his horſe: for he would not get vp vpon the ACHAIANS that requeſted him, and that by their Ambaſſadours and decrees of councell, did referre all vnto himſelfe: before he had firſt ſadled and bridled them, by the garriſon he made them receiue, and the pleadges he cauſed them to giue him, and yet he ſpake as much as might be to cleare himſelfe of the accuſation againſt him, bearing them in hand that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* writeth: that long time before he was cõpelled, being afraid of *Cleomenes* valiantneſſe, he had ſecretly practiſed that with *Autigonus*, which he was openly ſeene in afterwards: and that he had entiſed the MEGALIPOLITANS (who were the firſt that moued it to the councell of the ACHAIANS) to call king *Antigonus* to their aide, becauſe they were neareſt neighbors to the fire, and continually harried with *Cleomenes* warre, that alwaies knocked at their gates to come and ſpoile them. Thus much is affirmed by *Philarchus* in his hiſtorie, who were hardly to be credited notwithſtanding, had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loued *Cleomenes* ſo well, that it ſeemed he was rauiſhed with ſome ſpirit as often as he ſpake of him: and frameth his hiſtorie, as a common counſeller that ſhould pleade a caſe in law before the Iudges, ſtill accuſing the one, and defending the other. The ACHAIANS loſt the citie of MEGALIPOLIS againe, the which king *Cleomenes* tooke of them, and ouercame them in a great battell by Hecatombæon. Wherewithall they were ſo amazed, that they ſent Ambaſſadors preſently vnto him, and prayed him to come to the citie of ARGOS; and there they would make him their Lieutenant generall. But when *Aratus* heard he came indeed, and that he was not far from the citie of LERNA with his armie: being affraid, he ſent other Ambaſſadours to tell him that he ſhould ſafely come with three huudred men onely, as vnto his friends and confederates: and yet if he miſtruſted craft and euill dealing, that then they would giue him pledges for the ſafetie of his perſon. *Cleomenes* an-

Aratus reproch.

A gouernour of a cõmonweale ought no more to forſake his countrie in time of daunger: then the maiſter of a ſhip, his ſhip in ſtorme and tempeſt.

The meaneſt man of Sparta, was to be preferred before the greateſt Prince of Macedon.

Æſopes hunter.

Polybius Hiſtoriographer.

Philarchus the Hiſtoriographer not greatly to be credited.

Cleomenes winneth the citie of Megalipolis from the Achaians.

swered him, That was a plaine mockerie, and an iniurie they offered him. Wherefore he presently departed thence, and sent a letter before to the Councell of the Achaians, full of foule words and reproches he gaue vnto *Aratus*: who likewise replyed to him againe, bitterly taunting each other, that they came to talke of their mariage and wiues. After this letter, *Cleomenes* sent defyance by an Herald vnto the Achaians, and proclaimed open war against them: insomuch as he had almost gotten the citie of Sicyone by practise of traitors. Howbeit, failing of his purpose he returned sodainly, and went vnto the city of Pallena, which he tooke, and draue out the Generall of the Achaians thence, and immediatly after he wan the cities also of Phenea, & Pentelion. After that, the Argives and Phliasians willingly yeelded vnto him, so that of all that which the Achaians had conquered, and ioyned vnto their tribe, they could recken of nothing else of certainty vnto them. Then *Aratus* was maruellously troubled in his mind, to see all Peloponnesvs in tumult and vprore, and that all the cities fell to open rebellion by those that practised change and alteration. For no man was contented with the state and gouernment at that time, but diuerse of the Sicyonians and Corinthians both were bewrayed which had secretly practised with *Cleomenes*, and that of long time maliced the gouernement of the Achaians, desiring themselues to be Lords and Gouernors of their cities. *Aratus* hauing full commission and authoritie from the councell of the Achaians, to make inquirie of them, and to put the to death, without further triall of law: he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faulty in the citie of Sicyone. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at Corinth, he made inquirie of them, and put them to death: whereby he made the common people very angrie with him, who otherwise of themselues were weary of the gouernment and subiection of the Achaians. The Corinthians therefore gathering together in the temple of *Apollo*, they sent for *Aratus*, intending to make him prisoner before they would openly enter into actuall rebellion. *Aratus* went thither, to shew that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he held his horse in his hand following of him. Then many rose vp against him, and did both reproue and iniuriously intreate him. But *Aratus* with stayed countenance and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their places, and not to crie out in such rage vpon their feete, and withall, caused them also to come in that were at the temple doore. But as he spake vnto them, by litle and litle he drew backe out of the presse, as though he meant to haue giuen his horse to some bodie to hold. So being gotten out of the presse, he gently spake without any feare vnto the Corinthians he met, and bad the go to the temple of *Apollo*. When he was come to the castell, he then sodainely tooke his horse backe, and commaunded *Cleopater*, Captaine of the garrison of the Achaians there, to look wel to the safe keeping of the castell. Then he set spurres to his horse, and galloped towards the citie of Sicyone for life, being followed onely by thirty of his souldiers, all the rest hauing forsaken him, and dispersed themselues here and there. Shortly after, the Corinthians vnderstanding that *Aratus* was gone, they followed after, but could neuer ouertake him: whereupon they straight sent for king *Cleomenes*, and deliuered the citie of Corinth into his handes, the gaine whereof pleased him not so much, as he was sorie for the losse of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So king *Cleomenes* ioyning vnto him all the people dwelling alongest the sea coast, commonly called the riuer of Corinth, who yeelded vp themselues, holdes and townes into his handes: he then intrenched in the castell of the Acrocorinth with a great trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the citie of Sicyone, many of the Achaians gathered about him, and holding a councell and assemblie, he was chosen their Lieutenant generall, hauing absolute power and authoritie to do what he would, and gaue him of their owne citizens to guard his person. So, he hauing managed the affairs of the state and commonwealth of the Achaians, the space of three and thirtie yeares together, and hauing all that time bene counted of all men the chiefest man of power and authoritie in Greece: he then found himselfe in poore estate, forsaken, and in great miserie, as in the shipwracke of his countrey beaten with storme, and in great daunger of himselfe. For when he sent vnto the Ætolians for aide, they flatly denyed him, and would send him none. Furthermore, the Athenians being very desirous to send aide for *Aratus* sake, were disswaded from it through the practise of *Euclidas* and *Micion*. *Aratus* also had a house in Corinth, where all his money was: the which king *Cleomenes* at the first medled not withall, neither wold suffer any other to touch it, but sent for his friends and officers, and charged them to looke well to it, to giue *Aratus* a good account of it afterwardes. Furthermore, he priuately sent *Tripylus* vnto him, and his father in lawe *Megistonus*, and offered him great giftes, and specially

The spitefull letters that passed betwixt Cleomenes and Aratus.

Aratus putteth the rebels of Sicyone to death.

Aratus constancie in danger.

Aratus subtiltie when he fled out of Corinth.

The citie of Corinth yeelded vp vnto Cleomenes.

Aratus in great danger for his countrey.

King Cleomenes curtesie vnto Aratus.

cially an annual penſion of twelue talents, which was double as much as king *Ptolomie* gaue him, who ſent him yearely ſixe talents. Beſides, he only prayed the ACHAIANS, that they would make him their Lieutenant generall, and alſo that the garriſon in the caſtell of Acrocorinth, might be deuided in common betweene them. *Aratus* made anſwer, that he had no abſolute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a deuiſe and excuſe of *Aratus*, he preſently inuaded the country of the SICYONIANS, and deſtroyed all as he came, and continued the ſpace of three moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time ſtood doubtfull how to determine, whether he ſhould receiue king *Antigonus* or not: becauſe *Antigonus* would not aide him, before he deliuered him the caſtell of the Acrocorinth into his hands. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the citie of ÆGIVM to conſult vpon it, they ſent for *Aratus* thither. Howbeit, it was daungerous comming thither, becauſe *Cleomenes* campe lay hard by the citie of SICYONE: beſides alſo that the citizens kept *Aratus*, and held him by force, ſaying, That they would not let him venture himſelfe in ſuch apparant danger, their enemies being ſo neare vnto them. Moreouer, the women and litle children hung about him, weeping, and compaſſing him about, as their common father and ſauiour. But *Aratus* comforting them, bad them not be affraid, and ſo tooke his horſe, with ten of his friends and his ſonne (that was a young ſtripling growne) and went towards the ſea, and imbarked in certaine ſhips that rode at anker. Thence he ſailed vnto ÆGIVM, where the diet or parliament was kept: and there it was reſolued, that they ſhould ſend for *Antigonus*, and deliuer the caſtell of the Acrocorinth into his hands. And ſo it was performed: for *Aratus* ſent thither his owne ſonne among the other hoſtages. The CORINTHIANS were ſo ſore offended withall, that they made hauocke of his goods, and gaue his houſe he had in CORINTH vnto king *Cleomenes*. So king *Antigonus* being onwards on his way come into PELOPONNESVS with his army, bringing with him twentie thouſand footmen all MACEDONIANS, and foure hundred horſemen: *Aratus* with the greateſt ſtates and officers of the ACHAIANS, vnwitting to their enemies, went to meete him as farre as the citie of PEGES, hauing no great truſt nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembred very wel, that he came firſt to his greatneſſe, by the iniuries he had offered them: and how that the chiefeſt cauſe of his riſing, was the malice he bare vnto old *Antigonus*. Howbeit making vertue of neceſſitie, & weighing the inſtant occaſion of their preſent extremitie: (of Gouernors, to be driuen to be ſubiects) he put himſelfe in aduenture. So, when *Antigonus* was told that *Aratus* was come in perſon to him: hauing with good countenance after a common ſort ſaluted thoſe that came in his company: to *Aratus* ſelfe at his firſt comming he gaue him an honorable welcome and entertainement. Afterwardes alſo, finding him a good and diſcreete man, he fell into inward friendſhip and familiaritie with him. For *Aratus* was not onely skilfull to giue direction in matters of ſtate touching good order and gouernment: but moreouer, his companie and conuerſation was very pleaſant, to entertaine a Princes leaſure with. Wherfore though *Antigonus* was but yong at that time, yet ſeeing throughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and eſteemed about a Prince: he vſed his counſell and aduice more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS alſo. And ſo all things came to paſſe, which the gods had promiſed in their ſacrifices. For in a beaſt that was ſacrificed, there were two galles wrapped in one ſelf cawle: the which the Soothſayers interpreted did prognoſticate, that two which before were mortall enemies, ſhould now become aſſured friends. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did alſo giue any credite to the ſacrifices, but truſted rather to his owne determination. So, the warres afterwardes hauing good ſucceſſe, and *Antigonus* making a feaſt in the citie of CORINTH, where he had bidden many gueſts: he would needes haue *Aratus* lye vpon him at the table, and a litle while after, commaunded his men to bring him a couerlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a cold. *Aratus* anſwered him, It freezed. Then *Antigonus* bad him come neare him, and when the ſeruants brought a couerlet for the king, they caſt it ouer them both. Then *Aratus* remembring the ſacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the king what a wonder he had ſeene in the ſacrifice, & what interpretation the Soothſayers made of it. This was long after. So, *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in the citie of PEGES, they were ſworne brethren together: and then went both with all ſpeed againſt the enemies. Thus there fell out hote skirmiſhes betweene them, hard by the citie of CORINTH. For *Cleomenes* was very well fortified, and the CORINTHIANS valiantly defended themſelues. In the meane time, *Ariſtoteles* of ARGOS (*Aratus* friend) ſecretly ſent him word, that he would

The Achaians do ſend for king Antigonus.

Gouernours obey neceſſitie.

Antigonus honorable entertainment to Aratus.

A wonder ſhewed to Aratus.

Antigonus and Aratus ſworne brethren.

make the citie rebell, if he came himselfe with any number of souldiers, *Aratus* told it vnto king *Antigonus*, who gaue him fifteene hundred men, with the which he imbarked, and passed ouer with great speede from the Isthmus (or barre in the straight) vnto the citie of EPIDAVRVS. Howbeit, the ARGIVES taried not *Aratus* comming, but were all vp before he came, and did set vpon king *Cleomenes* men, and had driuen them into the castell. *Cleomenes* being aduertised of it, and fearing least his enemies (keeping the citie of ARGOS) should cut off his way from returning into his countrey againe with safetie, if he were driuen to a straight: he forsooke the castell of the Acrocorinth, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the citie of ARGOS. So he came thither in time, and ouerthrew certaine of his enemies. But shortly after, *Aratus* and king *Antigonus* both being come thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driuen to flie to the citie of MANTINEA. After the recouerie againe of the citie of ARGOS, all the residue of the cities of PELOPONNESVS did againe returne to the ACHAIANS, and *Antigonus* tooke the castell of the Acrocorinth. So *Aratus* being chosen Generall by the ARGIVES, he counselled them to present *Antigonus* with all the tyrants goods, and those that had bene traitours to the common wealth. And after they had cruelly tormented the tyrant *Aristomachus* in the citie of CENCHREES, in the end they cast him into the sea, and drowned him. *Aratus* was maruellously reproued for his death, that would suffer the poore man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleasure: who through his perswasion willingly resigned vp his tyrannie, and deliuered the citie of ARGOS vnto the ACHAIANS. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else: for that the ACHAIANS through his meanes had put the citie of CORINTH into *Antigonus* handes, as though it had bene some meane village: for that when they had sacked the citie of ORCHOMENE, they suffered him to place a garrison of the MACEDONIANS there: for that they had enacted by parliament, that they should neither write, nor send Ambassadours any whither, without *Antigonus* priuitie and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to giue pay to the MACEDONIANS: for that they made sacrifices, feastes, and games vnto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god, following the example of *Aratus* citizens, who were the first that began, and had receiued *Antigonus* into the citie by the perswasion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feasted him in his owne house. With all these faultes they burdened *Aratus*, and considered not, that after they had put the reynes of the gouernement into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* himselfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swing of the vnbridled Prince, hauing no other meanes to stay it, but only the libertie of speech to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparant and great danger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against *Aratus* mind: as amongst others, that *Antigonus* caused the tyrants images of ARGOS to be set vp, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be ouerthrowne, which *Aratus* had set vp for those that had taken the castell of CORINTH, and only left *Aratus* one statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreatie *Aratus* made to the contrarie, yet he could get no graunt of any thing he requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the ACHAIANS dealt not so friendly with the MANTINEANS, as became GRECIANS one to another. For they hauing the citie in their hands by *Antigonus* meanes, did put all the noblest & chiefest men of MANTINEA to death, others they sold as slaues, and sent the rest into MACEDON with irons on their legges, and brought the poore women and children into bondage, and sold them for slaues: and of the mony they got by spoile, they deuided the third part among themselues, and left the other two parts vnto the MACEDONIANS. Now surely it cannot be said, but this was done for some cruell reuenge. For though it was an ouer-great crueltie, in rage and passion of mind, to handle people of one selfe bloud and language in this lamentable sort: yet *Simonides* saith, When men are driuen and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomackes enflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwardes vnto the citie, no man can excuse *Aratus*, nor say, that he was either driuen to it by necessitie, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to do it. For king *Antigonus* hauing giuen the citie of MANTINEA vnto the ARGIVES, they determined to make it a Colonie, and chose *Aratus* their Generall: who made a decree, that thencefoorth the citie should no more be called MANTINEA, but ANTIGONIA, as it beareth name vnto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle MENTINEA (for so the Poets called it) was vtterly destroyed, and bare the name of another citie through *Aratus* means, preferring the name of him that destroyed the citie, and did put all the inhabitaunts of the first to death. After that, king *Cleomenes* being ouerthrown in a great battel by the city of SELLASIA, he left

The citie of Argos reuolted from Cleomenes.

Aristomachus drowned in the sea.

Aratus infamie for Aristomachus.

Mantinea, called Antigonia, by Aratus decree.

left the citie of SPARTA, and fled into ÆGYPT. So *Antigonus* hauing vſed *Aratus* with all kind of honourable curteſie, he returned againe into MACEDON. There falling ſicke, he ſent *Philip* that ſhould ſucceed him in the kingdome (being a yong ſtripling growne) into PELOPONNESVS, and ſtraightly charged him ſpecially to follow *Aratus* counſell, and to employ him when he would ſpeake vnto the cities, and become acquainted with the ACHAIANS. So *Aratus* hauing receiued him in that ſort, made him ſo well affected and louing towards him, that he ſent him againe into MACEDON, being througly determined to make warres with GRECE. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the ÆTOLIANS began to deſpiſe the careleſneſſe and cowardlineſſe of the ACHAIANS (becauſe that they being acquainted to be defended by ſtraungers, and hauing bene altogether gouerned by the armies of the MACEDONIANS, they liued very idlely and diſſolutely) wherupon they tooke vpon them to make themſelues Lords of PELOPONNESVS. So they aſſembled an armie, and by the way as they went, they only tooke ſome prey & ſpoile vpon the lands of the PATRÆIANS, and the DYMÆIANS: but inuading the territorie of MESSINA with all their armie, they deſtroyed the whole country before them. *Aratus* being angry withall, and perceiuing that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was General of the ACHAIANS) did ſtill tract and delay time in vaine, becauſe he was vpon his going out of his yere: he being appointed General for the yeare following, did anticipate his time fiue dayes before, to go and aide the MESSINIANS. Wherefore leauing an armie of the ACHAIANS, whoſe perſons were now neither exerciſed in armes, nor yet had any deſire to go to the warres: he was ouerthrowne by the citie of CAPHYES. Nowe, becauſe it was thought that he went ſomwhat too hotely and couragiouſly to the wars, he ſo extreamely cooled againe, and left things in ſuch caſe, that all hope being caſt aſide, he ſuffered the ÆTOLIANS in manner to treade PELOPONNESVS vnder their feet before his eyes, with all the inſolencie and crueltie that might be poſſible, notwithſtanding that they ſundrie times gaue him great aduantages of them. Thus were the ACHAIANS once againe forced to pray aide out of MACEDON, and to ſend for young king *Philip* to make warres in GRECE: hoping for the loue he bare vnto *Aratus*, and the great truſt he had in him, that he would vſe them gently, and do as they would haue him. But then firſt of all beganne *Apelles*, *Megareus*, and a fewe other Courtiers to accuſe *Aratus*: vnto whom King *Philip* giuing eaſie eare, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrarie faction vnto *Aratus*, was choſen Generall by the ACHAIANS. Howbeit, this new Generall *Eparatus* being extreamely hated by the ACHAIANS, and *Aratus* alſo leauing to deale any more with matters of ſtate; no act was done to any purpoſe. Whereupon king *Philip* finding his fault, returned againe vnto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his affaires proſpered in all things he went about, he then let him alone with all, as from whome came all his honour and greatneſſe. Thereupon euery man eſteemed *Aratus* a wiſe Gouernour, not onely to rule a Common-wealth, but alſo a whole Realme and kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefeſt purpoſe appeared, in the deedes of this young king, as a rich colour that did ſet foorth and beautifie them. For the clemencie this young Prince *Philip* vſed to the LACEDÆMONIANS, that had offended him, the great courteſie he ſhewed to the CRETANS, whereby in fewe daies he wanne all the Iſle of CRETA: and the iourney he made againſt the ÆTOLIANS, which was a wonderfull great exploite, wanne the Prince great fame, for following good councell, and *Aratus* accounted to be a wiſe Gouernour, and of deepe vnderſtanding. Nowe the kings flatterers enuying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiuing that they got no good by ſecret backe-biting of him: they then beganne with open mouth very inſolently to reuile him at the table, and with great deriſion: inſomuch as one night going home to his tent after ſupper, they pelted him with ſtones all the way as he went. King *Philip* when he knewe it, was ſo offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the ſumme of twentie talents: and afterwards alſo, becauſe they troubled his affaires, he did put them to death. But king *Philip* in the end being puffed vp with the good fortune and ſucceſſe of this warre, which proſpered as he would haue it: he then grew to be couetous, and beganne to ſhewe his naughtie nature, and to bewray his diſſimulation wherewith he diſguiſed himſelfe: and by litle and litle to make his vices plainely to appeare. For firſt of all, he abuſed young *Aratus* wife, which was kept ſecret a long time, becauſe he lay in their houſe, and began daily to grow more ſeuere and cruell to the common weales: and then the world ſawe plainely, that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the firſt ſuſpition and beginning of the miſtruſt he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at MESSINA. For the MESSINIANS being fallen together by the eares, and in great ciuill warres one with another

Aratus ouerthowne in battell, by the citie of Caphyes.

The Achaians ſent for king Philip Antigonus ſonne.

Aratus a wiſe counſellor.

Enuie, the cõpanion of vertue.

The beginning of diſpleaſures betwixt Aratus & Philip.

Aratus went thither to make peace betweene them. Howbeit, king *Philip* came thither the next day following, and in ſteade of pacifying the quarrell, he ſet them further out together then they were before. Firſt, he asked the Gouernours of the citie, and if they had no lawes to bridle the inſolencie and ſtomacke of the common people, and priuately alſo talked with the heades of the faction of the people, and asked them if they had not handes to defend themſelues from tyrantes. So both the one and the other faction truſting to king *Philip*, the Gouernours would haue layed holde of the Oratours of the citie: but they riſing with the common people, ſlue of their Nobilitie and Magiſtrates, well neare two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came ſoone after this facte, ſhewed that he was greatly offended with King *Philip*, and cauſed his ſonne with open mouth ſhamefully to reprooue him. Nowe it ſeemed that this young *Aratus* was in loue with King *Philippe* before: but then he tolde him before all the people, that for this ſhamefull acte hee had done, he thought him nowe no more fayre of face, but the fowleſt creature that could be. *Philippe* made no aunſwere to it, although euery man looked he would haue aunſwered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reprooued him, he bitte it in with his teethe: but as if he had not bene offended at all with the bigge wordes his ſonne had ſpoken againſt him, for that he was a ciuill man, and myld of nature, he tooke *Aratus* the father by the hand, and caryed him out of the Theater where the aſſemblie was kept, to the caſtell of Ithome, to do ſacrifice there to *Iupiter*, and to ſee the forte. This forte was of no leſſe ſtrength, then the caſtell of the Acrocorinth: and when any garriſon is in it, it keepeth all the countrey about it in obedience: and beſides it is very hard to driue them out of it. Nowe *Philip* being gotten vppe into that caſtell, he did ſacrifice there: and when the Soothſayer had brought him the intralles of the oxe which they had ſacrificed, he tooke it himſelfe with both his handes and ſhewed them vnto *Aratus*, and to *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, nowe turning to the one, then vnto the other, and asked them what they iudged of theſe ſignes of the ſacrifice: whether he ſhould keepe the caſtell to himſelfe, or elſe deliuer it to the MESSINIANS. *Demetrius* ſmiling, aunſwered him: If thou beeſt of the Soothſayers mind, then thou ſhalt deliuer it vp: but if thou haſt a Kings minde in thee, thou ſhalt then hold the oxe by both hornes. (By the oxe, he meant the country of PELOPONNESVS: & moreouer, that if he kept both theſe caſtels of Ithome, and the Acrocorinth, all PELOPONNESVS were wholy at his commandement.) *Aratus* ſtill held his peace, and ſaid not a word. In the end, *Philip* praying him to ſpeake, he ſaid: In CRETA, and in the countrie of the BOEOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many ſtrong caſtels ſituated on high hils from the vallies. Moreouer, there are alſo many places of great ſtrength in the marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine land, as alſo vpon the ſea coaſt: of all the which thou haſt not taken one of them by force, and yet they all do willingly obey thee notwithſtanding. It is for theeues to hide their heades in high rockes and mountaines, but a King can haue no ſtronger caſtell, then the loue, faith, and goodwill of men. That is it, that opened the ſea of CRETA. That is it, that hath brought thee into PELOPONNESVS. Thoſe are the meanes which haue made thee being ſo young a man, ſome of them to chooſe thee their Captaine, and others alſo to make thee their abſolute Lord and Maiſter. *Aratus* going on with his tale, *Philip* gaue the intralles againe to the Soothſayer that brought them, and taking *Aratus* by the hand (as if by force he had caſt him out of the caſtell, and had alſo taken the citie of MESSINA from him) ſayed vnto him: Come on then, let vs euen take that courſe. But after that time, *Aratus* came as litle to the court as might be, and ſo by little and litle left *Philips* companie. For when he went to make warre in the Realme of EPIRVS, he was earneſtly in hand with *Aratus* to goe that iourney vnto him. But *Aratus* prayed him to hold him excuſed, and ſo remained at home, being affrayed to be brought into an euill name with *Philips* doings. For *Philip* afterwards hauing ſhamefully loſt his armie by ſea againſt the ROMAINES; and beſides, hauing had alſo very euill ſucceſſe in all other his affaires: he returned againe to PELOPONNESVS, and thought once more to haue deceiued the MESSINIANS. But when they found his practiſe, then he beganne with open force to ſpoile their countrey. *Aratus* then flatly fell out with *Philip*, and vtterly refuſed his friendſhip, for that he perceiued then the iniurie he had done his ſonnes wife, the which grieued him to the heart, but yet he made not his ſonne priuie to it: becauſe he could get no other amends, then to know what iniurie had bene done to him, conſidering that he had no waye nor meanes to be reuenged. For, king *Philip* was maruellouſly chaunged, and from a curteous and chaſt young Prince, become a vitious and cruell tyrant: the which to ſpeake truely, was not a chaunge or alteration in

The deepe diſſimulation and double dealing of king Philip.

Aratus the ſons words vnto Philip.

The wiſe anſwer of Aratus vnto king Philip, touching the ſafety of a Prince.

Aratus the father forſooke Philip.

Philip of a curteous Prince became a cruell tyrant.

in nature, but a manifeſt declaration (when he was no more afraid of any man) of his wicked and diueliſh mind, the which through feare had of long time bene kept ſecret. Now, to proue that *Philips* firſt loue & goodwill he bare vnto *Aratus*, was alſo mingled with feare & reuerence: that which he did afterwards vnto him did plainly ſhew it. For he being deſirous to put *Aratus* to death, not thinking himſelfe free ſo long as he liued, neither king, nor tyrant: he durſt not go about to kill him himſelfe, but procured one of his Captaines called *Taurion*, and commanded him to make him away as ſecretly as he could poſſible, & ſpecially with poyſon, in his abſence. This *Taurion* fell in friendſhip with *Aratus*, and poyſoned him with no violent poyſon, but ſo tempered and qualified it, as it did by litle and litle heate the body; and procure a prety coffe which brought him into a conſumption. *Aratus* knew he was poyſoned: but becauſe he ſaw it booted not to bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no words of it, as if he had had ſome naturall diſeaſe about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefeſt friends being in his chamber with him, who wondred to ſee him ſpit bloud as he did: he told him, Friend *Cephalon* mine, this is the reward of a kings loue. So he died of this poyſon in the city of ÆGIVM, being the ſeuenteenth time choſen General of the ACHAIANS: who wold haue had him buried in the ſelfe ſame place, & haue made ſome honorable monument for him, worthy of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking themſelues diſhonored, if his body were buried any where elſe but in their owne city: they ſo perſwaded the councell of the ACHAIANS, that they ſuffered them to take *Aratus* body with them. Yet was there an ancient law that forbad buriall within the wals of the city, of any manner of perſon whatſoeuer: and beſides that law, they had a certaine ſuperſtitious feare in them that made them they durſt not. Whereupon they ſent to *Apolloes* temple at DELPHES, to aske counſell of his Nunne that gaue the Oracles, who made them this anſwer:

Aratus poyſoned by king Philips meanes.

A Kings friendſhip dangerous. The death of Aratus.

A lawe for buriall among the Sicyonians.

Thou happie ſoile of Sicyon, Aratus native place,
Whereas thou askeſt counſell in that noble Captaines caſe,
For keeping of a yeare mind and for making feaſtfull dayes
In honor of that worthy wight, to laſt henceforth alwayes:
If any hinder your intent through fondneſſe or through ſpite,
Both ſea and land and heauen it ſelfe will puniſh that ſame wight.

The Oracle for Aratus buriall.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were maruellous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS ſpecially: who preſently changing their mourning into publike ioy, they caried the body from the citie of ÆGIVM, and brought it home as in maner of proceſſion, in white robes, and garlands of flowers on their heads, ſinging hymnes and ſongs of ioy, and danſing, till they came to the citie of SICYONE. And there they choſe out the chiefeſt place, and buried him as their founder, father, and ſauiour of their city: and the place is called at this preſent time, ARATIVM. There they yearely make two ſolemne ſacrifices, the one the fift of Nouember, at which time he deliuered the city of SICYONE from tyranny, and they call this ſacrifice Soteria, as much to ſay, as The feaſt of health: and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the firſt ſacrifice, that was done by the Prieſt of *Iupiter* the ſauiour. The ſecond ſacrifice alſo was done by *Aratus* ſon, who was girt about with a cloth, not altogether white, but mingled with purple colour. So during the ſacrifice, they ſong hymnes vpon the Harpe in praiſe of him, and the maiſter of the Muſitians made a proceſſion round about, being accompanied with boyes, and yong men of the citie, after whom followed the Senate crowned with garlands of flowers, and other citizens that were diſpoſed to go a proceſſion. Howbeit the moſt part of the honours that were appointed to be done vnto him, were left off by proceſſe of time, and change of things that followed afterwards. Thus you ſee what the life of *Aratus* the father hath bene, as we find in hiſtories.

Aratium. Yearely ſacrifices appointed to honor Aratus memorie.

Now *Philip* being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, cauſed his ſon *Aratus* alſo to be poyſoned, not with a deadly poyſon, but with ſuch a poyſon as troubleth a mans wits ſo, that through their diueliſh receit, he becometh a ſtarke foole without any wit at all, & maketh him to attẽpt ſtrange and abhominable things, and to haue certaine ſhamefull and deteſtable deſires: inſomuch as his death (though he died in the prime of his youth) could not be thought miſerable, but rather a happy deliuerance to him of all his miſeries and miſhaps. But *Philip* afterwards, ſo long as he liued, payed vnto *Iupiter* (protector of all iuſtice and friendſhip) the puniſhment his wicked life deſerued. For, after he was ouercome in battell by the ROMAINES, he was compelled to yeeld himſelfe to their mercie; by whom he was depriued from all the reſt of his lands and dominions he had, and of all his ſhips, but fiue onely, and condemned beſides to pay a thouſand talents

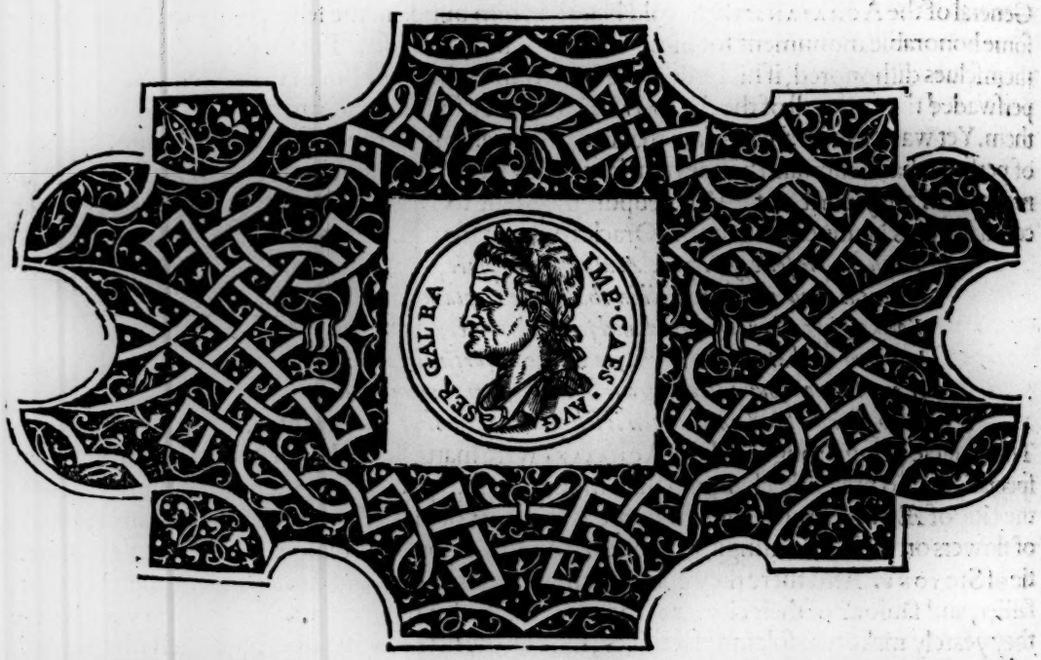
The miſerable death of Aratus the ſonne. Strange kinds of poyſoning.

King Philip puniſhed for his wickedneſſe.

for a fine, and to giue his ſonne in hoſtage: and they onely left him for pities ſake, the kingdome of MACEDON, with all the appertenances. And there he daily putting to death the chiefeſt of his nobility, and neareſt of bloud vnto him: he filled his realme with cruelty and mortall hate againſt him. Furthermore, amongſt ſuch a heape of euils, hauing but one onely ioy, to haue a vertuous ſonne: he put him to death, for ſpite and malice that he ſaw the ROMAINES honor him, and left his other ſonne *Perſeus* ſucceſſor of his realme: who, as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten ſonne, but taken for his ſonne, and borne of a tailors wife called *Gnathenium*. It is that *Perſeus*, whom *Paulus Æmylius* ouercame and lead in triumph in ROME: and at him, the race of the kings diſcended from *Antigonus*, failed. Where the iſſue and offspring of *Aratus*, continueth yet vntill our time, in the cities of SICYONE, and PALLENA.

Perſeus king Philips ſonne: whom Paulus AEmylius triumphed for in Rome.

THE LIFE OF *Galba.*



Iphicrates the ATHENIAN Captaine ſaid, that a mercenary ſouldier ſhould be couetous, a louer, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleaſure, he ſhould be the valianter, & readier to put himſelfe into any danger. But moſt men thinke, that ſouldiers ſhould be as one entire ſtrong body, that ſtirreth not of it ſelfe without the mouing of the Generall. And to approue this opinion, it is ſaid that *Paulus Æmylius* arriuing in MACEDON, & finding the ſouldiers full of words and curioſity (euery man medling with the affaires of the Generall) he made open proclamation, no man ſo hardy to meddle with his office and affaires; but euery man only to keepe his ſword ſharpe, & to be quicke of hand againſt the enemy: and for the reſt, to referre all to him, who would take ſufficient order for things of his charge and gouernment. Therfore *Plato* ſaith, that it litle preuaileth to haue a good and wiſe Captaine, if the ſouldiers alſo be not wiſe & obedient, thinking it as requiſite for the vertue of obedience, to haue men of a noble mind & good education, as otherwiſe it is meet for a Captaine to know how to direct & command wel, conſidering it is that which with lenity & mildneſſe doth mitigate all fury and choler: he hath diuerſe other examples and ſufficient proofes to proue his words true, and namely, the great miſeries and calamities which came to the ROMAINS after the death of *Nero*, do plainly ſhew, that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, thé a great army liuing licentiouſly & diſorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the Great, compared *Alexanders* army, vnto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: conſidering how blindly & looſely they

Iphicrates ſaying what manner of man a mercenarie ſouldier ſhould be.

AEmylius ſaying of ſouldiers.

Platoes ſaying of an armie.

Demades ſaying of Alexanders army, after his death.

they were gouerned. Howbeit the Empire of ROME being deuided into sundry factions at one selfe time, & rising against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes & calamities fained of the Poets by the TITANS: not so much through the ambitiousnesse of the Emperors, as by meanes of the couetousnesse and insolency of the soldiers, who draue the Emperors out of their Imperiall seats one after another, as one naile driueth out another. And *Dionysius* also the tyrant of SICILE, was wont to call *Pheneus* (who had bene onely tyrant of THESSALIE ten moneths space) a tyrant in a play, deriding his so sudden change of state. But the Imperial house of the *Cæsars* at ROME receiued foure Emperours, in lesse then ten moneths space, the souldiers now putting in one, & then taking out another, as if they had bene in a play on a scaffold. So that the ROMANES being thus grieuously oppressed, had yet this comfort: that they needed not to seeke to be reuenged of them that did oppresse them. For they saw one of them murther another; and him first and most iustly of all other, murthered, that had first of all corrupted the souldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the change of Emperours: and so depraued a worthy deed of it selfe, which was their forsaking of *Nero*: and mingling it with bribery, made it plaine treason. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being a Captaine of the Emperours guard, which are called the Prætorian souldiers, together with *Tigellinus*, when he saw *Nero* in dispaire of himselfe and of his estate, and that he was ready to flie into ÆGYPT: he perswaded the guard they should call *Galba* Emperor, as if *Nero* had not bene at ROME, but fled and gone, and promised euery one seuen thousand fiue hundred Drachmaes a peece: and to the rest of the souldiers that were dispersed vp and downe in garrison vpon the prouinces, twelue hundred and fifty Drachmaes a man. For the leauying of which summe, they could not possibly do it, but they must needs commit ten thousand times more extortion to euery body, then *Nero* had done. This large promise made them presently put *Nero* to death, & shortly after him, *Galba* himselfe also. For the souldiers forsooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receiue this promised gift: and shortly after they slue the second, which was *Galba*, because they receiued not their gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should still feed them with like gifts, before they could obtaine their wished hope, one of them destroyed another by treason & rebellion. But now to set downe all things particularly which hapned at that time, it were to write one whole entire history: and therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe ouer with silence the notablest deeds and lamentable calamities which happened at that time vnto the *Cæsars*.

The Empire of Rome, whereto likened.

Nymphidius Sabine, and Tigellinus betrayed Nero.

The hope of gifts destroyed the Empire of Rome.

It is manifestly known to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a priuate man, was the richest & wealthiest that came to be in the number of the *Cæsars*: who, though he came of a very noble house, deriuing himselfe from the race & family of the *Seruij*: yet he was honored the more, because he was a kin vnto *Quintus Catulus*, who for vertue & estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise, he willingly resigned his authority and power vnto others. So *Galba* thereby was somewhat a kin vnto *Liuia*, the wife of *Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperors pallace, whē he went to take possession of his Consulship. Moreouer, it is reported, that whē he had charge of the army in GERMANY, he did valiantly behaue himself. And in the gouernment of LYBIA also, where he was Viceconsull, he did as honorably behaue himselfe, as any man whatsoeuer. Howbeit his meane and simple ordinary of diet, voide of all excesse, was reputed misery and niggardlinesse in him, when he was proclamed Emperor: because the praise of sober & temperate diet which he wold haue brought in vse, was then so raw a thing, that it was taken for a new & strange deuice. He was sent gouernour also into SPAINE by *Nero*, before he had learned to be afraid of the citizens of great authority: howbeit, besides that he was of a curteous & gentle nature, his age moreouer increased the opinion they had of him, that he was timerous & fearfull. For when the wretched officers of *Nero* did cruelly vexe & torment the prouinces, & that it lay not in *Galba* any way to helpe them: yet was it some cōfort to them, which were iudged & sold as slaues by the officers, to see that *Galba* did lament the miseries and calamities they endured, as if they had bene done vnto himselfe. So when any slanderous rimes were made against *Nero*, which were song vp and downe in euery place, he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended, as *Neroes* officers were. Therefore he was maruellously beloued in the country, with them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eight yeare of his gouernment as Proconsull amongst them, at which time *Iunius Vindex* being Proprætor of GAVLE, rebelled against *Nero*, who as it is reported, had written vnto *Galba*, before he entred into open action of rebellion. But *Galba*, did neither beleeue him, nor also accuse & bewray him,

The wealth and nobility of Nero.

Galbaes manners.

Galbaes courtesie.

Iunius Vindex rebelled against Nero.

as diuerſe others which were gouernors of armies & prouinces did: who ſent *Vindex* letters vnto *Nero* which he himſelfe had written vnto them, and ſo did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterpriſe, who afterwards being of the conſpiracy did cõfeſſe they were traytors to themſelues, as much as vnto him. Howbeit, when *Vindex* afterwards had proclaimed open war againſt *Nero*, he wrote againe vnto *Galba*, & prayed him to take the Imperiall crowne vpon him, & to become the head of a ſtrong and mighty body (which were the GAVLES) that lacked nothing but a head and gouernor, being a hundred thouſand fighting men ready armed, & might alſo leauie a great number more of them. Then *Galba* conſulted thereupon with his friends, & among them ſome were of opinion that he ſhould ſtay a while, to ſee what change and alteration would grow at ROME vpon this ſtirre. Howbeit *Titus Iunius*, Captaine of the Prætorian band, ſaid vnto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this ſo doubtful a deliberatiõ? Be not we wiſe men to call in queſtion, whether we ſhall allow of *Vindex* friendſhip, or accuſe him; yea, and with armes perſecute him, that deſired rather to haue the Emperor, then *Nero* tyrant ouer the eſtate of ROME? Afterwards *Galba* by bils ſet vp euery where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchize ſuch as would make ſuite for it. This rumor flying ſtraight abroad, he gathered a great number of ſouldiers together, that were very willing to rebell: & he was no ſooner gotten vp into the tribunall or chaire of ſtate, but all the ſoldiers did ſalute him, by the name of Emperor. Howbeit he was not cõtent with this name at the firſt, but accuſing *Nero*, and lamenting the deaths of the nobleſt men whom he had cruelly put to death: he promiſed that he would imploy his beſt wit and diſcretion to the ſeruice & benefit of his countrey, neither naming himſelfe *Ceſar*, nor Emperour, but onely Lieutenant to the Senate, and ſtate of ROME. Now, that *Vindex* did wiſely to call *Galba* to be Emperor, *Nero* himſelfe in his doings doth witneſſe it. Who hauing alwayes made a countenance as though he paſſed not for *Vindex*, & that he waighed not the rebellio of the GAVLES: when it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperor, he being then at ſupper, for ſpite he ouerthrew the table. Moreouer, though the Senate had iudged *Galba* an enemy, yet *Nero* to be pleaſant with his friends, made as though he was nothing afraid of it, & ſayd, this newes made all for him, becauſe he ſtood in need of mony, and alſo that it was a happy occaſion offered him to helpe him withall. For ſayd he, we ſhal ſoone haue all the GAVLES goods, as the ſpoile of a iuſt war, after we haue once againe ouercome & conquered them: and moreouer, *Galbaes* goods alſo would quickly be in his hands, that he might ſell them, conſidering that he was become his open enemy. So he preſently commanded *Galbaes* goods ſhould be openly ſold, to them that would giue moſt. *Galba* vnderſtanding that, did alſo by ſound of trumpet ſell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the prouince of SPAINE, and did alſo find more men readier to buy, then there were goods to ſel. Daily men roſe againſt *Nero* in euery country, who tooke *Galbaes* part, *Clodius Macer* only excepted in AFRICK, & *Verginius Rufus* in GAVLE, both of them hauing charge of legions appointed for the ſafe keeping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow ſeuerall directions by themſelues, varying in mind & intent. For *Clodius Macer* hauing robbed much, & put diuerſe men alſo to death through his cruelty and couetouſneſſe: he ſhewed plainly, that he ſwam betweene two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet keepe it. *Verginius* alſo on the other ſide, being generall ouer great and mighty legions, who had ſundry times called him Emperor, & did in maner force him to take vpon him the name & Empire: he notwithſtanding did euer anſwer them, that he neither minded to take the Empire vpon him, nor yet to ſuffer any other to do it, then ſuch as the Senate ſhould chuſe and call vnto the ſame. This at the firſt ſomewhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius*, in ſpite of their Captaines (who could not ſtay nor keepe them backe, no more then coach-men can keep backe the horſe with their bridles) were ioyned in a great battell together, where were ſlaine 20000 GAVLES in the field, and *Vindex* alſo ſlue himſelfe ſhortly after: it was giuen out, that the conquerors after ſo great a victory obtained, would compell *Verginius* to take vpon him to be Emperour, or elſe that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a litle perplexed, wrote vnto *Verginius*, & perſwaded him to ioyne with him, to hold vp the Empire & liberty of the ROMAINS, and thereupon fled ſtraight into a city of SPAINE called *COLONIA, rather repenting him of that he had done, & wiſhing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherwith he was brought vp: then otherwiſe occupying himſelfe about any neceſſary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterpriſe. Now it was about the beginning of ſommer, & one day towards euening, there came to *Galba* one of his ſlaues enfranchiſed, a SICILIAN borne, that was come from ROME in ſeuen daies: who vnderſtanding that *Galba* was alone,

went

In this place the Greeke is corruptly read, μενόντων for μεμνόντων.

Sulpitius Galba, ſaluted by the ſouldiers, as Emperor.

Galba iudged an enemie by the Senate of Rome, and his goods ſold by the crier.

Clodius Macer, gouernor of Africke. Rufus, gouernor of Gaule.

Verginius Rufus called Emperor.

*Colonia a city of Spaine. * Others reade Clunia.*

went presently to his chāber doore & opened it,& cōming in against the wils of the groomes of the camber that stood at the doore, he told him that *Nero* being yet aliue, but seene no more, first the people of Rome, & then the Senate, had proclaimed him Emperor,& that immediatly after, news came that *Nero* was dead: the which he hardly beleeuing notwithstāding, wēt thither himselfe, saw his body layd out vpō the ground,& thē made towards him with all speed to bring him these news. The news maruellously reuiued *Galba*,& a multitude of men thronged straight about his doore, which began to be coragious, seeing him liuely again, although the speed of the messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two daies after, *Titus* also arriued, with certaine others of the campe, who told *Galba* particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalfe. So, this *Titus* was called to great honor: and the slaue enfranchised had priuiledge giuen him to weare rings of gold,& he was called *Martianus Vicellius*, who afterwards of all the enfrāchised bondmē, became the chiefest man about his master *Galba*. In the meane time, *Nymphidius* Sabine begā at Rome, not couertly, but with open force, to take vpon him the absolute gouernmēt of the Empire, perswading himselfe that *Galba* was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a litter vnto Rome, being at the least 73 yeares old: besides also, that the army of the Prætorians which were in Rome, did beare him goodwill of long time,& thē acknowledged none other Lord but him only, for the large promise he had made them, for the which he receiued the thanks,& *Galba* remained the debter. So he presently commanded *Tigellinus*, his companion & Captaine with him of the army of the Prætorians, to leaue off his sword: and disposing himselfe to banquetting and feasting, he sent for all those that had bene Consuls, Prætors, or Proconsuls of prouinces,& made them all to be inuited in the name of *Galba*. So, there were certaine souldiers gaue out this rumor in the campe, that they should do well to send Ambassadors vnto *Galba*, to pray him that *Nymphidius* might be their only Captaine stil, without any cōpanion ioyned with him. Furthermore, the honor & goodwill the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their benefactor, & going daily to visite him in his house, procuring him to be author of all their decrees passed in Senate, & that he should authorise them: this made him high minded, and the bolder by much; in so much that shortly after, they that came to honor him in this sort, did not onely hate and mislike his doings, but moreouer he made them afraid of him. Furthermore, when the Consuls had giuen to common purseuants any commissions vnder seale, or letters pattents signifying the decrees of the Senate, to cary them to the Emperour (by vertue of which letters pattents, when the officers of the city do see the seale, they straight prouide the pursuants of coaches and fresh horses to further their speed and hasty iourney:) *Nymphidius* was very angry with them, becaus they did not also come to hime for his letters, sealed by him and his souldiers, to send likewise to the Emperour. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to haue deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselues vnto him, and crauing pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the commons also, he suffered them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meet withall. Among other, they slue a fencer called *Spicillus*, whom they put vnder *Neroes* statues, which they dragged vp and downe the citie. Another also called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* accusers, they threw him to the ground, and draue carts ouer him loden with stones. And diuerse others also, whom they slue in that maner: of the which some had done no manner of offence. Hereupon one *Mauriscus*, one of the noblest men of the citie and so esteemed, sayd openly in the Senate: I feare me we shall wish for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being come in maner to the fulnesse of his hope: he was very glad to heare that some repined at him, because he was the sonne of *Caius Cæsar*, that was the next Emperour after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Cæsar*, when he was a yong man, had kept *Nymphidius* mother, which had bene a faire yong woman, and the daughter of one *Callistus*, one of *Cæsars* enfranchised bondmen, whom he had gotten of a laundres he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Cæsar* could know his mother: and men thought that he was begotten by a fencer called *Martianus*, with whom his mother *Nymphidia* fell in fancie, for that he had a great name at that time in Rome; and indeed *Nymphidius* was liker to him in fauor, then vnto any other. So, he confessed that he was the son this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of *Nero* vnto himselfe,& thought himselfe not sufficiently recompenced with the honors they gaue him, neither also with the goods he enioyed, neither for that he lay with *Sporus* whom *Nero* loued so dearly, whom he sent for to *Neroes* funerals whilest his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had bene his wife, and called him *Poppæus*. Furthermore, all this did not content

Nymphidius Sabine taketh vpon him to be Emperour.

Honors done to Nymphidius by the Senate, made him grow too bold and insolent.

Neroes friends slaine at Rome, by Nymphidius commaundement.

The parentage of Nymphidius.

him, but yet ſecretly he aſpired to be Emperor, partly practiſing the matter in Rome it ſelfe, by the meanes of certaine women and Senators which were ſecretly his friends: and partly alſo through one *Gellianus*, whom he ſent into Spaine, to ſee how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things proſpered with *Galba*, ſauing *Verginius Rufus* only, who ſtood boubtfull yet, & made him ſorely miſtruſt him, for that he was afraid (beſides that he was Generall ouer a great and puiſſant army, hauing alſo newly ouerthrowne *Vindex*, & ſecretly ruling the beſt part of the Empire of Rome, which was all Gavle, and then in tumult and vprore, ready to rebell) leſt he would harken vnto them that perſwaded him to take the Empire to himſelfe. For there was no Captaine of Rome at that time ſo famous, and of ſo great eſtimation as *Verginius*, and that deſeruedly, for that he had done great ſeruice to the Empire of Rome in time of extremitie, hauing deliuered Rome at one ſelfe time from a cruell tyrannie, and alſo from the danger of the warres of the Gavles. This notwithſtanding, *Verginius* perſiſting ſtill in his firſt determination, referred the election of the Emperor vnto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly knowne, the common ſort of ſouldiers were earneſtly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the ſouldiers (otherwiſe called a Colonell of a thouſand men) went into his tent with a ſword drawne in his hand, and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperor, or elſe to looke to haue the ſword thruſt into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, captaine of a legion, was ſworne vnto *Galba*, & that he had receiued letters from Rome, aduertiſing him of the ordinance and decree of the Senate: in the end, with much ado, he perſwaded the ſouldiers to proclaime *Galba* Emperor, who ſent *Flaccus Ordeonius* to ſucceed him, vnto whom he willingly gaue place. So, when *Verginius* had deliuered vp his army vnto him, he went to meet with *Galba*, on whom he waited, comming on ſtill towards Rome. And *Galba* all that time neither ſhewed him euill countenance, nor yet greatly eſteemed of him, *Galba* himſelfe being cauſe of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but ſpecially *Titus Iunius*: who for the malice he bare vnto *Verginius*, thinking to hinder his riſing, did vnwittingly indeed further his good hap, and deliuered him occaſion to draw him out of the ciuill warres and miſchiefes (the which lighted afterwards vpon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambaſſadors were ſent from the Senate, & met with *Galba* at Narbona, a city of Gavle: where after they had preſented their humble duty, they perſwaded him to make all the haſt he could poſſible to ſhew himſelfe to the people of Rome, who were maruellous deſirous to ſee him. *Galba* receiued them very gratiouſly & curteouſly, & made them great cheare, howbeit very modeſtly notwithſtanding. For notwithſtanding that *Nymphidius* had ſent him diuerſe officers, and ſtore of *Neroes* moueables: yet he would neuer be ſerued with any of them, at any feaſts or banquets he made, with other then his owne ſtuffe, wherein he ſhewed his noble mind, and how he could maiſter all vanity. But *Titus Iunius* ſhortly after told *Galba*, that this noble mind & ciuill moderation, without pride or pompe, was too lowly a manner to flatter the people, and that it was a certaine reſpect of honeſty that knew not it ſelfe, and became not his greatneſſe and maieſtie. So, he perſwaded him to vſe *Neroes* mony and ſtuffe, and to be ſumptuous & Princely in his feaſts, without niggardlineſſe. To conclude, the old man *Galba* began plainely to ſhew, that he would be ruled by *Titus Iunius*: who aboue all other was extreme couetous, and beſides too much giuen to women. For when he was a yong man, the firſt time he went to the warres vnder *Caluiſius* Sabine, he brought his Captaines wife (which liked good fellowſhip) diſguiſed like a ſouldier into the campe, into his Generals tent (which the Romaines called Principia) and there was ſomewhat bold with her: Wherefore *Caius Ceſar* committed him to priſon, but he eſcaped at his death. Another time, when he ſupped with *Clodius Ceſar*, he ſtole a ſiluer pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bad him againe to ſupper the next night: but he commanded his men they ſhould giue him drinke in an earthen cruſe. Thus this theft (through *Ceſars* pleaſantneſſe) ſeemed rather a matter of ſport, then of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreme couetouſneſſe of money (at what time he ruled *Galba*, and bare all the ſway about him) gaue vnto ſome iuſt cauſe, and vnto others apparant colour of tragicall miſchiefes, and grieuous calamities. For *Nymphidius*, ſo ſoone as *Gellianus* was returned out of Spaine, whom he had ſent thither to ſee what *Galba* did: he enforming him that *Cornelius Lacon* was Captaine of the guard and houſe of the Emperor, and that *Titus Iunius* did all in all about him, and that he could neuer be ſuffered to come neare *Galba*, nor to ſpeake with him apart, becauſe thoſe which were about *Galba* did miſtruſt him, and euer had an eye to him to ſee what he did; he was maruellouſly perplexed

Verginius, a famous Captaine.

The conditions of Titus Iunius.

Nymphidius practiſes.

perplexed withall. Thereupon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and petie Captaines of the campe of the Prætorian armie, and perſwaded them that *Galba* touching his owne perſon, was a good old and diſcreete man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne aduiſe and counſell, but was ruled altogether by *Iunius* and *Lacon*, who marred all: and therfore, that it were good (before they came to be of greater power, and to haue ſuch great authoritie in managing the affaires of the Empire, as *Tigellinus* had before) to ſend Ambaſſadors to the Emperour in the name of all the camp, to tell him that in putting thoſe two men from about him, he ſhould be the better welcome vnto ROME, and to all men elſe beſides. The Captaines vtterly miſliked this deuiſe. For they thought it too ſtrange, and beyond all reaſon, to ſeeme to teach an old Emperour, as if he were but a child that did not know what it was to gouerne: and to appoint him what ſeruants and friends he ſhould keepe, and whom he ſhould truſt or miſtruſt. *Nymphidius* perceiuing this, tooke another courſe, and wrote letters vnto *Galba* to terrifie him; one time ſending him word that he was maruellous euill beloued of many in ROME, and that they were readie to rebell againſt him: another time alſo, that the legions of GERMANIE were reuolted, and that he vnderſtood the like from the legions of IVRIE and SYRIA: and another time alſo that *Clodius Macer* in AFRICKE ſtayed all the ſhips fraughted with corne that were bound for ROME. But in the end, finding that *Galba* made no account of him, and that he gaue no credit to his words nor writings: he determined firſt of all to ſet vpon him. Howbeit *Clodius Celſus*, borne in the citie of ANTIOCH, a wiſe man, and his faithfull friend, diſſwaded him maruellouſly not to do it: declaring vnto him, that he thought there was no one houſe nor family in ROME that would call *Nymphidius, Cæſar*. Howbeit in contratie manner, diuers others mocked *Galba*, and ſpecially one *Mithridates* of the Realme of PONT, that ſaid he was a bald writhen man. For the ROMAINES (ſaid he) haue him indeed now in ſome eſtimation: but when they haue once ſeene him, they wil thinke it a perpetuall ſhame and reproch to our time, that he was called *Cæſar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nymphidius* about midnight into the camp, and there openly to proclaime him Emperor. Howbeit the chiefe Tribune of the ſouldiers called *Antonius Honoratus*, gathered his ſouldiers together in the night, and before them all did firſt openly reproue himſelfe, and then them, for that they had ſo often turned and changed in ſo ſhort time, without any wit or diſcretion, hauing no iudgement to chuſe the beſt way, but to be pricked forward and caried headlong in that ſort by ſome wicked ſpirit, which brought them out of one treaſon into another. And yet (ſaid he) our firſt change had ſome countenance of reaſon, to wit, the horrible vices and faults of *Nero*: but now wherein can we accuſe *Galba*, to haue any countenance to falſifie our faith vnto him? hath he ſlaine his mother? hath he put her to death? hath he ſhamefully played the tumbler or common player vpon a ſcaffold in the Theater? And yet for all theſe vile parts, we neuer durſt once begin to forſake *Nero*, but gaue credit to *Nymphidius* words, who told vs that *Nero* had firſt forſaken vs, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What ſhall we do? ſhall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what, ſhall we kill him that is a kin vnto *Liuia*, to make the ſonne of *Nymphidia* Emperor, as we haue alreadie ſlaine the ſonne of *Agrippina*? or ſhall we rather kill him that hath raſhly entred into this enterpriſe, and thereby to reuenge the death of *Nero*, and to ſhew our ſelues faithfull ſouldiers vnto *Galba*? All the ſouldiers yeelded ſtraight to the Colonels words, and therewith went to their other companions to perſwade them to keepe their faith and promiſe they auowed vnto the Emperor: ſo that they made many of them reuolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereupon the noiſe and cries being great, *Nymphidius* ſuppoſing (as ſome thought) that the ſouldiers did call for him, or elſe hoping betimes to quench this tumult, to ſtay ſuch as were yet wauering: he went thither himſelfe with great ſtore of torch light, and caried an oration in his hand, the which *Ciconius Varro* had made for him, and the which he had learned without book to ſpeake vnto the ſoldiers. But when he found the gates of the camp ſhut, and ſaw diuers men armed vpon the wals, he began to be afraid: and comming nearer, asked them what they meant by it, and by whoſe commandement they had armed themſelues as they did. Anſwer was made him by them al, that they did acknowledge no other Emperor but *Galba*: the which he ſeemed to like of, and alſo commaunded them that followed him to do the like, and therewithall drew nearer. Wherupon certaine of the ſouldiers that warded at the gate, did open him the gate, and ſuffered him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit as ſoone as he was come in, firſt there was a dart throwne at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him receiued vpon his ſhield: and then others alſo came with their ſwords drawne in their hands to ſet on him, and followed him as he fled into a ſouldiers cabine, wher they ſlue him.

The oration of Antonius Honoratus, Tribune of the ſouldiers, vnto his mutinous ſouldiers.

Nymphidius aſpireth to be Emperour.

Nymphidius Sabine ſlaine.

Then they layed his bodie in an open place, and railed it about, that euery man that would, might the next day see it. So *Nymphidius* being slaine in this sort, *Galba* vnderstanding of his death, commanded that all *Nymphidius* friends and confederators that had not bin slaine at that time, should for his sake be put to death, as indeed they were. Amongst them they slue *Ciconius* that had made the oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mithridates* also of Pont. Howbeit, though indeed they had deserued it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to commaund these men to be put to death in that sort, which were men of such qualitie and calling as they were, without due forme and order of law. For euery man stood in good hope vpon the comming in of this new Emperour, to haue seene another manner of gouernement, then they had yet seene: howbeit they were deceiued of their hope at the first chop. But yet they misliked this most of all, when he commaunded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had bene Consull, because he was *Neroes* faithfull friend. But now for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whom *Trebonianus* slue in Africke by his commandement, and for *Fonteius* that was also slaine in Germanie by *Valens*: he had some reason to feare them, because they were in armes, and commanded great armies. But for *Tertullianus* that was an old man, naked and vnarmed: truly he should haue put him to his triall by law, if he would haue ministred iustice, the which he promised to keepe at his first comming to the Imperial crowne. Herein they greatly reproued *Galba*. Now when he drew neare to Rome within fiue and twentie furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of mariners and sea-faring men, that kept the high way on euery side, wandring vp and down in euery place. These were the men whom *Nero* had gathered together into one legion, and had taken them from the oare and made them souldiers. So they were come thither to be suters to him, that he would allow them still to be souldiers, and they so pressed arrogantly vpon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the new Emperor, to see him nor speake with him: but they fel to tumult and vprore, crying out to haue ensignes for their legion, and to be appointed a place to lie in, in garrison. *Galba* referred them ouer to another time, and bad them they should then let him vnderstand their demaund. They told him againe, that this delay was a kind of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutinie, and followed him with great cries: insomuch that some of them stucke not to draw out their swords. Then *Galba* commaunded the horsemen he had about him, to set vpon them. So there was not a man of them that resisted, but some of them were ouerthrowne, and troden vnder their horse feete: and others also slaine as they fled. This was a very euill signe and presage for him, to enter into Rome with such bloudshed, vpon so many poore dead mens bodies, as lay slaine on the ground. Howbeit, where some before did despise and mocke him for an old feeble man, euery man then was afraid of him, and quaked for feare. Furthermore, because he would shew a great change and alteration from the vnreasonable vaine gifts and expences of *Nero*: it seemeth he did many vncomely things. As when one *Canus* an excellent plaier on the recorder, had plaid al supper time, because it was a maruellous sweet musick to heare: he praised and commended it maruellously, and commanded one to bring him his casket, out of the which he tooke a few crownes, and put them into his hand, saying, that it was not mony of the common treasure, but of his owne. Furthermore, he gaue straight commaundement that they should require and call backe againe the gifts *Nero* had giuen and bestowed vpon common players, minstrels, wrestlers, and people of such kind of facultie and profession, and to leaue them onely the tenth part. But he got litle by this deuise. For the most part of those that had gifts giuen them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that liue without any rule or order, and spent at night that which they get in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them restore it againe. But this was an endlesse worke, for things had bene so conueyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinit number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonor returned to *Galba* himselfe, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Iunius*: who only made the Emperour straight laced to all others, whilest he himself tooke vnreasonably of all men, making port-sale of euery thing that came to hand. For *Hesiodus* the Poet saith:

As well when the vessell is full that it spill,
As when it is emptie, thirst craueth drinke still.

But *Iunius* perceiuing *Galba* to be old and feeble, would wisely take his fortune and time while time serued, supposing it almost to be at an end, so soone as he began to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much dishonour the poore old man, ouer-greatly abusing (vnder cloke of his authoritie) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reprouing, or altogether hindring those, the

The crueltie of Galba.

Cornelius Tacitus calleth him Turpilianus.

Galba entred Rome with murther.

The vilenesse of Galba.

Hesiodus saying.

the which the Prince himselfe had a good desire to deale vprightly in, as to punish the officers of *Nero*. For he put some of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Petinus*, and *Patrobius*: whereat the people maruellously reioyced, and cried out as they went to execution through the market place, that it was a goodly and blessed procession, and required *Tigellinus* of the gods and men, that had bene chiefe maister and guide of all *Neroes* tyrannie. Howbeit the trim man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed *Iunius* before: for afterwards he put poore *Terullianus* to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, and had neuer offended, nor was partaker of any of his wicked parts he played when he was aliue. Whereas he that made *Nero* worthy of death, and that afterwards had also betrayed him: he was left alone, and nothing said vnto him, being a manifest proofe to all others, that they should not doubt to hope to obtaine any thing at *Titus Iunius* hands, so they fed him with gifts. For the common people of Rome neuer desired thing so much, as to see *Tigellinus* to be caried to execution: and they neuer left crying out to demaund him in all assemblies of the Theater or shew place, vntill such time as the Emperor *Galba* did forbid them by proclamation, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not liue long, because he was sick of a consumption of the lungs, which by litle and litle did weare him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the people that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloudie. The people were much offended with this, but yet they seemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did sacrifice to the gods for his health and safetie, and prepared a sumptuous feast. Where *Iunius* rising from supper, being set by the Emperour, went vnto *Tigellinus* to be merrie with him, and tooke his daughter being a widow with him, vnto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offered her a gift of fiue and twentie Myriades of siluer: and commaunded one of his chiefest concubines to take a carcanet from her necke she wore, and to giue it the other, being worth fifteene Myriades. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done vprightly and with iustice, were reproued and taken in euill part: as the thing that was graunted to the Gavles, because they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not discharged of the subsidies and taxes they were wont to pay, nor that they were made free of Rome, so much through the bountie and liberalitie of the Emperour, as it was by *Iunius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the people hated the Emperour *Galba*. Howbeit the souldiers still liued in good hope, for the gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promised them, they should yet enioy as much as *Nero* had giuen them. But *Galba* vnderstanding that they complained of him, he spake a word meet for so noble and worthy a Prince as he was: that he vsed to chuse souldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the souldiers, it bred a maruellous mortall hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not only to take the gift away from them which they hoped presently to haue receiued, but that it was also a president to teach the Emperors that should come after him, what they should do. Howbeit the rebelling minds of the Prætorian guard at Rome appeared not yet, but was secretly kept in for the reuerence they bare vnto the maiesty and person of *Galba*, who kept them that were desirous to rebell, because they saw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did somewhat smother and keep in the shew of their wicked intent. But they which had before serued vnder *Verginius*, and were at that time vnder *Flaccus* in Germanie, thinking themselues worthy of great reward for the battell they had won against *Vindex*, and hauing nothing giuen them in recompence: they would not be pleased with any thing their Captaine said vnto them, neither did they make any account of *Flaccus*, because he could not stirre himselfe, he was so plagued with the gout, and besides that, he had no maner of experience in warres. So one day when certaine sports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonels and Captains (according to the maner of the Romaines) made praiers vnto the gods for the health & prosperitie of the Emperor *Galba*, there were diuers of them that made a noise at the first, and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their prayers, in the end the soldiers answered: If he be worthy. The legions in like maner vnder *Tigellinus* charge, did oftentimes vse such insolent parts: whereof *Galbaes* officers did aduertise him by letters. Wherfore *Galba* being afraid, and mistrusting that they did not only despise him for his age, but also because he had no children: he determined to adopt some yong gentleman for his son, of the noblest house of the citie of Rome, and to proclaime him his successor in the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Otho*, of a noble house, but euer giuen to sensualitie and pleasure from his cradle, as much as any Romain could be. And as *Homer* oftentimes doth call *Paris* the husbad of the faire *Helen*,

Galba killeth Neroes seruants and officers.

The noble saying of the Emperour Galba. Galba offended the souldiers.

Tumult amongst the souldiers and legions of the Romains in Germanie.

Othos manners.

naming him by the name of his wife, becauſe he had no other commendable vertue in him: euen ſo *Otho* came to be knowne in Rome, by marying *Poppæa*, whom *Nero* loued when ſhe was *Criſpinus* wife: howbeit, bearing ſome reſpect to his wife, and being affraid alſo of his mother, he had intiſed *Otho* to be his baud vnto her. *Nero* loued *Otho* dearely, and much delighted in his companie, becauſe he was ſo good a fellow and free of his fleſh: and was very glad ſometime to heare how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was nointing himſelfe with precious oyles and perfumes, he caſt a litle vpon *Otho* as he went by: who the next day made him a feaſt in his houſe, where ſodainy were thruſt into the hall, diuers veſſels of gold and ſiluer full of this perfumed oile, that ran out of them like conduit water, & did wet all the hall. So *Otho* hauing firſt poſſeſſed *Poppæa*, and abuſed her vnder hope of *Neroes* loue: he perſwaded her to be diuorced from her husband. The which ſhe did, and he receiued her home to his owne houſe, as his lawfull wife: not being ſo well pleaſed to haue part, as he was ſorie and angrie alſo to let another enioy her. Now *Poppæa* her ſelfe (as it is reported) did not miſlike this his ielouſie, for ſometimes ſhe would ſhut her doore againſt *Nero*, though *Otho* were not within: either becauſe ſhe would keepe *Nero* in breath, and in loue-liking ſtill, or elſe as ſome thought, becauſe ſhe would not haue *Cæſar* to her husband; and likewiſe that ſhe would not refuſe him for her friend, becauſe ſhe was wantonly giuen. But ſo it is, *Otho* was in danger of his life by marying of *Poppæa*: and ſo was it alſo a ſtrange thing, that *Nero* hauing put his wife and ſiſter to death, only to mary *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, and ſaued his life. Howbeit it was for *Senecaes* ſake that was his friend, through whoſe perſwaſion he was ſent to the fartheſt part in Spaine alongſt the Ocean ſea, to be Gouernor of Lvsitania. And there he gouerned ſo wiſely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troubleſome vnto the countrie: knowing that this honorable charge was giuen him, only to mitigate and hide his baniſhment. Afterwards when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the firſt of all the Gouernors of the prouinces that ioyned with him, and bringing with him all his plate, both gold and ſiluer, vnto the mynt maiſter, he gaue it him to put into bullion, and ſo to be conuerted into currant coine. Moreouer, he gaue of his officers vnto *Galba*, thoſe which he thought the meeteſt men to ſerue a Prince: and otherwiſe when he was tried, he ſhewed himſelfe as faithfull and skilfull in matters of ſtate, as any one that followed the Emperors traine. Inſomuch as all the way he went many dayes iorney in coach with *Galba* himſelf, and did maruellouſly curry fauor with *Titus Iunius*, beſtowing great gifts vpon him, and alſo entertaining him with pleaſant ſpeeches: but ſpecially, becauſe he willingly gaue him the vpper hand, whereby he was aſſured to be the ſecond perſon in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he far excelled *Iunius*, for that he granted mens ſutes frankly and freely without one penie taking, and was beſides eaſie to be ſpoken with of euery mã that had any ſute to him: but ſpecially of the ſouldiers, whom he did greatly help and further, and cauſed diuers alſo to be called to honourable office, he himſelfe partly mouing the Emperor for them, without any labour or ſute made vnto him, and partly alſo obteining them at *Iunius* hands, and of the two infranchiſed bondmẽ of *Galba*, *Icelus*, and *Aſiaticus*. For theſe three men did beare all the ſway and credit about the Emperour in the court. Moreouer, alwaies when he inuited the Emperor to his houſe, he bribed the Prætorian guard that waited vpon him, and gaue euery ſouldier a crowne. Now this in ſight, ſeemed chiefly to be done to honor the Emperor with: though indeed it was a fine deuiſe to ouerthrow him, to bribe the ſouldiers in that ſort as he did. So *Galba* conſulting whom he ſhould make his ſucceſſor: *T. Iunius* preferred *Otho* vnto him: the which he did not ſimply of himſelf, nor without reward, but only with promiſe that *Otho* ſhould mary his daughter, if *Galba* did adopt him his ſon, and proclaime him ſucceſſor in the Empire. Howbeit, *Galba* did alway ſpecially regard the common wealth before his priuate liking, and ſought to adopt ſuch a one, as ſhould not ſo much pleaſe himſelfe, as otherwiſe ſhould be profitable and meet for the Empire. But ſurely in my opinio, *Galba* would not make *Otho* his heire of his goods, conſidering what an vnreaſonable ſpender he was, and how ſumptuous in all his things, and beſides, far gone in debt: for he ought aboue fiue thouſand Myriades. So when he had heard *Iunius* counſel about this adoption, he gently without other anſwer, did put ouer his determination vntil another time, and made *Otho* only Conſul at that time, and *T. Iunius* Conſul with him: whereby it was ſtraight ſuppoſed, that at the beginning of the new yeare, he would proclaime him his ſucceſſor in the Empire. Which was the thing the ſouldiers moſt deſired of all other. But now, delaying ſtill his determination, the legions of the Romaines in Germany, did riſe and rebell againſt him all at an inſtant. For he was generally hated of all his ſouldiers, becauſe he paid them

Poppæa, Othoes wife.

Otho ſent Propretor into Luſitania.

Othoes credite about Galba.

Othoes practiſe aſpiring to the Empire.

The legions in Germanie do rebell againſt Galba.

not the gift he had promiſed them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alleaged for their cauſe of riſing, that he had diſhonourably reiected *Verginius Rufus*: and that the GAVLES which had fought againſt them, were rewarded with great and rich priuiledges, and they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had bene grieuouſly puniſhed and put to death. Moreouer, that *Galba* did onely honour *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his good will vnto him, offering publike oblations and funerall ſacrifices for him, as if by him onely he had bene proclaimed Emperour. Now ſuch ſpeeches and rumors ran through the camp amongſt them, when the firſt day of the yeare came, which the ROMAINES call the calends of Ianuary, on which day when *Flaccus* had called the ſouldiers together, to ſweare them to the Emperour according to the cuſtome: they plucked downe *Galbaes* images, and ſware onely in the name of the people and Senate of ROME. The Captaines ſeeing what courſe they tooke, were as much afraid of the danger to be without a head, as they ſtood doubtfull of the miſchiefe of their rebellion. So there ſtept vp one amongſt them and ſaid: My fellowes in armes, what do we meane? we neither chuſe any other Emperor, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperor at this preſent: whereby we ſhew plainly, that we do not onely refuſe *Galba*, but alſo all other to be our head and Emperor that may command vs. Now for *Flaccus Ordeonius*, that is but *Galbaes* ſhadow and image: I would wiſh we ſhould let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, Gouernor of the lower GERMANY, he is not farre from vs, but one daies iorney onely, whoſe father was Cenſor at ROME, and thrice alſo Conſull, and that was in a maner a Peere and companion of *Clodius Cæſar* in the gouernement of the Empire: whoſe pouertie if any man miſlike in him, is a manifeſt proofe of his goodnes and magnanimitie. Him therefore let vs chuſe, and let the world know that we can tell how to chuſe an Emperour, better then the SPANIARDS or LVSITANIANS. Some of the ſouldiers that ſtood by, confirmed theſe words, but others alſo miſliked of them: inſomuch that among the reſt there was an enſigne-bearer that ſtale ſecretly out of the campe to carie *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great ſupper, and had great ſtore of good companie with him. Theſe news running ſtraight through his campe, *Fabius Valens* Colonell of a legion, came the next morning with a great number of horſemen, and was the firſt man that named *Vitellius* Emperor, who before ſeemed to refuſe that name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of ſo great an Empire vpon him: but after dinner, being full of wine and meate, he came out among them, and accepted the name of *Germanicus* which they gaue him, and refuſed the name of *Cæſar*. But therewithall incontinently after, *Flaccus* ſouldiers leauing their goodly popular oath which they had ſworne in the name of the people and Senate, they all then tooke their othes faithfully to do what it ſhould pleaſe the Emperour *Vitellius* to commaund them. Thus *Vitellius* was choſen Emperour in GERMANIE. So *Galba* hearing of this new change, thought it not good to deferre time any longer for the adoption he had intended, wherefore certainly vnderſtanding that thoſe whom he truſted moſt about him, were parties in this matter, ſome taking part with *Dolabella*, and the moſt part of them with *Otho*, he neither liking the one nor the other, ſodainly without any word ſpoken to any man, he ſent for *Piſo* (that was the yonger ſonne of *Craſſus* and *Piſo*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a yong man fairer conditioned, and ſhewed by his graue and modeſt countenance he had by nature, that he was indued with many noble vertues. *Galba* came downe preſently from his pallace, and went ſtraight to the campe to proclaime *Piſo Cæſar*, and his ſucceſſor in the Empire. Howbeit at his ſetting out of his pallace, there appeared many great ſignes in the firmament which followed him. And moreouer, when he was alſo come into his campe, and that he began to ſay without booke part of his oration, and partly alſo to reade it: it lightned all the while he ſpake, and there fell ſuch a great ſhower of raine vpon it, and a maruellous thicke miſt in the campe, and ouer all the citie, that men might eaſily ſee the gods did not like this adoption, and that it would not proſper. The ſouldiers themſelues ſhewed their diſcontentment by their heauy lookes, and the rather, becauſe at that time there was no ſpeech of reward or liberalitie. And furthermore, they that were preſent alſo, maruelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of *Piſo*) that *Piſo* nothing reioyced at this great fauour, although he lacked not wit and vnderſtanding otherwiſe to acknowledge it. And on the other ſide alſo, they found eaſily by *Othoes* lookes, many ſignes and proofes that he was maruellouſly offended in his mind, to ſee that he was thus deceiued of his hope. For he being the man that was firſt ſpoken of, and thought moſt worthie of all other, and being come alſo ſo neare vnto it: now to ſee himſelfe thus wiped out of it, he ſuppoſed that it was a plaine proofe that *Galba* had no good opinion of

The ſouldiers do rebell againſt Galba.

Vitellius accepted the name of Germanicus, but not of Cæſar.

Vitellius named Emperour by the ſouldiers

Galba adopted Piſo his ſucceſſor.

Euil ſignes appeared vnto Galba.

him,and that he maliced him in his heart,ſo that after that time he ſtil ſtood in feare of his life.For he being afraid of *Piſo*,hating alſo *Galba*,and being grieuouſly offended with *T.Iunius*:he went his way full of diuers thoughts in his mind. For the Soothſayers, Aſtronomers, and Chaldeans, which he euer kept about him,they did perſwade him not to be diſcoraged for this,and to caſt all hope aſide:but ſpecially one *Ptolomy*,in whō he had great confidence,becauſe he had oftentimes before foretold and aſſured him, that *Nero* ſhould not put him to death,but contrarily,that *Nero* ſhould die firſt,and he himſelf ſuruiue him,& ſhould become Emperor of Rome.Whereby *Ptolomie* hauing proued his firſt prediction true vnto him, he bad him be bold, and feare not that to come.But now beſides him,thoſe that ſecretly complained vnto him,did pricke him forward the more,ſighing to ſee him ſo euill dealt with by *Galba*,and diuers of them chiefly,which bare great authoritie and credit about *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius*: who being then caſt off, and diſcountenanced,came all vnto him,and ſtirred him vp the more. As amongſt others,*Veturius* and *Barbius* chiefly,of the which the one had bene *Optio*,and the other *Teſſerarius*: (for ſo the Romaines call thoſe that be their meſſengers,ſpials,& officers to the captaines) who with an infranchiſed bondman of his called *Onomaſtus*,went vnto the camp,and there corrupted ſome ſouldiers with readie mony,and other ſome with faire words,being of themſelues euill inclined,and expected but occaſion to vtter their malice. For otherwiſe,had the ſouldiers bin all of one mind,it had not bin an enterpriſe to haue bene brought to paſſe in foure dayes ſpace(being no more betwixt the adoption and murther)to make a whole camp rebel in that ſort.For they were ſlaine the fifteenth day of Ianuary,on which day *Galba* did ſacrifice in the morning within his pallace,before his friends. But at that time the Soothſayer called *Ombricius*, when he had the intrails of the beaſts ſacrificed in his hands,and had looked vpon them:he ſpake not doubtfully but plainely,that he ſaw ſignes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in preſent danger of great treaſon. Whereby it plainely appeared,that the gods had put *Galba* into *Othoes* hands:for he ſtood at that time behind *Calba*, and both heard and ſaw all that the Soothſayers did. So he ſeeming to be grieued withall in his mind, and his colour changing oft for the feare he was in:his infranchiſed bondman *Onomaſtus* came and told him that the maſons and chiefe carpenters were come to ſpeake with him, and taried for him. This was the watch-word agreed vpon betweene them, at which time *Otho* ſhould then go vnto the ſouldiers. Then *Otho* ſaid, that he went to looke to an old houſe he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would ſhew it vnto the workemen. So he went his way,and came from the pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* houſe, into the market place, where the golden piller ſtandeth, where alſo the greateſt high wayes of all Italie do meete together. There certaine met him that firſt called him Emperour, which were not in all aboue three and twentie perſons.Thereupon,though *Otho* was not vnconſtant as it appeared (notwithſtāding he was ſo fine and effeminate a man) but rather reſolute and ſtout in inſtant danger: yet feare ſo oppreſſed him at that time, that he would faine haue left his enterpriſe. Howbeit the ſouldiers would not ſuffer him, but compaſſing his litter round about with their armes,and their ſwords drawne in their hands,they commaunded the litter men to go forward. So *Otho* as he went haſtening on his driuers, he often muttered to himſelfe, I am but dead. Some hearing him as they paſſed by him, rather wondred, then that they were otherwiſe troubled, to ſee ſuch a ſmall number of men about him, that they durſt venter vpon ſo hard an enterpriſe.Now as he was caried through the market place,he was met withal by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by foure in a companie: all the which came and ioyned with him,and cried *Cæſar,Cæſar*, hauing their ſwords drawne in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to guard the field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conſpiracie, but being amazed and afraid with their ſodaine comming,he ſuffered them to come in. So when *Otho* was come in, he found no man that reſiſted him. For they that knew nothing of the practiſe, being compaſſed in with thoſe that were made priuy to it,and had knowne it of long time being found ſtragling here and there,by one and by two,they followed the reſt for feare at the firſt, and afterwards for good will. This was brought ſtraight to *Galba* to the pallace, the Soothſayer being yet buſie about this ſacrifice: inſomuch that they which before gaue no credite to thoſe diuinations, began then to maruell much at this heauenly ſigne. Then there ran immediatly a great number of people from the market place, vnto the pallace. Thereupon *Iunius* aud *Lacon*, and certaine other of *Galbaes* infranchiſed bondmen, ſtood to guard *Galbaes* perſon with their ſwords drawne in their hands.*Piſo* alſo went out to ſpeake vnto the ſouldiers that guarded the Emperors perſon.

Ptolomies prediction of Othoes Empire.

Optio, and Teſſerarius, why ſo called by the Romaines.

Otho bribed the Prætorian ſouldiers.

The preſage of Ombricius the ſoothſayer,touching the treaſon practiſed againſt Galba.

Otho called Emperour.

Otho receiued of the Prætorian ſouldiers.

Moreouer,

Moreouer, becauſe the ILLYRIAN legion lay out of the camp in a place called Vipſanus: they diſpatched away *Marius Celſus* with al ſpeed, a very honeſt man, to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time ſtood in doubt whether he ſhould come out of the pallace or not: for *Iunius* would not let him go, but *Celſus* and *Lacon* perſwaded him to go out: inſomuch as they fell at great words with *Iunius*, that went about to diſſwade him from it. In this ſtirre there ranne a rumor that *Otho* was ſlaine in the field. Immediatly after came *Iubius Atticus*, one of the nobleſt men of all the Emperours guard, and ſhewed his ſword drawne, crying that he had ſlaine *Cæſars* enemie: and thruſt through the preaſe, and got to *Galba*, and ſhewed him his ſword bloudied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who cõmanded him to do it. The ſoldier anſwered him: the faith and oath he had made vnto him. Therewith all the people that ſtood by cried out, it was nobly done of him, and clapped their hands for ioy. Then *Galba* taking his litter, went out of his pallace to do ſacrifice to *Iupiter*, and alſo to ſhew himſelfe openly. Howbeit he was no ſooner come into the market place, but he heard contrary newes, that *Otho* was Lord and maſter of the whole camp and army. Then as it happeneth in ſo great a preaſe of people, ſome cried out to him to returne back againe, others would haue him to go forward: others bad him be afraid of nothing, & others willed him to looke to himſelfe. So his litter being thus turmoiled to and fro, as toſt vpon the ſea, ſometime borne back, otherwhile caried forward: firſt of all they ſaw certaine horſemen, and then footmen alſo armed, comming from *Pauls* pallace, al of them together crying out with loud voice, Hence, hence, priuate man. Then all the people ſet vpon a running, not flying diſperſedly, but in heapes vpon porches and ſtals in the market place, as it had bene to haue ſeene ſome ſight or ſport. Then one called *Attilius* * *Sarcello*, ouerthrew one of the images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of open warres. Others round about threw darts on euery ſide of him againſt his litter. But when they ſaw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his litter with their ſwords drawne in their hands, and neuer a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, ſauing one man onely, whom the Sunne ſaw that day, amongſt ſo many thouſands of men, worthy of the Empire of ROME: and he was called * *Sempronius*. He hauing receiued priuately no manner of pleaſure at *Galbaes* hands, but onely to diſcharge his oath and dutie: ſtepped before the litter, and lifting vp a vine braunch he had in his hand (with the which the ROMAINE Captaines do vſe to beate their ſouldiers that haue offended) he fell out with them that did ſet vpon him, and prayed them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he ſaw they would not leaue, but that they fell to it in good earneſt: he then drew his ſword, and bare off the blowes as well as he could, vntill they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then *Galbaes* litter being ouerthrowne right in the place called *Curtius* lake: *Galba* lay on the ground armed in his curaçes. The traiterous ſouldiers flew vpon him, and gaue him many a wound: and *Galba* holding out his necke vnto them, bad them ſtrike hardily, if it were to do their countrey good. So he had many wounds on his armes and his thighes, as it is reported: howbeit the ſouldier that ſlue him, was called *Camurius*, of the fifteenth legion. Others do report that it was one *Terentius*, other alſo ſay *Arcadius*: and ſome other do call him *Fabius Fabulus*: who hauing ſtriken off his head, wrapped it in the lap of his gowne, becauſe he could not otherwiſe take hold of it, for that he was al bald. Howbeit his fellowes and conſorts would not ſuffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done ſhould be ſeene. Therefore he ſet it vpon the point of his launce, and ſo ſhaking the face of this poore old man, (a wiſe and temperate Prince, and chiefe Biſhop, and Conſull) he ranne vp and downe (like mad women poſſeſſed with the ſpirit and furie of *Bacchus* at the feaſts of *Bacchus*) bowing downe his launce being all of a goare bloud. When his head was brought to *Otho*, it is ſaid he cried out aloud: Tuſh, my fellowes, this is nothing: vnleſſe you bring me alſo *Piſoes* head. So not long after, they brought him his head alſo. For the yong man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * *Marcus*, who ſlue him hard by the temple of *Veſta*. So did they alſo kill *Titus Iunius*: who openly confeſſed that he was one of the conſpiracie againſt *Galba*, and cried out to them that ſlue him, that *Otho* did not know that they did kill him. This notwithſtanding, the ſouldiers ſtrake off his head and *Lacons* alſo, and brought them both to *Otho* to receiue the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet *Archilocus* ſaith:

A ſhameful lie of a ſouldier.

Tumult for Galba.

** Tacitus doth call him Virgilio.*

** Cornelius Tacitus doth call him Denſus.*

The valiantnes and fidelitie of Sempronius in diſcharge of his oath to the Emperour Galba.

The death of Sempronius.

The death of Galba: and his words at his death.

** Others do reade Marcus.*

The murther of Piſo, and T. Iunius.

Of ſeuen peraduenture ſlaine dead on the ground,
A thouſand will ſay, that they all gaue the wound.

So there were diuers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had bloudied all their hands and ſwords, and ſo ſhewed them bloudied to haue reward alſo: but *Vitellius* not-

withſtanding made inquirie of them afterwards, and cauſed them to be put to death. There came into the field alſo, one *Marius Celſus*, whom diuers men accuſed to haue perſwaded the ſouldiers to aide *Galba*, and the common people cried out, and bad he ſhould be put to death. Howbeit *Otho* would not ſuffer them to kill him: and yet being afraid to contrary the ſouldiers minds, he told them they ſhould not kill him ſo raſhly, becauſe he was firſt to learne ſome things more of him. So he commaunded them to bind him, and deliuered him to be kept of thoſe he truſted moſt. Afterwards, the Senate were preſently aſſembled: who, as if men had bene ſodainly changed from them they were, or as if there had bene new gods, they all ſware by the name of *Otho*, (the which oath he himſelfe had before ſworne vnto *Galba*, and did not keepe it) and called him beſides, *Auguſtus* and *Cæſar*, the bodies of them that were ſlaine lying yet headles on the ground in the market place, all in their Conſuls robes. And as for their heads, the ſouldiers after they could tell no more what to do with them, they ſold the head of *Titus Iunius* vnto his daughter, for the ſumme of two thouſand fiue hundred Drachmaes. And for *Piſoes* head, his wife through intreatie, begged it of one *Veranius*. On the other ſide, for *Galbaes* head, they gaue it vnto *Patrobius* and *Vitellius* ſeruants: who, after they had vſed it as vilely as they could deuiſe, they threw it at length in a place where their bodies are caſt, whom the *Cæſars* put to death, the which they call Seſtertium. Now for his bodie, *Heluidius Priſcus*, through *Othoes* ſufferance, caried it away, and *Argius*, one of his infranchiſed bondmen, buried it by night. Thus haue you heard the hiſtorie of *Galba*, a man that in nobilitie and wealth, was inferior to few Romaines, and in them both was the chiefeſt man of all his time, and had alway liued in honorable fame and eſtimation, in the raigne of fiue Emperours. So that he ouercame *Nero* by his good name, and the good opinion men had of him, and not through his owne force and power. For of them that ſtroue to make themſelues Emperours at that time, ſome found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth themſelues, as thinking themſelues worthy of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called vnto it, and obeyed them that called him, vſing his name againſt *Vindex* boldnes: whereby he procured, that his riſing (which before was called innouation and rebellion) was then called ciuill warre, after that his faction came to haue a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not ſo much deſire to be Emperor for himſelfe, as to do good to his countrey and common-wealth. But yet he erred, in ſeeking to commaund the ſouldiers, whom *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius* had ſpoiled by their flatteries: euen as in old time *Scipio*, *Fabricus*, and *Camillus* did commaund the ſouldiers of the Empire of Rome at that time. So he being now a very old man, ſhewed himſelfe a good Emperour and after the old ſort, in his behauiour towards the ſouldiers onely: but in all other things elſe, being caried away with the couetouſneſſe of *Titus Iunius* and *Laco*, and of other his infranchiſed bondmen, he left none deſirous to be gouerned by him, but many that were ſorie for his death.

The Senate ſware by the name of Otho.

Citizens heads ſold at Rome.

The end of Galbaes life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Otho.*

THE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went vnto the Capitoll, and sacrificed, and there sent for *Marius Celsus* to come vnto him, whom he curteously saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cause of his imprisonment, then to remember his deliuerie. *Marius Celsus* made him a wise and noble answer againe, and said, that the matter for the which they would haue accused him vnto him, did witnesse his behauiour, shewing himselfe faithfull vnto *Galba*, who neuer did him any pleasure. These words of them both did maruellously please the people: and so did they like the souldiers also wonderfully well. Moreouer, after he had very fauourably and graciously taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Consull, he employed partly about *Verginius Rufus*, and did also establish them Consuls in their place and decree, which had bene called vnto that dignitie by *Nero*, or otherwise by *Galba*: and he also honoured the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation with certaine priesthoods. Besides all this, he restored vnto all those Senators that were banished by *Nero*, and called home againe all their goods yet vnsold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrates and Noble men of the citie that quaked before for feare, supposing that he was not a man, but rather a diuell or furie of hell that was come to be Emperour: they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling and gracious raigne they were so lately entred into. Moreouer, nothing pleased all the ROMAINES together more, nor wanne him the good wil of all men so much, as that he did vnto *Tegellinus*: for it was punishment enough for him, if he had had no more but the feare of the punishment euery man threatned him withall, as a thing due to the common wealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his bodie was infected withall. Now, though the Noble men thought his vnreasonable insolencie and lust of the flesh (following naughtie packes and common strumpets, burning still in filthie concupiscence) an extreme punishment, comparable to many deaths, and being also no better then a dead man in maner, still following pleasure and sensualitie as long as he could: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they should see such a wicked creature as he liue, that had put so many Noble men to death. So *Otho* sent for him, who liued very pleasantly at his houses in the countrey, by the citie of SINVESSA, and had ships euer readie vpon the sea coast, to flie if necessitie draue him to it. Thereupon he first sought to bribe him with money, which was sent with commission to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him scape: but when he saw he

Othoes moderation at the beginning of his raigne.

could not frame him to his mind, yet he refrained not to giue him gifts, and prayed him to giue him leaue to shaue his beard. The other graunted him. Then *Tigellinus* tooke a razer, and did cut his owne throate. So *Otho* hauing pleased the people thus well, he sought not otherwise to be reuenged of his priuate iniuries. Moreouer, to currie fauour with the common people, he refused not to be called *Nero*, in any open assemblies at the Theaters. Also when certaine priuate men had set vp *Neroes* images in open sight, *Otho* was not offended withall: but moreouer, *Clodius Rufus* writeth, that the letters pattents and commissions were sent into SPAINE by posts, subscribing the goodly name of *Nero*, with the name of *Otho*. Howbeit, when it came to his eares that the noble men of ROME misliked of it: he left it off, and would write it no more in his letters. So *Otho* hauing begun in this sort to stablish his Empire, the souldiers maruellously troubled him. For they continually perswaded him to take heed to himselfe, and to beware how noblemen and gentlemen came neare vnto him: the which they did, either for that indeed they bearing him good will, were afraid some trecherie or treason would be secretly practised against him, or else it was some feined deuise to set all together by the eares, and to bring it to ciuil warre. For when *Otho* himselfe had sent *Crispinus* with his seuenteenth legion to bring him certaine prisoners, and that *Crispinus* was readie before day, going to performe the effect of his commission, hauing loden carts with armor and weapon for his souldiers: the desperatest and boldest men among them, began to crie out, and said that *Crispinus* meant no good in his hart, and that the Senate went about to make some change and stirre, and that his armor and weapons were not for *Cæsar*, but against him. These words moued many mens consciences, and made them to rebell: so that some layed hold vpon the carts to stay them, others slue two Centurions out of hand, and *Crispinus* himselfe also that would haue staid them. Thereupon all of them together, one encouraging another went directly to ROME, as meaning to aide the Emperour. But when they came thither, vnderstanding that there were foure score Senators at supper with the Emperour, they ranne straight to the pallace, crying out that it was a good occasion offered them to kill all *Cæsars* enemies at a clap. Hereupon all ROME was straight in armes, looking immediatly after to be sacked and spoiled of all that euer they had: and the people ranne vp and downe the pallace, here and there, *Otho* himselfe also being in great feare and distresse. For men might easily see he was afraid, because of his guests he had bidden, not for himselfe, seeing them all amazed with the matter for feare, not speaking a word vnto him, but staring on him still, and specially those that came and brought their wiues with them to supper. So *Otho* sodainly sent the Captaines vnto the souldiers, and commaunded them to speake with them, and to pacifie them as well as they could: and therewithal he made them take away the boord, and conueyed his guests out of his pallace by secret posternes. So they saued themselues, passing through the souldiers, a litle before they entred into the hall where the feast was kept, crying out, and asking, what was become of *Cæsars* enemies. So the Emperour rising from his bed, he pacified them with gentle words, the teares standing in his eyes, and thereby at length he sent them all away. The next morning he liberally bestowed vpon euery souldier, a thousand two hundred and fiftie Drachmaes: and then he went into the market place, and there gaue great commendation vnto the common people for their readie good wils they had shewed vnto him: howbeit, he said there were some among them, that vnder colour and pretext of honestie, did commit many leud parts, and made his goodnesse and grace towards them to be euill spoken of, and their constancie and faith also to be misliked of, and prayed them his griefe might be theirs, and that the offendors might be punished. They all confirmed his words, and bad him aloud he should do it. So *Otho* thereupon caused two of them onely to be apprehended, supposing no man would be greatly offended with the punishment of them, and then went his way. Those that loued and trusted him, maruelled much to see this change. Other were of opinion, that it stood him vpon to do so, to winne the souldiers hearts, because of the warre at hand. Now newes came flying to him out of all parts, that *Vitellius* had taken vpon him the authoritie to be Emperour, and postes came to him one in anothers neck, to tell him that numbers of people came in daily to submit themselues vnto *Vitellius*. Others told him also, how the legions remaining in PANONIA, DALMATIA, and MYSIA, had chosen *Otho*. Immediatly after, friendly letters were brought him also from *Mutianus* and *Vespasianus*, the one of them being in SYRIA, and the other in IVDÆA, with great and mightie armies. Whereupon *Otho* giuing credite vnto them, wrote vnto *Vitellius* and bad him beware how he medled with any deeper enterprise, then became a priuate souldier: and that

Tigellinus killeth himselfe.

Otho at the beginning of his raigne, tooke vpon him the name of Nero.

Tumult amongst the Pretorian souldiers.

The death of Crispinus.

Othoes liberalitie to the souldiers.

Vitellius rebellion.

that he would giue him gold and ſiluer enough, and a great citie, where he might liue quietly, and take his pleaſure. *Vitellius* gently anſwered him at the firſt, and ſported with him: but afterwards they falling out one with another, ſpitefull letters were ſent betwixt either parties, one of them reproching another, not falſly but fondly, and fooliſhly detecting each others vices. For indeed it was hard to iudge, which of them two was moſt licentiouſly giuen, moſt effeminate, leaſt skilfull, poorer, or moſt indebted before. Now at that time they talked of wonderfull ſignes that had bene ſeene: howbeit they were but flying tales, and there was no man to iuſtifie them. But in the Capitoll there was the image of *Victory* ſet vp in a triumphing chariot: the which euery body ſaw did let ſlacke the reines of the bridles of the horſes which ſhe had in her hands, as though ſhe could not ſtay them any more. The ſtatue of *Caius Cæſar* alſo within the Iland, which ſtandeth in the middeſt of the riuer of Tyber at Rome, without any earthquake or ſtorme of wind, turned of it ſelfe from the Weſt to the Eaſt: the which (as it is reported) chanced about the time that *Veſpaſian* began to take vpon him to be Emperour. Many alſo tooke the ouerflowing of the riuer of Tyber for an ill ſigne. For indeed it was at that time of the yeare when riuers do ſwell moſt, yet was it neuer ſo great before, neither had it euer done ſo much hurt as it did at that time. For it had ouerflowne her bankes, and drowned the moſt part of the citie, and ſpecially the corne-market: inſomuch that they ſuffered famine many dayes after in Rome. In all this ſtirre, newes came that *Cecinna* and *Valens* (two of *Vitellius* captains) had taken the mountaines of the Alpes: and moreouer in Rome, *Dolabella* a noble man, was ſuſpected by the Prætorian ſouldiers, that he practiſed ſome treaſon. Now *Otho*, either becauſe he was afraid of him, or of ſome other: he ſent him to the citie of Aquinvm, promiſing him he ſhould haue no other hurt. Then chooſing the choiſeſt Gentlemen which he would take with him, among others he tooke *Lucius*, the brother of *Vitellius*, and did not depriue him of any iot of his honour and dignitie. Moreouer, he was very carefull to ſee his wife and mother ſafe, that they ſhould not be afraid of themſelues. Beſides all this, he appointed *Flauius Sabinus*, *Veſpaſians* brother, gouernor of Rome in his abſence: and did it for *Neroes* ſake, who had before giuen him the ſame honor and authoritie, the which *Galba* had taken from him: or els to make *Veſpaſian* ſee, that he loued and truſted him. So he taried behind at Brvsselle, a citie ſtanding vpon the riuer of Po: and ſent his armie before vnder the conduct of *Marius Celſus*, of *Swetonius Pauliuus*, and of *Gallus* and *Spurina*, all noble and great perſonages: howbeit they could not haue their wils to rule the armie as they would, becauſe of the inſolencie and ſtubbornneſſe of the ſouldiers, who would haue no other Captaines but the Emperour onely, ſaying, that he and none other ſhould commaund them. Indeed, the enemies ſouldiers alſo were not much wiſer, nor more obedient to their Captaines, but were braue and luſtie vpon the ſelfe ſame occaſion: howbeit they had this aduantage ouer the other, that they could tel how to fight, and were all well trained in the warres, and could away with paines and hardneſſe, and neuer ſhrunke from it. Whereas the Prætorian ſouldiers that came from Rome, were fine meale-mouthed men, becauſe they had bene long from the warres, and had liued at eaſe in Rome, and taken their pleaſure in banqueting and playes: and therefore in a brauerie and iolitie, they would needs haue men thinke, that they diſdained to do what their Captaines commaunded them, as men that were too good to do it, and not that they were fine fingered, and loth to take paines. So that, when *Spurina* would haue compelled them, he was in danger of death, and ſcaped very narrowly that they ſlue him not. For they ſtucke not to reuile him, and giue him as foule words as they could: calling him traitor, and curſing him, ſaying that he marred all *Cæſars* affaires. Yea, and there were ſome of them, that hauing their full cups, went in the night to his tent, to aske him leaue to depart, ſaying that they would go to the Emperour, and complaine to him of him. But the flout they had giuen them by their enemies about that time, hard by the citie of Placentia, did ſtand *Spurina* and his affaires to great purpoſe. For *Vitellius* ſouldiers comming hard to the wals of the citie, did mocke *Othoes* men that were at the cranewes of the ſame, and called them fine dauncers, and goodly ſtage-players, that had ſeene nothing but playes and feaſts: and that for feates of armes, and battels, they knew not what it meant: and that the greateſt act they euer did, was for that they ſtrake off the head of a poore naked old man, meaning by *Galba*: and that to come to fight a battell in the field before men, their hearts were in their heeles. Theſe vile words galled them to the heart, and made them ſo mad withall, that they came of themſelues to pray *Spurina* to commaund them what he thought good, promiſing that from thenceforth they would neuer refuſe any paines or daunger he would put them to. Thereupon there was

Small difference betwixt Otho and Vitellius maners of life. VVonders ſeen at Rome.

The wonderfull ouerflowing of the riuer of Tiber.

The frowardnes of Otho and Vitellius ſouldiers

Placentia: the fertileſt towne of all Italy.

a hote assault giuen to the citie of PLACENTIA, with great store of sundrie engines. Howbeit *Spurinaes* men had the better, and hauing with great slaughter repulsed the assailants, they saued one of the goodliest, the greatest, and most flourishing cities of all ITALIE. So *Othoes* Captaines were farre more familiar, curteous, and ciuill to deale with cities and priuate men, then *Vitellius* souldiers were. For, of *Vitellius* Captaines, *Cecinna* was nether for person nor manners accompaniable for the people: but strange, monstrous, and troublesome to see him onely a mightie made man, wearing gally gascoignes, and coates with sleeues, after the fashion of the GAVLES, and spake in this attire vnto the ensigne-bearers, and Captaines of the ROMAINES. Furthermore, he had his wife alway with him brauely mounted on horseback, gallantly apparelled, and accompanied with a troupe of the choisest men of armes of all the companies. The other, *Fabius Valens*, he was so couetous, that no spoile of enemies, no polling of subiects, nor bribes taken of their friends and confederates, could quench or satisfie his vnsatiable couetousnesse: whereby it seemeth that was the let, that comming on so slowly, he was not at the first battell. Howbeit others do blame *Cecinna* for it, that made too much hast, for the desire he had to haue the onely honour of the victorie to himselfe: and this was the cause, that besides his other light faults, he also made this, that he gaue battell out of due time and season, and when it came to the point indeed, yet he fought it out not valiantly, so that he had almost cast all away. For when he had the repulse from PLACENTIA, he went vnto CREMONA another great citie. And *Annius Gallus* going to aide *Spurina*, who was besieged in the citie of PLACENTIA: when he heard by the way that the PLACENTINES had the better, and that the CREMONENSES were in great danger and distresse: he marched thither with his armie, and went and camped hard by the enemies. After that also, the other Captaines of either side came to aide their men. Howbeit *Cecinna* hauing layed a great number of his best souldiers well armed in ambush, in certaine thicke groues and woods: he commaunded his horsemen to march forward, and if the enemies came to charge them, that they should retire litle and litle, making as though they fled, vntil they had drawne them within his ambush. So there were certaine traitors that bewrayed the ambush vnto *Marius Celsus*, who came against them with his choise men of armes, and did not follow them ouer rashly, but compassed in the place where the ambush lay, the which he raised, and in the meane time sent to his campe with all possible speed to his footmen to make hast thitherward: and it seemeth, that if they had come in time, they had not left one of their enemies aliue, but had marched vpon the bellies of all *Cecinnaes* armie, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should haue done. But *Paulinus* being come too late to aide them, for that he came so slowly: he was burdened that he did not the dutie of a Captaine, that bare the name and countenance he caried. Furthermore, the common souldiers accused him of treason vnto *Otho*, and stirred vp their Emperour against him, and spake very big words of themselues, saying, that they had ouercome for their owne parts, had not the cowardlinesse of their owne Captaines bene, who put them by the victorie. So *Otho* did not trust him so much, that he would not make him beleeue but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother *Titianus* to the camp, and *Proclus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian guard, who indeed commaunded all, but in sight *Titianus* had all the honor, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenant. *Marius Celsus* and *Paulinus* followed after, bearing the name of Counsellers and friends onely: howbeit otherwise they medled with nothing, neither had any authoritie giuen them. On the other side, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially, whom *Valens* led. For when news was brought of the conflict that was betweene them in this ambush, they were angrie with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to help their men that were slaine: insomuch that he had much ado to pacifie and quiet them, they were so readie to haue flown vpon him. So *Valens* at length remoued his camp, and went and ioyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Otho* being come to his camp at the towne of BEBRIACVM, which is a litle towne hard by CREMONA: he consulted with his Captaines whether he should giue battell or not. So *Proclus* and *Titianus* gaue him counsell to fight, considering that the souldiers were very willing to it, by reason of the late victorie they had wonne, and wished him not to deferre it: for thereby he should but discourage his armie, which was now willing to fight, and also giue their enemies leysure to stay for their Chiefetaine *Vitellius*, who came himselfe out of GAVLE. But *Paulinus* in contrarie maner alleaged, that the enemies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to ouercome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Otho* looked for another armie out of

The practise of Othoes Captaines, and dispraise of Vitellius Captaines.

Fabius Valens.

Cremona a goodly citie.

Paulinus, Othoes Captaine, accused for a coward.

Bebriacum a towne by Cremona.

Othoes consultation of giuing battell.

of Mysia and Pannonia, as great an army as his enemies had already, so that he could tary his time, and not serue his enemies turne: and also, that if the souldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they should then be much more encouraged, when they should haue greater company, aud should also fight with better safety. Furthermore he perswaded them, that to delay time was for their auaile, considering that they had plenty and store of all maner of prouision: where the enemies on the other side being also in their enemies countrey, their victuals would quickly faile them. *Marius Celsus* liked very well of these perswasions. And so did *Annius Gallus*, who was not present at this councell (but gone from the campe, to be cured of a fal he had from his horse) but he was written to by *Otho* to haue his opinion also. So *Annius Gallus* returned answer, that he thought it not best to make haste, but to stay for the army that came out of Mysia, considering they were onwards on their way. Howbeit *Otho* would not hearken to this counsell, but followed their minds that concluded of battell: for the which were alleadged diuerse occasions. But the chiefest and likeliest cause of all was, that the souldiers which are called the Prætorian guard (being the daily guard about the Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to professe to be a souldier, and to liue like a souldier: they lamented their continuing in Rome, where they liued at ease and pleasure, feasting and banquetting, neuer feeling the discommodities and bitter paines of war, and did therfore so earnestly cry out to fight, that there was no staying of them, as if they should at their first cry and setting forward, haue ouerthrowne their enemies. Moreouer, it seemed also that *Otho* himselfe could no more away with the feare & doubt of the vncertaine successe to come, neither could any longer abide the grieuous thoughts of the danger of his estate, he was so effeminate, and vnacquainted with sorow and paines. This was the cause that caried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at aduenture. The matter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, & *Othoes* secretary. Others also do report, that both armies had diuerse determinations and minds: as to ioyne all together in one campe, and ioyntly to chuse among them, if they could agree, the worthiest man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, and there to suffer the Senators to chuse such a one Emperour, as they liked best of. And sure it is very likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperors, was thought meet for the place they had: and therefore that these counsels & considerations might easily fall into the Romaine souldiers heads (who were wise men and expert souldiers) that indeed it was a thing for them iustly to mislike, to bring themselues into the like miserable time and calamitie, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to suffer, first for *Sylla* and *Marius* sakes, and afterwards for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*, & now to bestow the Empire of Rome either vpon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler to follow his drunkennesse & gluttonie: or else vpon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moued *Celsus* to delay time, hoping to end the wars without trouble & danger: & that caused *Otho* to make the more hast, being afraid of the same. Howbeit *Otho* returning backe again into Bresselles, he committed another fault, not only because he tooke his mens goodwils from them to fight, the which his presence, and the reuerence they bare vnto him did put in them: but because also he caried away with him for the guard of his person, the valiantest souldiers and most resolute men of al his host. About that time there chanced a skirmish to fal out by the riuer of Po, because *Cecinna* built a bridge ouer it, & *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they saw they preuailed not, they laded certaine barges with faggots and dry wood, all rubbed ouer with brimstone and pitch, and setting them on fire, then sent them downe the streame. When the barges were in the middest of the streame, there suddenly rose a wind out of the riuer, which blew vpon this wood-stacke they had prepared to cast among the enemies workes of this bridge, that first made it smoke, and immediatly after fell all on a flame, which did so trouble the men in the barges, that they were driuen to leape into the riuer to saue themselues: and so they lost their barges, and became themselues also prisoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockerie. Furthermore, the Germaines vnder *Vitellius*, fighting with *Othoes* fencers, which of them should win a litle Iland in the middest of the riuer: they had the vpper hand, and slue many of the fencers. Thereupon *Othoes* souldiers which were in Bebriacvm, being in a rage withall, and would needs fight: *Proclus* brought them into the field, and went and camped about fiftie furlongs out of the city, so fondly, and to so litle purpose, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the countrey thereabout full of brookes and riuers, yet they

Fresh water souldiers lament their pleasant life at Rome, feeling the paines and smart of a souldier.

Secundus the Orator, secretary vnto Otho the Emperour.

Vitellius a drunkard and glutton.

Otho: a wanton and licentious liuer.

The towne of Bressilles is hard by the riuer of Po.

notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their campe to meete with their enemies the same day, and were driuen to march aboue a hundred furlong. Now *Paulinus* perswaded them to go faire and softly, and not to make more hast then needed, and would not so soone as they should come (being wearied with their iourney and trauell) set vpon their enemies that were well armed, & besides had leisure & time inough to set their men in battell ray, whilest they were comming so long a iourney with all their cariage. Now the Capraines being of diuerse opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from *Otho*, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commanded them to make all the hast they could, and to loose no time, but to march with all speed towards the enemie. So when the letters were read, the Captaines presently marched forward with their army. *Cecinna* vnderstanding of their comming, was astonied at the first, and suddenly forsooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his campe, where he found the most part of his souldiers ready armed, and *Valens* had giuen them their signall and word of battell. And in the meane time, whilest the legions were taking their places to set themselues in battell ray: they sent out before the choisest horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ran a rumor (no man knew how, nor vpon what cause) that *Vitellius* Captaines would turne on *Othoes* side in battell. Insomuch that when these men of armes came neare to meet with the voward of *Othoes* army: *Othoes* men did speake very gently to them, and called them companions. *Vitellius* men on the other side tooke this salutation in euill part, and answered them againe in rage, as men that were willing to fight. Insomuch that those that had spoken to them, were quite discouraged: and the residue also began to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefest cause of all their disorder, being ready to ioyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies side also, all was out of order: for the beasts of cariage ran in amongst them that fought, and so did put them maruellously out of order. Besides that also, the disaduantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, because of sundry ditches & trenches that were betweene them, wherby they were compelled to fight in diuerse companies together. So there were but two legions only, the one of *Vitellius*, called the Deuourer: & the other of *Otho*, called the Helper: which getting out of these holes and ditches a part by themselues, in a good plaine euen ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battell. *Othoes* soldiers were men of goodly personages, strong, & valiant of their hands, howbeit they had neuer serued in the wars, nor had euer foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the other side, were old beaten soldiers, & had serued all their youth, & knew what wars and battels meant. So when they came to ioyne, *Othoes* men gaue such a lusty charge vpon the first onset, that they ouerthrew, & slue all the first ranke, and also wan the ensigne of the Eagle. *Vitellius* men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke hart againe vnto them, and ran in so desperately vpon their enemies, that at the first they slue the Colonell of all their legion, & wan diuerse ensignes. And furthermore, against *Othoes* fencers (which were accounted the valiantest men, and readiest of hand) *Varus Alphenus* brought his men of armes called the Battavii, which are Germaines in the lower part of Germanie, dwelling in an Iland compassed about with the riuer of Rhein. There were few of his fencers that stucke by it, but the most of them ran away towards the riuer, where they found certaine ensignes of their enemies set in battell ray, who put them all to the sword, and not a man of them scaped with life. But aboue all other, none proued more beasts & cowards, then the Prætorian guard. For they would not tary till the enemies came to giue them charge, but cowardly turned their backes, and fled through their owne men that were not ouerthrowne: and so did both disorder them, and also make them afraid. This notwithstanding, there were a great number of *Othoes* men who hauing ouerthrown the voward of them that made head against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were conquerours, and so valiantly returned backe into their campe. But of their Captaines, neither *Proclus* nor *Paulinus*, durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being afraid of the fury of the souldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their ouerthrow vpon their Capraines. Howbeit *Annius Gallus* receiued them into the city of Bebriacvm, that came together after this ouerthrow, and told them that the battell was equall betwixt them, and that in many places they had had the better of their enemies. But *Marius Celsus* gathering the noble men and gentlemen together that had charge in the army, he fell to cõsultation what they should do in so great a calamity, and extreame slaughter of the Romaine citizens. For if *Otho* himselfe were an honest man, he should

Battell betwixt the Othonians and Vitellians.

Legions called by prety names: Deuourer, Helper.

The valiantnesse of the Battauij in warres.

Note the trim seruice of fencers, and what souldiers they be.

The Othonians ouercome in battell by the Vitellians.

The cowardlinesse of the fresh-water souldiers.

Marius Celsus Oration to Othoes souldiers perswading them to go to Vitellius.

ſhould no more attempt fortune: conſidering that *Cato* and *Scipio* were both greatly blamed for that they were the cauſe of caſting away of many men in AFRYCKE to no purpoſe (though they fought for the liberty of the ROMAINES) and only of ſelfe-will, for that they would not yeeld to *Iulius Cæſar* after he had won the battell of PHARSALIA. For though fortune in all other things haue power ouer men: yet extremities happening to good men, ſhe cannot preuent them to determine the beſt for their ſafety. Theſe perſwaſions ſtraight caried away the Captains, who went preſently to feele the minds of the priuate ſouldiers, whom they found all of them deſirous of peace. So *Titianus* perſwaded them to ſend Ambaſſadours vnto the enemies to treate of peace: and *Celſus* and *Gallus* tooke vpon them the charge to go thither, to breake to matter vnto *Cecinna*, and *Valens*. But by the way they met with certaine Centurions, who told them how all the army of the enemies were coming onwards on their way, to come directly to the city of BEBRIACVM, and that their Chieftaines had ſent before to offer treatie of peace. *Celſus* and his companion *Gallus* being glad of this, prayed the Centurions that they would returne with them vnto *Cecinna*. But when they were come neare vnto him, *Celſus* was in great danger of his life: becauſe the men of armes which he had ouerthrowne certaine dayes before in an ambuſh, coming before, when they ſpied him, they flew vpon him with great ſhouts. Howbeit the Centurions that were in his company, ſtepped before him, and cloſed him in: and ſo did the other Captaines that cried vnto them they ſhould do him no hurt. *Cecinna* vnderſtanding what the matter was, rode thither, and pacified the tumult of theſe men of armes: and then ſaluting *Celſus* very courteouſly, he went with him towards BEBRIACVM. But now *Titianus* in the meane time, repenting himſelfe that he had ſent Ambaſſadors vnto the enemies, he placed the deſperateſt ſouldiers he had vpon the wals of the citie, and incouraged the reſt alſo to do the like, and to ſtand to the defence. But *Cecinna* came to the wall, and being on horſe-backe, held vp his hand vnto them. Then they made no more reſiſtanee, but thoſe that were vpon the wals, ſaluted the ſouldiers: & they that were within the city opened the gates, and thruſt in amongſt *Vitellius* men, who receiued them, and did no man any hurt, but courteouſly imbraced them, and ſaluted each other. Then they all ſware and tooke their oaths to be true to *Vitellius*, and ſo yeelded themſelues vnto him. So do the moſt part of thoſe that were at this battell, report the ſucceſſe thereof: graunting notwithſtanding, that they knew not euery thing that was done, becauſe of the great diſorder among them. But as I trauelled on a time through the field where the battell was ſtriken, with *Metrius Florus* that had bin Conſull: he ſhewed me an old man that when the field was fought in that place, was yong, & againſt his will was at the ſame battel on *Othoes* part. Who told vs, that after the battell was fought, he came into the field to ſuruey the number of thoſe that were dead: and he found the dead bodies piled on a heape, of the height of thoſe that came to view them. And ſayd moreouer, that he made inquirie of the matter, but he neither could imagaine it himſelfe, nor be ſatisfied by others. Now indeed it is likely, that in ciuill wars betweene countrimen of one ſelfe city, where one of the two armies is ouerthrown, that there ſhould be greater ſlaughter among them, then againſt the other enemies, becauſe they take no priſoners of either ſide: for thoſe they ſhould take, would ſerue them to no good purpoſe. But after they were ſlaine, one to be layed on heapes ſo by another, that is a hard thing to iudge. But now to the matter. The newes of this ouerthrow came firſt but obſcurely vnto *Otho*, a common thing in a matter of ſo great importance: but afterwards, when ſome that were hurt came and brought him certaine newes of it, it was no maruell then to ſee *Othoes* friends & familiars to comfort him, who prayed him to be of good cheare, and not to be diſcouraged for that. Howbeit, the wonderfull great loue and goodwill which the priuate ſouldiers ſhewed vnto him at that time, did paſſe and exceed all ſpeech and expectation. For they forſooke him not, neither went they to ſubmit themſelues to their enemies the conquerors, neither tooke they any regard of themſelues, to ſee their Emperor in that diſpaire: but all of them ioyntly together went vnto his lodging, and called him their Emperor. Then he came out, and they fell downe at his feete, as men repreſented in a triumph lying on the ground, & kiſſed his hands, with the teares running downe their cheekes, and beſought him not to forſake and leaue them to their enemies, but to commaund their perſons whileſt they had one drop of bloud left in their bodies to do him ſeruice. All of them together made this petition to him. But amongſt others, there was a poore ſoldier drawing out his ſword, ſayd vnto him: Know, ô *Cæſar*, that all my companions are determined to die in this ſort for thee, and ſo ſlue himſelf. But all theſe lamentable things did neuer melt *Othoes* hart: who looking with

Othoes Captaines do yeeld themſelues vnto Vitellius.

Men that fight a battell, know not all things that are done at the battell.

The great fidelity of the ſouldiers, vnto the Emperor Otho.

The wonderfull courage of a ſouldier of Othoes.

The noble courage of Otho before his death, and his Oration to the ſouldiers.

a ſtout countenance round about him, and caſting his eyes euery where, ſpake vnto them in this maner. I thinke this a more happy day for me, my felowes, then that in the which you firſt choſe me Emperor: to ſee you loue me ſo well, and do me ſuch honor, with ſo great ſhew of loyalty. But yet I beſeech you not to deny me of a greater fauour, which is: To die valiantly and honorably, for the ſafety of ſo many honeſt men as you be, and ſo good citizens of Rome. If by your election you made me worthie to take vpon me the Imperiall crowne: I muſt now needs ſhew my ſelfe an Emperor, not ſparing to ſpend my life for your and my countries ſafety. I am certaine that the victorie is not altogether mine enemies. For newes are come vnto me, that our armies of Mysia and Pannonia are in their way comming to vs, and that they are not farre off from the Adriaticke ſea. Asia, Syria, and Ægypt, and the legions that made warre in Ivrie, are all ours. The Senate taketh our part, and our enemies wiues and children be in our hands. But this warre is not againſt *Hanniball*, nor *Pyrrhus*, nor againſt the Cimbres, to fight who ſhould be owners of Italie: but it is againſt the Romaines themſelues. For in this ciuill war, both the Conquerour and vanquiſhed do offend their countrey: for where the Conquerours haue benefit, the countrey and commonwealth alwayes receiueth loſſe. Aſſure your ſelues I had rather die then raigne Emperor: conſidering alſo that my life with victorie cannot ſo much benefit the Romaines, as the ſacrifice of the ſame may do my countrey good, for the peace and quietneſſe of my countrimen, keeping Italie thereby from ſeeing ſuch another battell, as this hath bene. So when he had made this Oration vnto them, and put thoſe by, that would haue diſſwaded him the contrary: he commaunded all the Senators and his friends that were preſent, to auoid. Then he wrote letters to them that were abſent, and alſo vnto the cities wherethrough they paſſed, to vſe them very courteouſly, and to ſee them ſafely conueyed. Then came his nephew *Cocceius* to him, who was yet but a young boy, and he did comfort him, and bad him not be afraid of *Vitellius*, for he had ſafely kept his mother, wife, and children, and had bene as carefull of them, as if they had bene his owne: and that he would not yet adopt him for his ſonne though he was deſirous to do it, vntill ſuch time as he ſaw the end of this warre: to the end that if he ouercame, he ſhould quietly raigne Emperour with him: and if he were ouercome, that for adopting of him, he would not be cauſe of his death. But this one thing onely, I command and charge thee, my ſonne, euen as the laſt commaundement that I can giue thee: that thou do not forget altogether, neither ouer-much remember, that thine Vncle hath bene Emperor. When he had told him this tale, he heard a noiſe at his doore: they were the ſouldiers that threatned the Senators which came from him, and would kill them, if they did not remaine with him, but would forſake their Emperor. Vpon this occaſion he came out once againe among them, being afraid leſt the ſouldiers would do the Senators ſome hurt, and made the ſouldiers giue backe, not by intreating of them, nor ſpeaking courteouſly to them, but looking grimly on them, and in great rage: inſomuch that they all ſhrunke backe, and went away for feare. So when night came, he was a thirſt, and dranke a litle water: and hauing two ſwords, he was prouing a great while which had the beſt edge. In the end, he put by the one, and kept the other in his armes. Then he began to comfort his ſeruants, and liberally to giue out his mony among them, to ſome more, to ſome leſſe, not prodigally throwing it away without diſcretion, as being another mans mony: but diſcreetly gaue to euerie man according to his deſert. Then, after he had diſpatched them away, he layd him downe to ſleepe all the reſt of the night, and the groomes of his chamber heard him ſnort, he ſlept ſo ſoundly. In the morning he called one of his enfranchiſed bondmen, whom he had commanded to helpe to ſaue the Senators, and ſent him to ſee if they were all ſafe, and gone. So when he vnderſtood that they were all gone, and that they had all they would: Come on, ſayd he then vnto him, looke to thy ſelfe I read thee, and take heed the ſouldiers ſee thee not, if thou wilt ſcape with life, for ſure they will kill thee, thinking thou haſt holpen me to kill my ſelfe. So, aſſoone as his infranchiſed bondman was gone out of his chamber, he tooke his ſword with both his hands, and ſetting the point of it to his breſt, he fell downe vpon it, ſeeming to feele no other paine, ſauing that he fetched a ſigh: whereby they that were without, knew that he had done himſelfe hurt. Thereupon his friends made ſtraight an out-cry, & all the campe and city was incontinently full of teares and lamentation. The ſouldiers ſuddenly ranne with a great noiſe to his gates, where they bitterly bewailed, and lamented his death, falling out with themſelues that they were ſuch villaines ſo ſlenderly to haue guarded their Emperour, that they kept him not from killing himſelfe for their ſakes. So there was not a man of them that left his bodie, though

The Emperour Othoes woordes to his nephew Cocceius.

Otho in his death, ſeemed to follow Cato Vtican.

Otho ſlue himſelfe.

though the enemies were hard at hand: but hauing honorably buried him, and prepared a great ſtacke of wood, they conueyed him armed to the fire of his funerals, euery man thinking himſelf happie, that could firſt ſet his ſhoulders to the coffin to helpe to cary him. Others comming to it, kneeled downe on their knees, and kiſſed his wound. Others tooke and kiſſed his hands. Others that could not come neare him, honored him, and did reuerence him a farre off, and ſome there were alſo that after the ſtacke of wood was ſet on fire, ſlue themſelues hard by the fire: who had neuer receiued benefit by him that was dead (at the leaſt to any mans knowledge) neither had they any occaſion to be afraid of him that was conquerour. And truly me thinkes, neuer king nor tyrant was ſo ambitiouſly giuen to raigne, as they vehemently deſired to be commanded by *Otho*, and to obey him: conſidering that their deſire left them not euen after his death, but was ſo liuely rooted in their minds, that in the end, it turned to a deadly hate vnto *Vitellius*. But of this we will ſpeake more hereafter in time and place. Now, when they had buried *Othoes* aſhes, they did ſet vp a tombe for him, neither for magnificence of building, nor for glorious Epitaph, ſubiect vnto enuy. For I haue ſeene his tombe in the city of Bresselles, a meane thing, and the Epitaph vpon it tranſlated out of Latine, ſaith no more but this: This is the tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He died being but ſeuen and thirty yeares old, and was Emperour but three moneths: and there was as famous men that commended his death, as they that reproued his life. For though he liued not much more honeſter then *Nero*, yet he died farre more honorably. Furthermore, when *Pollio* one of the Captaines would haue compelled his ſouldiers preſently to haue taken their oaths to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and vnderſtanding that there were yet remaining ſome Senators, they would not meddle with them, but only troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his doores armed, and called him by his name, and commanded him to take charge of them, and to go as Ambaſſador to intreat for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already ouercome: conſidering he refuſed it when they had ouercome: and alſo he was afraid to go Ambaſſour to the Germaines, becauſe he had compelled them to do things againſt their wils. Therefore he went out at his backe-doore, and ſaued himſelfe. So when the ſouldiers heard of it, they were at length contented to be brought to be ſworne vnto *Vitellius*: and ſo ioyned themſelues with *Cecinnaes* ſouldiers, ſo they might be pardoned for all that was paſt.

The funerals of Otho the Emperor.

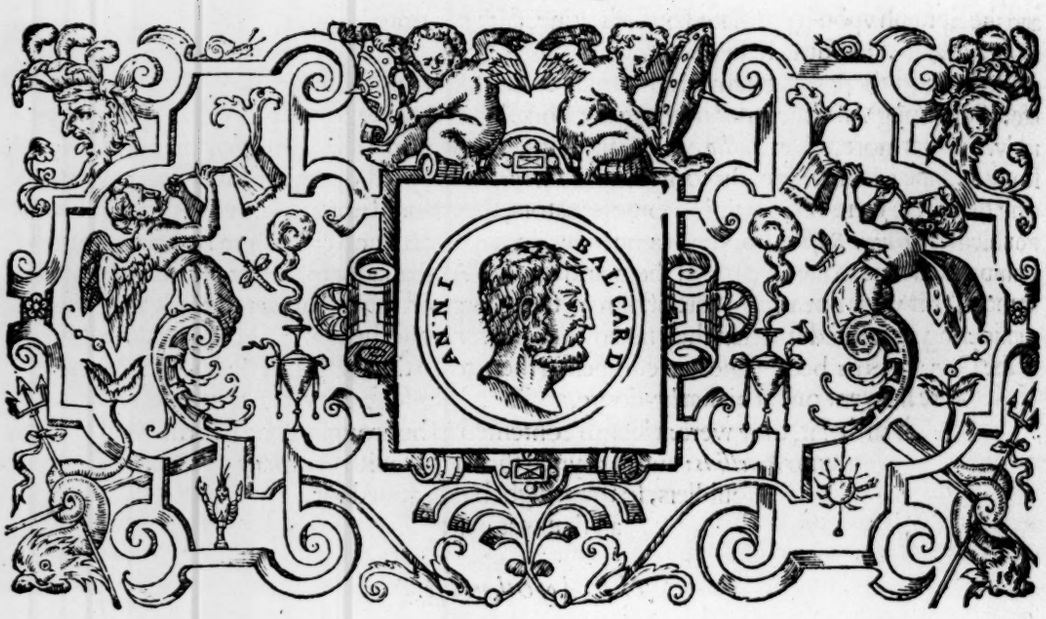
The Emperor Otthoes tombe in the city of Breſſelles.

Othoes age and raigne.

The end of Othoes life.

THE LIVES OF HANNIBALL AND SCIPIO AFRICAN:

Tranſlated into French by *Charles de la Sluce*, and Engliſhed by Sir *Thomas North*.



Hannibal.

The parentage of Hannibal.

IF we do call to mind the firſt PVNICKE war the CARTHAGINIANS had with the ROMAINES: we ſhall find many Captaines, who by the glory of their noble deeds, haue left great fame and renowme vnto their poſteritie. Howbeit amongſt all the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, none are found more worthie of fame, and ſo commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilcar*, *Hannibals* father, otherwiſe ſurnamed *Barcha*, a valiant man doubtleſſe, and in his time a skilfull ſouldier as any was. The ſame *Hamilcar*, firſt of all made warre with the ROMAINES, a longer time in SICILE then was looked for, who had done great hurt to his countrey and commonwealth. After that alſo in the warres of AFRICKE (at what time the mercenarie ſouldiers through their rebellion did put the country of CARTHAGE in great danger) he did ſo valiantly appeaſe the inſurrection: that to euery mans iudgement, he was reputed the onely preſeruer of his countrey. Then he was ſent Gouernour and Captaine into SPAINE, and caried with him at that time (as it is reported) his ſonne *Hannibal*, being but a young boy, where he did noble ſeruice. In fine, in the ninth yeare of his aboad there in that prouince, he died fighting valiantly againſt the VETHEONS. After his death, *Haſdruball* his ſonne in law, whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the ayde and friendſhip of the BARCINIAN faction had made Generall of all their armie) remained Gouernour there the ſpace of eight yeares. This *Haſdruball* ſent for *Hannibal* into SPAINE, after

after his father *Hamilcars* death, against the minds of the chief of the contrarie faction, to the end that as he had bene trained from his youth in the discipline of wars in his father *Hamilcars* life: euen so in like manner, that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his bodie, to away with the paines and daungers of the warres. Now although at the first, the remembrance of his father was a great helpe vnto him to winne the loue and goodwill of the souldiers: yet he himselfe afterwards, through his diligence and industrie so handled the matter, that the old souldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely desired to choose him (and none other) for their gouernor. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for in a noble Captaine or Generall. He had a present and readie wit to giue counsell what was to be done, in greatest attempts: and besides, he lacked neither manhood nor industrie to put it in execution. He had a valiant and inuincible mind, euen in greatest dangers and aduersities of body: the which are wont to stay others from performing their indeuors and dutie. He would watch and ward as any priuate souldier, and was quicke and readie to do any kind of seruice, either like a valiant souldier or a good Captaine. In this sort *Hannibal* continued in seruice in the warres, the space of three yeares, vnder the conduct of *Hasdrubal*. In that time he so wan the hearts of all the army, that immediatly after *Hasdrubals* death, he was chosen to be Lieutenant generall, with the common consent of all the souldiers: and this honor was laid vpon him without contradiction of any of the CARTHAGINIANS through the friendship and goodwil of the BARCINIAN faction. *Hannibal* was now sixe and twentie yeares old, when the souldiers made him their Lieutenant generall. For at what time his father *Hamilcar* brought him into SPAINE, he was then but nine yeares old: and from that time vnto *Hasdrubals* death (according to *Polybius* declaration) it was seuenteene yeares moe. So he was no sooner made Lieutenant generall of all the campe, and his countrey: but he bent himselfe to make war with the ROMAINS, hauing long before determined it. For first of all, he chiefly maintained almost a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS against the ROMAINES, because of the losse of SICILE and SARDINIA. Besides also, he bare the secret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father *Hamilcar*: who of all the Captains the CARTHAGINIANS euer had, was the mortallest enemie vnto the ROMAINES. And it is written also, that at what time *Hamilcar* made his preparation to go into SPAINE, he compelled *Hannibal* (being but a boy) to sweare in a sacrifice he made, that he would be a mortall enemy to the ROMAINES, assoone as euer he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were still fresh in the young mans mind, as the Idea (or image) of his fathers hate, and still prouoked him to spie out all the meanes he could, how to destroy the Empire of ROME. Besides also, the BARCINIAN faction neuer left to pricke him forward vnto it, because by wars he might raise himselfe to greatnes, and so increase his estate. These causes, as well common as particular, inticed *Hannibal* to attempt war against the ROMAINES, and gaue the stout young man occasion by these means to practise innouation. There was a people at that time called the SAGVNTINES, who confined indifferently betwixt the ROMAINES and CARTHAGINIANS: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These SAGVNTINES euer after tooke part with the ROMAINES, and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the ROMAINS alwaies found them very true and faithfull to the Empire of ROME. *Hannibal* therefore thought with himselfe, he could not deuise to make a better match to anger the ROMAINS withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice also against them, then to make war with the SAGVNTINES their confederates. Howbeit, before he would be openly seene to set vpon them, he first determined to lead his army against the OLCADES, and other people on the other side of the riuer of Iberus: and after he had ouercom thē, then to find occasion to molest the SAGVNTINES, to make it appeare that the warre was rather begunne by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had ouercome the OLCADES, he did set vpon the VACCEIANS, spoiled their country, besieged many cities, and took HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, great and rich cities. Now he had in manner ouercome all the whole countrey, when diuerse fugitiues from the citie of HERMANDICE, encouraging one another, conspired against him, leauied men, and inticed the OLCADES that were fled, to take their part. Then they perswaded the CARPENTANIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree sodainely to set vpon *Hannibal* at his returne. They being a people that desired nothing more thē to fight, and considering also that they had receiued iniuries by *Hannibal*, did easily hearken vnto that counsell: and thereupon leauying a great number of men, to the nūber of a hundred thousand, they went to assaile *Hannibal* at his returne from the VACCEIANS, by the riuer of Tagus.

The sharpe wit and disposition of Hannibal.

Hannibal chosen Lieutenant generall after the death of Hasdrubal, being but 26. yeares old.

Diuers causes of Hannibals mortall hate to the Romains.

The Barcinian faction.

Iberus fl.

The conspiracy of the Spaniards against Hannibal.

Tagus fl.

When the CARTHAGINIANS discouered their armie, they stayd vpon it, and were maruellously affraid. And doubtlesse they had had a great ouerthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce people, being affraid of their sodaine comming, and also loden as they were with so great spoils: the which *Hannibal* deepely considering, like a wise Captain as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his armie ouer the riuer with as litle noise as he could, leauing the passage where the enemies might easiliest come ouer, vnguarded: becausse vnder pretence of dissembled feare, he might intice the barbarous people to passe ouer the riuer, to take the oportunitie and occasion offered them. Now indeed as he was the subtillest Captaine, and had the finest stratagemes of any other Captaine of his time: so his pollicie was not in vaine, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy: for the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, supposing the CARTHAGINIANS had bene affraid, with great furie entred the riuer to passe it ouer. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this meanes, and specially before they could passe all ouer the riuer, they were set vpon by the CARTHAGINIANS: first by certaine horsemen, and afterwards with the whole armie, so that there was a great number of them slaine, and the residue were put to flight. After this victorie, all the people inhabiting about the riuer of Iberus, yeelded themselues vnto him, sauing the SAGVNTINES: who, though they saw *Hannibal* at hand comming towards them, trusting to the friendship of the ROMAINES, they prepared to defend themselues against him: and therewithall sent Ambassadors presently to ROME, to shew the Senat in what great danger they were, and also to pray aide against their so great enemy, that made wars so hotely with them. The Ambassadors that were sent to ROME, were scant gone out of SPAINE, when *Hannibal* made open war on them with all his army, and pitched his camp before the city of SAGVNTVS. When this matter was reported at ROME, and consulted of for the wrongs that had bene done to their confederates: the Senators dealt but slackly in it, & by decree only sent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bebius Pamphilus* vnto *Hannibal*, to will him to raise his siege from SAGVNTVS: and if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they should thence repaire to CARTHAGE, and to pray them to deliuer their general *Hannibal* vnto them, becausse he had broke the peace. *Polybius* writeth, that *Hannibal* did heare these Ambassadors, howbeit, that he made them a slender answer. *Liuius* writeth in contrary maner, that they were neuer heard, nor came at any time to his campe. Howbeit, they both agree thus far, that they came into SPAINE, and afterwards went into AFRICKE, & from thence came to CARTHAGE, where after they had deliuered their message vnto the councel, the BARCINIAN faction were so much against them, that they dishonorably returned to ROME, and obtained not their desire. Now, in the Senate of CARTHAGE there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the first tooke his beginning from the gouernment of *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, & so descended as it were by succession to his son *Hannibal*, and grew afterwards vnto such greatnesse, that that faction (as well abroad as at home) ruled all matters iudiciall. The second faction came of *Hanno*, a graue man, and of great authoritie in the same commonwealth: howbeit, a man more giuen to imbrace peace & quietnes, then otherwise disposed to war and trouble. It is he only (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the ROMAINS came to CARTHAGE, to complaine of the iniuries done to their confederates: that did then in maner against the will of all the whole Senat, counsell them to keepe peace with the ROMAINES, & to beware of wars, the which one day might peraduenture vtterly destroy their countrey. Doubtlesse, if the CARTHAGINIANS would haue followed the graue counsell of *Hanno*, rather then to haue giuen place to their desires, and had followed the Authour of peace, and not to haue bene ruled by them that gaue councell to make warres: they had not tasted of those miseries which their country afterwards came vnto. But giuing place to the furie and ambitious mind of a yong man, they heaped such mischiefes on their heads, as afterwards fell out vpon them. Therfore it is very meete for wise magistrates & gouernors of commõweales, alwaies rather to haue an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end: & euer to decide all matters by aduise & councel, before they should take any wars in hand. Now the SAGVNTINES seeing themselues besieged by *Hannibal*, & that against all reason & equitie he made wars vpon them: they notwithstanding valiantly defended the siege many moneths together. Yet in fine, though *Hannibal* had many mo men then they (hauing a hundred and fiftie thousand men in his camp) & that the most part of their rampars were battered and ouerthrown: they liked rather to abide the sacke of their citie, then to yeeld themselues to the mercie of their mortall

Hannibals stratagemes.

The Iberians yeeld theselues vnto Hannibal

Hãnibal layeth siege to the city of Saguntus.

Two contrarie factions in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcinians, and Hannians.
Hamilcar Barcha.
Hanno, a graue counseller and gouernor in peace.
A happy thing to follow good counsell.

VVise counsell for gouernors to preuent things at the beginning.

mortall enemie. So some do report, that SAGVNTVS was taken the eight moneth after siege was laid vnto it. But *Liuie* seemeth not to agree to that, neither to set downe any certaine time of the continuance of the siege. Now the taking of this so wealthie a citie, was a great furtherance diuerse wayes to *Hannibals* enterprises. For many cities taking example of the sacke of SAGVNTVS, who before misliking to be subiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, were readie to rebell: they kept themselues quiet, and the souldiers also waxed liuely and couragious: seeing the rich spoiles that were deuided in the campe. So *Hannibal* sent great presents of the spoiles of the SAGVNTINES vnto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefest men of the citie, and made them like the better of warres: whom he determined to leade with him against the ROMAINES, not in SPAINE as many supposed, but into ITALIE itselfe. Whilest these matters were in hand, the Ambassadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the slender answer they had receiued, in manner at the selfe same time when they had intelligence of the sacke of SAGVNTVS. Hereupon the ROMAINES greatly repented themselues (though somewhat too late) for that they aided not their friendes and confederates in so great a daunger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very sorie for it, and therewith also maruellously offended, they deuided the prouinces vnto the Consuls, to wit, SPAINE vnto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRICKE and SICILE also vnto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certaine of the noblest men of the citie were sent Ambassadors vnto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senat for breach of the peace, and also to denounce vnto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of themselues. This was as brauely receiued of the CARTHAGINIANS, as lustily offered vnto them: but therein they were not so well aduised, as the successe of that warre in the end sufficiently proued it to them. Now *Hannibal* being aduertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with himselfe that it was time to go into ITALIE, as he had determined frō the beginning: he made all the possible speede he could to prepare his shippes and things ready, and so required aide of the cities that were his best friends and confederates, and commaunded that all the bandes should meete him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appointed good garrisons in places most conuenient, in AFRICKE and SPAINE, which he thought aboue all things else to be most necessarie: because that when he should go into ITALIE, the ROMAINES should not win it from him. Therfore he sent into AFRICKE, twelue hundred horsmen, and thirteene thousand footmen, all SPANIARDS: and besides, he brought out of diuers parts of AFRICKE foure thonsand souldiers, and placed them in garrison in CARTHAGE, obtaining both hostages and souldiers by this meanes. So he left the gouernment of SPAINE to his brother *Hasdrubal*, and gaue him an army of fiftie ships of war, two thousand horsmen, & twelue thousand footmen. These were the garrisons he left in both those prouinces. Now he thought them not sufficient to withstand the power of the ROMAINS, if they bent their warres into SPAINE or AFRICKE: but because he thought thē strong inough to stay the enemy from ouerrunning of the country, vntill that hauing brought his army by land, he had set foot in ITALY. Moreouer, he knew that the CARTHAGINIANS were strong inough to leauie a new army if they listed, and if need so required, to send him aide also into ITALY. For, after that they had driuen away this so daungerous a warre, procured against them through the spite of the mercenarie souldiers hauing euer after obtained victorie: first vnder the conduct of *Hamilcar*: secondly, vnder *Hasdrubal*: and lastly, vnder *Hannibal*: they were grown to such greatnes & strength, that at what time *Hannibal* came into ITALY, their Empire and dominions were maruellously enlarged. For they had al the coast of AFRIKE, which lyeth ouer against the sea Mediterraneū, from the altars of the Philenians, which be not far from the great Syrte, vnto *Hercules* pillars: and containeth in length *two thousand paces. So after they had passed the straight which deuideth AFRICKE from EVROPE, they possessed almost all SPAINE, to the mountaines Pirenei, which doe deuide SPAINE from GAVLE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICKE and SPAINE: *Hannibal* returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his armie was readie for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his men together, and encouraging them with great and large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALY: & made great account vnto them of the friendship of the GAVLES, and in the end he bad them be of good courage, and set lustily forward. Thereupon, the next day following he departed from CARTHAGE, and brought his army all alongst the coast, vnto the riuer of Iberus. It is reported, that the

Hannibal wan the citie of Saguntus.

P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius Consuls.

Warres proclaimed by the Romaines, with the Carthaginians.

The greatnesse of the dominiō of Africke.

This place is false.

Hannibal determineth to inuade Italy.

Hannibals dreame at the riuer of Iberus.

next day following, *Hannibal* dreamed he ſaw a yong man, of a maruellous terrible looke & ſtature, who bad him follow him into ITALY: but afterwards, that he ſaw a ſnake of a wonderfull greatnes, making a maruellous noiſe: and being deſirous to vnderſtand what the ſame might ſignifie, it was told him, that it betokened the deſtruction of ITALIE. It is not to be maruelled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALIE, made his mind to run of ſuch fancies in the night, as dreaming of victorie or deſtruction, or ſuch other calamities of war. For they are things that happē often, as *Cicero* the Orator ſaith: that our thoughts and words do beget ſuch things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet writeth of *Homer*: to wit, like to thoſe his mind moſt ran on, or that he talked of moſt. Now, after *Hannibal* had paſſed ouer the monntaines Pirenei, and that he had alſo won the GAVLES hearts with bountifull gifts: in few daies he came to the riuer of Rhone. The head of the riuer of Rhone, is not far from the heads of the riuers of the Rhein and Danuby, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into Lacus Lemanus at GENVA. Then it runneth from thence towards the weſt, and deuideth the GAVLS a pretie way: and then being increaſed by the riuer of Arar (called in French, Saone) and with other riuers, in the end it falleth into the ſea with diuers heads, betwixt the VOLSCES and the CAVARIANS. The VOLSCES at that time inhabited both the ſides of the riuer of Rhone, and were ful of people, and the richeſt of al the other GAVLS. They hauing vnderſtanding of *Hannibals* comming, paſſed ouer the riuer, and armed themſelues, and prepared on the other ſide to ſtoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they ſhould not paſſe ouer. Nowe, though *Hannibal* had won all the other GAVLES, yet thoſe he could neuer win neither by gifts, nor threates, to cauſe them rather to proue the friendſhip of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore *Hannibal* perceiuing he was to handle ſuch enemies rather by pollicie, he commanded *Hanno* the ſon of *Bomilcar*, ſecretly to paſſe ouer the riuer of Rhone, with part of the army, and ſo to ſet vpon the GAVLES on the ſodaine. Thereupon *Hanno* (as he was commanded) made a long iourney, and hauing paſſed ouer the riuer at paſſable foords: he ſhewed himſelfe hard by the enemies campe before they ſaw him, or that they knew what it was. The GAVLES hearing their ſhouts and cries behind thē, and hauing their hands full of *Hannibal* before them, who had many boats readie to paſſe ouer his men: they hauing no leyſure to conſult of the matter, neither to arme themſelues to ſtand to defence, left their campe and fled for life. So they being driuen from the other ſide of the riuer, the reſt of the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS paſſed ouer it with ſafetie. In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a litle before was come vnto MASSILIA, ſtill heard newes of *Hannibals* armie. Wherefore, to be more aſſured of the matter, he ſent a band of choice horſemen to diſcouer what the enemies intent was: who making great ſpeede as they were commaunded, met by chaunce with fiue hundred horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, whom *Hannibal* had alſo ſent to bring him word of the ROMAINES armie. So, they firſt ſodainly gaue charge vpon the NVMIDIANS, and after a hote and valiant conflict betweene both the parties, in the end the ROMAINS ouercomming them, they made them flie, but with great loſſe of their men: howbeit the greateſt loſſe and ſlaughter fell vpon the enemies. So *Hannibal* by this meanes found where the ROMAINES lay, and ſtood in a great doubt with himſelfe, whether he ſhould keepe on his way into ITALIE, or elſe lead his army againſt the Conſull that then was, and ſo to proue his hap and ſucceſſe. At length debating many waies in his mind, and vncertaine which way he would determine: the Ambaſſadors of the BOIANS perſwaded him to leaue all other deuiſes, and to go on into ITALIE. For before that *Hannibal* had paſſed ouer the mountains Pirenei, the BOIANS hauing by craft taken the ROMAINS Ambaſſadors, and done great miſchiefe vnto *Manlius* the Prætor, & intiſed the INSVBRIANS alſo: they were reuolted from the ROMANES, and took part with *Hannibal*, and only becauſe the ROMAINES had repleniſhed the cities of PLACENTIA, and CREMONA with people, and had made them Colonies to ROME. So *Hannibal* being ruled by their counſell, raiſed his campe, and keeping the riuers ſide, ſtill going againſt the riuer: in few daies he came to the place which the GAVLES do call the Iland, the which the riuer of Arar and Rhodanus comming from diuers mountaines do make there. So at this preſent, there is the famous citie of LION in GAVLE, which they ſay was built long time after by *Plancus Munatius*. From thence he came to the countrey of the ALLOBROGES, and hauing pacified the variance betwixt two brethren for the realme, he came through the countrie of the CASTINIANS and VOCONTIANS, to the riuer of Durance. The heade of this riuer commeth from the Alpes, and from thence running with a ſwift ſtreame, falleth into the riuer of Rhone: & as it oftentimes changeth her courſe, ſo

The head and courſe of the riuer of Rhone. Arar fl.

The Volſces, people that inhabited about the riuer of Rhone.

P. Cornelius Scipio Conſull: ſent againſt Hannibal, & arriued at Maſſilia.

The Boians & Inſubrians, reuolt from the Romaines, and take part with Hannibal

Lugdunum, built by Plancus Munatius.

Druentia fl.

ſo hath it in manner no paſſable ford. Yet *Hannibal* hauing paſt it ouer, he led his army vnto the Alpes, through open and plaine countries, as farre as he could: howbeit, as he paſſed through them, he had great loſſes, as it is reported. Inſomuch that ſome that were liuing at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Hannibal* himſelfe ſay, that he had loſt aboue thirtie thouſand men, and the moſt part of his horſemen. For he was forced not onely to fight with the inhabitants of the mountaines, but alſo compelled to make wayes through the ſtraights: ſo that in certaine places of the higheſt rockes, he was driuen to make paſſages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had paſſed the Alpes in fifteene dayes ſpace, he came downe into the valley, not farre from the citie of TVRINE. Whereby it ſeemeth to me, that he paſſed ouer the mountaine they commonly called Genua, the which on the one ſide of it hath the riuer of Druentia, and on the other ſide it goeth downe to the citie of TVRINE. Now it is hard to ſay truely, what number of men he had when he was come into ITALIE, becauſe of mens diuerſities of opinions. For ſome write, that he had a hundred thouſand footmen, and twenty thouſand horſemen: others alſo write, that he had twentie thouſand footmen, and ſixe thouſand horſemen, all AFRICANS and SPANIARDS. But others reckoning the GAVLES and LIGVRIANS, doe count foureſcore thouſand footemen, and ten thouſand horſemen. Yet is not credible, that his armie was ſo great, as the firſt men report, and ſpecially hauing paſſed through ſo many countries, and alſo receiued ſuch loſſe as he had: neither alſo could his number be ſo ſmall, as the ſecond reporters do make it, if a man will conſider the famous exploites and great enterpriſes he did afterwardes. So that I like their opinions beſt, which keepe the meane betweene them both: conſidering that he brought into ITALIE, the better part of foureſcore thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand horſmen, the which he had leauied in SPAINE: as it is manifeſtly knowne alſo, that a great number of the LIGVRIANS and GAVLES came to ioyne with him, for the great malice they bare vnto the ROMAINES, that gaue no place nor grouud vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. So *Hannibal* being come from TVRINE, into the countrey of the INSVBRIANS: he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull ſpeede from MASSILIA, and hauing paſſed the riuers of Po and Teſin, he camped not farre from the enemie. So ſhortly after, both the Generals being come into the fielde to view each others campe, the horſemen of either ſide grew to skirmiſh, which continued long, and was not to be diſcerned which of them had the better. Howbeit, in the end the ROMAINES ſeeing the Conſull hurt, and alſo that the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, by litle and litle came to compaſſe them in: they were driuen to giue ground, and ſo pretily retired, defending the Conſull the beſt they could to ſaue him, and ſo at length recouered their campe. It is reported, that *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, was ſaued at that time through his ſons helpe, who afterwardes was called AFRICAN, and at that time was but a yong ſtrippling: whoſe prayſe, though it was wonderfull in ſo greene a youth, yet it is likely to be true, becauſe of the famous and valiant actes that he did afterwardes. Now *Scipio* hauing prooued how much his enemie was ſtronger then himſelfe in horſemen: he determined to place his campe ſo, as his footmen might be in beſt ſafetie, and alſo fight with greateſt aduantage. And therefore the next night following he paſſed the riuer of Po, and made as litle noiſe as he could, and went vnto PLACENTIA. The like ſhortly after did *T. Sempronius Longus*, who had bene reſtored frō baniſhment by the Senate, and ſent for out of SICILE: becauſe both the Conſuls ſhould gouerne the cōmon wealth by one ſelfe authoritie. *Hannibal* alſo followed them both with all his armie, and pitched his campe neare vnto the riuer of Trebia: hoping that becauſe both campes lay ſo nere together, ſome occaſion would be offered to fight, the which he chiefly deſired, both becauſe he could not long maintaine war for lacke of victuals, as alſo that he miſtruſted the fickleneſſe of the GAVLES, Who like as they ſoone fell in league and friendſhippe with him, drawne vnto it with hope of chaunge, and with the fame alſo of his victorie obtained: ſo he miſtruſted that vpon any light occaſion (as if the war ſhould continue any long time in their country) they would turne all the hate they bare vnto the ROMAINS againſt him, as the onely authour of this warre. For theſe reſpects therefore, he deuiſed all the meanes he could to come to battell. In the meane time *Sempronius* the other Conſull, met with a troupe of the enemies, loden with ſpoile, ſtraggling vp and downe the fieldes, whom he charged and put to flight. So, imagining the like ſucceſſe of all the battell, by this good fortune he had met withall: he had good hope of victorie, if once both the armies might come to fight. Therefore being maruellous deſirous to doe ſome noble enterpriſe before *Scipio* were recouered of his hurt, and that the new Conſull ſhould be choſen: he

Hannibal made waies through the rockes of the mountaines, by force of fire & vineger.

The valley of Taurinus.

Hannibals coming into Italy by Piedmōt, not farre from Turine.

Hannibals army in Italy.

Hannibals firſt conflict with the Romaines, and victorie.

P.C. Scipio Conſull, hurt & ſaued from his enemies by his ſon, who was afterwards called African.

Padus fl.

P. Cornelius Scipio and T. Sempronius Longus Conſuls, againſt Hannibal.

Trebia fl.

determined to ioyne battell againſt the wil of his other colleague and fellow Conſul *Scipio*, who thought nothing could be to leſſe purpoſe, then to put all the ſtate and commonwealth in ieopardie, ſpecially hauing all the whole GAVLES in maner in the field againſt him. Now *Hannibal* had ſecret intelligence of all this variance, by ſpials he had ſent into the enemies campe. Wherefore, he being politicke and ſubtill as he was, found out a place ſtraight betweene both campes, couered ouer with buſhes and briers, and there he placed his brother *Mago* to lie in ambuſh, with a companie of choſen men. Then he commaunded the horſemen of the NVMIDIANS, to ſcurrie to the trenches of the ROMAINS, to intice them to come to battell: & thereupon made the reſidue of his armie to eate, and ſo put them in very good order of battell, to be readie vpon any occaſion offered. Now the Conſull *Sempronius*, at the firſt tumult of the NVMIDIANS, ſodainely ſent his horſemen to encounter them, and after them put out ſixe thouſand footmen, and in the end came himſelfe out of his campe with all his armie. It was then in the middeſt of winter, and extreame cold, and ſpecially in the places incloſed about the Alpes, and the mountaine Appenine. Now the NVMIDIANS as they were commaunded, intiſed the ROMAINES by litle and litle on this ſide the riuer of Trebia, vntill they came to the place where they might diſcerne their enſignes: and then they ſodainly turned vpon the enemies which were out of order. For it is the manner of the NVMIDIANS, oftentimes to flie of ſet purpoſe, and then to ſtay vpon the ſodaine when they ſee time, to charge their enemie more hotely and fiercely then before. Whereupon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his horſemen together, and did ſet his men in battell ray, as time required, to giue charge vpon his enemie, that ſtayed for him in order of battell. For *Hannibal* had caſt his men into ſquadrons, readie vpon any occaſion. The skirmiſh beganne firſt by the light horſemen, and afterwards increaſed hoter by ſupply of the men of armes: howbeit, the ROMAINE Knights being vnable to beare the ſhocke of the enemies, they were quickly broken. So that the legions maintained the battell with ſuch furie and noble courage, that they had bene able to haue reſiſted, ſo they had fought but with footmen only. But on the one ſide, the horſmen and Elephants made them affraid, and on the other ſide the footemen followed them very luſtily, and fought with great furie againſt famiſhed and frozen men. Wherefore the ROMAINS notwithſtanding, ſuffering all the miſeries that vexed them on euery ſide, with an vnſpeakeable courage and magnanimitie, ſuch as was aboue their force and ſtrength: they fought ſtill, vntill that *Mago* comming out of his ambuſh, came and ſodainly aſſailed them with great ſhoutes and cries, and that the middle ſquadron of the CARTHAGINIANS alſo (through *Hannibals* commandement) flew vpon the CENOMANIANS. Then the ROMAINES ſeeing their confederates flie, their hearts were done, and vtterly diſcouraged. It is ſaid that there were ten thouſaud footmen of the ROMAINES got to PLACENTIA, and came through the enemies. The reſt of the armie that fled, were moſt part of them ſlaine by the CARTHAGINIANS. The Conſull *Sempronius* alſo ſcaped very narrowly from the enemies. The victorie coſt *Hannibal* the ſetting on alſo: for he loſt a great number of his men, and the moſt part of all his Elephants were ſlaine. After this battel, *Hannibal* ouercame all the countrie, and did put all to fire and ſword, and tooke alſo certaine townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the countrimen flie, that were diſorderly gathered together in battel. Then at the beginning of the Spring, he brought his armie into the field ſooner then time required: & meaning to go into THVSCAN, he was driuen backe by a great tẽpeſt at the very top of the height of the Appenine, and ſo cõpelled to bring his armie about PLACENTIA: howbeit, ſhortly after he put himſelf againe into the fields for diuers vrgent & neceſſarie cauſes. For had he not ſaued himſelfe by that pollicie, he had almoſt bene taken tardie by the ambuſh of the GAVLES: who being angry with him that the war cõtinued ſo long in their countrie, they ſought to be reuenged of him, as the only author & occaſion of the war. Therfore perceiuing it was time for him to auoid this danger, he made all the haſt he could to lead his army into ſome other prouince. Furthermore, he thought it would increaſe his eſtimation much among ſtrangers, and alſo greatly encourage his owne people, if he could make the power of the CARTHAGINIANS to ſeeme ſo great, and alſo their Captaine to be of ſo noble a courage, as to dare to make war ſo neare to the citie of ROME. All things therfore ſet apart, he marched with his campe by the mountaine Appenine, and ſo cõming through the countrie of the LIGVRIANS, he came into THVSCAN, by the way that bringeth them into the champion countrey, & to the mariſhes about the riuer of Arnus. The riuer of Arnus at that time was very high, & had ouerflowne all the fields thereabouts. *Hannibal* therefore marching with ſo great an armie as he had, could not auoide

Ambuſh layed by Hannibal to intrap Sempronius.

Hannibal fought with Sempronius the Conſul at the riuer of Trebia.

The Numidians craft in flying.

Hannibals victorie of the Conſul Sempronius.

Arnus fl.

auoide it, but that he muſt needs loſe a number of his men and horſe, before he could get out of thoſe euill-fauoured mariſhes. Inſomuch that he himſelfe loſt one of his eyes, by reaſon of the great paines he had taken day and night without ſleepe or reſt, and alſo through the euill aire: though he was caried vpon a high Elephants backe, which onely was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, *C. Flaminius* Conſull, to whom the charge of *Sempronius* armie was giuen: he was come vnto ARETIVM againſt the Senates mind, who were maruellouſly offended with him, becauſe he left his companion *Cn. Seruilius* at ROME, and went vnto his prouince by ſtealth as it were, without the furniture of a Conſul & his officers. This was a very haſtie man of nature, & one that the people had brought to that dignitie & office: ſo that he was become ſo proud and inſolent, that men might ſee how he wold hazard all things without wit or iudgement. *Hannibal* hauing intelligence thereof, thought it the beſt way to anger the Conſul, and to do what he could poſſible to allure him into the field; before his fellow Conſull ſhould come to ioyne with him. Therfore he marching forward with his campe through the countrey of FESVLA and ARETIVM, he burnt & ſpoiled all the country therabouts, and filled them all with feare, neuer leauing to deſtroy all before him, vntill he came to the mountaine Cortonenſes, and ſo to the lake called Thraſimene. When he had viewed the place he went about to ſurpriſe his enemie by ſome ambuſh: wherupon he conueyed certaine horſemen vnder the hils, hard by the ſtraight that goeth vnto Thraſimene, and behind the mountaines alſo, he placed his light horſemen. Then he himſelfe with the reſt of his army came downe into the field, ſuppoſing that the Conſull would not be quiet: and ſo it fell out. For hote ſtirring heads are eaſily intrapped, & fall into the enemies ambuſh, & oftentimes do put all in hazard, becauſe they will follow no counſell nor good aduice. *C. Flaminius* therfore ſeeing their country vtterly ſpoiled, the corne deſtroyed and cut down, & the houſes burnt: he made great haſt to lead his army againſt the enemy cõtrary to all mens minds, who would haue had him taried for his cõpanion *Cn. Seruilius* the other Conſul. So euen at Sun ſet, when he was come to the ſtraights of the lake of Thraſimene, he cauſed his campe to ſtay there, although his men were not wearie with the long iourney they had taken by the way. So the next morning by break of day making no view of the country, he wẽt ouer the mountaines. Then *Hannibal* (who long before was prepared for this) did but ſtay for the oportunitie to worke his feate: when he ſaw the ROMAINES come into the plaine, he gaue a ſignall vnto all his men to giue charge vpon the enemie. Therupon the CARTHAGINIANS breaking out on euery ſide, came before and behind, and on the flankes to aſſaile the enemie, being ſhut in betweene the lake and the mountaines. Nowe in contrarie manner, the ROMAINES beginning to fight out of order, they fought incloſed together, that they could not ſee one another, as if it had bene darke: ſo that it is to be wondred at, how, and with what minde they fought it out ſo long, conſidering they were compaſſed in on euery ſide. For they fought it out aboue three houres ſpace, with ſuch furie and courage, that they heard not the terrible earthquake that was at that preſent time, neither did they offer to flie or ſtirre a foot: vntill they heard that the Conſull *C. Flaminius* going from ranke to rancke to encourage his men, was ſlaine by a man of armes called *Ducarius*. Then when they had loſt their Generall, and being voide of all hope, they fled, ſome towardes the mountaines, and others towards the lake, of the which diuerſe of them flying, were ouertaken and ſlaine. So there were ſlaine * fifteene thouſand in the field, and there ſcaped about ten thouſand. Furthermore, the report went, that there were ſixe thouſand footemen which forcibly (at the beginning of the battell) got to the mountaine, and there ſtayed on a hill till the battell was ended, and at length came downe vpon *Hannibals* promiſe: but they were betrayed, and ſlaine euery mothers ſonne of them. After this great victory, *Hannibal* did let diuerſe ITALIAN priſoners go free without raunſome paying, after he had vſed them maruellous curteouſly: becauſe that the fame of his clemencie & curteſie ſhold be knowne vnto all nations, wheras indeed his own nature was contrarie to al vertues. For he was haſtie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought vp in warres, and exerciſed in murther, treaſon and ambuſhes layed for enemies: and neuer cared for law, order, nor ciuill gouernment. So by this meanes he became one of the cruelleſt Captaines, the moſt ſubtill and craftieſt to deceiue and intrap his enemie, that euer was. For as he was alway prying to beguile the enemie: ſo thoſe whom he could not ouercome in war by plaine force, he went about to intrap by ſleight & policie. The which appeareth true by this preſent battell, and alſo by the other he fought againſt the Conſull *Sempronius*, by the riuer of Trebia. But let vs returne to our matter, and leaue this talke

Hannibal loſt one of his eyes in the mariſhes by the riuer of Arnus.

C. Flaminius & Cn. Seruilius, Conſuls.

Montes Cortonenſes.

Lacus Thraſimenus.

The iudgement of a ſouldier.

Battell betwixt Hannibal and C. Flaminius the Conſull, by the lake of Thraſimene.

The Romaines were ſo earneſt in fight, that they heard not the noiſe of an earthquake.

C. Flaminius the Conſull, ſlaine.

* *Plutarch in the life of Fabius Maximus addeth to as many priſoners.*

Hãnibals craftimes to diſſemble vertue.

The naturall diſpoſition of Hannibal.

till another time. Now when the newes of the ouerthrow & death of the Consull *Flaminius* was reported at Rome, hauing lost the most part of his armie: there was great mone & lamentation made through all the city of Rome. Some bewailing the cõmon miserie of the cõmonwealth, others lamenting their priuate particular losse, & some also sorrowing for both together. But indeed it was a wofull sight, to see a world of men & women to run to the gates of the city, euery one priuatly asking for their kin & friends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very sorie & pensiue, dispairing of the safetie of their sons, died sodainly for the extreame ioy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they saw their sons aliue & safe. At the selfe same time, *Cn. Seruilius*, the other Consull with *C. Flaminius*, did send him 4000 horsemen, not vnderstanding yet of the battell that was fought by the lake of Thrasimene. But when they heard of the ouerthrow of their men by the way, & therfore thought to haue fled into Vmbria: they were cõpassed in by the horsmen of the enemies, & so brought vnto *Hannibal*. Now the Empire of Rome being brought into so great extremitie & danger, because of so many small losses one in the necke of another: it was ordained, that an extraordinarie Gouernor or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an office specially vsed to be reserued for the last hope and remedy in most extreame danger & perill, of the state & cõmonwealth. But because the Cõsull *Seruilius* could not returne at that time to Rome, all the waies being kept by the enemy: the people contrary to their custome, created *Q. Fabius* Dictator, (who afterwards attained the surname of *Maximus*, to say, Very great) who likewise did name *M. Minutius*, Generall of the horsemen. Now this *Fabius* was a graue & wise counseller, and of great authority & estimation in the cõmonwealth: insomuch as the citizens had all their hope & cõfidence in him only, perswading thẽselues, that the honor of Rome might be better preserued vnder the gouernment & conduct of such a Generall, rather then vnder the gouernment of any other man whatsoeuer. So *Fabius* knowing it very well, after he had carefully and diligently giuen order for all things necessary: he departed from Rome, and when he had receiued the armie of the late Consull *Cn. Seruilius*, he added vnto them two other legions, and so went vnto the enemy. Now *Hannibal* was gone frõ the lake of Thrasimene, and went directly towards the citie of Spoletvm, to see if he could take it at the first assault. But when he saw that the townes-men stood vpon the rampers of their wals, and valiantly defended themselues: he then left the towne and destroyed the countrey as he went, and burnt houses and villages, and so went into Apvlia, through the marches of Ancona, and the countrey of the Marsians and Pelignians. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the citie of Arpy, not farre from the campe of the enemie, to the end to draw out the warre at length. For the rashnesse and foole-hardines of the former Captains aforetime, had brought the state of Rome into such miserie, that they thought it a victorie vnto them, not to be ouercome by the enemie, that had so often ouercome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the change and alteration of the Captaine: for though *Hannibal* had set his men in battell raye, and afterwards perceiuing his enemy stirred not, went and destroyed the countrey, hoping thereby to intice the Dictator to fight, when he should see the countrey of his confederates so spoiled, as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not mooued withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Hannibal* was in a maruellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often remoued his campe, to the ende that going diuerse wayes, some occasion or oportunitie might fall out to deceiue the enemie, or else to giue battell. So when he had passed the mountaine Appenine, he came vnto Samnivm. But because shortly after, some of Campania, who hauing bene taken prisoners by the lake of Thrasimene, had bene set at liberty without ransome: they putting him in hope that he might take the city of Capva, he made his army march forward, and tooke a guide that knew the country, to bring him vnto Casinvm. Now the guide ouerhearing Casinvm, vnderstood it Casilinvm, and so mistaking the sound of the word, brought the army a cleane contrary way vnto Calentinvm and Calenvm, & from thence about Stella. So when they came into a country enuironned about with mountaines & riuers, *Hannibal* knew straight they had mistaken their way, & so did cruelly put the guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patiently, and was contented to giue *Hannibal* libertie to take his pleasure which way he would: vntill he had gotten the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his garrison, being places of great aduauntage and commoditie. So the armie of the Carthaginians was in manner compassed in euery way, and they must needes haue dyed

Extreame ioy causeth sudden death.

The office of Dictator, of what effect.

Q. Fabius Maximus, created Dictator.

Hastinesse of Captains oftentimes very hurtfull.

The guide cruelly put to death by Hannibal.

died for famine in that place, or elſe haue fled, to their great ſhame and diſhonour: had not *Hannibal* by this ſtratageme preuented the danger. Who knowing the daunger all his armie ſtood in and hauing ſpied a fit time for it: he commaunded his ſouldiers to bring foorth two thouſand oxen which they had gotten in ſpoile in the fieldes, hauing great ſtore of them, and then tying torches of fire-linkes vnto their hornes, he appointed the nimbleſt men he had to light them, and to driue the oxen vp the hill to the toppe of the mountaines, at the reliefe of the firſt watch. All this was duely executed according to his commaundement; and the oxen running vp to the toppe of the mountaines with the torches burning, the whole armie marched after them faire and ſoftly. Now the Romaines that had long before placed a ſtrong garriſon vpon the mountaines, they were affraid of this ſtraunge ſight, and miſtruſting ſome ambuſh, they foorthwith forſooke their peeces and holdes. *Fabius* himſelfe miſtruſting alſo that it was ſome ſtratageme of the enemy, kept his men within the campe, and could not well tell what to ſay to it. In the meane time *Hannibal* got ouer the mountaine, not farre from the bathes of Sweſſa, which the countrimen do call, The tower of the bathes, and brought all his armie ſafe into Alba: and ſhortly after, he marched directly as though he would go to Rome, howbeit he ſodainly turned out of the way, and went preſently into Apvlia. There he tooke the citie of Glerenvm, a very rich and wealthie towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, and came and camped by Lavrinvm, not farre from the Carthaginians campe. So he being ſent for to Rome about waightie affaires of the ſtate, there was no remedie, but that he muſt needes depart from thence with all the ſpeede he could: howbeit before he went, he left *Marcus Minutius* Generall of the horſemen, his Lieutenant of all the armie, and commaunded him in his abſence not once to ſtirre nor to meddle with the enemies. For he was fully bent to follow his determination, which was: not to vexe the enemie, nor to fight with him, though he were prouoked vnto it. Howbeit *Marcus Minutius* litle regarding the Dictators commaundement, his backe was no ſooner turned, but he ſet vpon a companie of the enemies diſperſed in the field a foraging, and ſlue a great number of them, and fought with the reſt euen into their campe. The rumor of this skirmiſh flew ſtraight to Rome, and there was ſuch great account made of it, that it was eſteemed for a victorie: and the commonpeople were ſo ioyfull of it, that they ſtraight made the power of the Lieutenant equall with the Dictator *Fabius*, the which was neuer heard of before. *Fabius* patiently bearing this extreame iniurie with a noble courage, hauing no way deſerued it, he returned againe into the campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one ſelf time, (a thing neuer ſeene nor heard of before) who after they had deuided the armie betweene thē, either of them commaunded his armie apart, as the Conſuls were wont to do before. *Marcus Minutius* thereupon grew to ſuch a pride and haughtie mind, that one day he ventured to giue battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* a counſel withall: the which *Hannibal* hauing ſo often ouercome, durſt ſcantly haue enterpriſed. So he led his armie into ſuch a place, where the enemie had compaſſed them in: inſomuch that *Hannibal* ſlue them at his pleaſure, without any hope left them to eſcape, if *Fabius* had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather reſpecting the honour of his countrey, then remembring the priuate iniurie he had receiued. For he comming freſh with his armie to the battell, made *Hannibal* affraid, that the Romaines legions had libertie to retire with ſafetie. Whereby *Fabius* wan great fame for his wiſedome and valiantnes, both of his owne ſouldiers, as alſo of the enemies themſelues. For it was reported that *Hannibal* ſhould ſay, (returning into his campe) That in this battell he had ouercome *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was alſo ouercome by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* ſelfe alſo confeſſing *Fabius* wiſedome, and conſidering that (according to *Heſiodus* ſaying) it was good reaſon to obey a better man then himſelfe: he came with all his armie vnto *Fabius* campe, and renouncing his authority, came and humbly ſaluted *Fabius* as his father, and all that day there was great ioy, and reioycing among the ſouldiers. So both the armies being placed in garriſon for the winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Conſuls created, *L. Paulus Æmylius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the fauour of the common people) was brought to be Conſul. So they had libertie and commiſſion to leauie a greater armie then the Generals before them had done. Wherby the legions were newly ſupplyed, and alſo others added vnto them, more then were before. Now when the Conſuls were come into the armie, as they were of ſeuerall diſpoſitions, ſo did they alſo obſerue diuerſe manners in their gouernment. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a graue wiſe man, and one that purpoſed to follow *Fabius* counſell and

Hannibals ſtratageme in the mountaines of Gallicanum, and Caſtilinum, againſt Q. Fabius Dictator.

Certaine bathes at Sweſſa, called The tower of the bathes.

Glerenum, a city in Apulia.

Two Dictators together, neuer heard of before

L. Paulus Æmylius, and C. Terentius Varro, Conſuls.

The difference betwixt L. Paulus, and C. Terentius Varro.

fashions: he did desire to draw out the war in length, and to stay the enemy without fighting. *Varro* on the other side was a hastie man, and venturous, and desired nothing but to fight. So it chaunced, that not long after it was knowne, to the great cost and daunger of the citie of Rome, what difference there was betwixt the modestie of *Æmylius*, and the foole-hardinesse of *Varro*. For *Hannibal* being affraid of some stirre and tumult in his campe for lacke of victuals, he departed from Gerenvm, and going into the warmest place of Apvlia, came and camped with all his armie, by a village called Cannes. So he was followed with both the Consuls, who came and camped severally hard by him, but so neare one to another, that there was but the river of Aufide that parted them. This river (as it is reported) doth alone deuide the mountaine of the Appenine, and taketh his heade on that side of the mountaine that lyeth to the sea side, from whence it runneth to the sea Adriaticum. Now *Lucius Paulus* finding that it was impossible for *Hannibal* being in a straunge countrey, to maintaine so great an armie of such sundrie nations together: he was fully bent to tracte time, and to auoyde battell, perswading himselfe that it was the right and onely way to ouercome him, being as much to the enemies disaduantage, as also maruellous profitable and beneficiall for the common-wealth. And sure if *C. Terentius Varro*, had caried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that *Hannibals* armie had bene ouerthrowne by the Romaines, without stroke striking. Howbeit, he had such a light head of his owne, and was so fickle minded, that he neither regarded wise counsell, nor *Paulus Æmylius* authoritie: but in contrarie manner would fall out with him, and also complained before the souldiers, for that he kept his men pent vp and idle, whilest the enemie did put foorth his men to the fielde in battell raye. So when his turne came, that he was absolutely to commaund the whole armie, (for they both had absolute power by turnes) he passed ouer the river of Aufide by breake of day, and gaue the signall of battell without the priuitie of his companion *Æmylius*, who rather followed him against his will then willingly, because he could doe none otherwise. So he caused a scarlet coate of armes to be put out very earely in the morning, for a signall of battell. *Hannibal* on the other side being as glad of it as might be possible, that he had occasion offered him to fight: (considering that the continuall delaying of battell did aulter all his purpose) hee passed his armie ouer the river, and had straight put them in very good order. For he had taken great spoyles of his enemies to furnish himselfe very brauely. Nowe the armie of the Romaines stoode South-ward, insomuch that the South winde (which the men of the countrey call Vulturnus) blewe full in their faces: whereas the enemies in contrarie maner had the vauntage of the wind and Sunne vpon their backes, and their battell stoode in this manner. The Africans were placed in both the wings, and the Gavles and Spaniards set in a squadron in the middest. The light horsemen first beganne the skirmish, and after them followed the men of armes: and because the space betwixt the river and the footemen was very narrowe, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the horsemen of the Romaines being ouerthrowne, the footemen came with such a lustie courage to receiue the charge, that they thought they should not haue day enough to fight. Howbeit, the ouer-earnest desire they had to ouercome their enemies, made their ouerthrow more miserable, then their ioy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the Gavles and Spaniards, (who as we haue said before kept the battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the Romaines, they retired towards the Africans in the wings. The Romaines perceiuing that, ranne vpon the enemie with all the furie they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the middest of them. Then the Carthaginians that were in both wings, came and compassed them in before they were aware. Moreouer, there were fiue hundred of the Nvmidian horsemen, that colourably fled vnto the Consuls, who receiued them very curteously, and placed them in the rereward of the armie. They seeing their time, shewed behind the enemies, and did sodainely giue them charge. Then the armie of the Romanes was vtterly ouerthrowne, and *Hannibal* obtained victorie. *Liuie* writeth, that there were slaine in this battel* forty thousand footmen, & aboue two thousand seuen hundred horsemen. *Polybius* saith, that there were many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the Romaines had neuer greater losse, neither in the first war with Africke, nor in the second by the Carthaginians, as this ouerthrow that was giuen at Cannes. For there was slaine the Consul *Paulus Æmylius* himselfe, a man vndoubtedly deseruing great praise, and that serued his countrey and common-wealth euen to the hower of

Aufidus fl.

Battell at Cannes.

A stratageme of Hannibal.

* *Plutarch in the life of Fabius saith, that there were fifty thousand slain and fourteene thousand taken prisoners.*

Paulus Aemylius Consull, slaine at the battell of Cannes.

of death: *Cn. Seruilius*, (Consull the yeare before) was also slaine there, and many other that had bene Consuls, Prætors, and others of such like dignitie, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honest citizens, and that such a number of them, that the very crueltie it selfe of the enemy was satisfied. The Consull *Terentius Varro*, who was the onely authour of all this warre and slaughter, seeing the enemie victor euery way, he saued himselfe by flying. And *Tutidanus* a Chieftaine of a band, cõming through his enemies with a good companie of his men, he came vnto CANVSIVM. Thither came also about ten thousand men, that had escaped from their enemies, as out of a daungerous storme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole armie was giuen vnto *Appius Pulcher*, and also vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, who afterwardes did end this warre. Thus was the end of the battell fought by CANNES. Newes flew straight to ROME of this ouerthrowe, the which though they iustly filled all the citie with sorrow and calamitie, yet the Senate and people of ROME kept alwaies their countenance and greatnesse, euen in this extreame miserie. Insomuch they had not onely good hope to keepe their citie safe, but furthermore they leauied a new armie, and made young men to beare armor, and yet left not SICILE and SPAINE vnprouided in the meane time: so that they made the world to wonder at them, to consider these things, how they could in so great calamitie and trouble haue so noble hearts, and such wise counsell. But to let passe the former ouerthrowes, and great losses they sustained at Ticinum, at Trebia, and at the lake of Thrasimene: what nation or people could haue borne this last plague, whereby the whole force and power of the ROMAINES was in manner vtterly destroyed and ouerthrowne? and yet the people of ROME so held it out, and that with so great wisdome & counsell: that they neither lacked manhood nor magnanimity. Besides, to helpe them the more, *Hannibal* being conqueror, trifling time in taking his leysure, and refreshing his armie: he gaue the ROMAINES leysure that were ouercome to take breath againe, and to restore themselues. For doubtles, if *Hannibal* being conquerour, had immediatly after the victorie obtained, brought his armie directly to ROME, surely the ROMAINES had bene vtterly vndone, or at the least had bene cõpelled to haue put all in venture. So it is reported, that *Hannibal* oftentimes afterwards repented himself he followed not his victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counsell which wished him to let his soldiers rest, then *Maharbals* aduice, generall of his horsmen, who would haue had him gone straight to ROME, & so haue ended all this war. But he seeing *Hannibals* delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now cõmon in euery mans mouth: *Hãnibal*, thou knowest how to ouercom, but thou knowest not how to vse victory. But what? all things are not (as *Nestor* saith in *Homer*) giuen to men altogether. For some had no skill to ouercome, others knew not how to follow their victory, & some also could not keepe that they had won. *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES that made war with the ROMAINES, was one of the famousest Captaines that euer was: yet as men write of him, though he was maruellous fortunate to conquer realmes, he would neuer keepe them. Euen so in like maner, some Captaines haue bene indued with excellent vertues, & yet notwithstanding haue bene insufficient in martiall affairs deseruing praise in a captaine, as we may reade in diuers histories. Now after this battell fought by CANNES, the ATTELLANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITES, after thẽ also the BRVTIANS, LVCANIANS and diuers other nations & people of ITALY, caried away with the fame of this great victorie: they all came and yeelded to *Hannibal*. And the citie of CAPVA also (which *Hannibal* was desirous to haue won long before) forsaking their old friends & confederates, made new league and friendship with *Hannibal*: the which wan him great estimation with other nations. For at that time the citie of CAPVA was very populous & of great power, and the chiefest city of estimation of all ITALIE next vnto ROME. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPVA, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the THVSCANS, the which was first called VVLTVRNVM, and after that CAPVA, by the name of their Gouernor called *Capius*: or otherwise, (as it is most likely) becaufe of the fields round about it. For on euery side of it, there are goodly pleasant fields, ful of all kinds of fruits growing on the earth, called in Greeke, Kepi. Furthermore, all the countrey is confined round about with famous nations. Towards the sea there dwell the SVESSANIANS, the CVMANIANS, & the NEAPOLITANS. On firme land also towards the North, are the CALENTINIANS, & the CALENIANS. On the East & Southside, the DVNIANS and the NOLIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a strong situation, and on the one side is compassed in with the sea, and on the other side with great high mountains. Now the CAMPANIANS flourished maruellously at that time: and therefore seeing the ROMAINES in manner vtterly vndone by the battell they had lost at

Great slaughter at the battell of Cannes.

The constancie of the Romains in extremitie.

The Romaines lost three great batels to Hannibal at Ticinum, Trebia, and Thrasimene.

Maharbal, Generall of Hannibals horsme. Maharbals saying to Hannibal.

Pyrrhus could not keepe the realmes he conquered.

The citie of Capua, how so called.

quickly tooke part with the ſtronger, as it cõmonly falleth out: and furthermore beſides that they made league with *Hannibal*, they receiued him into their citie with great triumph, hoping that the war being ended, they ſhold be the chiefeſt and wealthieſt of all ITALY. But marke how men are cõmonly deceiued in their expectation. Now, when *Hannibal* came into the citie of CAPVA, there was a world of people that went to ſee him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy victories he had won of the enemie. So being come into the citie, they brought him vnto *Pacuuius* houſe, his very familiar friend, who was a man of great wealth and authoritie, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he made him a notable banquet to the which no citizens were bidden, ſauing only *Iubellius Taurea* a ſtout man, and the ſonne of *Pacuuius* his hoſt: who through his fathers meanes with much ado, was reconciled to *Hannibal*, for that *Hannibal* hated him as he did, becauſe he followed *Decius Magius*, who alwaies tooke the ROMAINES part. But now let vs conſider a litle I pray you, how great men ſometimes vnwares are ſubiect to great dangers and misfortunes. For this yong man diſſembling his reconciliation with *Hannibal*, watching time & occaſion notwithſtanding to do him ſome diſpleaſure, in the time of this feaſt, while they were making merie, he tooke his father aſide into a ſecret corner of the houſe, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeeme the fauor and goodwill againe of the ROMANES, the which they had loſt through their great wickedneſſe. Thẽ he told him how he was determined to kil *Hannibal*, the enemy of his country, & all ITALIE beſides. His father that was a man of great countenance and authority, was maruellouſly amazed withall, to heare what his ſonne ſaid: wherefore embracing him with the teares running downe his cheekes, he prayed him to leaue off his ſword, and to let his gueſt be ſafe in his houſe. The which his ſonne in the end yeelded to with great adoe. Thus *Hannibal* hauing before withſtood all the force of his enemies, the ambuſhes of the GAVLES, and hauing brought with him alſo a great armie from the ſea, and the fartheſt part of SPAINE, through ſo many great and mightie nations: he ſcaped killing very narrowly by the hand of a young man, whileſt he was at the table making merrie. The next morning *Hannibal* had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promiſes, and told them many things, which the CAMPANIANS eaſily beleeued, and therefore flattered themſelues, that they ſhould be Lords of all ITALIE: howbeit they reckoned beſide their hoſt. And to conclude, they did ſo cowardly ſubmit themſelues to *Hannibal*, that it ſeemed they had not only ſuffred him to come into their citie, but that they had alſo made him their abſolute Lord, like men that neither remembred, nor regarded their libertie. And this appeareth plainely by one example I will ſhew you amongſt many. *Hannibal* willed them to deliuer him *Decius Magius*, the head of the cõtrarie factiõ to him. Wherunto the Senate not only obeyed with al humility, but worſt of al, ſuffered him to be brought bound into the market place, in the preſence of all the people: who, becauſe he wold not forſake the ancient league & friendſhip with the ROMAINES, had ſhewed himſelfe a more faithfull citizen to his countrie and commonwealth, then vnto the barbarous people. Now whilſt theſe things paſſed thus in CAPVA, *Mago* (*Hannibals* brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happie victorie to his countrimen, which they had won of the enemies: and withall, before the Senate to declare the noble exploits of armes done by *Hannibal*. And to proue the words true he ſpake, he powred out at the coming in of the Senate houſe, the golden rings which had bene taken from the ROMANE Knights: of the which there were (as ſome do report) aboue a buſhell full, and as other ſome do write, aboue three buſhels full & a halfe. After that, he prayed a new ſupply for *Hannibals* armie: which was granted him by the Senat with greater ioy, then afterwards it was ſent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perſwaded themſelues by the things preſent, that the war would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was faire: they thereupon decreed to continue the warre, and to aide *Hannibals* attempts, by leauying of ſouldiers. Now no man withſtood this new ſupplie to be ſent to *Hannibal*, but *Hanno* a perpetuall enemie of the BARCINIAN faction. Howbeit, the CARTHAGINIANS weighed not his counſell and aduice then, though it tended to peace, and was good counſell for them, as oftentimes before he had vſed the like. So when *Hannibal* had made league with the CAMPANIANS, he led his camp before the city of NOLA, hoping they wold yeeld of thẽſelues without cõpulſion. And certainly ſo had it come to paſſe, had not the ſodaine coming thither of *Marcellus* the Prætor bene, who both kept the people in, pacified the ſedition, & repulſed the enemie that was comming into the citie, by a ſallie he made vpon him at three ſeuerall gates, chaſing and killing them euen to their campe with great loſſe. This is that noble Captaine and

Conſpiracie againſt Hannibal at Capua.

valiant

valiant ſouldier *Marcellus*, who with a noble courage made the world know, that *Hannibal* was not inuincible. *Hannibal* perceiuing that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone till another time: he came to ACERRES, and tooke and ſpoiled it without reſiſtance. Then going on further with greater power vnto CASILINVM, a fit place to offend the CAPVANS, he went about to win them that lay there in garriſon: but when he ſaw that neither his faire promiſes, nor otherwiſe his threats could preuaile, he left part of his army to beſiege the citie, and beſtowed the reſidue in garriſons before the winter ſeaſon. Howbeit, he choſe for his chiefeſt ſeate and ſtrength the city of CAPVA, which ſtood very pleaſantly, and had plenty of all things. There it was that *Hannibals* ſouldiers being vſed to lye hard, and eaſily to away with cold, hunger and thirſt, became then of valiant men, rancke cowards: of ſtrong men weakelings: and of ſeruiceable and readie men, timerous and effeminate perſons, through the daily pleaſures they enioyed at will. For ſweete intiſing pleaſures, do corrupt the ſtrength and courage of the mind, and mans diſpoſition vnto vertue: moreouer they ſpoile his wit, and take all good counſell from him, all which things are dangerous for men. And therefore *Plato* rightly calleth pleaſure, the baite of all euils. And doubtleſſe in this caſe, the pleaſures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS more then otherwiſe the higheſt Alpes, and all the armies of the ROMAINES did. For one onely winter paſſed ouer in ſuch pleaſure and wantonneſſe, was of ſuch great force to extinguiſh the vehement courage in the ſouldiers: that when they were brought into the field at the beginning of the ſpring, ſure you would rightly haue ſayd that they had forgotten all martiall diſcipline. Thus the winter being paſſed ouer, *Hannibal* returned againe to CASILINVM, hoping that the citizens within would willingly yeeld vnto him, after they had abidden ſo long a ſiege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extreamitie, before they would yeeld to their ſo cruell an enemie, although they lacked victuals. Wherefore liuing firſt by ſpelt, or beere barley, and afterwards with nuts which they had receiued of the ROMAINES by the riuer of Vulturnus: they held it out ſo long, that *Hannibal* in the end being angrie with the countinuance of the ſiege, he was content to take the citie vpon compoſition, the which he had refuſed before. Now this warre in the which the CARTHAGINIANS had alwayes had great victories and good fortune, and receiued no loſſe worthie of memorie: began at that time to decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the league that was made with *Philip* king of MACEDON, and the new ayde and ſupplie that was ſent from CARTHAGE, and the taking of PETILIA, CONSTANTIA, and of other cities of the countrey of the BRVTIANS, kept the CARTHAGINIANS in good hope. On the other ſide, the great victories which the ROMAINES had won vpon the enemies of SPAINE, and SARDINIA, did greatly encourage them, and gaue them alſo good hope that their affaires would proſper better and better. They had alſo choſen three excellent Captaines *Fabius Maximus*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, a man moſt worthy of praiſe for martiall diſcipline: who ſo wiſely gouerned the affaires of the ſtate, that *Hannibal* found he ſhould make warre with an enemy, no leſſe politike and wiſe, then hardy and valiant. For, firſt of all, he was driuen from the city of CVMES, with great ſlaughter of his men, by *Sempronius Gracchus*, & forced to raiſe his ſiege: and ſhortly after he was ouercome by *Marcellus*, in a battel he fought at NOLA. For there were ſlaine aboue a thouſand ROMAINES, and * 6000 CARTHAGINIANS ſlaine, and taken flying. Now it is eaſily ſeene what great importance that battell was of: becauſe *Hannibal* immediatly vpon it, raiſed his ſiege from NOLA, & went into APVLIA to winter his army there. By this meanes came the ROMAINES to recouer againe, as out of a great ſickneſſe, and ſent a great power againſt the enemy: and were not content only to keepe their owne, but they durſt alſo inuade others. So their chiefeſt intent was, to beſiege the city of CAPVA, for the iniurie they had but lately receiued of the CAMPANIANS. For incontinently after the battell was fought at CANNES, they forſooke the ROMAINES, euen in their greateſt extremity & miſery, & tooke part with *Hannibal* that was conqueror, forgetting the great pleaſures their city had receiued in old time by the ROMAINES. On the other ſide the CAMPANIANS, knowing they had made a fault, & being afraid of this new preparation of the ROMAINES, they ſent to *Hannibal* into APVLIA, to pray him to come and aide their city (being of the number of the confederates) in their greateſt neceſſity. *Hannibal* departed out of APVLIA without delay, & came on with great iournies into CAMPANIA, & cãped by TIFATA ouer CAPVA wherby he rather deferred till another time, thẽ preuented the plague hanging ouer the CAMPANIANS heads: ſo ſpoiling the countrey round about NAPLES, he began to take conceipt of a new hope, that he might take NOLA by treaſon.

Marcellus victory of Hannibal at the citie of Nola.

Hannibals ſouldiers marred with eaſe at Capua.

Pleaſure the baite of all euils.

One winters eaſe ſpoiled a ſouldier, and made him a couuard.

The hard ſhift of the Caſſilinians to liue during Hannibals ſiege.

Hannibals good fortune began to faile him.

Three famous Captaines of the Romaines, Fabius Maximus, Sempronius Gracchus, Marcus Marcellus.

The victories of the Romains againſt Hannibal

**Plutarch in the life of Marcellus, ſpeaketh of fiue thouſand Carthaginians ſlaine, & only of fiue hundred Romaines.*

Two factions in Naples.

For in NOLA, the people and Senate were at variance the one againſt the other, as they were likewiſe in diuers other cities of ITALY. The common people deſirous of change, fauored *Hanniball* and the noble men, and men of authority, tooke part with the people of ROME. So when *Hanniball* went to take the city of NOLA, *Marcellus* met him with his army in battel ray, as he had often done before, & failed not to fight with him, euen at the firſt meeting. There the ROMAINS ouercame, and draue the enemy with ſuch manhood and readineſſe: that if the horſemen which had taken another way had come in in time, as *Marcellus* commanded them: no queſtion the CARTHAGINIANS had bene vtterly ouerthrowne. *Hanniball* after he had retired his army into his campe with great ſlaughter, he ſhortly after departed thence, & went into the country of the SALENTINIANS. For certaine yong TARENTINES that had bene taken priſoners in former battels, where the ROMAINS had bin ouerthrowne, and that were afterwards deliuered free without ranſome: they to ſhew themſelues thankful, had put *Hanniball* in hope to deliuer him the city of TARENTVM, ſo he wold bring his army before the city. *Hanniball* intiſed by their promiſes, did what he could to obtaine it, becauſe he might haue ſome city vpon the ſea in his power, the which he had deſired of long time. And indeed, of all the cities vpon the ſea coaſt, there was none ſo meete as TARENTVM, to bring ayd out of GRECE thither, & alſo to furniſh the camp with many things that were to be occupied daily. So though this thing was drawn out in length, by the garriſon of the ROMAINS that valiantly reſiſted: yet *Hanniball* neuer gaue ouer his enterpriſe, vntill that *Nico* and *Philomenes* the authors of the treaſon, had deliuered him the city into his hands. The ROMAINS kept only the caſtel, the which is in maner enuironed with the ſea on three ſides: & on the fourth ſide, that lay vpon the firme land, it was very ſtrong with rampers & bulwarks. *Hanniball* perceiuing that he could do no good on that ſide, becauſe of their great ſtrength: he determined to ſhut vp the mouth of the hauen of TARENTVM, hoping that was the only way to make the ROMAINS yeeld, when their victuals ſhould be cut from them. Yet the enterpriſe ſeemed very hard, becauſe the enemies had all the ſtraights of the hauen in their power, & the ſhips alſo that ſhould beſiege the iſſue of the hauen, were ſhut vp in a narow litle place, and were to be drawne out of the hauen, at the foot of the caſtell, to bring them into the next ſea. But when neuer a man of the TARENTINES could deuiſe how to bring this enterpriſe to paſſe: *Hanniball* himſelfe perceiued that theſe ſhips might be drawne out of the hauen with certaine engines, and then to cart them through the city to the ſea. So hauing his cunning workmen in hand with the matter, the ſhips within few daies after were taken out of the hauen, & caried into the ſea, & then came & ſhewed before the bar of the hauen. Thus the city of TARENTVM being won againe, after the ROMAINS had kept it the ſpace of a hundred yeares: *Hanniball* leauing the caſtell beſieged both by ſea and land, he returned into SAMNIVM. For the Conſuls of the ROMAINES had ſpoiled and ſtripped the CAMPANIANS that went out to forrage, & hauing brought their army before CAPVA, they determined (if it might be) to win it by ſiege. Wherfore *Hannibal* being very ſory for the ſiege of CAPVA, he came with all his army againſt the enemy: & ſeeing ſhortly after that the ROMAINS did not refuſe to fight, they both marched forward, & doubtleſſe to fight, it wold haue proued a bloudy battell, had not *Sempronius* army ſeuered them as he did, which came into CAMPANIA, vnder the cõduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after they had loſt *Sempronius Gracchus* in the coũtry of LVKE. For they ſeeing this army far off, before they could know who they were, the ROMAINS & CARTHAGINIANS both were afraid and ſo retired into their campe. Afterwards the Conſuls went into ſeuerall countries, the one into LVKE, and the other towards CVMES, to make *Hanniball* remoue from CAPVA: who went into LVCANIA, and found occaſion to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly and deſperatly did hazard his army left him in charge, againſt a ſubtill and dangerous enemy. The battell being begun, *M. Centenius* was ſlaine valiantly fighting, and few other eſcaped. After this alſo there hapned another loſſe. For *Hanniball* returning ſhortly after into APVLIA, he met with another army of the ROMAINES, the which *Fabius* the Prætor led, who alſo entrapped that army by ambuſhes, and ſlue the moſt of them: ſo that of 20000 men 2000 ſcant eſcaped the edge of the ſword. In the meane time the Conſuls perceiuing that *Hanniball* was gone, they came with all their armie vnto CAPVA, and did beſiege it round. This being come to *Hannibals* eare, he came with his army into CAMPANIA, in very good order and well appointed: and at his firſt comming he ſet vpon the campe of the ROMAINES, hauing firſt willed the CAMPANIANS at the ſelfe ſame inſtant to make a ſallie out on them. The ROMAINE Conſuls at the firſt tumult of their enemies, deuided the army betweene them, and went againſt them. The

The citie of Tarentum deliuered vnto Hannibal by treaſon.

Tarentum wonne by Hannibal.

CAM-

Campanians were easily driuen againe into the city: howbeit against *Hannibal*, the battell was very bloudy. For if euer he proued himselfe a valiant Captaine or noble souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to surprise the Romaines by some stratagem. For as his men were about to breake into the Romaines campe, he sent one thither that had the Latine toung excellently well, who cried out by the commandement of the Consuls, that the Romains shold saue themselues in the next mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their campe & strength. This cry made on the sudden, had easily moued thē that heard it, if the Romains being throughly acquainted with *Hannibals* subtilties, had not found out his deceit. Wherfore one of them incouraging another, they made the enemy retire, and compelled him in despite of his beard to flie into his campe. When *Hannibal* had done what he could, by all deuice and practise possible to raise his siege from Capua, & perceiuing all would not serue, being sory for the danger of his confederates: he then determined to call a councel, the which he had passed ouer a long time, hauing reserued it for the last refuge. For he trussed vp his cariage, and marched away with his army, & as quietly as he could, he passed ouer the riuer of Vulturnus, & coasting through the coūties of the Sidicinians, Atifanians, & Casinians, he came to Rome with ensignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them raise their siege, being so earnestly bent to win Capua. This flying straight to Rome by curriers, they were so afraid there, as Rome was neuer in like feare it stood in then. For they saw their mortal enemy come to thē with ensignes displaid, whom they had so often proued, almost to the vtter destruction of their Empire: and now they saw him present, whom they could not resist being absent, threatning to bring the Senate & people of Rome into subiection. So all Rome being in feare and tumult, it was ordained that *Fuluius Flaccus* (one of the Consuls lying before Capua) should be sent for home. And that the new Consuls *Sulpitius Galba*, & *Cornelius Centimalus*, should lie in campe out of the city: & that *C. Calphurnius* Prætor, should put a strong garrison into the Capitoll, and also that the citizens that had borne any office or dignity, should be appointed by their countenance and authority, to pacifie the sudden tumults that might happen in the city. So *Hannibal* marched forward without staying, till he came to the riuer of Anienes, & there camped within 24 furlongs of Rome: & shortly after that, he came with 2000 horse so neare vnto Rome, that riding from the gate Collina, vnto *Hercules* temple, he had leisure to view at his pleasure, the situation and wals of so great a city. *Fuluius Flaccus* seeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certaine men at armes of the Romaines against him: who comming with great fury to giue charge vpon him as they were commanded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning *Hannibal* brought his army out of the campe, and did set them in battell ray, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the enemy to battell. The Romaines on the other side did the like. So, both armies marched one against the other with such life and courage, that to see them, they appeared men that feared no danger, so they might obtaine the victory that day. For on the one side, the Carthaginians were to fight (in maner) for the Empire of the world: the which they thought depended vpon this battell, as being the last they shold fight. The Romains in contrary maner, they were to fight for their country, liberty & their goods, to see whether they could keepe them, or that they shold come to their enemies hands. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memory. For as they were ready set in battell ray, tarying but for the signall of battell to giue charge: there fell such a wonderfull great shower and storme vpon them, that both of them were driuen in spite of their teethes, to bring backe their armie into their forts againe. The next day following in like manner, vnto the which it seemed the battell had bene deferred: when they had againe both of them set their men in battell ray, there fell the like storme vpon them, which did as much hurt the Romains and Carthaginians, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to saue themselues, & not to thinke otherwise to fight. *Hannibal* perceiuing this, he turned to his friends and told thē, that the first time he thought not to win Rome, and that at the second time the occasiō was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled *Hannibal*, and that was this. That though he came so neare to Rome, with an army of horsemen and footmen: yet he heard that the Romaines had sent aide into Spaine, and that he had redeemed the country where he had bene, at a farre greater prise then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the goldsmithes and bankers shops of the Romaines citizens to be sold by the Cryer. But afterwards casting with himselfe, what a hard enterprise it was to take the citie of Rome, or else being afraid to lacke victuals (for he had stored himselfe onely but for ten dayes)

Hannibals stratagem.

Vulturnus fl.

Sulpitius Galba, Cornelius Centumalus, Consuls.

Anienes fl.

Hannibal commeth to inuade Rome.

A wonder.

he raiſed his campe, & remouing thence came vnto the holy wood of the goddeſſe *Feronia*, and rifled the rich temple there, and afterwards went thence into the country of the BRVTIANS & LVCANIANS. The CAPVANS hauing intelligence thereof being left out of all hope: they yeelded vp their city vnto the ROMAINES. The city of CAPVA being thus yeelded vp, & brought againe to the ſubiection of the ROMAINES, it was of great importance to all the people of ITALIE, and withall brought a great deſire of change. *Hanniball* himſelfe alſo following euill counſell, did ſpoile and deſtroy many cities he could not keepe: whereby he did ſtirre vp the hearts of diuerſe nations againſt him. For where before when he was conquerour, he had often let priſoners go without ranſome paying, through which liberality he had won the harts of many men: euen ſo at that preſent time, his barbarous cruelty made diuers cities (miſliking to be ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell againſt him, and to take part with the ROMAINES. Amongſt them was SALAPIA, the which was yeelded vp vnto the Conſul *Marcellus*, by *Blacius* meanes chiefe of all the ROMAINE faction: and a band alſo of choice horſemen which was left there in gariſon, were in maner ſlaine euery man of them. This is the city where *Hanniball* fell in fancy with a gentlewoman, & therefore they greatly reproue his immoderate luſt & laſciuiouſneſſe. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continency of this Captaine, ſay that he did neuer eate lying, and neuer dranke aboue a pint of wine, neither when he came to make war in ITALY, nor after that he returned into AFRICKE. Some there be alſo that ſay, *Hanniball* was cruell & vnconſtant, & ſubiect to diuerſe ſuch other vices: howbeit they make no maner of mention of his chaſtity or incõtinency. But they report that his wife was a SPANIARD, borne in CASTVLO, a good towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANS granted her many things, and truſted her very much, becauſe of the great faith and conſtancy of that nation. Now *Hannibal* after he had loſt (as we haue told you) the city of SALAPIA: he found the meanes to cry quittance, & to make the ROMAINS loſe more then he had loſt. For at the ſelfe ſame time *Fuluius* Viceconſull, lay beſieging of HERDONEA, hoping to win the city without reſiſtance. And becauſe he ſtood in no feare of any enemie round about him (for *Hanniball* was gone into the countrey of the BRVTIANS) he kept no watch, and was altogether negligent in martiall affaires, contrary to the nature of the ROMAINE captaines. *Hannibal* being aduertiſed thereof by ſpials, would not loſe ſuch a goodly oportunity: and therfore coming into APVLIA with his army ready, he came ſo haſtily vnto HERDONEA, that he had almoſt ſtolne vpon *Fuluius*, vnprouided in his camp. Howbeit the ROMAINS valiantly receiued the firſt charge with ſuch courage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithſtanding in the end, as the ROMAINS two yeares before that had bin ouercome not far from thence, with their Conſul *Fuluius*: euen ſo likewiſe vnder the conduct of this *Fuluius* Viceconſull, the ROMAINE legions were vtterly ouerthrowne, & their Captaine ſlaine, with the moſt part of his army. The Conſull *Marcellus* was at that time in the city of SAMNIVM, who being aduertiſed of this great ouerthrow, deſired to be euen with him: and though it ſeemed he came too late to helpe things paſt remedy, yet he brought his army into the countrey of the LVCANIANS, whither he vnderſtood *Hanniball* was gone after his victory, and came and camped directly ouer againſt his enemy, and ſoone after came to battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refuſed not, but gaue ſuch a fierce onſet on either ſide, that they fought it out till Sunne-ſet, and no man knew who had the better, and ſo the night parted them. The next morning the ROMAINS ſhewing againe in field in battell ray, made it knowne that the enemies were afraid of them. For *Hanniball* kept his men within the campe, and the next night following ſtole away without anie noiſe, and went into APVLIA. *Marcellus* alſo followed him foote by foote, and ſought to put all to hazard by ſome notable battell: for he bare himſelfe thus in hand, that of all the ROMAINE Captaines there was none matchable with *Hanniball* but himſelfe, either in councell, wit, or pollicy: or elſe in martiall diſcipline, or warlike ſtratagemes. Howbeit the winter following kept him, that he could not fight any ſet battell with the enemie: for after he had made a few light skirmiſhes, becauſe he would not trouble his ſouldiers any more in vaine, he beſtowed them in garriſon for the winter time. At the beginning of the next ſpring, procured partly by *Fabius* letters (who was one of the new Conſuls for that yeare) and partly alſo through his owne diſpoſition: he brought out his garriſons ſooner then they were looked for, and came with his army againſt *Hanniball*, who lay at that time at CANVSIVM. Now it chanced, that through the neerneſſe of both their camps, and the good deſire they both had to fight: in few dayes they fought three ſeuerall times. The firſt battell, when they had fought it out till night, in maner like hope of both

Salapia a city where Hanniball fell in loue.

The death of Fuluius Viceconſull.

Diuerſe conflicts of the Romaines with Hanniball.

both sides, and that it could not be iudged which of them had the better: they both of purpose retired into their campe againe. The second day *Hannibal* was conqueror, after he had slaine almost two thousand seuen hundred enemies, and put the residue of the army to flight. The third day, the ROMAINES to recouer the shame and dishonor they had lost the day before: they were the first that prayed they might fight, & so *Marcellus* led them out to battell. *Hannibal* wondring at their valiantnesse, sayd vnto his people: that he dealt with an enemy that could neuer be quiet conqueror, nor conquered. So the battell was more bloudy and cruell then any that was before: because the ROMAINES did their best to be reuenged of their losse, and the CARTHAGINIANS on the other side were mad in their minds, to see that the vanquished durst prouoke the vanquishers vnto battell. In the end, the ROMAINES being sharply reproued, and also perswaded by *Marcellus* to sticke to it valiantly like men, that the newes of their victory might come to ROME, before the newes of their ouerthrow: they flew in among the preasse of their enemies, and neuer left fighting, till that after they had thrise broken their enemies, they made them all flie. At the selfe same time *Fabius Maximus* tooke the city of TARENTVM againe, almost after the selfe same sort it was lost. This being reported vnto *Hannibal*, he sayd: The ROMAINES haue also their *Hannibal*. The next yeare folowing, *Marcellus* & *Crispinus* were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put themselues in readinesse for warre, they led both the armies against the enemy. *Hannibal* dispairing that he was not able to resist thē in battell, he sought all the wits he had to deuise some way to intrap thē by subtilty, whom he could not ouercome by battell. So *Hannibals* head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this enterprise to passe, then he looked for. Betweene both camps, there was a prety groue, in the which *Hannibal* layd certaine bands of the NVMIDIANS in ambush, to intrap the enemies passing too & fro. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them all, thought it best to send to view this groue, and to keepe it if need required: least in leauing it behind them, the enemies should come, and so be vpon their iackes afterwards. Now before they remoued their army, both the Consuls went out of their campe, with a small company of horsemen with them, to view the situation of this place: and so going on very vndiscreetly, and worse appointed then became men of their authority & place, they vnfortunatly fell into *Hannibals* ambush. So, when they saw themselues in a moment compassed about on euery side with enemies, that they could not go forward, and were also fought withall behind: they defended themselues the best they could, rather by cōpulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So, *Marcellus* was slaine fighting valiantly: and *Crispinus* the other Consull also very sore hurt, who hardly scaped the enemies hāds. *Hannibal* being aduertised that *Marcellus* was slaine, who was the chiefest man of all the ROMAINE Captains, that had most hindered the happy successe of his victories, & had besides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the battell was fought, & when he had found *Marcellus* body, he gaue it honorable pompe and funerall. Hereby we may see how magnanimitie, and excellent vertues, are esteemed of all men: considering that the cruell and most mortal enemy, gaue honorable buriall to so noble and excellent a Captaine. The ROMAINES in the meane time seeing one of their Consuls dead, and the other Consull very sore hurt: they drew straight to the next mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit *Crispinus* had sent to the next townes of the mountaines, to aduertise them that *Marcellus* his companion was dead, and that the enemy had gotten the ring he sealed his letters withall: wherefore he wished them to beware of any letters written in *Marcellus* name. *Crispinus* messenger came but newly vnto SALAPIA, when letters were brought also from *Hannibal* in the behalfe of *Marcellus*, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANS knowing his craft, they sent his messenger away, and carefully looking for *Hannibals* comming. About the fourth watch of the night, *Hannibal* came to the city of SALAPIA, who of purpose had put all the ROMAINES that had fled, in the vauntguard, because that they speaking the Latine tongue, might make them beleeue that *Marcellus* was there in person. So when the citizens had suffered 600 of them to come in, they shut too the gates, and with their shot and darts thrust out the rest of the army, and then put all them to the sword they had let into the city. Thus *Hannibal* being in a maruellous rage he had missed of his purpose: he remoued thence, & went into the country of the BRVTIANS, to aid the LOCRIANS that were besieged by the ROMAINES, both by sea and by land. After all these things, at the earnest requeste of the Senate and people, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, & valiant souldiers, *Marcus Liuius*, & *Claudius Nero*: who hauing deuided the army betwixt thē, went

Hannibals words of Marcellus.

Marcellus, and Crispinus, Consuls.

Hannibal layeth ambush for the Romaines.

The death of Marcellus.

The power of magnanimitie.

Marcus Liuius, and C. Nero, consuls.

vnto their ſeuerall charge and prouinces. *Claudius Nero* went into the country of the SALENTINIANS, & *M. Liuius* into GAVLE, againſt *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, who was come ouer the Alpes, & made haſt to ioyne with his brother *Hannibal*, bringing with him a great army both of foote and horſmen. Now it chanced at the ſame time, that *Hannibal* had receiued great loſſe by *Claudius* the Conſul. For firſt of al, he ouercame him in the country of the LVCANIANS, vſing the like policies & fetches that *Hannibal* did. Afterwards again, meeting with *Hannibal* in APVLIA, by the city of VENVSIA, he fought ſuch a luſty battell with him, that many of his enemies lay by it in the field. By reaſon of theſe great loſſes, *Hannibal* ſuddenly went to METAPONT, to renew his army againe. So hauing remained there a few dayes, he receiued the army from *Hanno* the which he ioyned vnto his, & then returned vnto VENVSIA. *C. Nero* lay not far from VENVSIA with his campe: who hauing intercepted letters of his enemies, he vnderſtood by them that *Haſdrubal* was at hand with his army. Therupon, he bethought himſelfe night & day, what policy he might vſe to preuent the ioyning of two ſo great armies together as theſe. So, after he had taken aduice of himſelfe, he followed in ſight a dangerous determination: but peraduenture neceſſary, as the time required. For leauing the campe vnto the charge of his Lieutenant, he tooke part of the army with him, and making great iourneys, came to PISENVM (being the marches of ANCONA) ſo that on the ſixt day he came to SENA. There both the Conſuls ioyned their forces together, and ſetting vpon *Haſdrubal* by the riuer of Metaurum, they had very good lucke at that battell. For, as it is reported, there were ſix and fifty thouſand of the enemies ſlaine on that day: ſo that they almoſt had as great an ouerthrow, as the ROMAINES had receiued before at the battell of CANNES. Now *Claudius Nero*, after this famous victory, returning as ſpeedily vnto VENVSIA as he went thence, he ſet vp *Haſdrubals* head, where the enemies kept the watch: and did let certaine priſoners go, to cary newes to *Hannibal* of this great ouerthrow. For afterwards it was knowne, that *Hannibal* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* ſecret enterpriſe, nor of the ſpeedy executiõ & great ſlaughter he had made. Whereat ſure I can but wonder, that ſo ſubtile a Captaine as *Hannibal*, could be deceiued by *Claudius*, conſidering both their campes lay ſo neare together: ſo that he firſt heard the newes of the ouerthrow of his brother, and all his army, before he vnderſtood any thing of the Conſuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the campe. Now *Hannibal* hauing not only receiued a generall, but alſo a particular great loſſe by the death of his brother: he ſayd then he plainly ſaw the chaunge and alteration of the CARTHAGINIANS good fortune, and ſhortly after remoued his campe, and went thence into the countrey of the BRVTIANS. For he knew that this great ouerthrow giuen by the riuer of Metaurum, was a maruellous incouragement to the ROMAINES, and would alſo be a great log in his way, for the ſucceſſe of this warre. This notwithſtãding, he gathered together all his power he had left in ITALY, after ſo many great battels and conflicts, and ſo many cities taken: and maintained the warre with an inuincible courage. But the moſt ſtrangeſt thing in *Hannibal* was this: that through his authority & wiſdome, he kept all his army in peace and amity together (being a medley of SPANIARDS, AFRICANS, GAVLES, and of diuerſe other nations) and neuer man heard that there was any brawle or tumult among them. Howbeit the ROMAINES themſelues, after they had won SICILE, SARDINIA, and SPAINE againe, they could neuer vtterly ouercome him, nor driue him out of ITALY, before they had ſent *P. Cornelius Scipio* into AFRICKE: who making warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, he brought them to ſuch great extremity, that they were driuen to ſend for *Hannibal* home out of ITALY. *Hannibal* at that time (as we haue ſayd before) was in the countrey of the BRVTIANS, making war by inrodes and ſudden inuaſions, rather then by any fought battell: ſauing that once there was a battell fought in haſt betwixt him and the Conſull *Sempronius*, and immediatly after he came and ſet vpon the ſame *Sempronius* with all his army. At this battel, *Hannibal* had the victory: but at the ſecond, *Sempronius* ouercame him. Since that time, I can find in no Greeke nor Latine Author, that *Hannibal* did any famous act in ITALIE worthie memorie. For being ſent for into AFRICKE by the CARTHAGINIANS, he left ITALY ſixteene yeares after this AFRICKE war was begun, greatly complaining of the Senate of CARTHAGE, & of himſelfe alſo. Of the Senate, becauſe that all the time he had bene in his enemies countrey ſo long, they had allowed him ſo litle mony: and ſo ſcanted him beſides with all other things neceſſary for the wars: And of himſelfe, becauſe that after he had ſo often ouercome the ROMAINES, he had alwayes delayed time after the victory, and had giuen the enemy liberty to gather force againe. It is reported alſo, that before he imbarked and tooke ſea, he ſet vp a triumphing arch or pillar, by the

Sena a city of Apulia.

Metaurum fl. M. Liuius, and C. Nero Conſuls: ouercame Haſdrubal, & ſlue 56000 of his men.

The change & alteration of the Carthaginians good fortune.

The praiſe of Hannibals great wiſdom in the gouernement of his army.

P. C. Scipio inuaded Carthage.

The laſt battell Hannibal fought in Italie was with Sempronius, in the which he ouercame Hannibal.

Hannibal ſent for to returne into Africke, after he had warred 16. yeares in Italie.

the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, in the which were briefly grauen his noble victories, both in the Punicke and Greeke tongue. So when he was departed out of ITALY, the wind serued him so well, that in few dayes he arriued at LEPTIS, & landing all his army, he first came to ADRVMENTVM, & afterwards vnto ZAMA. There receiuing aduertisement how the affaires of the CARTHAGINIANS prospered: he thought it best to deuise some way to end this war. For this cause he sent vnto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoint him some conuenient place where they might both meet, & talke together, of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly knowne, whether *Hannibal* did this of his owne head, or by commandement of the Senate. *Scipio* refused not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous Generals of mighty nations, in a great plaine together, either of them hauing his interpreter, to talke together of diuerse matters touching peace and warre. For, *Hannibal* was altogether bent to peace: because he saw the affaires of the CARTHAGINIANS waxe worse & worse euery day: that they had lost SICILE, SARDINIA, and SPAINE: because the warre was brought out of ITALY into AFRICKE: because *Syphax* (a mighty king) was taken prisoner of the ROMAINES: and also because that their last hope consisted in the army he had brought into AFRICKE: which was the only remaine and relicfe of so long a war as he had made in ITALY: and also because that the CARTHAGINIANS had so smal a power left (both of strangers, and also of citizens) that there were scarce men inough to defend the city of CARTHAGE. So he did his best to perswade *Scipio*, with a long Oration he made, rather to agree to peace, then to resolue of warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that liued in hope to bring this war to a good end, he would not seeme to giue eare to any peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the end they brake off, & made no agreement. Shortly after, was this famous battel striken by the city of ZAMA, in the which the ROMAINS obtained victory. For first of all, they made the CARTHAGINIANS Elephants turne vpon their owne army, so that they did put all *Hannibals* horsemen out of order. And *Lælius* and *Masinissa*, who made both the wings, increasing their feare, gaue the horsemen no leisure to gather themselues in order againe. Howbeit the footmen fought it out a long time, and with a maruellous great courage: insomuch that the CARTHAGINIANS (trusting in their former victory) thought that all the safety and preseruation of AFRICKE, was all in their hands, and therefore they layed about them like men. The ROMAINES on the other side had as great hearts as they, and besides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeed did the ROMAINES great seruice to helpe them to the victory: and that was, *Lælius* and *Masinissaes* returne from the chase of the horsemen, who rushed in to the battell of the enemy with great furie, and did put them in a maruellous feare. For at their comming, the CARTHAGINIANS hearts were done, and they saw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slaine that day, aboue twenty thousand CARTHAGINIANS in the field, and as many more prisoners. *Hannibal* their Generall, after he had taried to see the end of the battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwards when he was sent for to CARTHAGE, to helpe to saue his country: he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in wars, but did coūsell them, that setting all deuises apart, they should send vnto *Scipio* the ROMAINE Captaine, to make peace with him vpon any condition. When the ten Ambassadors had brought the capitulation and agreement vnto CARTHAGE of the articles of peace: it is reported that there was one *Gisgo*, who misliking to heare talke of peace, he made an Oration, and perswaded all he could to renew warre against the ROMAINES. Wherefore *Hannibal* perceiuing that diuerse men confirmed his opinion, and being much offended to see such beasts, & men of no vnderstanding, to dare to speake of such matters, in so dangerous a time: he cast himselfe downe headlong, whilest he was yet in his Oration. So when he saw that the citizens, and all the whole assembly, thought this too presumptuous a part of him, & vnmeet altogether for a free city: he himselfe got vp into the pulpit for Orations, and sayd. Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth hath bene alway out of CARTHAGE, and brought vp all his life time in wars, be ignorant of the lawes and ordinances of the city. After that, he spake so wisely of the articles of peace, that the CARTHAGINIANS being immediatly moued by the authority of so great a person: they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquisher, and the necessity of time offered him. The articles out of doubt were very extreame, and such as the vanquished are wont to receiue with all extremity by the conquerours. But besides all other things, the CARTHAGINIANS were bound to pay the ROMAINES an annuall tribute, vntill a certaine time were run out. So when the day came that the first pension was to be

Hannibals arche of triumph.

Hannibal departeth out of Italie.

Hannibal and Scipioes meeting, anni. 1.

Scipioes victory of the Carthaginians at the battell of Zama.

The flying of Hannibal.

Hannibal could not abide to heare fooles talke of warre.

payed to the Romaines, and that euery man grudged when the ſubſidie was ſpoken of: ſome ſay that *Hanniball* being offended with the vaine teares of the Carthaginians, he fell a laughing. And when *Haſdruball Haedus* reproued him becauſe he laughed in ſuch a common calamity of all the city, he anſwered, that it was no laughter nor reioycing from the heart, but a ſcorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was leſſe cauſe (and onely becauſe it touched euery priuate mans purſe) then before, when the Romaines tooke from the Carthaginians their ſhips, armour, and weapons, and their ſpoiles of the great victories which they had wonne before, and now gaue lawes and ordinances vnto them that were vanquiſhed. I know ſome Authors write, that *Hanniball* immediatly after he had loſt the battell, fled into Asia, for that he was afraid they would deliuer him into *Scipioes* hands, that perhaps might demand him of them. But whether that was done ſuddenly, or ſome time after the battell was loſt at Zama, it makes no great matter: conſidering that all the world knoweth, that when he ſaw things brought to extremity, he preſently fled into Asia vnto king *Antiochus*. So it is moſt true, that king *Antiochus* receiued him with great courteſie, and vſed him very honorably: inſomuch as he made him of councell with him all in all, both in priuate and publike cauſes. For the name of *Hanniball* caried great reputation with all men: beſides that, he had a cõmon and mortall hate to the Romaines, which was a pricking ſpurre ſtill to moue warre againſt them. And therefore it ſeemeth that he came in happy houre into that countrey, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the king againſt them, but alſo to ſet warres at liberty againſt the Romaines. So he told him, that the only way to make warre with the Romaines, was to go into Italy to leauy Italian ſouldiers, by whom only, that victorious countrey of all other nations might be ſubdued. He requeſted of the king a hundred ſhips, 16000 footmen, and a thouſand horſemen onely. With this ſmall army he promiſed to inuade Italie, and that he would maruellouſly trouble the Italians: whom he knew yet to ſtand in no ſmall feare of him, for the very ſound of his name onely, becauſe of the late warres he had made there, ſo freſh yet in memorie. Furthermore, he tooke heart againe vnto him to renew the warres of Africke, if the king would licence him to ſend men vnto Carthage, to ſtirre vp the Barcinian faction, whom he knew hated the Romaines to death. When he had gotten the king to graunt him his requeſt, he called *Ariſton* Tyrian vnto him, a fine ſubtile fellow, and meete for ſuch a purpoſe: to whom he made large promiſes, and perſwaded him to go to Carthage to his friends, and to carie them letters from him. Thus *Hanniball* being a baniſhed man, and fled out of his countrey, raiſed warre in all parts againſt the Romaines. And ſurely his counſell had taken good effect, had king *Antiochus* rather followed his aduice, as he did at the firſt, then the vaine perſwaſions of his fine courtiers. But enuy, a common plague frequenting Princes courts, bred *Hanniball* great enemies. For they being afraid that by his counſels he ſhould grow in great fauour with the king (for he was a wiſe and politicke Captaine) and that thereby he ſhould beare great ſway and authority: to preuent it, they lacked no deuice to bring him in diſgrace with the king. And it ſo chanced at that time, that *P. Villius*, who came Ambaſſador vnto Ephesvs, had often conference with *Hanniball*. Hereupon his priuie enemies tooke occaſion to accuſe him, and withall, the king himſelfe became ſo iealous of it, that from thencefoorth he neuer more called him to councell. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo, as ſome do report, *Publius Cornelius Scipio African* (who was one of the Ambaſſadours ſent vnto king *Antiochus*) talking familarly with *Hanniball*, prayed him amongſt other things to tell him truly, whom he thought the worthieſt Captaine of all others. *Hanniball* anſwered him. Firſt he thought *Alexander*, king of Macedon the chiefeſt: next vnto him, *Pyrrhus*, king of the Epirotes: and thirdly, himſelfe. Then *Scipio African* ſmiling, asked him: what wouldeſt thou ſay, *Hanniball*, if thou hadſt ouercome me? Truly ſayd he, then I would be chiefeſt my ſelfe. This anſwer pleaſed *Scipio* maruellous well, becauſe he ſaw he was neither deſpiſed, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peereleſſe, by ſome ſecret flattery of *Hanniball*. After theſe things, *Hanniball* found occaſion to talke with king *Antiochus*, and began to lay open his life vnto him from his youth, and bewray the malice he had alwayes borne vnto the Romaines: whereby he ſo ſatisfied the king, that he was againe receiued into his grace and fauour, which he had almoſt vtterly loſt. Thereupon the king was determined to haue made him Admirall of his army by ſea, the which he had put in readineſſe for Italie, and alſo to make proofe of his great courage and ſeruice, whom he knew to be a worthie man, and a mortall enemy to the Romaines. But one *Thoas*, Prince of the Ætolians, thwarting this

Hanniball in his miſerie, fled vnto king Antiochus into Aſia.

Enuy, the common plague and poyſon of Princes courts.

Scipio African met with Hanniball at Epheſus.

Hannibals iudgement of the moſt famous Captaines.

this opinion, either for malice, or elſe for that his fancy was ſuch: he altered the kings mind, and cleane changed his purpoſe, the which was a matter of great importance for the war he pretẽded to make. For he gaue counſell vnto *Antiochus*, that he ſhould go himſelfe into GRECE, & direct his own affaires: & that he ſhould not ſuffer another to cary away the honor & glory of this war. So king *Antiochus* ſhortly after went into GRECE, to make war with the ROMAINS. Within few daies after, when he cõſulted whether he ſhould make league with the THESSALIANS, *Hannibals* opinion was ſpecially asked: who ſpake ſo wiſely touching the ſtate of the THESSALIANS, & the chiefeſt matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, & gaue their conſents vnto it. Now his opinion was, that they ſhould not need much to care for the THESSALIANS, but rather to make all the means they could, to get king *Philip* of MACEDON to take their part: or elſe to perſwade him to be a Newter, and to take neither part. Furthermore, he gaue counſell to make war with the ROMAINS in their owne country, & offered himſelf to aid him the beſt he could. Euery man gaue good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather cõmended, then followed. Wherfore euery man maruelled, that ſuch a Captaine as he, that had ſo many yeares made warre with the ROMAINES (who had in maner conquered all the world) ſhould then be ſo light ſet by of the king, when it ſpecially ſtood him vpon, to haue ſuch a mans helpe & counſell. For, what captaine liuing could a man haue foũd more skilful or politike, or meeter to make war with the ROMAINS, then him? Howbeit the king made no reckoning of him, at the firſt beginning of this warre: but ſhortly after, diſdaining all their counſell, he confeſſed that *Haniballl* onely ſaw what was to be done. For after the ROMAINES had obtained victory in the warre he made in GRECE: *Antiochus* fled out of EVROPE into EPHESVS, where making merry, & there following pleaſure, he hoped to liue in peace, litle thinking the ROMAINES would come with an army into ASIA. Now, theſe flattering courtiers ſtill fed his humor: a perpetuall plague to kings & princes, that ſuffer thẽſelues to be flattered, & are contented to be deceiued, becauſe they giue good eare to that that pleaſeth them. But *Hannibal*, who knew the power & ambition of the ROMAINES, perſwaded the king to hope for any thing rather then peace, & bad him truſt to it, that the ROMAINS would neuer ſtay, till they had proued whether they could enlarge the dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in AFRICK, & EVROPE. *Antiochus* perſwaded by the authority of ſuch a man, ſtraight cõmanded *Polyxenidas*, a very ſeruiceable man, & skilful in ſea ſeruice, that he ſhould go meet with the army of the ROMAINES that was coming thither. Then he ſent *Hannibal* into SYRIA, to leauy a great number of ſhips together, and afterwards made him, and *Apollonius* (one of his fauoured courtiers) Generals of his army by ſea: who notwithſtanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worſt by the ROMAINES, they went & ſet vpon the RHODIANS, that were confederates with them. *Hannibal* in this battell aſſailing *Eudamus* the Captaine of the RHODIANS, that led the left wing: he had already compaſſed in the Admirall galley, and doubtleſſe had obtained the victory, but that the other wing came in to reſcue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chaſe, and tooke the victory from him, that was his owne. After this battell by ſea, which had no great good ſucceſſe: we do not find that *Hannibal* did any thing worthy of memorie. For king *Antiochus* being ouercome, beſides other conditions, the ROMAINES offered him: they deſired that *Hannibal* (the mortall enemy of the country) ſhould be deliuered vnto them. *Hannibal* foreſeeing this long before, he ſuddenly ſtole from *Antiochus*, after this notable battell that was fought by MAGNESIA, where the kings power was ouerthrowne. So, after *Hannibal* had wandred vp and downe a long time, he fled at length vnto *Pruſias*, king of BITHYNIA, for ſuccor. Now he did not ſo much truſt to his friendſhip, but becauſe he ſought for the meeteſt place he could come by, as alſo for the ſafeſt, the which he moſt deſired: conſidering that the ROMAINES had the moſt part of the ſea and land in their ſubiection. Some ſay, that after king *Antiochus* was ouercome, *Hannibal* went into CRETA vnto the GORTYNIANS: and that the rumour ran immediatly, he had brought a great maſſe of gold and ſiluer with him. Wherefore being afraid leſt the CRETANS ſhould offer him ſome violẽce, he deuiſed this ſhift to ſcape the danger: he filled earthen pots with lead, gilt, and ſent them into the temple of *Diana*, faining that he was maruellous carefull for them, as though all his treaſure had bene there. On the other ſide he had hid all his gold in images of braſſe, the which he had left careleſly lying on the ground in the houſe. In the meane time, whileſt they watched the temple carefully, that theſe earthen pots ſhould not be caried away without their priuity: *Hannibal* hoiſed ſaile, and fled into BITHYNIA. In BITHYNIA there is a village vpon the ſea ſide, which the countrey men call LIBYSSA, of the

Hannibal counſelleth king Antiochus to make warre with the Romaines.

King Antiochus iudgement of Hannibal.

Hannibal made Generall of Antiochus army by ſeas together with Apollonius.

Hannibal fled to Pruſias king of Bithynia.

which by ſome mens ſaying, there ranne an old Oracle and Prophecy in this ſort:

The land of Libyſſa ſhall couer vnder mold
The valiant corps of Hanniball, when he is dead and cold.

There *Hanniball* lay, not ſpending his time idly, but paſſing it away in exerciſing of the mariners, riding of horſes, and training of his ſouldiers. Some Authors alſo do write, that at that time *Pruſias* made war with *Eumenes*, king of PERGAMVS, who was a confederate and friend of the ROMAINES: & that he made *Hanniball* his Lieutenant generall of his army by ſea: who aſſailing *Eumenes* with a new found and vnknowne deuice, wan the victory of the battell by ſea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Hanniball* had gotten an infinite number of ſnakes into earthen pots, and when the battell was begun, & they buſily tending their fight: he threw thoſe pots with ſnakes into the enemies ſhips, and that by this fearefull and ſtraunge deuice he made them flie. Now whether this was true, or not, the old Chronicles do make no maner of mention, but only *Æmylius* and *Trogus*: and therefore I report me to the Authors. So, the newes of the diſſention betwixt theſe two kings, *Pruſias*, and *Eumenes* being brought to ROME: the Senate ſent *T. Q. Flaminius* Ambaſſador into ASIA, whoſe name was famous for the noble victories he had obtained in GRECE, to the end (as I coniecture) to make peace betwixt theſe two kings. *Flaminius* being come vnto king *Pruſias*, he was maruellouſly offended, and ſory in his mind to ſee *Hanniball* yet aliue (that was the mortalleſt enemy of the ROMAINES) after the conqueſts of ſo many nations, and the ſacking of ſo many people: therefore, he was very earneſtly in hand with king *Pruſias*, to deliuer him *Hanniball*. *Hanniball* from the firſt beginning miſtruſted king *Pruſias* inconſtancy very much, & therefore had digged diuerſe vaults in his houſe, & made ſeuen ſeuerall vents to flie out at, if he were ſuddenly taken. The report of *Flaminius* comming did increaſe his ſuſpitiõ the more, for that he thought him the greateſt enemy he had in ROME: both generally for the hate he bare vnto all the ROMAINS, as alſo particularly for the remẽbrance of his father *Flaminius*, that was ſlaine in the battell fought by the lake of Thraſymene. So *Hannibal* being full of care & griefe (as it is reported) he found deuices to eſcape, the which ſtood him to no purpoſe againſt ſuch a great power. For when the kings guard which were ſent to take him, had cõpaſſed his houſe about: *Hanniball* thought to flie at their firſt coming, & to ſaue himſelfe by the ſecreteſt vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the guard, then he determined to rid himſelf out of the ROMAINS hands, by deſtroying himſelfe. So, ſome do report, that he was ſtrangled by one of his men, whom he had cõmanded to helpe to diſpatch him. Others write againe, that he had drunke buls bloud, & when he had drunke it, died, as *Clitarchus*, & *Stratocles* do falſly report of *Themiſtocles*. Howbeit *Titus Liuius*, that famous Hiſtoriographer writeth, that *Hannibal* called for the poyſon he had ready for ſuch a miſchiefe, & that holding this deadly drinke in his hand, before he dranke he ſaid: Come on, let vs rid the ROMAINES of this paine & care, ſith their ſpite & malice is ſo great, to haſtẽ the death of a poore old man, that is halfe dead already. The ancient ROMAINS aduertiſed *Pyrrhus* king of the EPIROTES, who came with enſignes diſplayed to the very wals of the city of ROME, that he ſhould looke to himſelfe, & beware of poyſoning: and theſe ROMAINS now do make a friend forgetting his kingly ſtate & faithful promiſe, vilely to betray his poore gueſt. After he had ſayd, bitterly curſing king *Pruſias*, he poyſoned himſelfe, being 70 yeares old, as ſome writers do teſtifie. His body was buried in a tombe of ſtone by LIBYSSA, on the which was engrauen no more but this: *Here lieth Hanniball*. The ROMAINS being aduertiſed of his death, euery man ſaid his opinion, as his fancy ſerued him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* cruelty, who to make himſelfe famous by ſome notable act (as he thought) made a poore old man put himſelfe to death, that was in maner halfe dead by age, and beſides, was paſt doing the ſtate of ROME any more hurt, they being conquerors in maner of all the world. But ſome againe on the other ſide, cõmended *Flaminius* for it, & ſayd it was a good deed of him, to rid the ROMAINES of their mortall enemy: who though he had a weake body, yet he lacked no wit, wiſe counſell, & great experience in wars, to intiſe king *Pruſias* to make war, and to moleſt all ASIA beſides with new wars. For at that time, the power of the king of BITHYNIA, was ſo great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Mithridates* king of the ſame BITHYNIA, did maruellouſly moleſt the ROMAINES both by ſea & by land, & moreouer fought battels with *L. Lucullus*, & *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the ROMAINES. And ſo the ROMAINES might alſo be afraid of *Pruſias*, and ſpecially hauing *Hanniball* his Captaine. So ſome iudge, that *T. Q. Flaminius* was ſpecially ſent Ambaſſador vnto king *Pruſias*, ſecretly to practiſe *Hannibals* death.

Hanniball, king Pruſias Generall by ſea, againſt Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

A ſtraunge deuice of ſnakes put in earthen pots, & thrown into the enemies ſhips.

Titus Quintius Flaminius ſent Ambaſſador into Aſia.

Hanniball poyſoned himſelfe, being 70 years old.

Hannibals tombe by Libyſſa.

Howbeit

Howbeit it is to be ſuppoſed, that *Q. Flaminius* was not ſo deſirous to haue *Hannibal* ſo ſuddenly put to death, as he would haue bin glad otherwiſe to haue brought him again to ROME, that had done ſuch miſchiefe to his country: and this had bene a great benefit for ROME, and much honor alſo vnto himſelf. Such was the death of *Hannibal* the CARTHAGINIAN, a famous mā doubtleſſe, and highly to be commended for martial praiſe, ſetting his other vertues aſide. So we may eaſily iudge, of what power and force his noble mind, his great wiſedome and courage, and his perfit skill of martiall diſcipline was in all things. For in all the warre the CARTHAGINIANS had ſo vehemently, and with ſuch great preparation enterpriſed: they neuer thought themſelues ouercome, till *Hannibal* was ouerthrowne at that great battell by ZAMA. So it appeareth, that all their ſtrength and skill of warres began, and alſo ended, with *Hannibal* their Captaine. *The praiſe of Hannibal.*

THE LIFE OF *Scipio African.*

PVblius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the family of the *Cornelij* (who was the first ROMAINE Captaine againſt whom *Hanniball* fought in ITALIE) was the father of *Cornelius Scipio* afterwards ſurnamed *African*, the firſt: ſo called, becauſe he had conquered that nation. The ſame *Scipio*, after he had obtained many great victories in SPAINE, and done notable feats of armes: was in the end ſlaine with a wound he had in a battell. againſt his enemies, as he was plying & incouraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greateſt danger and fury of the battell Shortly after did his brother *Cn. Scipio* alſo end his life, much after one ſelfe maner, & was ſlaine valiantly fighting. So theſe two captaines, beſides the fame they atchieued by their noble deeds, left behind thē great praiſe of their faithfulneſſe, modeſty, & courage: the which made them not only wiſhed for of their ſouldiers that were then liuing, but alſo of all the SPANIARDS beſides. *Cn. Scipio* had a ſon called *P. Cornelius Naſica*, one that had bin Conſull, and had alſo triumphed: who being but a yong man, was thought the meeteſt man of all the city of ROME to receiue *Idæa*, the mother of the gods. This *Publius* had two ſonnes, the ſo famous *Scipioes*: of the which the one was called *Aſian*, becauſe he conquered ASIA: and the other *African*, becauſe he ſubdued AFRICKE at that famous battel of ZAMA, where he ouerthrew *Hannibal* and the CARTHAGINIANS, as we ſaid before. Whoſe life we purpoſe now to write, not ſo much to make the glory of his name (ſo famous by all the Greeke and Latine Authors) the greater by *The parentage of Scipio.*

our history: as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, & morall vertues, to the end that all Princes and noble Captaines in reading it, should behold the liuely image of perfit vertue, which may moue an earnest desire in them to follow the example of *P. C. Scipios* life, who from his childhood gaue great hope and shew of a noble nature, and excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of martiall discipline, vnder the conduct of his father. He was caried into the field at the beginning of the second war with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the campe being but 17 yeares old, and in a very short time grew so toward, and forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all maner of paines like a souldier, that he wan great commendation of his owne father, and besides, great estimation also of all the army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharpe wit, and noble courage: that it made him beloued, and also feared of his enemies. For this *Scipio* was present at the battell of the horsemen, where *P. Cornelius Scipio* the Consull fought with *Hannibal*, by the riuer of Thesin: & some writers do affirme, that *Cornelius* the father being hurt, was almost taken by the enemy, had not his son *Scipio* saued him, who had then but a litle downe on his beard, he was so yong. After that also, at the battell that was fought by CANNES, to the great losse, and in maner vtter destruction of the Empire of ROME, when the 10000 men that fled to CANVSIVM, had all together with one consent referred the gouernment of the army vnto *Appius Pulcher*, that had bene Ædilis, & vnto *Cornelius Scipio*, that was yet but very yong: the same *Scipio* shewed then by his deeds, what noble mind and courage was in him. For when he saw certaine yong men consult together betweene themselues to forsake ITALY: he thrust in among them, and drawing out his sword, made them all sweare they would not forsake their country. These, and such like deeds done by him with a liuely courage and noble mind, being then but a yong man: wan him such fauor with the ROMAINES, that not respecting his yong yeares, nor their ancient custome, they called him forward, & layd offices of great charge and gouernment vpon him. Insomuch that when he sued for the office of Ædilis before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the people were against his sute, because he was so yong a man: yet the people suffered him to be brought from tribe to tribe, and so was presently chosen Ædilis with the most voyces. So after his father and vnkle (both famous and noble Captaines) had bene slaine one after the other in SPAINE, and that the ROMAINES were in consultation to appoint some worthy Captaine in the roome: they could find no man that durst vndertake this so dangerous war, considering the losse of two so great Captaines before. Wherfore the whole assembly being called to chuse a Viceconsull, all the other Princes and Peeres of the Realme being silent at so worthy a motion: *Scipio* only of all the rest, being but 24 yeares old, stood vp in the middest of them, and sayd, with a good hope and confidence he wold willingly take the charge vpon him. He had no sooner offered this promise, but he was presently made Viceconsull of SPAINE, with the wonderfull goodwill and fauor of the people, who gaue him all their voices. Howbeit the Senators afterwards considering better of the matter, against what Captaines and nations he should make warre: they thought it vnpossible so young a man could performe so waighty a charge. Wherfore mens minds were wonderfully changed againe on the sudden, as if the tribes of the people had repented them of their voices & election. *Scipio* perceiuing it, called an assembly presently, and made such an Oration of his age, and discipline of wars, that euery man that heard him wondred at him, and the people began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the warres. For he had not only a noble courage in him, being indued with so many singular vertues, but he was also a goodly gentleman, and very comely of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance: all which things together, are great meanes to win him the loue and goodwill of euery man. Moreouer, euen in his gesture and behauior, there was a certaine Princely grace. Now, the glory of martiall discipline, being ioyned vnto those his rare gifts of mind and nature: it was to be doubted, whether ciuill vertues made him more acceptable vnto strangers, then wonderfull for his skill in warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common peoples hearts with a certaine superstitious feare, because he did daily (after he had taken the mans gowne) vse to go vp to the Capitoll, and so into the Church without any company: insomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret things in the temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that *Numa Pompilius* was taught by the Nymph *Ægeria*. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of *Scipio*, as in old time they had of *Alexander* king of MACEDON, to wit: that oftentimes there was a snake seene in his mothers chamber. But let these things go. *Scipio* departing out of ITALY with

The first souldier fare of P. Cor. Scipio, being but seuenteene yeares old.

P. Sipio rescued his father from being taken of the enemies.

Honors done to Scipio, being but a young man.

Scipio Viceconsull at foure and twentie yeares of age.

Scipioes great mind & goodly personage.

ten

ten thousand footemen, and a fleete of thirty galleys, euery one of them hauing fiue oares to a banke: he sailed into SPAINE, and in few dayes arriuing at EMPORIA, he landed his men, & marched by land to TARRACON. There he kept a councell, and many Ambassadors of the cities their confederates came thither, who being curteously receiued, returned to their lodgings with such answer as they liked. After this, *Scipio* being carefully bent to prosecute the warre he had taken vpon him, he thought it best to ioyne the remaine of the old bands with his army, which had bin saued through the manhood and valiantnesse of *Lucius Martius*. For after both the *Scipioes* were slaine, and both SPAINES almost lost, and the ROMAINE legions also ouerthrowne and put to flight: *Lucius Martius* a ROMAINE Knight, hauing gathered together the remnant of both armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the enemies puffed vp with glorie of the victorie they had gotten, and with great valiantnesse, and vnspeakeable industrie he maintained warre in SPAINE, against three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now *Scipio* being come to this army that lay in garrison for the winter time, euery man did certainely perswade themselues that the warre should prosper: and when they saw him, they remembred their old Captaines, in so much that there was neuer a souldier could haue his fill, with looking vpon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the souldiers for their noble courage, not dispairing for the calamity of their country: he greatly honored *Lucius Martius*, to shew, that who so trusteth in his owne vertues, need not enuy the glory of another man. So winter being past, he tooke the old and new bands out of the garrisons, and first of all determined to go & lay siege vnto new CARTHAGE. For of all the cities of SPAINE it was the wealthiest, and none more meete to make war both by sea and land, then that. Moreouer, the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS had bestowed in this city all their munition, and greatest treasure: and left a strong garrison, both in the city, and castell. But the Captaines themselues were deuided in diuerse countries, to the end that they three might keepe the whole region from spoile, least of all looking then that CARTHAGE should be besieged. But *Scipio* hauing put all in readinesse, he came to besiege new CARTHAGE with all his army both by sea and land. This seemed to be a maruellous hard enterprise, and would continue long, both because the city was very strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within it were so couragious: that they did not onely thinke themselues able to defend the city, but their hearts serued them also to make sallies out vpon the enemy, and to skirmish with them, euen to the very trenches of the ROMAINES campe. Howbeit it happeneth often, that what a man cannot obtaine by force, he may winne by industry. Now *Scipio* knew, that the lake or meare which is not farre from the wals of CARTHAGE, did ebbe and flow with the tide, and that it was passable by foord on that side where they might easilliest come to the wals: So, he thinking to imbrace this occasion, & that he could not possibly meete with a better deuice to take CARTHAGE: when he saw his time, he set his men in battell ray, and hauing deuided them into seuerall squadrons, gaue a more desperate assault vnto the citie, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a band of the valianteſt men he had, and commanded them to wade ouer the lake, and to scale the wals on that side, where they within the towne made least account of it. So, these souldiers that were commaunded to giue this attempt, after they had passed ouer the lake without any let or trouble: they found that part of the wall without any watch or guard, because the greatest furie of the fight, was on the other side of the citie. Therefore they easily getting vp on the wall, came and assailed the enemies behind them. The citizens, and those of the garrison, perceiuing they were vnwares fallen into that great danger: they immediatly forsooke the wals, and seeing themselues charged on euerie side, betooke them to their legges, and fled. The ROMAINES pursued them so hotly, that they wanne the citie, and sacked it: where they found a wonderfull great spoile, and abundance of all things necessarie for warre. *Scipio* greatly praised his souldiers, and did reward them, for that they had done so valiant seruice. Howbeit when he should come to giue the scaling crowne of the wals, vnto the first man that got vp vpon the wals: there were two souldiers at such variance for the matter, that all the army was in danger of diuision and mutiny vpon that occasion. Thereupon *Scipio* called his men together, and in open assembly told them, that he knew they both got vp on the wall together, and so gaue them both a scaling crowne: and by this meanes their tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he sent vnto all the cities of SPAINE, the hostages that were found in the citie, which were a maruellous number: the which wanne him great fame for his courtesie and clemencie, whereby he allured many nations to yeeld themselues vnto the ROMAINES, and to forsake the

Scipioes iourney into Spaine

The valiantnesse of Lucius Martius a Romaine knight.

Scipio besiegeth new Carthage in Spaine.

Scipio wanne the city of new Carthage by assault.

CARTHAGINIANS. But one thing aboue all the reſt chiefly increaſed his praiſe, and wanne him great loue and goodwill, as a mirrour and example of all vertue. There was a young Ladie taken priſoner, that in beautie excelled all the women in CARTHAGE: whom he carefully cauſed to be kept and preſerued from violence and diſhonour. And afterwardes when he knew that ſhe was maried vnto *Lucelus*, Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: he ſent for her husband, that was a very young man, and deliuered her vnto him, vntouched or diſhonoured. *Lucelus* not forgetting his noble curteſie vnto her, did let all his ſubiects vnderſtand the great bountie, modeſtie, and rare excellencie of all kind of vertues that were in this ROMAINE Generall: and ſhortly after, he returned againe to the ROMANES campe with a great number of horſmen. The three Captains of the CARTHAGINIANS (*Mago*, *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, and the other *Haſdrubal*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*) knowing that the loſſe of new CARTHAGE did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other ſtrange nations, as alſo by the cõiecture diuers made of the ſucceſſe of this war: they firſt practiſed to diſſemble the loſſe of it, and then in ſpeech to make light of it as much as they could. *Scipio* hauing ioyned to him diuers nations and Princes of SPAINE, (among the which were the two litle kings, *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*) vnderſtanding where *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN lay: he marched towards him with his army to fight with him, before *Mago* and the other *Haſdrubal* came to ioyne with him. *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN lay in campe by the riuer of Beſula, & was very deſirous to fight, truſting wholy to his ſtrength and army. But when he heard that *Scipio* was at hand, he left the valley, and got to a hill of prety ſtrength. The ROMAINE legions followed him, and gaue him no reſpit, but purſued ſo neare, that they came and aſſaulted his campe at their firſt coming. So they fought it out vpon the trenches and rampers, as if they had bene at the aſſault of a citie. The CARTHAGINIANS truſting to the ſtrength of the place, and driuen vnto it of neceſſitie, (the which maketh cowards moſt deſperat) they valiantly reſiſted their enemies the beſt they could. The ROMAINES in contrarie maner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out luſtily like men, and the fight was ſo much more cruell, for that it was in the ſight of their Generall *Scipio*, & of all the army beſides: inſomuch that their valiant ſeruice there could not be hidden. Therefore they neuer gaue ouer the aſſault, vntill that hauing done their vttermoſt indeuour, they got vp vpon the rampers, and entred in diuers places into the enemies campe, and made them flie. *Haſdrubal* Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, ſaued himſelfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMAINES entred into their fort. After this battell, *Scipio* according to his manner, cauſed all the Spaniſh priſoners to be brought before him, & then gaue them libertie to depart without paying of ranſome. Among the priſoners, there was a yong Gentleman of the kings bloud, & nephew vnto *Maſiniſſa*, whom whē he had vſed very honorably, he ſent vnto *Maſiniſſa*, with great and rich giftes: to ſhew therby, that a Generall of an armie, ſhould be as bountifull and full of ciuill vertues, as otherwiſe skilfull and expert in martiall diſcipline. For the end of war is victorie: the benefite whereof conſiſteth in bountie and clemencie. From thence commeth the glorie and all other praiſes due to Captaines: as it happened in thoſe things whereof we now treate. For a great number of SPANIARDS being preſent, wondering at the great clemencie of the Generall of the ROMAINS: they could do no leſſe but call him king, to honor and recompence his vertue. But *Scipio* ſtrake that word dead ſtraight, the which was no cõmon ſound to the ROMANES eares, & therefore he would by no means allow that title, which he knew to be hatefull to the Noblemen of his country, & alſo vnmeet for the libertie of the ROMAINES. He only prayeth the SPANIARDS, that if they had any mind & deſire not to ſhew themſelues vnthankfull to him, that then they would be faithfull and louing to the people of ROME. So whileſt theſe things were done by *Scipio*, the other two Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (*Mago*, and *Haſdrubal* the ſonne of *Giſgo*) after they vnderſtood of the ouerthrowe of their men by the riuer of Beſula: they made all the ſpeede they could to ioyne together, and ſhortly after came and met with *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN, to conſult together, and to take order for the warre. So after they had layed their heades together, and conſidered all things, they concluded thus: that *Haſdrubal* BARCINIAN ſhould go into ITALIE to his brother *Hannibal*, where the warre was greateſt: and that *Mago*, and the other *Haſdrubal* ſhould remaine in SPAINE, ſhould ſend for aide from CARTHAGE, and ſhould not fight with the ROMANES vntill all their forces looked for, were aſſembled, and ſo might make a great and puiſſant army. When *Haſdrubal* was gone into ITALY, *Hanno* was ſent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practiſing in his iourney to make the CELTIBERIANS to rebell, *M. Syllanus* came and ſet vpon him by *Scipioes* commaundement, and

The great chaſtitie of Scipio.

Mago, Haſdrubal Barcinian, Haſdruball Giſgo: the three famous Captaines of the Carthaginians.

Beſula fl.

Scipioes liberalitie to his enemies.

Vertues meete for a Generall.

Scipio called King, by the Spaniards.

Haſdrubal ſent into Italie to his brother Hanniball with an army.

and was ſo fortunate, that he ouercame him in battell, and tooke him priſoner. Now there was a city which the country men called ORINGE, the which was very wealthy, & meete to renew the war. *Lucius Scipio* was ſent thither with part of the army to beſiege it: but finding it a very ſtrong ſituation, and too well manned to take it at the firſt aſſault, he enuironed the towne, and within few daies tooke and ſacked it. Winter came on a pace, and the time of the yeare made thē both to retire into their garriſōs, for the winter. So *Scipio* hauing had ſo good fortune in this war, he wēt vnto TARRACON: *Mago*, and the other *Haſdruball*, the ſonne of *Giſgo*, went to the ſea ſide. The next ſommer, wars growing more bloudy and cruell then before in the lower SPAINE, the ROMAINES & CARTHAGINIANS met, and ioyned battell by the riuer of Beſula, and fought ſet battels. After they had fought a long time together, *Scipio* at length got the victory, and made the enemies flie (of the which there were ſlaine a great number in the field) and giuing them no leiſure to gather together againe, and to make head againſt him, he fought with them, and followed the chaſe ſo hotly, that *Haſdruball* and *Mago* were driuen to leaue the maine land, and to flie to GADES, after they had loſt all their army. In the army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a yong man of a noble courage, and very wiſe, called *Maſiniſſa*, who finding meanes to haue ſecret conference with *Syllanus*, he was the firſt man that offered him friendſhip, either being brought to it through *Scipioes* liberality, or elſe becauſe he thought the time was come, that it was the ſureſt way to take part with the ROMAINES, which were the conquerors. It is that *Maſiniſſa* that afterwards (through the goodneſſe of the ROMAINES) became the great and mighty king of NVMIDIA, and indeed he was diuerſe wayes a profitable friend vnto the ROMAINES. Furthermore, the ſelfe ſame yeare (which was the fourteenth of the ſecond war with the AFRICANS) SPAINE was the firſt nation and people of the vpland men dwelling in the heart of the Realme, that was conquered vnder the happy conduct of the Vicecōſull *Scipio*: howbeit it was the laſt Realme that was made a prouince long time after, by *Auguſtus Cæſar*. Now *Scipio* not cōtenting himſelfe with the great victories he had obtained, in very ſhort time in SPAINE (for he had an imaginatiō and good hope alſo to conquer AFRICK) he thought that his beſt way, to make all the means he could poſſible to get *Syphax*, king of the MASÆSYLIANS, a friēd to the ROMAINS. Wherfore after he had felt the kings mind, perceiuing that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMAINES: he preſently ſet all his other affaires aſide, and ſailed into AFRICK with two galleys only, at fiue oares to a banke. At the ſelfe ſame time alſo came *Haſdruball*, the ſon of *Giſgo* thither, from GADES: ſo that both theſe valiant and luſty Captaines came of purpoſe to the king, enuying one the other, to craue the kings goodwill, vnto their countrey and commonwealth. *Syphax* welcomed them both into his court, and did vſe them very honourably and courteouſly, and appointed that they ſhould both eate at one table, and lie in one ſelfe chamber, becauſe the one ſhould not thinke his entertainement better then the other. It is reported that *Haſdrubal* wondering at the magnanimitie & great wiſdom of *Scipio* that was preſent, he conſidered with himſelfe the great danger the city of CARTHAGE and all AFRICKE beſides was in, through that mans meanes: for he ſaw him yet a young man, quicke, and excellent in all manner of great vertues, and that had continually obtained ſuch victories, and therefore conſidering the luſty youth of this gentleman, he imagined that it was impoſſible to perſwade him to imbrace peace, rather then warre. Beſides, he was afraid alſo that *Syphax*, moued by the perſonage and authoritie of him that was preſent, would take part with the ROMAINES: and indeed his mind gaue him rightly, for ſo it happened. For though *Syphax* at the firſt ſhewed himſelfe indifferent to them both, & had moued talke to end the war betwixt the ROMAINES and the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio* told him he could conclude no peace without conſent of the Senate of ROME, he reiected *Haſdruball*, and inclining to *Scipioes* requeſt, he made league with the people of ROME. So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAINE, himſelfe partly by force, and partly alſo by *L. Martius* meanes, conquered ILITVRGIVM, CASTVLO, and certaine other places that refuſed to yeeld themſelues vnto the ROMAINES. And to the end nothing ſhould be lacking for all kind of ſports and pleaſures, after he had ſo fortunately obtained ſo many famous victories: when he was come to new CARTHAGE, he cauſed the fencers to prepare thēſelues to fight with great pompe, where there were many great eſtates, not onely to ſee that paſtime, but alſo they themſelues to handle the weapons in perſon. But amongſt other SPANIARDS of noble houſes, there were two called, *Corbis* and *Orſua*, which were at ſtrife together for the kingdome: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being ſlaine by the others hand. The fight was

Hanno the chiefe of the contrary faction vnto Haſdruball Barcinian, ouercome in battell, and taken priſoner.

Maſiniſſa offereth his friendſhip vnto the Romains.

Syphax king of the Maſæſylians.

Haſdrubals iudgement of Scipio.

Syphax, king of the Maſæſylians, maketh league with the Romaines.

The vnfortunate fight of two coſin germaines.

very lamentable and grieuons to the beholders: but the death of him that was ſlaine, troubled them much more, for they were both couſin-germains. After all this, *Scipio* hauing his mind ſtill occupied in matters of greater waight and importance, then thoſe which he had alreadie brought to paſſe, he fell ſicke. His ſickneſſe being caried through all SPAINE, and as it happeneth often, his diſeaſe being reported to be much greater and daungerous then it was indeed: therupon, not onely the nations of SPAINE began to riſe in hope of change, but the armie ſelfe alſo of the ROMAINES, the which he had left at SVCRO. Firſt of all, martiall diſcipline was corrupted through the abſence of the Generall. Afterwardes alſo, the report of his ſickneſſe, and daunger of his life being ſpred abroad in the armie, raiſed ſuch a rebellion among them: that ſome of them litle regarding the authoritie and commaundement of the head Captaines of the bandes, they draue them away, and choſe two meane ſouldiers for their Captaines; who preſumptuouſly tooke vpon them the name giuen vnto them by men of no authoritie, and yet with more arrogancie, made the bundles of roddes and axes to be caried before them. Such folly doth furie and vaine ambition oftentimes worke in mens minds. On the other ſide, the SPANIARDS ſlept not, & ſpecially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aſpiring to the kingdome of SPAINE, came to *Scipio* when he was conquerour, after he had taken new CARTHAGE. But afterwardes, being offended to ſee the power of the ROMAINES increaſe daily, they ſought occaſion to make ſome alteration. So after they had heard, not onely of *Scipioes* ſickeneſſe, but alſo how he was at deaths doore, and did beleeue it: they preſently leauied an armie, and went and made war with the SVVESSITANS which were confederats of the ROMAINS. But *Scipio* being recouered againe of his ſickneſs, like as vpon the falſe rumor of his death euery man began to riſe: euen ſo after the truth was knowne indeed of his recouerie, they were all put downe againe, and not a man of them durſt proceed any further in their rebellion. *Scipio* being more skilfull in martial diſcipline, then acquainted with ſedition and rebellion: although he was maruellouſly offended with the ſouldiers that had committed this folly; yet in the end, leſt following his anger, men ſhould haue thought him to haue exceeded all bounds of reaſon in puniſhing of them, he referred all vnto the Councell. The moſt part of them gaue aduice, that the authours of the rebellion ſhould be puniſhed, and all the reſt pardoned: for by this meanes, ſaid they, the puniſhment ſhall light vpon a few that haue deſerued it, and all the reſt ſhall take example by them. *Scipio* followed that aduiſe, and preſently ſent for all the ſeditious bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receiue their pay. The ſouldiers obeyed his commaundement, ſome of them making their fault leſſe then it was, as men do often flatter themſelues: others alſo truſting to the Captaines clemencie, as knowing him not to be extreame in puniſhment. For *Scipio* was wont to ſay, that he had rather ſaue the life of one ROMAINE citizen, then to kill a thouſand enemies. The rumor ran alſo, that *Scipio* had another armie readie, the which he looked for to ioyne with them, and then to ſet vpon the kings (*Mandonius* and *Indibilis*) who made war with the SVVESSITANS. Theſe ſouldiers departing from SVCRO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came vnto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the towne, they were brought into the market place: where their armor and weapons being taken from them, they were enuironed with all the legions armie. Then the ROMAINE Generall ſitting in place of iudgement, ſhewed himſelf before all the companie in as good health and good diſpoſition of bodie, as euer he was in all his youth. Then he made a ſharpe and bitter oration, full of grieuous complaints: inſomuch as there was not one of all the ſouldiers that were vnarmed, thar durſt caſt vp their eyes, or looke their Generall in the face, they were ſo aſhamed. For their conſciences did accuſe them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and ſences from them, & the preſence of their gratious Captaine, made them bluſh as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherfore there was a generall and ſorowfull ſilence of all men. So after he had ended his oration, he cauſed the chiefe authors of this rebellion to be brought foorth before the whole aſſembly: who, after they had bene whipped according to the maner, were preſently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamētable ſight to the beholders. Theſe matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other ſouldiers to be ſworne againe, & then went and proclaimed war againſt *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they conſidering with themſelues, how the ROMAINE ſouldiers that had rebelled in the campe, were put to death: they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leauied an armie of twenty thouſand footmen and two thouſand horſmen, and came downe with them againſt the ROMAINES. *Scipio* hauing intelligence thereof, before that the kings could increaſe their army, & that

The rebellion of the Romaine ſouldiers againſt their Captaines, in Scipioes ſickneſſe.

Mandonius, Indibilis: two kings of Spain.

Scipioes wiſedome ſuppreſſing his anger.

Scipioes great wiſedome in puniſhing the offenders.

Scipioes care of his countrimen

Scipio did put the authors of the rebellion to death.

that other nations could rebell: he departed from CARTHAGE, and went with as great ſpeed as he could, to meet with the enemy. The kings were camped in a very ſtrōg place, & truſted ſo to their army, that they were not determined to prouoke the enemy, nor alſo to refuſe the battel if it were offered them. Howbeit it chanced by the nearneſſe of both campes, that within few dayes, they being prouoked by the ROMAINES, came downe and ſet their men in battell ray, & ioyned battel with *Scipio*: ſo that a good while together, the fight was very bloudy & cruell. But at length the SPANIARDS ſeeing themſelues compaſſed in behind, & being driuen to fight in a ring to defend the enemy on euery ſide, they were ouercome: ſo that the third part of them ſcarcely ſaued thē-ſelues by flying. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* ſeeing themſelues vtterly vndone, & that there was no hope nor remedy left: they ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receiue them to mercy, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMAINES; yet thinking it more honorable to ouercome the enemy by curteſie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, & only commanded them to giue him mony to pay his ſouldiers. In the meane time *Maſiniſſa* came from GADES, & landed: becauſe he would himſelfe in perſon confirme the friendſhip he had offered *Scipio* in his abſence, by the meanes of *M. Syllanus*, & alſo ſpeake with him face to face, whō he iudged to be a worthy man, for the famous victories he had obtained. And in truth *Maſiniſſa* was not deceiued in the opinion he had of the valiantnes & vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the ſelfe ſame man whom he before had imagined him to be in his mind: the which but ſeldome happeneth ſo notwithſtanding. For beſides the great rare gifts of nature that *Scipio* had aboue all others, there was in him alſo a certaine princely grace and maieſty. Furthermore, he was maruellous gentle & courteous vnto them that came to him, and had an eloquent tongue, and a paſſing gift to win euery man. He was very graue in his geſture & behauior, and euer ware long haire. *Maſiniſſa* being come to ſalute him, when he ſaw him, he had him in ſuch admiration, as it is reported, that he could not caſt his eyes off him, nor haue his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him maruellouſly for ſending his nephew vnto him, & promiſed him that his deeds ſhould confirme & witneſſe the friendſhip agreed vpon betweene them: the which he euer after inuiolably kept vnto the ROMAINES, euen to the houre of his death. So all the nations of SPAINE became ſubiect to the Empire of ROME, or at the leaſt their cōfederats: wherupon thoſe of GADES alſo following the examples of others, came & yeelded themſelues vnto the ROMAINS. This is a very antient nation, and if we may credit the report of it: as CARTHAGE was in AFRICK, & THEBES in BOEOTIA; ſo was GADES vpon the ſea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. *Scipio* after he had cōquered all SPAINE, & driuen out the CARTHAGINIANS, conſidering that there remained nothing more for him to do: he left the gouernment of the prouince vnto *L. Lentulus*, & to *Manlius Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arriued at ROME, the Senate gaue him audience out of the city, in the temple of *Bellona*. There, when he had particularly told them of the things he had valiantly, and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had ouercome foure Captaines in diuerſe foughten fields, and alſo put to flight foure armies of the enemies, and driuen the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAINES, and that there was no nation left in all thoſe parts, but was ſubdued to the ROMAINES, the Senate gaue iudgemēt, that al theſe things were worthy of a noble triūph. But becauſe neuer man yet was ſuffered to enter into ROME in triumph, for any victories he had obtained, whileſt he was only but Viceconſull, and had not yet bene Conſull: the Senators thought it not good, and *Scipio* himſelfe alſo made no great ſute for it, becauſe he would not be an occaſion to bring in any new cuſtome, and to breake the old. So when he came into the city, he was afterwards declared Conſull, with the great goodwill and conſent of the whole aſſembly. It is reported that there neuer came ſuch a world of people to ROME, as were there at that time, not only for the aſſemblies ſake, but more to ſee *Publius Cornelius Scipio*. Wherefore not the ROMAINES onely, but all the ſtrangers alſo that were there, all their eyes were vpon *Scipio*, and ſayd both openly and priuately: that they ſhould ſend him into AFRICKE, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne countrey. *Scipio* alſo being of the ſame opinion, ſayd, that he would aske aduice of the people, if the Senate would be againſt ſuch a worthy enterpriſe. For amongſt the Peeres and Senators, there were ſome that vehemently inueyed againſt that opinion, and amongſt the reſt, *Fabius Maximus* ſpecially, a man of great fame and authority. *Scipio* went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and ſhewed many reaſons that there was no way to ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to driue *Hanniball* out of ITALIE, but that only: and that all other

A noble thing to ouercome the enemy by clemency.

Maſiniſſa commeth vnto Scipio.

A princely maieſty in Scipios perſonage.

The antiquity of thoſe of Gades, Scipioes noble deeds.

Scipioes returne out of Spaine to Rome.

Scipio made Conſull.

counsels were in vaine, and vnprofitable. After this matter was long debated in councel, Sicile was appointed vnto *Scipio*: and the whole Senate gaue him commission to go with all his army into Africke, if he thought it meete and profitable for the commonwealth. The decree of the Senate being published, euery mans mind ran of so great enterprises, that they perswaded themselues Africke was already their owne, and had great hope to end this warre. Howbeit *Scipio* saw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this iourney, because of the pouerty of the common treasure, and for lacke of yong men: the flower and choise of the which was vtterly gone, by the former great losses and ouerthrowes *Hanniball* had giuen them. Howbeit to satisfie euery mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speed he could, to prepare things necessary for the warres. So diuerse people of Thvscan, and of the Vmbrians, offered to helpe him to their best power: some of them gaue him timber to build his ships, others holpe him with armor, and others also furnished him with corne, and all other kind of victuals, and munition for his army. The ships being built, and all the army by sea put in readinesse, in the space of fiue and forty dayes, a thing incredible to many: *Scipio* departed out of Italy, and sailed towards Sicile. But when he came to take muster of his army, he specially chose those that had serued long time in the warres, vnder the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all esteemed for very expert souldiers. And for the Sicilians, he partly wanne them by courtesie, and partly by compulsion cõpelled them to giue him aide for the warre he tooke in hand, the which he meant to make in Africke, when the time of the yeare should serue for it. Among other things, it is reported that *Scipio* chose out of diuerse cities, three hundred young gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the sayd prouince, and commanded them to meete at a certaine day appointed, euery man with horse and armour. Then comming at the day appointed, according to his commandement: the Consull bad them chuse whether they would follow him in the warres of Africke, or else deliuer vp their armor & horse, to as many other Romaines as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the warre, *Scipio* appointed 300 other yong Romaines in their places, whom he had brought out of Italy with him vnarmed, because he would mount and arme thẽ at the Sicilians cost, as indeed it chanced. Afterwards, they did him great seruice in Africke, in many great battels. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his army in garrison for the winter time, when he came to Syracvsa, taking order not only for the preparation of war, but also for the affaires of Sicile. There when it was told him by complaint of diuerse, that there was a great company of Italian souldiers in that city, who wold not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the wars, but kept them still in their hands, notwithstãding that the Senate had enioyned them by speciall commandement to make restitution to the Syracvsans: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commandement. Whereby he wanne all the peoples hearts of Sicile, and was reported to be a iust and vpright Consull. In the meane time he was aduertised by *Caius Lælius*, that returned out of Africke with great spoile: how king *Masinissa* was very desirous of his comming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he would come into Africke, as soone as he could possible, so it were without the preiudice of the commonwealth. Moreouer, that diuerse nations and people of Africke had the like desire: who hating the gouernement of the Carthaginians, desired nothing more, then some good occasion to rebell. Now this iourney was not deferred through *Scipioes* fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be found that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of Sicile, & the oportunity he had to recouer Locres again, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpose to passe according to his mind. Furthermore, his Lieutenant *Pleminius* disorder grieued him much: because that hauing left him at Locres, he fell to all sorts of insolency, as to defloure women, and to spoile the poore citizens: insomuch that they being maruellously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subiect to the gouernment of so vile and vicked a man. So the Ambassadours of Locres being arriued at Rome, and exhibiting their complaints in open Senate of the great wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* did them: the noble men tooke the matter so grieuously, that they made bitter decrees, not onely against the same *Pleminius*, but also against *P. C. Scipio* himselfe. Whereupon *Scipioes* enemies hauing gotten matter inough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the iniuries offered the Locrians, with the licentiousnesse of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his souldiers also: and that he had suffered

Scipio prepared his armie and nauie by sea in fiue and fortie daies.

Scipioes pollicy in Sicile.

P. C. Scipio accused.

ſuffered all theſe things more negligently, then became the office or dutie of a Conſull. They added thereto moreouer, that his armie he had in SICILE was altogether vnruly and vnſeruiceable, and regarded not the ordinances of the camp: and that the captaine himſelfe was careleſſe, and altogether giuen ouer to pleaſure and idleneſſe. But aboue al others, *Fabius Maximus* was his heauy enemie, and ſo vehement againſt him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modeſtie and reaſon, and thought good to call him preſently home out of SICILE, and to diſmiſſe him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very ſtraight, and extreme. Wherefore, following *Quintus Metellus* counſell, the Senators appointed ten Ambaſſadors to go into SICILE, to make diligent inquiry, whether the accuſations obiected againſt *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they ſhoud commaund him in the name of the Senate preſently to returne into ITALY. And on the other ſide, if they found that he was vniuſtly accuſed, and onely through the procurement of his malicious enemies & detracters: then that they ſhould ſend him to his armie, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this warre. So when the Ambaſſadors were arriued in SICILE, after they had made diligent inquirie according to the articles of their commiſſion; they could not find that *Scipio* was faultie in any thing, ſauing that he had too lightly paſſed ouer the wrongs and iniuries *Pleminius* had done vnto the LOCRIANS. For *Scipio* was very liberall in rewarding of his men, and exceeding curteous and merciful alſo in puniſhing of them. But when they ſaw his armie, his ſhips, and all his other furniture and munition for war: it is reported that they wondred ſo much to ſee the great abundance and good order taken for all things, that when they returned to ROME, they greatly commended *Scipio*, and reiecting all the accuſations of his accuſers, they did promiſe the Senate & people of ROME, aſſured hope of victorie. So when all theſe home-troubles at ROME were taken away, there chanced other outward troubles abroad that grieued him much. For the Ambaſſadors of king *Syphax* came and told him that their maſter had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and was become friend vnto *Haſdrubal*, whoſe daughter he had maried: and therefore that he wiſhed him if he meant to do his country good, to make no attempt vpon AFRICKE, for he was determined to reckon the CARTHAGINIANS friends his, and alſo to ſet vpon them whom the CARTHAGINIANS account their enemies. *Scipio* quickly returned the Ambaſſadors again vnto *Syphax*, bacauſe the effect of their comming ſhould not be blown abroad in his camp: and gaue them letters, in the which he praid king *Syphax*, that remembring his league & faithful promiſe, he ſhould beware he attempted nothing vnworthy the name of a ROMAINE, & faith of a King. Afterwards calling his men together, he told them that the Ambaſſadors of king *Syphax* were come into SICILE, to cõplaine of his long tarying, as *Maſiniſſa* had done before. Therefore he was to haſten his iorney to go into AFRIKE, and thereupon commanded all his ſouldiers to put themſelues in readineſſe, and to prouide all things neceſſarie for their iourney. The Conſuls commandement being publiſhed through all SICILE, there repaired immediatly vnto LILYBEA a multitude of people, not onely of thoſe that were to ſaile into AFRIKE, but of others alſo that came to ſee the fleete and armie of the ROMAINES: becauſe they neuer ſaw an armie better furniſhed, nor ſet out with all things neceſſarie for warre, nor better repleniſhed with ſouldiers, then that. So *Scipio*, all things being readie, imbarked at LILYBEA with ſo earneſt a deſire to paſſe ouer the ſea, that neither oares nor wind did content his mind. Yet he was brought in few daies ſailing, to the promontory or mountaine called Faire, and there he put all his men on land. The newes of his arriuall flying ſtraight to CARTHAGE, all the citie was preſently in ſuch an vprore, that ſodainly they ſounded the allarme, and guarded the gates and wals, as appeareth by teſtimonie of ſome in writing. For from *M. Regulus* time, vnto that preſent day, it was almoſt fifty yeares ſpace ſince any ROMAINE captaine euer entred AFRIKE with force of armes. And therfore it was no maruell though they were afraid, and grew to vprore. The name of *Scipio* did increaſe their feare the more, becauſe the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine matchable with him. *Haſdruball* the ſonne of *Giſgo* had the name at that time of a luſtie Captaine, whom they knew had notwithſtanding bene ouercome, and driuen out of SPAINE by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope and ſafetie of their country in him, and in king *Syphax* that mightie king: they neuer left intreating the one, nor perſwading the other, to come and help the affaires of AFRICKE, with all the ſpeed they could poſſible. So, whileſt theſe two were preparing to ioyne both their armies together, *Hannibal* the ſonne of *Hamilcar*, being appointed to keepe the next country adioyning to it, came againſt the ROMAINES. *Scipio* after he had deſtroyed the countrey, and enriched his armie with great ſpoile: he camped by the citie of VTICA, to ſee if it were poſſible for him to winne ſo

Q. Fabius Maximus, a great aduerſary vnto Scipio.

Scipioes nature

King Syphax reuolteth from the Romaines.

noble and wealthie a citie, and being beſides ſo commodious for the warres both by ſea and land.

The readie and faithfull good vvill of Maſiniſſa to the Romaines.

At the ſelfeſame time *Maſiniſſa* came to the ROMAINES camp, and was inflamed with a vehement deſire to make warre againſt king *Syphax*, by whom he had before bin driuen out of his kingdom and inheritance. *Scipio* that had known him in SPAINE, a yong Prince of an excellent wit, & quick and valiant of his hand: he ſent him to diſcouer the armie of the enemies, before the CARTHAGINIANS could gather any greater power, and willed him to vſe all the deuiſe and meanes he could poſſible to intiſe *Hanno* to fight. *Maſiniſſa* as he was commanded, began to prouoke the enemie, and drawing him out by litle and litle, he brought him where *Scipio* lay with al his legions armed, looking for a good houre to fight. The armie of the enemies was now wearied, when the ROMAINES came to ſet vpon them with their freſh armie. *Hanno* at the firſt onſet was ouercome and ſlaine, with moſt of his men: and all the reſt fled, and diſperſed themſelues here and there, where they thought they might beſt ſcape. After this victory, *Scipio* returning back againe to beſiege the citie of VTICA: the ſodaine comming of *Haſdruball* and king *Syphax*, made him to leaue off his enterpriſe, for that they brought with them a great armie both of footmen and horſemen, and came and camped not farre from the ROMAINES. *Scipio* perceiuing that, raiſed his ſiege immediatly, and came and fortified his camp vpon a hill, from whence he might go and fight with the enemie, and moleſt them of VTICA, and alſo keepe his ſhips ſafe that rode at anker. Howbeit the time of the yeare being come, that both armies were to diſpoſe their men in garriſons for the winter ſeaſon: he determined to ſend vnto king *Syphax* to feele his mind, and to make him leaue the friendſhip of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were poſſible. For he knew well it was his mariage with *Sophonisba*, that through her flattering perſwaſions had brought him to that furie, that he had not onely forſaken the friendſhip of the ROMAINES, but alſo meant to deſtroy them, contrary to his faith and promiſe: and that if he had once ſatisfied the heate of his loue with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* hauing vnderſtood *Scipioes* meſſage ſent him, he anſwered, that indeed it was time, not onely to leaue the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but alſo to giue vp all thought of warre: and ſo promiſed, that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gaue good eare vnto it, and caught hold of an excellent fine deuiſe. He choſe the valianteſt ſouldiers in his armie, apparelled them like ſlaues, and made them waite vpon the Ambaſſadors, and gaue them inſtructions what they ſhould do. Theſe fellowes, whileſt the Ambaſſadours and King *Syphax* were in talke together about the articles and conditions of peace, and that the conſultation held longer then it was wont to do: they went and walked vp and downe through the enemies campe, to ſee all the wayes and entries into it, according vnto *Scipioes* inſtructions. After they had done this diuers times, they came againe to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* ſeemed to make preparation for warres, (as being out of hope of any peace) and to make his armie readie by ſea, preparing engines of batterie to returne to beſiege VTICA, as he had done before. He gaue out this rumor through all the countrie, to perſwade his enemies that it was true: howbeit hauing called the Captaines and petie Captaines of his armie together, he made them priuie to his intent and enterpriſe. He told them that both the enemies campes lay not farre aſunder; of the which, the one of them had all their tents and cabines of wood; and the building of the other camp was all of reeds, ſo that they were both eaſie to be burnt. Whereupon hauing ſent for *Maſiniſſa* and *Caius Lælius* to come vnto him, he gaue them charge about midnight to giue allarme vnto *Syphax* camp, and to ſet it a fire: and that he himſelfe on the other ſide, would ſet vpon the CARTHAGINIANS campe. They two obeyed *Scipioes* commandement, performed his will without delay, and came at the houre appointed them to aſſaile the NVMIDIANS camp, and ſo did ſet the houſes of reeds on fire; which tooke fire in ſuch ſort, as the flame was immediatly round about the camp. The NVMIDIANS at the firſt thinking the fire had come by misfortune, ranne thither ſtraight vnarmed to quench it. But when they found themſelues among the legions of the ROMAINES, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, ſeeing themſelues ſo compaſſed in on all ſides, they ſaw their beſt remedie was to flie. On the other ſide alſo, where *Scipioes* armie was: the CARTHAGINIANS campe was almoſt all burnt, and the enemies put to flight with ſuch cruell ſlaughter, that ſome writers affirme there were ſlaine that night about fortie thouſand men, aſwell CARTHAGINIANS as NVMIDIANS. This great ouerthrow and ſlaughter being caried to CARTHAGE, did put the citizens there in ſuch a feare and terror, that ſome thought beſt to ſend for *Hannibal* out of ITALY, and others gaue aduiſe to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the BARCINIAN faction which was rich and wealthie, and altogether againſt the peace

Hanno ouercome and ſlain

Sophonisba, king Syphax vvife.

Scipioes craft.

A marueilous great ſlaughter of the Carthaginians.

peace makers: they ſo preuailed, that they leauied a new power to begin war againe. King *Syphax* and *Haſdrubal* hauing leauied a great multitude of footmen and horſemen againe, renued their armie ſooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitch their campe directly ouer againſt the enemies. *Scipio* hauing vnderſtanding of that, would not tarie, but determined to giue thē battel, whileſt his men were in good heart, and willing to fight. So it chanced at the firſt, by the nearenes of both their camps, that there were certaine skirmiſhes: but in the end, the armies came to ioyne battel, and the Romaines fought with ſuch corage and terror, that at the firſt onſet they made the Nvmidians and Carthaginians flie, and ſlue the moſt part of them. *Haſdrubal* and *Syphax* ſcaped, by flying out of the ſlaughter. *Scipio* ſent *Maſiniſſa* and *Caius Lælius* with the light horſemen to giue them chaſe. *Syphax* being come into Nvmidia, and from thence into his own realme and kingdome, he leauied an army in haſt of all ſorts of people, and came to meete with *Maſiniſſa* and *Caius Lælius*, & was not afraid to giue them battell. But it was a fond part of him, conſidering that he was nothing like ſo ſtrong as his enemie, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelihood of ſouldiers. For neither the ſouldiers nor captaines of his armie, were matchable with the ſouldiers and captaines of the Romaines camp: and therefore king *Syphax* was eaſily ouercome by ſuch skilful ſouldiers, and moreouer, was himſelfe taken in battel, with many other great noble men, whom *Maſiniſſa* would hardly haue looked for: and then they were brought vnto *Scipio*. At the firſt there was a maruellous ioy among them, when it was told them that king *Syphax* ſhould be brought priſoner vnto the camp: but afterwards when they ſaw him bound, they were all ſory to ſee him in ſuch pitifull ſtate, remembring his former greatnes and regall maieſtie. For they called to mind how famous the name of this King had bin but a litle before, what wonderfull great wealth he had, and alſo the power of ſo great a realme and kingdom. Howbeit *Scipio* the Romain Conſull receiued him very curteouſly, and gently asked him what he meant to change his mind in that ſort, and what moued him to make war with the Romaines. Thē the king remembring his former friendſhip and faithfull promiſe broken, he boldly told him, that it was the loue he bare to his wife *Sophonisba*, who onely had procured him to deale ſo diſhonorably with the Romaines: howbeit, that he had ſo ſmarted for it, as all others might take example hy him, and beware how they breake their promiſe. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreme miſerie, to ſee that his mortal enemy *Maſiniſſa* was ſo taken with that frenzie and mad humor, wherewith he before was poſſeſſed. For after *Syphax* was ouercome and taken, *Maſiniſſa* went into Cyrtha, the chiefe citie of the realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fel in fanſie: who after ſhe had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries & kindnes, he promiſed her alſo to deliuer her out of the Romaines hands: and becauſe he might the better performe his promiſe made, he took her to his wife, and maried her. When *Scipio* was informed of theſe things, it grieued him maruellouſly. For it was knowne to all men, that *Syphax* was ouercome vnder the conduct, & through the Romaines meanes: and therfore al that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the diſpoſition of the Romaines. Wherfore if *Maſiniſſa* had without *Scipioes* conſent, vndertaken to defend *Sophonisbaes* quarel: then it appeared plainly, he deſpiſed the authoritie of the Conſul, and the maieſtie of the people of Rome. Furthermore, his filthie luſt did aggrauate his fault the more, the which ſeemed ſo much more intollerable, by how much the cōtinency of the Romain Conſul was the greater, the which *Maſiniſſa* ſaw daily before his eyes, and might haue bene a paterne and example vnto him. For *Scipio*, beſides many other proofes and ſhewes of his vertues, in all places where he obtained victory, he alwaies kept the women vndefiled, which were taken priſoners. So *Scipio* being offended with *Maſiniſſa*, (though he ſhewed it not before companie) receiued him very louingly at his returne to the camp: yet afterwards notwithſtanding, taking him aſide, he ſo ſharply reproued him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and alſo a ſeuere captaine. Whereupon *Maſiniſſa* went into his tent and wept, and could not tel what way he ſhould take: howbeit ſhortly after, perceiuing that it was vnpoſſible for him to keepe promiſe with *Sophonisba*, which grieued him to the heart: he ſent her poiſon, and a meſſage withall, the which ſhe dranke immediatly, and ſo willingly made her ſelfe away. Furthermore, the Carthaginians after they had receiued ſuch wonderfull great loſſes and ouerthrowes, one after an other, perceiuing that their affaires were brought to ſuch a ſtraight and extremitie, that they were no more to looke after the enlarging of their dominions, but onely to conſider which way they might keepe their owne country: they ſent for *Hannibal* to come out of Italy. Who returning with great ſpeed into Africke, before he did any thing elſe, he thought good firſt to talke with

Syphax, king of the Maſæſſylians ouercome, and taken in battell.

Maſiniſſa wan the citie of Cyrtha, where he fel in loue with Sophonisba, king Syphax wife.

The great and rare continencie of Scipio.

Sophonisba poiſoned her ſelfe, through Maſiniſſaes procurement.

Hannibal ſent for into Italy, to returne into Africke.

P. Scipio about peace: either becauſe he was afraid of the good fortune of this yong man, or elſe for that he miſtruſted he could not otherwiſe helpe his countrey and common wealth, which he ſaw decaying, and like to be deſtroyed. Wherfore a place was appointed, where they might meet according to his deſire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this warre. In the end *Scipio* offered *Hannibal* ſuch conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the Romaines were not wearie of warre, and that *Scipio* himſelfe being a yong man, had better hope to obtaine victorie, then great deſire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being ſet aſide, they brake of their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthy captaines of the moſt noble nations that could be, prepared themſelues to battel, either to giue or take away in ſhort time from their common-weales, the ſeigniorie and Empire of all the world. The place where they employed all their force, and where this famous battell was fought, as it is reported, was by the citie of Zama: in the which the Romaines being conquerours, did firſt make the Elephants flie, then the horſemen, and in the end brake ſo fiercely into the footmen, that they ouerthrew all the armie. It is reported, that there were ſlaine and taken by the Romaines, aboue fortie thouſand Carthaginians. *Hannibal* fled out of the fury of the battel, and ſaued himſelf, though that day he had ſhewed himſelfe like a valiant and famous Captaine. For at this battell he had ſet his armie in better order then euer he had done before, and had ſtrengthened it, both with the commoditie of the place, and reliefe beſide: and euen in the very furie and terror of the battell he ſo beſtirred himſelfe among his ſouldiers, that the enemies themſelues did commend and praiſe him for a noble Captaine. After this victorie, *Scipio* meeting with *Vermina* king *Syphax* ſon, that brought aide to the Carthaginians: he put him to flight, and came and brought his armie to the walles and hauen of Carthage, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that the Carthaginians would ſue to him for peace. For, as the Carthaginians before had bene very good ſouldiers, and readie to make warres: ſo were they now become timorous and faint hearted, ſpecially when they ſaw their Generall *Hannibal* ouercome, in whom they chiefly repoſed all their hope & truſt, for defence of their countrey. Wherefore they being (as I haue ſaid) out of heart, ſent Ambaſſadors vnto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accuſtomed clemencie he would graunt them peace. Now was great ſute made at Rome, to haue the gouernement of the prouince of Afrike, and one of the new Conſuls made haſte to come and make warre, with ſuch charge and preparation as was meete for his dignitie and calling: and therefore *Scipio* doubting that another ſhould carie away the glorie for ending of ſo great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the Carthaginian Ambaſſadors requeſts. So the capitulation of the articles of peace was offered vnto the Carthaginians, according to the conquerours mind: and beſides all other things, the whole fleet of all their ſhips and gallies (in the which conſiſted much their hope) were taken from them. For when the whole fleet was burnt, it was ſuch a lamentable ſight vnto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole citie, as if Carthage had bin deſtroyed and razed to the very ground. For as ſome do write, there were fiue hundred ſhips burnt of all ſorts. Theſe things therefore ſhould make vs all beware of humaine frailtie, the which we often forget in our proſperitie. For they that before perſwaded themſelues to conquer the world, after they had wonne ſo many great battels and victories of the enemie, and in maner conquered all Italy, and ſo valiantly beſides beſieged the citie of Rome: were in ſhort time after brought to ſuch miſerie and extremitie, that all their power and force being ouercome, they had left them no more but the walles of Carthage, and yet they were not ſure to keepe them, but through the ſpeciall grace and fauour of the enemie. After theſe things were done, *Scipio* by decree of the Senate, did not onely reſtore King *Maſiniſſa* to his Realme againe, but alſo adding thereunto the beſt part of all king *Syphax* countrey, they made him one of the mightieſt kings of all Afrike: and afterwards he gaue honourable gifts vnto euery man as he had deſerued. In fine, after he had ſet all the affaires of Africke at good ſtay, he brought his armie backe againe into Italy: at what time there came to Rome a world of people, to ſee ſo great and famous a captaine, returning from ſuch wonderfull great victories. So he entred into Rome with pompe of triumph, *Terentius Culeo* following of him with a hat on his head, becauſe that through his fauor and friendſhip he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* writeth, that king *Syphax* was led in triumph: howbeit ſome ſay he died before *Scipio* triumphed. Indeed diuers that did triumph, ſome before him during the warres of the Carthaginians, and others afterwards in the warres of Macedonia and Asia, they made greater ſhew of plate, both of gold and ſiluer in their triumph, and

Battell at Zama, and Scipioes victorie of the Carthaginians.

The praiſe of Hannibal.

Fiue hundred ſhips of the Carthaginians, burnt by Scipio

Scipioes return to Rome.

Scipioes triumph at Rome for the Carthaginians.

and led alſo a great number of priſoners: howbeit one onely *Hannibal* that was ouercome, and the glorie of ſo great a warre ended, did make the triumph of *P. Scipio* ſo excellent and famous, that it farre paſſed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphs. For after AFRICKE was conquered, no nation then was aſhamed to be ouercome by the ROMAINES. For he made this prouince, as it were a bridge and open paſſage to increaſe and enlarge the Empire of ROME, both in MACEDON, and alſo in ASIA, and in other parts of the world beſides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may rightly call AFRICAN, after the conqueſt of AFRICKE) being returned to ROME, he lacked no temporall dignities nor honours. For in the councell holden for the election of Cenſors, although there were diuers others of the nobleſt houſes of ROME that ſued for that office: yet he himſelfe, and *Ælius Petus* were preferred before all the reſt, and after they were created Cenſors, they did gouerne in their office like good men, and with good quietneſſe. Afterwards the Cenſors that followed them, did ſtill one after another chuſe *Scipio* AFRICAN Prince of the Senate: the which dignitie was wont to be giuen to them onely, that obtained the type of all honour, through their great conqueſts and benefites done to their countrey. Shortly after, he was againe choſen Conſul with *Sempronius Longus*, the ſonne of that *Sempronius* whom *Hannibal* ouercame in that great ouerthrow, at the battell by the riuer of Trebia. They two were the firſt (as it is reported) that deuided the Noblemen and Senators from the people, in the ſhew place to ſee paſtime. This ſeparation was very odious to the people of ROME, and they were maruellouſly offended with the Conſuls for it, becauſe they tooke it, that increaſing the honour of the ſtate of the Senators, they thereby did diſcountenance and imbaſe them. Some ſay alſo, that *Scipio* AFRICAN afterwards repented himſelfe that he had taken away the old cuſtome, and brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variance betwixt *Maſiniſſa* and the CARTHAGINIANS, touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate ſent *Scipio* thither with two other commiſſioners: who after they had heard the cauſe of their quarrell, they left the matter as they found it, and would proceed no further in it. And this they did, becauſe that the CARTHAGINIANS being troubled with ciuill warres at home, ſhould take vpon them no other warres abroade, neither ſhould haue leyſure to attempt any alteration otherwiſe. For the ROMAINES had great warre with king *Antiochus*, and *Hannibal* CARTHAGINIAN was there with him, who ſtil ſtirred vp the old enemies againſt the ROMAINES, and practiſed to raiſe vp new enemies againſt them, and in all things to counſell the CARTHAGINIANS to caſt away the yoke of bondage, which the ROMAINES had brought them into vnder the title of peace, & to proue the friendſhip of the kings. Howbeit ſhortly after, the ROMAINES hauing obtained victorie, and driuen king *Antiochus* out of GREECE: they intended alſo to conquer ASIA: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio* AFRICAN, as a man that was borne to end wars of great importance. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio* and *Caius Lælius* were Conſuls, and either of them made ſute for the gouernement of ASIA. The matter being conſulted vpon, the Senate ſtood doubtfull what iudgement they ſhould giue, betwixt two ſo famous men. Howbeit, becauſe *Lælius* was in better fauour with the Senate, and in greater eſtimation: the Senate began to take his part. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, praied the Senate that they would not diſhonour his houſe ſo, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was beſides very wiſe, and that he himſelfe alſo would be his Lieutenant: he had no ſooner ſpoken the words, but the Senators receiued him with great ioy, and preſently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordained in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* ſhould go into GREECE to make with war the ÆTOLIANS, and that frõ thence he ſhould go into ASIA, if he thought good, to make warre with King *Antiochus*: and alſo that he ſhould take his brother *Scipio* AFRICAN with him, becauſe he ſhould go againſt *Hannibal*, that was in *Antiochus* armie. Who can but wonder at the loue and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio* AFRICAN, the which he firſt ſhewed from his youth vnto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwards alſo vnto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, conſidering the great things he had done? For, notwithſtanding he was that AFRICAN by name that had ouercome *Hannibal*, that had triumphed ouer the CARTHAGINIANS, and excelled all others in praiſe of martiall diſcipline: yet of his owne good nature he made himſelfe inferior to his yonger brother, becauſe he might haue the honour of obtaining the gouernement of that prouince from his fellow Conſul *Lælius*, that was ſo well beloued, and of great eſtimation. *Lucius Scipio* the Conſull brought great honour to his countrey by that warre, for that he followed the ſound and faithful counſell of his brother. For firſt of all going into GREECE, he tooke truce for ſixe moneths with the ÆTOLIANS,

Scipio and Ælius Petus choſen Cenſors. Scipio Prince of the Senate.

Scipio and Sempronius Longus choſen Conſuls.

The craftie counſell of Scipio.

The naturall loue of Scipio African to his brother Lucius Scipio.

through the aduice of his brother AFRICAN: who counſelled him, that ſetting all things apart, he ſhould ſtraight go into ASIA, where the warre was rifeſt. Afterwards alſo he wanne *Pruſias* king of BITHYNIA from *Antiochus* friendſhip, who before was wauering vp and downe, doubtfull which ſide to take, and all through his brother AFRICANS meanes and practiſe. So the authoritie of the AFRICAN was very great, and all thoſe that would obtaine any thing of the Conſul, came firſt to the AFRICAN to be their meane and interceſſor. Now when he came into ASIA, *Antiochus* Ambaſſador, and *Heraclides* BIZANTINE, came vnto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their meſſage, perceiuing that they could not obtaine reaſonable conditions of peace: they priuatly talked with *Scipio* AFRICAN as they were commaunded, and practiſed the beſt they could to make him king *Antiochus* friend. For they told him, that *Antiochus* would ſend him his yonger ſonne which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the gouernement of all his Realme, onely reſeruing the name and title of the King. Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no leſſe in faithfulneſſe and bountie, then in many other vertues, after he had anſwered them to all other matters, he told them, that for his ſonne he would take him for a maruellous friendly gift: and that for a priuate good turne, he would do the beſt he could to requite him with the like. Howbeit, that he would counſell the King aboue all things to leaue off thought of warre, and to receiue thoſe offers and conditions of peace, which the Senate and people of ROME would offer him. Shortly after, *Antiochus* ſent *P. Scipio* his ſonne according to his promiſe: who (as it is reported) had bin taken priſoner from the firſt beginning of the warre, as he went from CHALCIDE vnto ORICVM: or as other writers ſay, as he paſſed by in a pinnaſe. Yet ſome hold opinion, that he was taken as he went to diſcouer the counſell of the enemies, and that he was then ſent againe vnto his father, lying ſicke at the citie of ELEA. This great curteſie of king *Antiochus* was maruellous well thought of of the AFRICAN, and not without cauſe: for to ſee his ſonne after he had bene away ſo long, it did greatly lighten his ſpirits, and diſeaſed bodie. But *P. Scipio* to ſhew ſome token of a thankfull mind, prayed the Ambaſſadours that came vnto him, greatly to thanke King *Antiochus* for the exceeding pleaſure he had done him, to ſend him his ſonne. Afterwards he gaue *Antiochus* aduice alſo that he ſhould not giue battell, till he vnderſtood of his returne from ELEA to the campe. So *Antiochus* being perſwaded by the athoritie of ſo worthy a man, he kept cloſe in his campe for a certaine time, and determined to draw the warre out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to ſpeake with the Conſull, by the AFRICANS meanes. But afterwards, the Conſull camping hard by MAGNESIA, did ſo vexe and prouoke the enemie, that the King came out to battell, and ſet his men in battell ray. It is reported that *Hanniball* himſelfe was preſent at the battell, being one of the Generals for the King. So *Antiochus* being ouercome, and his armie diſcomfited, perceiuing that there was no helpe in his affaires: he came vnto the AFRICAN, (who being newly recouered of his ſickneſſe, came to the campe within a litle after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtained of the Conſull to be contented to talke of peace. When *Antiochus* Ambaſſadours were come to the camp, and that they had humbly craued pardon in the behalfe of their King, and alſo praied that they would giue them ſuch conditions of peace, as they beſt liked of: *Scipio* AFRICAN with the conſent of them all anſwered them, that it was not the manner of the ROMAINES to yeeld to aduerſitie, neither alſo to be proud in proſperitie: and therefore that he now made him the ſelfſame offer and conditiõs of peace, which he did before the victorie. That the king ſhould not meddle with EVROPE: that he ſhould ſurrender vp all he had in ASIA, from the mountaine Taurus, vnto the riuer of Tinais: that he ſhould pay tribute twentie yeares together: that he ſhould alſo put in ſuch hoſtages as the Conſull would chuſe out: and that ſpecially aboue all the reſt, they ſhould deliuer *Hanniball* CARTHAGINIAN vnto the Conſull, who was the onely author and procurer of this warre. But he, as we haue written in his life, perceiuing that king *Antiochus* armie was ouerthrowne both by ſea and by land, eſcaped the ROMAINES hands, and went vnto *Pruſias* King of BITHYNIA. *Antiochus* hauing accepted the offers and conditions of peace, ſaid, that the ROMAINES vſed him very fauourably, to rid him of ſo great care, and to appoint him ſo ſmall a kingdome. For great kingdomes, and ouer-much wealth which euery man coueteth, are full of great and ſundrie troubles: inſomuch that *Theocritus* words are as true, as otherwiſe excellently written.

The fidelitie and loue of P. Scipio to his countrey.

Antiochus being ouercome, acceipteth conditions of peace

Great kingdomes and wealth, are full of troubles.

The things I wiſh are neither wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne,
Nor yet of ſwiftneſſe and of ſtrength to beare away renowne:

But ſinging with a merrie heart in ſimple ſhed, to looke
Aloofe vpon the troublous ſeas, that are ſo hard to brooke.

So when the mightie King of Asia was ouercome, and that ſo great a warre was ſo eaſily ended beyond all mens opinion: the Conſull *L. Scipio* returned to Rome, and made his entrie into the citie, ſhewing a great and honourable triumph. He alſo deſerued the ſurname of the prouince and country ſubdued by him. So that, as his eldeſt brother before was called African, for that he had conquered Africke: euen ſo was *Lucius Scipio* ſurnamed Asian, for conquering Asia vnto Rome. And *P. Scipio*, through whoſe counſell his brother *Lucius* had brought his warres to happie end, he went not cleare without honour alſo. For ſhortly after, two noble Cenſors, *T. Q. Flaminius*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* choſe him Prince of the Senate the third time. Now at that time, the houſe and family of the *Scipioes* and *Cornelians* flouriſhed, with ſupreame degree of honour: and the authoritie of *Scipio* African was growne to ſuch height and greatneſſe, as no priuate man could wiſh to be any greater in a free citie. Howbeit the ſecret malice of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide this greatneſſe and authoritie, began at length to burſt out, and to light vpon thoſe that were the authors of ſo great things. For two Tribunes of the people, ſuborned (as it is reported) by *Porcius Cato*: they accuſed *P. Scipio* African for keeping backe king *Antiochus* money, and becauſe he brought it not into the common chamber or treaſurie. *Scipio* African knowing his innocencie, being called by the Magiſtrate, ſhewed him ſelfe obedient, and came into the market place with a bold countenance, and there made an oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefite and commoditie of his countrie and commonwealth. The rehearſal of theſe things did not miſlike the common people that were preſent: becauſe he did it rather to auoid the daunger prepared for him, then otherwiſe for any vaine glorie or oſtentetion. Howbeit the Tribunes not being ſo contented, were vehement againſt him, and ſpared no iniurious words, but accuſed him as though he had indeed bene in fault, howbeit vpon ſuſpition, rather then of any due proofe. The next morning being commaunded to come before them againe, he appeared at the houre appointed, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole aſſembly, & went vp to the pulpit for orations. When he ſaw that euery man kept ſilence, then he ſpake in this maner: I remember, my lords, that on ſuch a day as this, I wan that famous victorie of *Hanniball* and the Carthaginians, and therfore leauing aſide this contention, I think it good we go vnto the Capitol to giue God thanks for the victorie. So he departed thence, and all the whole aſſembly followed him, not onely to the Capitoll, but alſo to all the other temples of the citie, leauing the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeants. That day was the very laſt day of all the Africans good fortune, for the great aſſembly and multitude of people that waited vpon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the countrey, farre from all ambition, and the companie of people: and ſo went vnto Linternvm in a maruellous rage, that for reward of his ſo great ſeruice, and ſo ſundrie benefites as he had brought vnto his country: he receiued but ſhame and reproch: or elſe for that indeed being (as he was) of a noble mind, he thought it more honor willingly to giue place to his enemies, then to ſeeke to maintaine his greatneſſe by force of armes. So when the Tribunes did accuſe him of contempt, and that his brother *Lucius* did excuſe his abſence by reaſon of his ſickneſſe: *Tiberius Gracchus*, one of the Tribunes that was againſt the African, tooke his excuſe (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did ſo well defend *Scipioes* cauſe, ſometime honourably praiſing him, another time alſo threatning his enemies: that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were maruellouſly offended for the great iniurie they did him. Some do write that *P. Scipio* himſelf, before he went vnto Linternvm, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought vnto the Senate, to deliuer the account of his charge: and that he did it not for any deceit or pride, but with that ſelfe boldneſſe of mind he had aforetime vſed to the treaſurers, when he did againſt the the law require the keyes of the common treaſure, to ſupply the preſent need of the State. Now ſome there be alſo that ſay, it was not the African, but *Scipio* Asian that was accuſed before the Tribunes: and that *Scipio* African was ſent in commiſſion at that time into Thyscan. Who, vnderſtanding of his brothers accuſation at his returne to Rome, and finding his brother *Lucius* condemned, and the Sergeants waiting on him to carie him, being bound, into priſon: he was in ſuch a rage withall, that he reſcued his brother by force out of the Sergeants hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beſide, that *Tiberius Gracchus*

L. Scipio ſurnamed Aſian, for his conqueſt of Aſia.

T. Q. Flaminius, M. C. Marcellus Cenſors.

The time of the flouriſhing of the Cornely.

The inconſtancie of theſe worldly things.

Great men moſt enuied

The laſt fortunate day of the Africans good fortune.

The voluntarie baniſhment of Scipio from Rome.

T. Gracchus Tribune.

Diuers opiniõs about the accuſation of the African.

one of the Tribunes, complaining first that the authoritie of the Tribuneship was troden vnder feete by a priuate person: he afterwards letting fall all the malice and enuie he bare vnto the *Scipioes*, defended their cause, because the Tribunes should rather seeme to be ouercome by a Tribune, then by a priuate person. They said moreouer, that the selfesame day the Senate supped in the Capitoll, he perswaded the AFRICAN to let *Tiberius Gracchus* marrie his yonger daughter. This promise was no sooner made, but *P. Scipio* comming home to his house, told his wife that he had bestowed their daughter: whereupon she being angry, told him againe, that he should not haue maried her without consent of her mother, though he could haue bestowed her vpon *Tiberius Gracchus*. This answer liked *Scipio* maruellous well, when he saw that his wife was of his mind, touching the mariage of their daughter. I know it is thought of some, that it was attributed to *Tiberius* the sonne, and to *Appius Claudius* his father in law. For *Polybius*, and other ancient writers affirme, that *Cornelia*, the mother of *Caius* and *Tiberius Gracchi*, was maried vnto *Gracchus* after the AFRICANS death. For *Scipio* AFRICAN was maried vnto *Æmylia* the daughter of *L. Paulus Æmylius* Consull, that was slaine at the battell of CANNES. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldest was maried vnto *P. Cornelius Nasica*, and the yonger vnto *Tiberius Graechus*, either before or after the death of his father. Now touching his sonne, there is litle mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certaintie to be true. We haue spoken of his yonger sonne that was taken by king *Antiochus*, and afterwards frankly sent vnto his father: of whom notwithstanding afterwards I find no mention in writing, sauing that some say he was afterwards Prætor, and that he came to this office by meanes of *Cicereius* his fathers Secretarie. There appeareth in writing also, that the yonger AFRICAN was adopted by the sonne of *P. Scipio*. *Cicero* in his booke intituled *Cato Maior* saith, how weake (said he) was the sonne of *P.* AFRICAN that adopted thee his sonne? And in his sixt book also *de repub.* *Æmylius* the father exhorteth *Scipio* his sonne, to follow iustice and pietie, as his grandfather *Scipio* AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of *P. Scipio* AFRICAN, writers do diuersly varie: for some say that he died and was buried at ROME. And for proofe thereof, they do bring forth the monument that was set vp for him by the gate Capena, ouer the which stood three statues or images, two whereof were the images of *Publius* and *Lucius Scipio*, and the third was of *Q. Ennius* the Poet. And surely that which *Cicero* wrote, seemeth to confirme it true: our *Ennius*, said he, was maruellously beloued of AFRICAN the great, and therfore it is thought that he was buried in *Scipioes* tombe. Other authors write also (and surely they agree best with the common report) that *Scipio* AFRICAN died at LINTERNVM, and that there he was buried at his owne appointment: because his country so vnthankfully acknowledging his seruice, should do him no honour at his death: and that there they set him vp a tombe, and his statue vpon that, the which afterwards was blowne downe by a tempest of wind, and the which *Liuie* himselfe witnesseth he saw. Furthermore, by CAIETA this Epitaph was grauen in a plate of copper, set in a marble tombe.

The Africans wife and children.

Diuers opiniõs touching the death of P. Scipio.

Statues of the two Scipios and Ennius the Poet, by the gate Capena at Rome.

Scipio African died at Linturnum.

The Epitaph of Scipio African

The man that vanquisht Hannibal, and conquer'd Carthage towne,
And eke increast the Romaines both in Empire and renowne,
Lies here a heape of dust and earth hid vnderneath this stone:
His deeds, his proweſſe, and his life, are altogether gone.
Whom neither Europe could withstand, nor Africke in times past,
(Behold mans frailtie) here he lies in litle roome at last.

Now touching the time of his death, hauing made great search for it, I haue found in certaine Greeke authors, that the AFRICAN liued foure and fiftie yeares, and died shortly after. Furthermore, he was a noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendation for martiall discipline, and besides excelled in all other vertues: the which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, he was neuer lesse idle, then when he tooke his ease: neither lesse solitarie, then when he was alone. For sometimes he would withdraw himselfe out of the assembly, and from all mens companie, and thought himselfe safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble deeds was so great, that whersoeuer he went, all sorts of people would come and see him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNVM, there came certaine rouers vnto him, to see so famous a man, and to kisse that so faithfull and victorious a hand. For vertue hath great force and power with all sorts of people: because it doth not onely make the good, but the euill also to loue and honour it.

Scipio African 54 yeare old at the time of his death.

The power of vertue.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF
Hannibal with P. Scipio African.

NOW let vs compare *Hannibal* and *Scipioes* deeds together, as touching their ciuill diſcipline. Firſt, if we remember their deedes in warres, it is manifeſt that both of them haue bene great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they haue not onely bene comparable with the nobleſt Kings and Princes in their time (being alſo in that age when warres flouriſhed moſt) but with thoſe alſo that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they hauing great and heauie enemies in their countrey, (who ſought to ouerthrow all their doings and enterpriſes) could poſſibly go thorough with ſo great matters, and to obtaine ſuch happie and famous victories, in ſtrange and forreine warres. Therefore paſſing ouer all other matters, what adoe had *Publius Scipio* before he could obtaine to be ſent into AFRICKE, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS? *Fabius Maximus*, and other Noblemen of the citie being greatly againſt it. Againe, what enemie had *Hannibal* of *Hanno*, who was prince and head of the contrarie faction againſt him? Now they both hauing ouercome ſuch great troubles at home, did notwithſtanding bring things to end worthy perpetuall memorie: not by chance, as it happeneth vnto many; but through their induſtrie, great wiſedome, and counſell. So diuers do wonder greatly at *Hannibals* courage and noble mind: who after he had ſacked the citie of SAGVNTVS, came boldly from the fartheſt part of the world into ITALY, and brought with him a great armie of footemen and horſemen, and came to make warre with a great State and common-wealth, the which his predeceſſors alwayes dreaded: and after he had wonne many battels, and ſlaine ſundrie Conſuls and Captaines of the ROMAINES, he came and camped hard by the citie of ROME it ſelfe, and procured ſtrange Kings and farre nations to make warre with the ROMAINES. He that was able to do ſo great things as theſe, men cannot otherwiſe thinke of him, but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others alſo ſpeaking of *Scipio*, do greatly praiſe and commend him for the foure Chiefetaines he ouercame, and for the foure great armies which he defeated and put to flight in SPAINE, and alſo for that he ouercame and tooke that great King *Syphax* priſoner. In fine, they come to praiſe that famous battell, in the which *Scipio* ouercame *Hannibal* at ZAMA. For if *Fabius* (ſaid they) were praiſed, becauſe he was not ouercome by *Hannibal*: what eſtimation will they make of the AFRICAN, that in a pitched battell ouercame that ſo famous and dreadfull Captaine *Hannibal*, and alſo did end ſo dangerous a warre? Beſides alſo, that *Scipio* did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemie in plaine field: where *Hannibal* in contrary manner did alwayes vſe craft and ſubtiltie, and was full of ſtratagemes and policie. And therefore all Authors, both Greeke and Latine, do count him very fine and ſubtill.

Furthermore, they greatly commend *Hanniball* for that he maintained this armie of ſo ſundrie nations, ſo long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMAINES: and yet that there was neuer any mutinie or rebellion in his campe. On the other ſide, they blame him againe, becauſe he did not follow his victorie, when he had ouercome the ROMAINES at that famous battell of CANNES: and alſo becauſe he ſpoyled his ſouldiers with too much eaſe, and the pleaſures of CAMPANIA and APVLIA, whereby they were ſo changed, that they ſeemed to be other ſouldiers then thoſe that had ouercome the ROMAINES, at the ſundrie battels of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All writers do reproue theſe things in *Hanniball*, but ſpecially his crueltie. For amongſt other things, what crueltie was it of him to make a woman with her children to come from ARPI to his campe, and afterwards to burne them aliue? What ſhall a man ſay of them whom he cruelly put to death in the temple of *Iuno Lacinia*, when he departed out of ITALIE? For *Scipio* AFRICAN on the other ſide, if we ſhall rather credit the beſt authors that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious writers: we may ſay, he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely liuely and valiant in fight, but alſo curteous and mercifull after victorie. For oftentimes his enemies proued his valiantneſſe, the vanquiſhed his mercie and clemencie, and all other men his faithfulneſſe. Now therefore, let vs tell you what his continencie and liberalitie was, which he ſhewed in SPAINE vnto a young Ladie taken priſoner, and vnto *Luceius* Prince of the CELTIBERIANS: doth it not deſerue great praiſe? Now for their priuate doings, they were both vertuouſly brought vp, and both of them embraced learned men. For as it is reported, *Hanniball* was very familiar with *Socillus* LACEDÆMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with *Ennius* the Poet. Some ſay alſo, that *Hanniball* was ſo well learned in the Greeke tongue, that he wrote an hiſtorie in Greeke touching the deeds of *Manlius Volſo*. Now truly I do agree with *Cicero*, that ſaid in his booke *de Oratore*, that *Hanniball* heard *Phormio* PERIPATETICIAN in EPHESVS, diſcourſing very largely of the office and dutie of a Chieftaine and Generall, and of the martiall lawes and ordinances: and that immediatly after being asked what he thought of that Philoſopher, he ſhould anſwer in no very perfect Greeke, but yet in Greeke, that he had ſeene many old doting fooles, but that he had neuer ſeene a greater doterd then *Phormio*. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, and *Hanniball* had a ſharpe taunting wit in his anſwers. When King *Antiochus* on a time prepared to make warre with the ROMAINES, and had put his armie into the field, not ſo well furniſhed with armor and weapon, as with gold and ſiluer: he asked *Hanniball* if he thought his armie ſufficient for the ROMAINES? Yea Sir, quoth he, that they be, were the enemies neuer ſo couetous. This may truly be ſaid of *Hanniball*, that he obtained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the deſtruction of his countrey. *Scipio* in contrary maner did preſerue his countrey in ſuch ſafetie, and alſo did ſo much increaſe the dominions thereof: that as many as ſhall looke into his deſert, they cannot but call ROME vnthankfull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (preſeruer of the citie) ſhould go out of ROME, then that they ſhould repreſſe the furie and inſolencie of a few. And for mine owne opinion, I cannot thinke well of that citie, that ſo vnthankfully hath ſuffered ſo worthie and innocent a perſon to be iniured: and ſo would I alſo haue thought it more blame-worthie, if the citie had bene an aider of the iniurie offered him. In fine, the Senate (as all men do report) gaue great thankes vnto *Tiberius Gracchus*, becauſe he did defend the *Scipioes* cauſe: and the common people alſo following the AFRICAN, when he viſited the temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accuſed him, did thereby ſhew how much they did loue and honour the name of the *Scipioes*. And therefore, if we ſhould iudge the citizens hearts and good wils by thoſe things, men would rather condemne them for cowards to haue ſuffered ſuch outrage, then vnthankfull for forgetting his benefites: for there were very few that conſented to ſo wicked a deed, and all of them in maner were very ſorie for it. Howbeit *Scipio*, that was a man of a great mind, not much regarding the malice of his enenies: was content rather to leaue the citie, then by ciuill warres to deſtroy it. For he would not come againſt his countrey with enſignes diſplayed, neither would he ſolicite ſtrange nations and mightie kings to come with force, and their aide to deſtroy the citie, the which he had beautified with ſo many ſpoiles and triumphs, as *Martius Coriolanus*, *Alcibiades*, and diuers others did, by record of auncient ſtories. For we may eaſily perceiue how carefull he was to preſerue the libertie of ROME, becauſe when he was in SPAINE, he refuſed the title and name of King which was offered

Phormio Peripatetician reading Philoſophie in Epheſus.

Hannibals wittie anſwer, vnto king Antiochus.

offered him: and for that he was maruellous angrie with the people of Rome, becauſe they would haue made him perpetuall Conſull and Dictator: and conſidering alſo that he commaunded they ſhould ſet vp no ſtatue of him, neither in the place of the aſſembly, nor in the iudgement ſeate, nor in the Capitoll. All which honours aferwards were giuen by the citizens vnto *Caeſar*, that had ouercome *Pompey*. Theſe were the ciuill vertues of the African, which were great and true praiſes of continencie. Now therefore, to deliuer you the ſumme and effect of theſe things: theſe two ſo famous Captaines are not ſo much to be compared together in their ciuill vertues (in the which *Scipio* chiefly excelled) as in the diſcipline of warres, and in the glorie of their famous victories. To conclude, their deaths were ſomewhat alike: for they both died out of their countries, although *Scipio* was not condemned by his country as *Hannibal* was, but would by voluntarie baniſhment die out of the citie.

The end of Plutarchs liues.

BRITISH
MUSEUM

THE LIVES OF EPAMINONDAS, OF PHILIP OF MACEDON, OF DIONYSIVS THE ELDER, AND OF OCTAVIVS CÆSAR AVGVSTVS: COLLECTED out of good Authors.

Alſo the liues of nine excellent Chieftaines of warre, taken out of Latine from EMYLIVS PROBVS, by S.G.S.

By whom alſo are added the liues of Plutarch *and of* Seneca: Gathered together, diſpoſed, and enriched as the others.

And now tranſlated into Engliſh by Sir THOMAS NORTH Knight.

Imprinted at London by Richard Field
1603.

BRITISH MUSEUM

TO THE MOST HIGH AND MIGHTIE PRINCESSE ELIZABETH, BY THE GRACE OF GOD, OF ENGLAND, Fraunce, and Ireland Queene, Defender of the Faith, &c.

THE Princely bountie of your blessed hand (most gracious Soueraigne) comforting and supporting my poore old decaying life, of right challengeth the trauels in my studie, the labours of my bodie, and the prayers of my deuotions to be wholly imployed for your Highnesse, and altogether dedicated to your seruice. Wherein whilest I striue to bring in open shew some small performance of my most humble dutie to your sacred Maiestie, mine owne vnworthinesse amazeth me with trembling feare for my presumption, but that your Highnesse matchlesse grace to so many your most admirable vertues offer my pardon. Vnder which I present in all humblenesse into your Maiesties sacred hands this my second translation of the late addition of fifteene other liues, vnto those former in Plutarch, published for benefite of my country, vnder protection of the most royall name of your most gracious Maiestie. And albeit in respect of my selfe I offer but dutie, which I wish I could in other and better sort performe: yet I am the rather emboldned herein, for that the famous memorie of renowmed Emperours, mightie Kings, worthie Chieftaines and Generals of armies yea and of two famous Philosophers Plutarch and Seneca, being the whole subiect of this second translation, is worthily published vnder your Maiesties patronage. Whose rare vertues and wonderfull wisedome, neither former mightie kings, nor learned Philosophers might equall: from whose blessed fortunes many oppressed Kings, and distressed kingdomes haue sought and found their succors:

and whose most honourable and most happy peaceable gouernement, is worlds wonder to all posteritie.

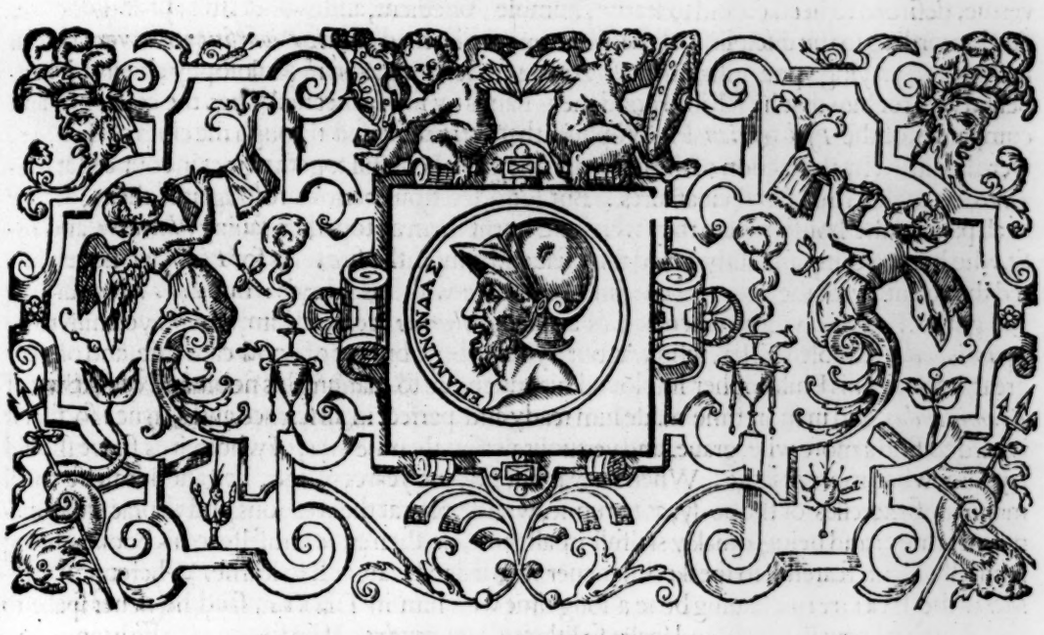
Wherefore most gracious and most blessed Soueraigne, I beseech your Princely fauour to accept with grace the simple performance of your poore vnworthie seruant his most humble seruice, whose soule with heartiest prayer according to his most bounden dutie, continually calleth vnto God for preseruation of your most royall person, in all honour, health, and happinesse, and so still to raigne ouer vs.

Your Maiesties most humble
and obedient seruant.

Thomas North.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Epaminondas.*



O onely like thy ſelfe, the world alwayes
Admireth thy great valure, grace and wit:
And thinking to haue all good parts in it,
By hauing thee, triumpheth in thy praiſe.

WRiters of hiſtories report that *Cadmus* the ſonne of *Agenor* hauing taken ſea out of PHENICIA into EVROPE, by commandement of an Oracle he left the countrey of THRACIA where he had dwelt, and came into BOEOTIA, where he had great doings againſt a certaine neighbor-people called SPARTANS: of whom hauing ouercome part of them by ſubtilties, he made alliance with the chiefe of thoſe that were left aliue, and grew into ſuch fauour with them, that he drew them and their people vnto THEBES, where theſe great men which were of noble houſe tooke them wiues, and ſo had a great number of worthie men of noble race deſcended from them. Of which ſome of them were very rich men, and attained to the tipe of royall dignity: as *Creon* and *Iocaſtus*. Now becauſe they were deuided into two principall houſes, it is hard to iudge out of which of the two families of the *Chronians* or *Echionides*, *Polymnis* the father of *Epaminondas* was deſcended. Some are of opinion that he came out of the houſe of another chiefe man of the SPARTANS, called *Vdæus*, from whom deſcended the deuine *Tireſias*. But howſoeuer it was, he deſcended from one of the moſt noble and ancient houſes of the THEBANS, of whom they report this notable thing: that the moſt part of this noble linage caried vpon their body euen for a naturall birth-marke from their mothers wombe, a Snake: and ſo did they beare it in their armes in the deuice of their Scutchions. Touching this matter, I hold the ſaying of the Poet *Euripides* to be true: that the honor of noble houſes falleth to decay, if once their goods faile thē. For the pouerty wherof ſome of *Epaminon-*

das anceſtors made vertue and profeſſion, ſeemed to be the cauſe that they were made ſmall account of. Otherwiſe I cannot allow that the ſayd Poet ſpake of, that a noble and vertuous man is no body, if he be poore. For one *Epaminondas* onely throughly confuteth this opinion, who notwithſtãding he was exceeding poore, obtained neuertheleſſe the chiefeſt places of honor in the common wealth: for he was one of the beſt learned and moſt excellent Philoſophers of the world, being *Platoes* folower and familiar, and the moſt renowmed man of all the GREEKES, as appeareth by the diſcourſe of his life. Now *Polymnis* had two ſonnes, to wit, *Caphiſias*, and *Epaminondas*, whom he was very carefull to ſee well brought vp and taught all the liberall and honeſt ſciences, eſpecially *Epaminondas*: who had the moſt ſtayedſt wit, and beſt inclined to vertue, deſirous to hearken and to learne, humble, obedient, and wonderfull apt and docible. And according to the diſcipline of the THEBANS, he learned of one *Dionyſius* to be very skilfull in ſong and playing vpon inſtruments. And as for learning, and in Philoſophy chiefly, it happened well for him that he fell into good mens hands by ſuch a meane. When the colledges and companies of the *Pythagorian* Philoſophers that were diſperſed through the cities of ITALIE, were baniſhed by the faction of the *Cylonians*: they that kept ſtill together, met in councell at METAPONT to determine of their affaires. But ſome ſeditious perſons roſe againſt them, ſet fire in all parts of the houſe where they were, and burnt them all together, ſauing *Philolaus* and *Lyſis*, who being young and luſty, ſaued themſelues through the fire. As for *Philolaus*, he recouered the countrey of the LVCANIANS, and kept there with his friends: but *Lyſis* went further, and got to THEBES, where when he was arriued, *Polymnis* receiued him, and prayed him to be *Epaminondas* ſchoolemaiſter, who was but a young boy, but yet of good capacitie, and of very great hope. This Philoſopher imployed his endeuour to manure this noble and quicke wit of *Epaminondas*, and in ſhort time made him ready and perfect in all ſcience and vertue: ſo that it is hard to find a more wiſe, graue, and vertuous perſon then he was, of whom it is fit we ſhould ſay ſomewhat more at large. When he was but fifteene yeares of age, he gaue himſelfe to all manner of exerciſes of the body, as to runne, wreſtle, play at the weapons, and to practiſe all maner of armes: and being quickly skilfull in all theſe, he then gaue himſelfe to his booke, being naturally ſilent, fearefull to ſpeake, but neuer wearied to heare, and to learne. Whereupon *Spintharus* the TARENTINE hauing bene a long time with him in THEBES, ſayd he neuer ſpake to any man that knew ſo much and ſpake ſo litle as *Epaminondas*. If he fortuned to be in any company where there was talke of Philoſophy, or of ſtate matters: he would neuer from thence till he ſaw the matter ended that was propounded. Furthermore, he had no great liking of theſe darke and myſtical arguments of ſome, that thinke to hide vertue in the obſcurity of their words, but he gaue himſelfe wholly to the true practiſe thereof: though otherwiſe he was as pleaſant a man to giue a fine ſlent in diſcourſe, as could be poſſible to be found. As the diſputation betwixt him and *Theanor*, touching pouerty and riches doth witneſſe, which worthily deſerueth to be mentioned here, as in his proper place.

Lyſis after he had liued a long time in THEBES, died, and was honorably interred by his diſciple *Epaminondas*, who had honored and entertained him whileſt he liued, & at his death omitted no ceremonies requiſite at his funerall. *Arceſus*, one of the chiefe of the *Pythagorian* Philoſophers that ſtayed in SICILIA, vnderſtanding that *Lyſis* was at THEBES, through age not able to go to him: appointed by his will and teſtament that they ſhould bring *Lyſis* aliue againe into ITALIE if it were poſſible, or at leaſtwiſe the reſt of his bones, if it ſo happened he were dead. The warres that fell out in the interim were a hinderance that that could not be done ſo ſpeedily. But when the wayes were open and free, the *Pythagorians* ſent *Theanor* of their ſect to THEBES, where he found *Lyſis* dead and buried, and ſo comming to *Epaminondas*, after ſalutations and preambles, told him before *Polymnis* and *Caphiſias* that his companions which were very rich, willed him to giue *Polymnis* and his children a good ſumme of money, in recompence of their courteous entertainement which they had giuen to *Lyſis*. Whereupon after pleaſant excuſes made, *Epaminondas* concluded, that none could be receiued: and added further, that *Iaſon* a Captaine of the THESSALIANS thought I had giuen him a rude and vnciuill aunſwer, when he hauing earneſtly intreated me to take a good ſumme of gold which he gaue me, I ſent him word that he did me wrong, and began to make warre with me: for that he aſpiring to make himſelfe a Lord, would corrupt me with money, a plaine citizen of a free towne, and liuing vnder the law. But for thee, *Theanor*, I commend thy good will, becauſe it is honeſt

and

and vertuous, and I loue it with all my heart: but I tell thee, thou bringeſt phyſicke to men that be not ſicke. Admit then that thou hearing we had bene in warres, haddeſt brought vs armes to defend vs, and then in the ſame place thou haddeſt found vs quiet, and in good peace and amitie with our neighbours, thou wouldeſt not haue thought it good to haue beſtowed theſe armes, and left them with thoſe that had no need of them. Euen ſo thou art come to relieue our pouertie, as if it were a griefe vnto vs: whereas to the contrary it is an eaſie and pleaſant thing for vs to cary, and we are glad we haue it in our houſe amongſt vs: and therefore we need no armes nor money againſt that that doth vs no hurt at all. But thou ſhalt tell thy brethren there, that they do vſe their goods very honeſtly: and alſo that they haue friends here which vſe their pouerty well. And as for *Lyſis* entertainement & buriall, he himſelfe hath fully recompenced vs: hauing taught vs amongſt many other goodly things, not to be afraid of pouerty, nor to be grieued to ſee it amongſt vs. After *Theanor* had made ſome reply touching the good or euill of riches: as that if pouerty were not euill of it ſelfe, neither was riches to be had in contempt, and deſpiſed. No truly ſayd *Epaminondas*, yet conſidering with my ſelfe that we haue a world of couetous deſires of many things, ſome naturall as they call them, and borne with vs, bred in our fleſh for the luſts pertaining to it: others ſtraunge vnto vs grounded vpon vaine opinions, which taking a ſetling and habite in vs by tract of time, and long vſe through euill education, oftentimes do plucke vs downe, and withdraw our ſoules with more force and violence, then thoſe that be naturall vnto vs. For reaſon, by daily exerciſe of vertue and practiſe thereof, is a meane to take many of thoſe things away from vs that are borne and bred within vs: yet this notwithſtanding, we muſt vſe continuall force and exerciſe againſt our concupiſcenſes that are ſtrangers vnto vs, to quench them in vs, and by all poſſible meanes to repreſſe and ſubdue them. Now hauing made ſufficient proofe of that, there is alſo, ſayd he, an exerciſe of Iuſtice againſt greedy couetouſneſſe of getting, which is not, not to go rob and rifle his neighbors houſes in the night, nor not to rob men on the hie way ſide, nor if any man betray not his friends nor his countrey for money: ſuch one doth not exerciſe himſelfe againſt couetouſneſſe, for law poſſible, or feare, bridleth his couetous deſire to offend any man. But that man that oftentimes willingly abſtaineth from iuſt gaines, which he may lawfully take: he it is that by continuall exerciſe keepeth himſelfe farre off from vniuſt and vnlawfull taking of money. For it is vnpoſſible that in great pleaſures, yea wicked and daungerous, the ſoule ſhould containe it ſelfe from coueting of them, vnleſſe before being oftentimes at his choiſe to vſe them, he had not contemned them. And it is not eaſie to ouercome them, nor to refuſe great riches euill gotten being offered, vnleſſe he had long before killed in him this couetous deſire of getting, the which beſides many other habitudes and actions is ſtill greedily bent ſhamefully to gaine, pleaſing himſelfe in the purſute of iniuſtice, hardly ſparing to wrong another, ſo he in any thing profit himſelfe. But to a man that diſdaineth to receiue liberality and gifts of his friends, and refuſeth to take preſents offered him by kings, and that hath reiected the benefits of fortune, putting by all couetous deſire of gliſtering treaſure layed before him: he ſhall neuer be aſſailed to attempt him to do that is vniuſt, nor his mind ſhall neuer be troubled, but will content himſelfe quietly to do any thing that is honeſt, carying an vnright hart, finding nothing in it but that that is good and commendable.

But his life is farre more excellent then his diſcourſe: and as touching that, I will yet ſpeake ſomewhat of it. *Diomedon* Dyzicenian, at *Artaxerxes* requeſt, promiſed to win *Epaminondas* to take the Persians part. To bring this to paſſe, he came to Thebes, and brought a great maſſe of gold with him, and beſtowing three thouſand crownes, he bribed a young man called *Mycithus*, whom *Epaminondas* loued dearely. This young man went to *Epaminondas*, and acquainted him with the occaſion of the other mans comming to Thebes. But *Epaminondas* ſtraight anſwered him, *Diomedon* being preſent: I haue no need of mony: if the king wiſh well to the Thebans, I am at his commaundement without taking one peny: if he haue any other meaning, he hath not gold nor ſiluer enough for me: for I will not ſell the loue I beare to my countrey for all the gold in the world. As for thee that haſt now attempted me, not knowing me, haply thinking me to be like thy ſelfe, I pardon thee: but get thee away quickly out of the citie, leſt thou ſeduce ſome other, hauing failed to corrupt me. And for thee *Micythus*, deliuer him his crownes againe: and if thou doeſt it not preſently, I will ſend thee before a Iuſtice. Thereupon *Diomedon* beſought him he would let him go away with ſafetie, and cary that with him he brought thither. Yes mary, ſaid *Epaminondas*, but it ſhall not be for thy ſake, but for mine honor: being afraid that

if thy gold and ſiluer ſhould be taken from thee, ſome man would accuſe me that I had a ſhare in that which I refuſed to take openly. Then he asked him: Whither wouldeſt thou I ſhould cauſe thee to be conueyed? *Diomedon* ſaid, To ATHENS: which was done, and he had a very good conuoy with him: and becauſe he ſhould not be troubled by the way betwixt the gates of THEBES, and the hauen where he ſhould imbarke himſelfe, *Epaminondas* gaue *Chabrias* the ATHENIAN charge of this man, that he ſhould ſee him ſafe at his waies end, and ſo he ſtraight returned backe againe.

Now though he was very poore, yet he would neuer take any thing of his citie or friends, he was ſo well acquainted with pouerty, which he bare more patiently through his ſtudie of Philoſophie. For on a time he hauing the leading of an armie of the THEBANS into the country of PELOPONNESVS, he borrowed about fiue crownes of a citizen for his expences in his iourny. *Pelopidas* being a man of great wealth, and his exceeding good friend, could not poſſibly euer make him take any part of his goods, but rather *Pelopidas* learned of him to loue pouertie. For *Epaminondas* taught him to thinke it an honor to him to go plainely apparelled, to eate moderatly, to take paines willingly, and to make warre luſtily. But to releeue others, he would make bold to vſe his friends goods, and in ſuch a caſe their goods were common to him. If any of his citizens were taken priſoner with the enemy, or any friend of his had a daughter to be maried, and was not able to beſtow her: he called his friends together, and ſeſſed euery man of them at a certaine ſumme, and afterwards brought him before them that ſhould haue this money, and told him how much euery man had beſtowed vpon him, that he might thanke them all. But on a time he went farre beyond this: for he ſent a poore friend of his to a rich citizen of THEBES, to aske of him ſixe hundred crownes, and to tell him that *Epaminondas* willed him to let him haue them. The citizen being amazed at this demaund, went vnto *Epaminondas* to know what he meant to charge him ſo deepely, to make him diſburſe theſe ſixe hundred crownes vnto him. It is, ſaith he, becauſe this man being an honeſt man, is poore: and thou that haſt robbed the commonwealth of much, art rich. He liued ſo ſoberly, and was ſuch an enemy vnto all ſuperfluitie and exceſſe, that being on a time inuited to ſupper to one of his neighbours, when he ſaw great preparation of fine meates, baked meates, made diſhes and perfumes: he ſaid vnto him: I thought thou hadeſt made a ſacrifice, not an exceſſe of ſuperfluitie, and euen ſo went his way. Euen the like he ſpake of his owne table, ſaying, that ſuch an ordinarie neuer receiued treaſon. On a time being at a feaſt with his peeres and companions, he dranke vineger. And when they asked him what reaſon he had to do ſo, and if it were good for his health? I cannot tell, ſaith he, but well I wote it is good to put me in remembrance how I liue at home. Now it was not for that his nature miſliked ſweet meates, that he liued thus ſtrictly, and did loue and embrace pouerty, for he was maruellous high and nobly minded: but by his ſtraight and vnreproueable life he led, he thought to bridle many inſolencies and diſorders then raigning amongſt the THEBANS, and to reduce them to the former temperance of their auncеſtors. As vpon a time a cooke giuing vp an account to him and his fellowes of their ordinarie expences for certaine daies, he could find fault with nothing, but with the quantitie of oyle that was ſpent. His companions maruelling at it: Tuſh, ſaith he, it is not the expence that offendeth me, but becauſe they haue powred in ſo much oyle into their bodies. The citie of THEBES made an open feaſt, and they were all of them in their banquets, feaſts, and great aſſemblies one with the other: but *Epaminondas* to the contrarie, he went drie vp and downe the towne very ſad, without being annointed with any oyle of perfume, or decked with braue apparel. Some of his familiar friends met him in this eſtate, and wondering at him, asked him why he walked ſo alone, & ill apparelled through the citie? Becauſe, ſaid he, you might in the mean time ſafely giue your ſelues to drink drunke, and make merie, taking thought for nothing. Thus haue we ſpoken enough touching his temperance: and as for his other vertues they are moſt famous in armes, the which he with great good fortune and happineſſe managed for the good of his countrie.

Now his modeſty would in no wiſe ſuffer him to ſeeke his aduauncement, but contrariwiſe he withdrew himſelfe from gouernment, onely to giue himſelfe quietly to the ſtudie of Philoſophie. Howbeit it happened that the LACEDEMONIANS on a time prayed aide of the THEBANS, at that time being in league with them, who ſent them certaine foot-bands. *Epaminondas* being about fiue and thirtie yeares of age, armed himſelfe, and went with the reſt. Then it was that that friendſhip began betwixt *Pelopidas* and him, which conſtantly continued euen to the

end.

end. For they both being in battell ray the one by the other, againſt the ARCADIANS, whom they had in front againſt them in the plaine of MANTINEA, it chaunced that one of the points of the battel of the LACEDÆMONIANS in the which they were, retired, and many of them left their ranckes: but they being reſolute, determining rather to die then to flie, ſtood to it like men, vntill that *Pelopidas* being hurt in ſeuen places, fell downe vpon an heape of dead bodies: then *Epaminondas*, though he tooke him to be but a dead man, ſtepped manfully before him to defend his bodie and armes, and he alone fought againſt many, reſolued to die in the place, rather then to leaue *Pelopidas* among the dead men, vntill that himſelfe being thruſt into the breaſt with a pike, and wounded in the arme with a blow of a ſword, (ready to giue ouer) by good fortune and in a happie time, king *Ageſipolis* came on with the other point of the battell, and ſaued them both. Afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS finely wanne the caſtell of THEBES called CADMEA, put in a ſtrong garriſon there, and gaue the gouernment of the citie vnto *Archias*, *Philippus*, and *Leontidas*, authors of all the miſchief. Wherupon to auoide their violence, *Pelopidas* and many others with ſpeed fled and ſaued themſelues, and were baniſhed by ſound of trumpet. And as for *Epaminondas* they ſaid nothing to him, but let him alone in the citie: for he was contemned as a man of no reckening, becauſe he was ſo giuen to his booke: and if he ſhould haue had any will to haue ſtirred againſt them, he could haue done them no hurt for his pouertie. Now whileſt *Pelopidas* and his companions being at ATHENS, had laid a plot to free THEBES, *Epaminondas* making no ſhew of any thing, had long before deuiſed another practiſe, which was: to lift vp the hearts and courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they went out to play and exerciſe their bodies, he alwaies found a way to make them wreſtle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Afterwards when he ſaw the LACEDÆMONIANS fiercely throw them, and giue them ſhrewd fals they being the ſtronger, he rebuked the THEBANS, and told them, it was a ſhame for them for want of courage, to ſuffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to ſet their feet vpon their throats, that were not halfe ſo ſtrong, rough, and boiſterous as they were. All this while *Pelopidas* and his followers went on with their complot, and they had ſo good ſucceſſe in their purpoſe, that one night they got priuily into the citie of THEBES, and met at *Charons* houſe, where they were to the number of eight and fortie. *Epaminondas* knew all well enough, and ſome towards night taking him aſide, went about to perſwade him to ioyne with them in this enterpriſe, and to take armes with them to ſet vpon theſe tyrants: maruelling much, that he would be ſo backward, the liberty of his countrey ſtanding vpon it. He anſwered, that he had taken order with his friends and *Gorgidas*, that they ſhould put themſelues in readineſſe vpon any occaſion, howbeit that he would put none of his citizens to death, vnleſſe they were condemned by law: yet if you will make an attempt for deliuery of the citie, ſo it be without murther, and ſhedding the bloud of the citizens, I will helpe you (ſaid he) with all my heart. If you will not beleeue me, but perſeuer in your determination, I pray you let me alone, pure and vndefiled with the bloud of my citizens, and ſo blameleſſe to attend occaſion, whereby I may iuſtly take hold of that which may turne to the good of the commonwealth: for the murther that will be committed, cannot poſſibly be contained within reaſonable bounds. I do certainely beleeue that *Pherecides* and *Pelopidas* peraduenture will ſpecially ſet vpon the authors of the tyrannie: but *Eumolpidas* and *Samiadas*, both cholericke and fierce men, taking the liberty of the night, they will neuer lay downe their armes, nor put their ſwords vp into their ſheathes, before they haue filled all the citie with murthers, and ſlaine diuers of the chiefe perſonages. Moreouer, it is very conuenient for the people of THEBES, that ſome be left free, and blameleſſe of this murther, and guiltleſſe of all that ſhall be done in this furie of action: for ſo the people ſhall leaſt ſuſpect that we giue any incouragement to their riſing, although to good end. Notwithſtanding all this the enterpriſe was executed, and the tyrants put to death, the citie reſtored to her auncient liberty, and the caſtle of CADMEA rendred vp by compoſition, and *Lyſandridas* the LACEDÆMONIAN and other commanders within, ſuffered to depart, with ſafetie of their goods and the ſouldiers.

Theſe were the beginnings of the long wars of the LACEDÆMONIANS againſt the THEBANS, with whom the ATHENIANS ioyned in league. For *Epaminondas*, he quietly gaue himſelfe to his booke: notwithſtanding he was put forward by *Pammenes*, a principall man of THEBES, and he began to follow the warres very hotly, and in diuers encounters made great proofe of his wiſdome, hardineſſe and valure: inſomuch that by degrees he attained at the length to the higheſt charges of gouernment in the commonwealth. And his citizens hauing made no further recko-

ning of him, being a man of fortie yeares old: after that they came to know him, and had trusted him with their armie, he saued the citie of THEBES that was like to haue bin vndone, and freed al GREECE from the seruitude and bondage of the LACEDÆMONIANS: making vertue as in a cleare light shine with glorie, shewing her effects when time serueth. Furthermore, *Agesilaus* being entred into BOEOTIA with an armie of twentie thousand footmen, and 5. thousand horse, preyed and spoiled all the plaine countrey, and presented the THEBANS in open field that which they would not accept, finding themselues the weaker: howbeit they defended themselues so well, through the aide of the ATHENIANS, and of the wise conduction of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, that *Agesilaus* returned home with his armie. But after he was gone, the THEBANS went with their troupes before the citie of THESPIES, where they surprized and put to the sword two hundred men of the garrison, and afterwards gaue diuers assaults one vpon another vnto the wall, and seeing their labor lost, they returned with their army backe againe to THEBES. Howbeit *Phœbidas* the LACEDÆMONIAN, he that had taken the castle of CADMEA by treason, (whereupon rose all this warre that followed) and was then gouernour of THESPIES, made a sallie out of the towne, and rashly went to giue a charge vpon the THEBANS in their retreate, where he lost fiue hundred of his men, and himselfe was slaine in the field. Not long after, the LACEDÆMONIANS with the self same power returned againe to make war with the THEBANS, who hauing wonne certaine streights and places of aduantage, so blocked vp the way, as they could not ouerrunne the countrey, and spoile it as they had done before. Neuertheless, *Agesilaus* had so harried and troubled them, that by litle and litle they came to a maine battell, which held very long and cruell. Now though *Agesilaus* at the first had the better, yet the THEBANS charged him so hotely, that at the length he himselfe was hurt, and constrained to retire, being well payed for teaching the THEBANS militarie discipline. And this was the first time that the THEBANS knew themselues to be as strong and lustie as the LACEDÆMONIANS: whereupon they triumphed in signe of victorie, and from that time forwards, they waxed more couragious to make head against the enemy, and to present them battell. But the onely thing that did most encourage them, was the presence of *Epaminondas*, who counselled, commaunded, and executed very wisely, valiantly, and most fortunately. A certaine time after that, they went with a great number of good chosen men before ORCHOMENE, where they preuailed not, because there was a strong garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that sallied out vpon them to giue them battell, which was very sharpe betweene them. And yet, albeit the LACEDÆMONIANS were many against one, the THEBANS gaue them the ouerthrow, which neuer happened to them before: but what nation soeuer they had bene, they thought they had done a great feate, if with a greater number by many, they had ouercome a small number of the LACEDÆMONIANS. But this victorie, and the encountring of TEGYRE, where the THEBANS obtained another victory vnder the conduct of *Pelopidas*, lift vp their hearts on high, and made their valure more famous then before.

The next yeare following, *Artaxerxes* king of PERSIA, meaning to make warre in ÆGYPT, and therefore to retaine diuerse straungers, determined to appease the warres against the GREEKES in hope that they being at peace, would more easily be contented that souldiers should be leauied in their countrey: and thereupon sent his Ambassadours to all the townes of GREECE, to perswade and intreate them to be at peace together. The GREEKES were very willing to hearken vnto it, being wearied of all sides with so long a warre, and were easily drawne to treate of peace: whereby it was especially agreed and concluded, that all the cities of GREECE should be free, and vse their owne lawes; and commissioners were sent all about to withdraw the garrisons in euery place where any was kept. Vnto this the THEBANS onely refused to agree, that euery towne should by it selfe seuerally capitulate in this treatie, requesting that the townes in the countrey of BOEOTIA should be comprehended vnder the city of THEBES. Thereunto the ATHENIANS mightily opposed themselues, and there was one of their Orators called *Callistratus*, that touching this matter made a notable oration before the assembly of the states of GREECE. And *Epaminondas* on the other side also, made a wonderfull and vehement oration in defence of the right of the THEBANS: insomuch as this controuersie was left vndecided, and the treaty of peace was vniuersally agreed and concluded amongst all the other GREEKES, the THEBANS onely excepted, who were not compriſed within the treatie. So through the motion of *Epaminondas*, they were bold to withstand the decrees of all the rest of

GREECE.

Greece. For the Athenians and Lacedæmonians that many yeares before had contended for the principality of Greece, made then diuision together: so that the one should commaund by sea, and the other by land. Thus they could not like in no wise, that the Thebans should aspire to be chiefe, and therfore they sought to dismember the other townes of Boeotia, from the citie of Thebes. And the rather for that the Thebans being strong and lustie of body, and encouraged for that of late they had oftentimes beaten the Lacedæmonians, would striue with them for the superiority of Greece by land, but specially they had a wonderfull confidence in the wisedome and prowesse of their Captaines, but especially of *Epaminondas*. Matters resting thus doubtfull, the citizens of Platæes, a towne of Boeotia, desirous to be at league with the Athenians, they sent to request some souldiers of them, promising to put the towne into their hands. The gouernors of the country of Boeotia hauing intelligence of it, desirous to preuent the garrison of the Athenians, brought a troupe of souldiers against them, and they all came before Platæes, before the townes men had any knowledge of their comming: insomuch that part of them were surprised in the fields by the horsemen, and the other fled into the towne. But hauing no body to aide them, they were compelled to receiue and accept such composition as it pleased the Thebans to graunt them: which was, to leaue their towne, and to go safely with bagge and baggage, and neuer to returne againe into the countrey of Boeotia. After this, the Thebans razed the city of Platæes to the ground, and had the sacke of the towne of Thespies enemy vnto them. All the Greekes solicited againe by the Ambassadors of Persia, thought it good to make a generall peace, and so assembled the commissioners of all the townes at Sparta. *Epaminondas* that was yet scant knowne, because he loued not to shew himselfe, and in all his exploits of warre had euer preferred the aduancement of his great friend and companion in armes *Pelopidas*, before himselfe: yet famous among the Greekes for his great knowledge and experience, was sent thither by the Thebans. *Epaminondas* finding that the other commissioners did leane to *Agesilaus*, began to speake boldly and plainely, and made an oration, not onely in the Thebans behalfe, but for all Greece also: making them plainely see, that warre did still increase the greatnesse of the city of Sparta only, and keepe all the rest of the townes of Greece vnder. Therfore he gaue counsell to all to establish a firme peace indifferently betwixt them, that thereby it might haue the longer continuance, when all comprized within the contract should be equals. *Agesilaus* perceiuing all the Greeks assistant at this assembly to giue very attentiue eare vnto him, and to be tickled, hearing him speake so freely of peace: he asked him aloude if he thought it iust and reasonable, that all Boeotia should be set at liberty. *Epaminondas* on the other side, did presently and boldly aske him againe, if he thought not also that it was iust and reasonable that all Laconia should be set at libertie. Thereupon *Agesilaus* in anger stood vp on his feete, and commaunded him to answer plainely, if they should not restore all the prouince of Boeotia to her liberty. *Epaminondas* returned the selfe same speech againe vnto him: if they should not also put that of Laconia in her liberty. This did so anger *Agesilaus*, besides that it did him good to haue this colour for an old grudge he bare vnto the Thebans, that foorthwith he put the name of the Thebans out of the list of those that should be comprised within the peace, and immediatly proclaimed open war against them. But this being done had euill successe afterwards, and by reason of the sodaine and rash enterprise of the Lacedæmonians, it turned to their vtter ouerthrow. For the Thebans, there was no remedie but they must beare the whole brunt alone: for there was not a town that durst send them any aide, because they were all agreed and sworne to this peace, insomuch as euery one thought them vtterly cast away and vndone. Many pitied their estate, and they that loued them not reioyced: they made so full account, that the Lacedæmonians should find nothing that could stand before them.

So the Lacedæmonians made king *Cleombrotus* march with his army towards Thebes: and being come neare to Chæronea with ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, he pitched his camp there to stay for the rest of his allies. The Thebans hauing intelligence of the approch of the enemy, chose *Epaminondas* to be captaine generall, giuing him the charge of this warre, with sixe other Councellers, whom they call *Beotarches*, as who would say, Gouernours of Boeotia, to be of his counsell, and to assist him. Now there came Oracles to the Thebans from all parts: some promising victory, others threatning ouerthrow. He commaunded them to set those on the right hand of the chaire for Orations that promised victorie: and those that

threatned ouerthrow on the left hand. They being thus diſpoſed of, he got vp to the chaire for Orations, and ſaid to the THEBANS: If you will be obedient to your Captaines, and couragious of heart to encounter your enemies, theſe here, (ſhewing the good Oracles on the right hand) are yours: but if for faint hearts you refuſe daunger, thoſe there (ſhewing the bad on the left hand) ſhall be for you. Thereupon enrolling all the THEBANS names that were of age to beare armes, and of ſome parts of BOEOTIA thoſe that he thought fitteſt for wars: word was brought him that a very honeſt and valiant man of his perſon died in his bed. O *Hercules*, ſaid he, what, had this man leyſure to die in all theſe troubles? His preſence reioyced and made all his armie liuely: alſo all the time he was Captaine of the THEBANS, they neuer ſaw any of theſe terrours happen in his campe without manifeſt cauſe, which they call ſodaine feares. He was wont to ſay, that there was no death more honeſt, then to dye in the warres: and that the body of a ſouldier ſhould not onely be kept in exerciſe like the champions that fight for maiſtrie, but rather more hardened to endure any labour or paines meet for a good ſouldier. And therfore he could not abide very fat men, but caſſered a whole band of them for that cauſe only: ſaying that ſcarce three or foure targets could couer ſo great a belly, as did keepe him that he could not ſee his owne priuities. So he drew his armie out of THEBES, hauing in all but fixe thouſand fighting men. Euen as they were marching away out of THEBES, diuers of the ſouldiers thought they had had many vnluckie ſignes. For as they were going out of the gates, *Epaminondas* met on his way a Herald, that following an auncient ceremonie and cuſtome of theirs, brought an old blind man as if he had bene run away: and the Herald crying out aloud, Bring him not out of THEBES, nor put him not to death, but carie him backe againe, and ſaue his life. The old men tooke this meeting and cry for an euill ſigne: but the young men kept ſilence, and ſpake neuer a word, for feare it ſhould be thought that their hearts failing them, they would ſeeke to diſſwade *Epaminondas* from going the iourney he had vndertaken. And he himſelfe, vnto ſome that were bold to tell him, that it were well done before he went any further, to conſider firſt what ſucceſſe the flying of the birds did promiſe vnto him, anſwered this verſe of *Homer*:

It is a happy ſigne, to fight for his countrey.

Such a preſent and francke reſolution ſtopped the mouthes of all thoſe that were not very conſtant. But there happened yet another ſigne worſe then the firſt. For there went a Secretarie before him carying a Iauelin, vnto the which was tyed a ſcrole to make the ſoldiers know that they ſhould do what the Generall commanded them. The wind roſe and blew off this ſcrole and caried it away, folding it vpon a ſquare pillar that ſtood vpon a tombe of certaine LACEDÆMONIANS, and PELOPONNESIANS, that had bene ſlaine in that place when *Ageſilaus* brought his army thither. Alſo there came againe certaine old men vnto him to ſpeake with him, perſwading and proteſting that he ought not to go any further with his armie, ſince the gods were ſo manifeſtly againſt it. All this notwithſtanding he neuer ceaſſed to march with his campe, thinking that the conſcience and reſolution to fight in a good cauſe, ought to be much ſtronger and of more force to put him in good hope, then theſe euill ſignes that appeared to make him miſtruſt the worſt. And as in marching to meete with the LACEDÆMONIANS they heard it thunder: they that were neare vnto him, asked him, what that thunder meant? That, ſaith he, betokeneth that the enemies braines are troubled and aſtonied: ſeeing they hauing hard by them ſo commodious places to campe in, they now lye encamped where they are. Indeed they halted, ſtaying for diuers of their allies that came not: all of them hauing at better leyſure conſidered of the diſcourſe *Epaminondas* made in SPARTA in open aſſembly of all the commiſſioners of euery town, againſt the ambition of the LACEDÆMONIANS. For him therefore applying to good purpoſe at that time all the goodly diſcourſe he had learned by the ſtudie of Philoſophie, for the preſent time the common people blamed him much: but after the fortunate ſucceſſe of his intention, euery man then iudged him to be a man ripely vnderſtanding the dutie of a wiſe and valiant chieftaine of warre. For making his army march with ſpeed, he wanne the ſtraights hard by the citie of CORONEA, and camped there. *Cleombrotus* on the other ſide, vnderſtanding that the THEBANS had gained that paſſage, diſpairing he could not paſſe that way: made his army go a great compaſſe about by the countrey of PHOCIDE, and marching alongſt the ſea ſide in a very troublous and daungerous way, at the laſt he pierced into the countrey of BOEOTIA without any daunger. And as he went alſo he tooke in litle townes, and certaine gallies that lay alongeſt that coaſt, and in the end arriued at LEVCTRES: and there ſet downe to refreſh his men a litle,

ouer-wearied

ouer-wearied with trauell in their iourney. The Boeotians marched presently that way to meet with them, and so passing ouer some litle mountaines, they discouered them in the plaine of Leuctres, which did amaze them, seeing so great an army.

The *Bœotarches* thereupon came together to consult whether they should go forward, and to fight one against many: or else retire, and find out some better place of aduantage. In this counsell their opinions fell out to be equall: for three of them thought it good to retire: the other three with *Epaminondas*, said, they must tarie and fight. So the conclusion of this counsell being doubtfull, and the *Bœotarches* disagreeing, *Pelopidas* captaine of the holy band came to thē, who was of the second opinion: so that they all agreed together to put it to the hazard of battell. But *Epaminondas* seeing their souldiers affraid through the superstition of these signes, deuising by some like remedy to put this mistrust out of their heads: to bring this to passe, some being newly come from Thebes, he willed them to say and giue it out euery where, that no man could tell at Thebes what was become of the armes that hung vp in *Hercules* temple: but that the voice was all the towne ouer, that the auncient demigods their auncestors had come and taken them away, for the aide of their descendants at this present time. He suborned another also, that gaue it out he was newly come from *Trophonius* truncke or hole, and that the god which giueth the Oracles in the same, commanded him to tell the Boeotians that after they had ouercome their enemies in the plaine of Leuctres, they should celebrate yearely playes in the honor of *Iupiter*. And thereof it came that the Boeotians long time after that did yearely celebrate a feast, which is made in Lebadia. Now to end the painting of this artificial deuise, *Leandrias* a Spartan, being a banished man out of his countrey, and fighting at that time for the Boeotians, being brought before the souldiers, whom they encouraged to fight like men the day of the battell: he did sweare vnto them that the Lacedæmonians had an auncient Oracle, that said they should lose their principalitie, when they should be ouercome by the Thebans in a pitched field, in the plaine of Leuctres. It is true indeed that the Lacedæmonians had had many oracles and forewarnings to bid them beware of the anger of Leuctres: but the common people vnderstood not what this warning meant, but were deceiued by the equiuocation of the word: for that there were three Leuctres: to wit, in Laconia, Arcadia, and Boeotia. Howbeit, the vision of *Pelopidas*, whereof is made large mention in his life, and the sacrifice he made of the yong Filly that came into his campe, confirmed all the former inuentions, and made them bold that were most discouraged. Adding withall, that *Epaminondas* hauing assembled all his armie, began to encourage them with these strong and liuely reasons to shew their valour: insomuch, that being freed from this superstitious feare, they longed for nothing more then to come to blowes. *Epaminondas* euer concluded all his orations in this manner: O worthy men, embrace sacred death, aduauncing your selues to the most honorable and famous fight for your country, for the tombes of your auncestors, and for the holy things. Euen at the same time came to the Thebans an aide of fiue hundred horse, and fifteene hundred footmen Thessalians, conducted by *Iason*: who practised with both sides to make a peace for certaine daies, telling them he was not wise that feared not the euents. Some iudge it was not at that time that *Iason* trauelled betweene them both, but rather that it was after the iourney of Leuctres. Howbeit, I haue followed that which *Diodorus* the Sicilian writeth, as a thing most likely. Now as *Cleombrotus* retired with his army out of Boeotia, he met with a great supply of naturall Lacedæmonians, and of some of their allies, brought to him by *Archidamus*, *Agesilaus* sonne. The Lacedæmonians seeing the Thebans so resolute, and fearing their desperate boldnesse: sent these two troupes the easilier to daunt the courage of their enemies. These two being ioyned together they were ashamed to be afraid of the Boeotians, and whether it was that the truce taken was neare expired, or that they forced not of it, they returned on the sodaine againe into the plaine of Leuctres fully bent to fight. The Boeotians also for their part shrunke not an inch backe, and so on both sides they set their men in order of battell. For *Epaminondas*, he set his battell after a new fashion, neuer before shewed by any other Captaine. For hauing chosen out of his armie the best men and valianteſt souldiers he had, he placed them together in one of the points of his battell, where he should be himself & fight in person, seconded with *Pelopidas*, with his three hundred chosen men, called the holy band: and in the other corner he placed his weaker men, commaunding them expresly not to abide the charge of the enemies that should come to assaile them in front, but faire and softly to retire when they saw them come neare them. So the matter

fell out as he wished: and he hoped to determine the battell by the vertue and proweſſe of that point where he had placed all the flower and choiſe of his armie.

Now the ſigne to fight being giuen, the LACEDÆMONIANS marched of euen hand with the two hornes of their battel, ordred in forme of a Creſſant. On the contrarie part, one of the wings of the battell of the BOEOTIANS began to giue backe, and the other with great furie ranne to charge the enemie in the flancke: ſtraight they were both come to the ſword together. And at the firſt, becauſe either ſide fought very deſperatly, the victorie was doubtfull for a certain time: but at the length *Epaminondas* troupes brake in amongſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and killed the moſt part of them that were about king *Cleombrotus*. So long as the king was aliue, he kept backe the THEBANS from victorie, becauſe he was accompanied with all the moſt valiant men of his army, valiantly fighting about him. But after he fell downe dead on the ground, hauing receiued an infinit number of wounds, and ſtriken downe many of his enemies: then they thronged together on all ſides, and there was a cruell fight about his bodie, where were heapes of mens bodies ſlaine one vpon another. And although *Epaminondas* did ſharply follow his point, yet the LACEDÆMONIANS made ſuch reſiſtance at the laſt, that they did a litle repulſe the BOEOTIANS and cleared the bodie of the king out of the preſſe and multitude: but that held not long. For *Epaminondas* through his perſwaſions did ſo lift vp the hearts and courage of his men, that they gaue a ſecond and ſo fierce a charge vpon them, that they wholly ouerthrew the LACEDÆMONIANS, & made them flie for life. Then *Epaminondas* fiercely purſuing the flying enemies, made great ſlaughter, and wan one of the moſt glorioueſt victories that euer Captaine did: hauing in a pitched field ouercome the moſt noble and warlike nation of all GREECE, with a farre ſmaller number of men then his enemies had. Alſo he tooke more glorie of that aboue all his other exploits, & eſpecially becauſe it hapned vnto him in his father *Polymnis* life time. And oftentimes he had theſe words vp in his mouth: that of all the honeſt and happy fortunes that euer chaunced vnto him, nothing ioyed his heart more, then that he had vanquiſhed the LACEDÆMONIANS at the battell of LEVCTRES, his father and mother that begat him being both aliue. And to ſay truely, he that day preſerued the life of his father and mother, and of his whole countrey beſides: for the LACEDÆMONIANS were fully reſolued vtterly to deſtroy the THEBANS. Now he vſing at all other times to ſhew himſelfe amongſt them, fine and neat, with a pleaſant countenance: the next day after the battell at LEVCTRES he came out openly very ſad, heauie, and penſiue. Whereupon his friends asked him preſently if he had heard any euill newes, or ſome miſfortune had happened to him. None, ſaid he, but I perceiued by my ſelfe yeſterday, that ouerioyed with the victorie I obtained, I lift vp my ſelfe more then became me: and therefore to day I correct this ioy, which yeſterday was too exceeding in me. He knowing that it was the maner of the SPARTANS to hide and couer (as well as they could poſſible) all ſuch misfortunes, deſirous openly to ſuppreſſe and ſhew the greatneſſe of the loſſe they had ſuſtained: he would not ſuffer them to carie away their dead bodies by great all together, but euery citie one after another: and ſo by this meanes it appeared that there were aboue a thouſand LACEDÆMONIANS. Some make the number of the dead to be greater, and ſay they were foure thouſand naturall LACEDÆMONIANS, but that muſt be vnderſtood of them and their allies: and of the BOEOTIANS, there were not aboue three hundred or thereabouts found dead. This battell of LEVCTRES was ſtriken at the beginning of the 2. yeare of the hundred and ſecond Olympiade.

The LACEDÆMONIANS hauing at that battell loſt the greateſt part of their honor and greatneſſe, which men had ſeene before in their eſtate, loſt not their courage for all this: but to keepe their youth ſtill in heart, and to take away all feare which had poſſeſſed them that had eſcaped from this ouerthrow: *Ageſilaus* entred ARCADIA with an armie, and was contented to take a ſmall towne of the MANTINEANS, and to prey and ſpoile the country, which done he returned home againe. Some thinke that this was the cauſe that brought *Epaminondas* into LACONIA. Otherſome report it otherwiſe, and ſay that *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer the MANTINEANS to reedifie their citie. And there be that are of another opinion, which is: that *Lycomedes* Captaine of the ARCADIANS hauing made a rode hard to ORCHOMENE, he ſlue vpon an encounter *Polytropus* Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and 2. hundred SPARTANS with him, his purpoſe being to win ORCHOMENE: and that thereupon they finding themſelues too weake to ſtand againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, they ſought the alliance and aide of the THEBANS. How ſoeuer it was, the LACEDÆMONIANS and ARCADIANS being enemies, by reaſon of their chiefe

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citie of MANTINEA: that was the cauſe the THEBANS ioyned with the ARCADIANS, and being followed with their allies, led by *Epaminondas*, they entred into LACONIA with an armie of forty thouſand men of warre, and with thirty thouſand others that followed the campe. The ATHENIANS ſent *Iphicrates* Captaine with twelue thouſand men to aide the SPARTANS: but before his comming *Epaminondas* entred into LACONIA in diuers places, and ſacked all the whole countrie, which had not bene laid waſt by any enemy in ſixe hundred yeares ſpace before, when the DORIANS came to inhabite there. The SPARTANS ſeeing their countrey waſted and deſtroyed before their eyes, were deſirous to go out with all the force they could make: but *Ageſilaus* would not ſuffer them, telling them how daungerous it was to leaue the citie, to ſet vpon ſuch a mightie enemie. So they were quiet, and *Epaminondas* in the meane ſpace deſcended the mountaine Taugete with his armie, towards the riuer of Eurotas, the which at that time was riſen very high by reaſon of the winter. He ſought what he could to draw *Ageſilaus* to fight, who beholding *Epaminondas* a great while, marching in battell ray alongſt the riuers ſide at the head of his troupes: he wondred at his boldneſſe and valure, but would by no meanes come out of his fort. Inſomuch as after this armie had preyed and foraged all LACONIA, *Epaminondas* led them backe againe laden with bootie. And though *Ageſilaus* had won himſelfe great honour for his wiſedome, in looking to the ſafetie of his citie: yet *Epaminondas* had made his countrey ſo poore, with the former loſſes ſuſtained, eſpecially at the ouerthrow at LEVCTRES: that SPARTA could neuer afterwards recouer that loſſe againe, nor grow into that reputation and power it had before. Furthermore, notwithſtanding all the aide of the ATHENIANS, and the experience of *Iphicrates*, *Epaminondas* returned with his whole armie as he came. And the more to keepe the LACEDÆMONIANS ſtill vnder their feet, and to heape new troubles vpon them: he gaue counſell to the ARCADIANS and other their allies, to reedifie and repleniſh the citie of MESSINA with new inhabitants againe, which the LACEDÆMONIANS had long before that deſtroyed. All the whole councell giuing their conſents vnto it, he made diligent inquirie forthwith to ſeeke out all thoſe that till that time had bene auncient inhabitants in MESSINA: and in the ſpace of foureſcore and fiue daies hauing reedified the ruined houſes, he ſet a foot againe one of the nobleſt and moſt auncient cities of GREECE, and left there a ſtrong garriſon: for the which he was as much eſteemed and rather more, then for any other ſeruice he had euer done.

The LACEDÆMONIANS being lightened of a maruellous great feare, made an agreement with the ATHENIANS, and left them the chiefe commaund by ſea, reſeruing to themſelues that by land. Afterwards through the aide of the ATHENIANS, and the ſupply that was ſent vnto them out of SICILIA, they wan their townes againe by litle and litle. The ARCADIANS to ſtop their courſe, aſſaulted the citie of PALLENE in LACONIA, put all the garriſon there to the ſword, razed the towne, and preyed all the countrey thereabout: and doubting that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be reuenged, they prayed aide of the THEBANS, who ſent *Epaminondas* thither with the other *Bœotarches*, ſixe thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſe. The ATHENIANS hauing intelligence thereof, ſent their armie before vnder the leading of *Chabrias*, who marched directly to CORINTH, and there had ſupply of ſouldiers, of the MEGARIANS, PALLENIANS, and CORINTHIANS: ſo that he had made vp a regiment of ten thouſand men. And afterwards the armie of the LACEDÆMONIANS and of their allies, being arriued at the very place of CORINTH, they made all together the number of twenty thouſand fighting men. So they determined to repaire and fortifie all the paſſages and entrances into the countrey of PELOPONNESVS, to ſtop the paſſage of the BOEOTIANS. And beginniug frō the city of CENCHREES vnto the hauen of LECHEVM, they ſhut and blocked vp all the waies from the one ſea to the other, with mighty great peeces of timber a croſſe, and with a maruellous deepe ditch. And this great peece of worke was followed with ſuch ſpeed, both by meanes of the great multitude of people, as alſo through the goodwils of thoſe that laboured it hard: that they had finiſhed and done all before the BOEOTIANS could arriue there. *Epaminondas* at his comming hauing diligently viewed and conſidered this fortification, perceiued that the eaſieſt way to be forced, was that which the LACEDÆMONIANS themſelues kept. So he ſent to giue them defiance, though they were thrice as many men in number as his owne. For all this that they had the defiance, they durſt not come out, but kept them cloſe vnder this fortification, which receiuing certain aſſaults, they were repulſed. Now all of them doing their beſt indeuour, being occupied, ſome aſſailing, other defending, *Epaminondas* choſe out the beſt men in all his armie, and luſtily charging the

guard of the LACEDÆMONIANS enforced them to giue him way, and in deſpite of them he entred into PELOPONNESVS, which was a wonderfull and memorable exploit of all others. Frō thence he marched towards the cities of EPIDAVRE and TROEZEN, and ſo foraged all the countrey: howbeit he could take none of the townes, becauſe they were defended with ſtrong garriſons. Neuertheleſſe he put SICYONE, PHEVNTE, and ſome other townes in ſuch feare, that they yeelded themſelues vnto him. That being done, he went to CORINTH, and there ouercame the CORINTHIANS in a ſet battell, and bet them home fighting euen to the wals of their citie. There were ſome of his men ſo raſh, and preſuming of their valour, that they entred hand ouer head with thoſe that fled, euen within the gates of their citie, which put the CORINTHIANS in ſuch a terrible feare, that they ran with all ſpeed poſſible to get their houſes ouer their heads. *Chabrias* beat them out againe, and killed ſome of them. Whereupon he cauſed a token of triumph to be ſet vp, as if it had bene an ouerthrow. *Epaminondas* laughing him to ſcorne for it, ſaid he ſhould not call it a Trophee, or token of triumph, but rather *Hecateſie*, as one would ſay, a ſtatue of *Proſerpina*: becauſe in times paſt they commonly ſet this image of *Proſerpina* at the firſt gallowes they found before the gate of any citie. The BOEOTIANS therefore came on with their battell as neare vnto CORINTH as they could, and *Chabrias* with his troupes camped without in a very ſtrong place of aduantage for him: ſo there were many skirmiſhes betweene them, in the which *Chabrias* ſhewed ſuch valour, that he wan great fame and reputation, euen of *Epaminondas* himſelfe. Who being asked on a time whom he thought the greateſt captaine, himſelf, *Chabrias*, or *Iphicrates*: It is hard to iudge, ſaid he, whileſt we are all aliue. Another brought him word that the ATHENIANS had ſent an army againe into PELOPONNESVS, furniſhed with new armours. Well, anſwered he, doth *Antigenidas* weepe when he knoweth that *Tellin* hath new flutes? This *Tellin* was a very bad player of the flute, and *Antigenidas* excellent good & skilful. Touching the ſupply of this armie, they were ten thouſand SPANIARDS and GAVLES, whom *Dionyſius* the tyrant ſent out of SICILIA to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, hauing payed them for fiue moneths. They had ſerued reaſonably well in this warre, and ſo in the end of ſommer returned home againe.

Now it fortuned in theſe laſt encounters, that *Epaminondas* hauing forced the LACEDÆMONIANS that ſtood to the defence of the fortification aboue mentioned, and hauing them in his power to haue ſlaughtered a great number of them at his will: he contented himſelfe onely with this glorie, that in deſpite of them he had entred into PELOPONNESVS, and ſought to do them no more hurt: which gaue thoſe occaſion that did enuie his glorie to blame him, and to accuſe him of treaſon, as hauing willingly ſpared the enemies, becauſe they ſhould particularly thanke him onely. But now that we haue begun to ſpeake of this matter, we muſt ſee how he behaued himſelfe among his citizens, and the wiſedome he vſed in defence of his integritie. Among all thoſe that could not endure the glorie of his vertues, was *Meneclides* the Oratour, an eloquent man, but withall moſt wicked and malicious. He finding that *Epaminondas* wan ſuch honour by warres, neuer left perſwading the THEBANS to embrace peace, and to preferre it before warre: becauſe they ſhould not liue alwaies vnder the obedience and command of one man. *Epaminondas* told him one day in open councell: Thou wilt deceiue the THEBANS, going about to counſell them to leaue warres: and highly commending eaſe, thou goeſt about to put iron bolts vpon their feet. For warre begetteth peace, the which cannot hold long but among thoſe that know how to ſeeke and keepe it with the edge of the ſword. Then ſpeaking to the citizens: If ye will haue the principalitie and commaund of all GREECE, before all others: you muſt ſhrowd your ſelues in your tents and pauilions in the open field, and not follow games and wreſtlings here at home. Alſo he knew well enough that the BOEOTIANS ſpoiled and vndid themſelues by eaſe and idleneſſe: which was the cauſe that he conſtantly bare this mind to keepe them continually in warres. Whereupon when time came that they fell to chooſing of Captaines, and that they went about to chuſe him *Bœotarche*: he ſaid to the citizens: My maiſters, I pray you conſider of it now you are at leyſure, before you chooſe me: for I tell you plainely, if I be choſen your captaine, you muſt to the warres. He called the country of BOEOTIA, which is all plaine champion, the ſcaffold of warre: ſaying it was vnpoſſible to keepe it, vnleſſe the inhabitants had their targets on their armes, and their ſwords in their hands. This was not becauſe he did not loue peace, and ſolitarineſſe to ſtudie Philoſophie, and that he was not more feareful of them he had in his charge then for himſelfe, vſing alwaies to watch and forbeare his meate, when the THEBANS were at

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their banquets and feasts giuing themselues to all pleasures: but he knew them well enough, and he was neuer more carefull of any thing, then to keepe his armie from idlenesse. For on a time the ARCADIANS intreating that his troupes might enter into one of their towns, to lye drie there in couert all the winter, he would by no meanes yeeld to it. For now (said he to his souldiers) that they see you exercise your selues in armes, they wonder at you as braue and valiant soldiers: but if they should see you at the fire side parching of beanes, they would esteeme no better of you then of themselues. No more could he endure couetousnesse: for if sometime he gaue his men leaue to go a booting, his meaning was, that whatsoeuer they got should be bestowed in furnishing of armes. For if any man went about to fill his purse with mony, he thought him vnworthie to be a souldier. As on a time when he perceiued that his Target-bearer had receiued a great summe of money for the raunsome of a prisoner, he said vnto him: Giue me my target, and go thou thy waies, and buy thee a Tauerne to leade the rest of thy life there: for I perceiue thou wilt no more like an honest man put thy selfe in daunger in the warres, as before thou hast done, because thou art now rich and wealthy. Now *Epaminondas* being such a one as you haue heard, *Menecl*ides notwithstanding would neuer cease controlling of him: and one day he went so far as to reproch him that he had no children, that he was not maried, and that he magnified himself more then euer king *Agamemnon* had done. *Epaminondas* answered him, thou hast nothing to do to counsell me to marie: for in that respect there is neuer a man here in all this councell whome I would lesse vse then thou. And this he spake, because the other was suspected to be an adulterer. And where thou thinkest that I do enuie the glorie and fame of *Agamemnon*, thou art foule deceiued: yet I tell thee he was not a litle troubled to win a towne in ten yeares: where I to the cõtrarie putting the LACEDÆMONIANS to flight in one day, haue deliuered our citie and all GREECE from them. But thankes be to you, my Lord THEBANS, (speaking to all the whole assembly:) through you I did it, and ouerthrew and ruined the power and gouernment of our enemies. Neuertheless, *Pelopidas* and he were very euill recompenced for this good seruice of theirs: for at their returne from LACONIA, they with some other of the *Bœotarches* were accused, for that after the time of their charge and gouernment was expired, they had kept it foure moneths beyond the time the law had appointed them. With much ado *Pelopidas* was absolued: but *Epaminondas* willed his companions to lay all the fault vpon him, as being forced vnto it by his authoritie: and that for his part his words could be no better then his deedes. So vpon this he being called before the Iudges, and after he had iustified that he had passed the time limited of his authority: in stead of excusing himselfe, he went and told brauely his worthy exploits he had done in this iourney at that time, adding withall, that he was willing and readie to die, so they caused his condemnation to be written vpon the pillar of his tombe, to the end the GREEKS should vnderstand that they had put *Epaminondas* to death, because he had compelled the THEBANS against their wils to burn the country of LACONIA, the which in fiue hundred yeares before had neuer once bene spoiled: that he had restored the citie of MESSINA with inhabitants againe, two hundred and thirtie yeares after the LACEDÆMONIANS had laid it wast: that he had brought al the people and townes of ARCADIA to be as one bodie in league together, and had set all the GREEKES at libertie: and all these things, said he, we did in our iourney. The Iudges vnderstanding this worthy and true defence, they all rose from their seates and laughed a good, and would neuer take their bals to ballot against him.

But as for this second accusation, that he had shewed fauour vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS for his owne particular honour, he would make no answer before the people of THEBES to this false imputation, but he rose out of the Theater, and passing through the assembly walked into the parke of exercises. The people being in vprore against him, made no choise of him againe as they were wont to do, although there was great need: but created other *Bœotarches* to go into THESSALY. And the more (as they thought) to despite *Epaminondas*, they commaunded him to go that voyage as a priuate souldier: the which he refused not, but went very willingly, and vpon this occasion. *Pelopidas* being sent the second time into THESSALY, to make accord betwixt the people and *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, was by this tyrant (not respecting the dignitie of an Ambassador, nor of his countrey) made prisoner with *Ismenias*. Whereupon the THEBANS being iustly offended, sent thither an army of eight thousand footmen, and fiue hundred horse, howbeit vnder the leading of vnskilfull Captaines, who wanting iudgement to vse the time, thought it good to returne home againe without doing any thing. But as they went

their way, *Alexander* being ſtronger in horſmen then they, followed them, and gaue charge vpon the rere, killed ſome, and grieuouſly wounded others. So they knowing neither how to go forward nor backward, were in great diſtreſſe, and the rather becauſe their victuals fell ſhorter euery day then other. But being now almoſt out of all hope to retire home with ſafety, *Epaminondas* being then amongſt the foote, was earneſtly intreated by the ſouldiers and Captaines to helpe to redreſſe this diſorder. Thereupon he choſe certaine footmen light armed, and all the horſemen, and ſo falling himſelfe amongſt them in the rereward of the army, he ſo luſtily repulſed the enemies, that the reſt of the army afterwards marched in great ſafety: and did ſo well, fighting at times, making head as occaſion ſerued, and keeping his troupes in ſo good order, that he brought them all away ſafe. This act crowned him with a new glorie, confounded his enemies, and wanne him great honour euery where, beſides the loue and good will of his citizens: who ſet great fines vpon their Captaines, becauſe they had behaued themſelues ſo euill in this iourney. Againe, the people ſeeing that by ſo many worthy deeds *Epaminondas* razed out all the ſlaunders and accuſations which his euill willers had vomited out againſt him: they choſe him a new their Captaine generall, to returne into THESSALIE with another army. At whoſe comming all the country ſtraight reioyced for the reputation of ſo great and famous a Captaine, and there wanted litle euen to breake this tyrants necke altogether, his friends and Captaines ſtood in ſuch feare, and his ſubiects in good mind to rebell, and very ioyfull for the hope they had ſhortly to ſee the tyrant at one blow well recompenced for all his curſed and wicked deeds he had done long before. Neuertheleſſe *Epaminondas* ſetting aſide the conſideration of his honour and glorie, in reſpect of the deliuerance and ſafety of his friend *Pelopidas*, and being afraid that *Alexander*, when he ſhould ſee his eſtate in daunger to be ouerthrowne, would take reuenge in his madneſſe vpon *Pelopidas*: he purpoſely drew this warre in length, wheeling about in euery place, refraining to ſet on him in earneſt, diſſembling to make his preparations, and ſtill delaying, becauſe he would prepare and ſoften the heart of this tyrant by this deuice, not to leaue him too much to his bold vnbridled will, neither to ſtirre vp (to the danger of *Pelopidas*) the ſharpe and inhumane anger of this bloud-ſucker. Who being a monſter, compounded of cruelty and cowardice, was ſo afraid onely of the name and reputation of *Epaminondas*, and hanging the wing as they ſay: that he preſently ſent men vnto him to excuſe and iuſtifie him. But *Epaminondas* would not that the THEBANS through his ſlackneſſe ſhould make peace and alliance with ſo wicked a man, but onely he was contented to take a truce with him for thirtie dayes, taking *Pelopidas* and *Iſmenias* out of his hands. So with them he returned backe againe to THEBES, and alwayes continued faithfull friendſhip with *Pelopidas*, refuſing euer to haue any part of his goods, but did ſtill perſeuere in his wonted ſimplicitie and diſcipline. Now ſpeaking of this friendſhip, they report that *Epaminondas* hauing committed a man of baſe condition for ſome light fault to priſon, *Pelopidas* prayed him to ſet the poore man at liberty, but he denied him: and yet afterwards being intreated by a woman he kept, he did it at her requeſt, ſaying that harlots were to be graunted ſuch requeſts, not Captaines.

This boldneſſe he ſhewed in all places, and to all men, yet mingled with a great ſweetneſſe, and with a good liuely grace: whereof we will bring many examples, beſides that he ſpake at SPARTA againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS and *Ageſilaus*, in the preſence of all the commiſſioners of GREECE. The ARGIANS hauing made league with the THEBANS, the ATHENIANS ſent their Ambaſſadours into ARCADIA, to ſee if they could gaine the ARCADIANS to be their friends. So theſe Ambaſſadours began roundly and hotly to charge and accuſe both the one and the other: inſomuch as *Calliſtratus* ſpeaking for them, reproued the other two cities, ORESTES and OEDIPVS. *Epaminondas* being preſent at that aſſembly of counſell, ſtood vp, and ſayd: My Lords, we confeſſe that in times paſt we had a man that killed his father in our city, and in ARGOS one that killed his mother: but for vs, we haue driuen out of our countrey, and baniſhed all ſuch wicked murtherers, and the ATHENIANS haue receiued them both. And to the SPARTANS that had layed many great and grieuous imputations vpon the THEBANS: If they haue done nothing elſe, my Lords of SPARTA, anſwered *Epaminondas*, yet at the leaſt they haue made you forget to ſpeake litle. The ATHENIANS had made league with *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES, mortall enemy of the THEBANS, who promiſed the THEBANS that he would let them haue a pound of fleſh for an halfe peny. *Epaminondas* hearing of it, Well ſayd he, and we will find them wood that ſhall coſt them nothing to ſeeth this fleſh withall: for we will go fell and cut downe all the

trees

trees they haue in their countrey, if they go about to make any alteration other then good. So when he went into THESSALY, and brought backe *Pelopidas* againe, the ATHENIANS made no great ſtirre againſt him: and the tyrant that promiſed fleſh ſo good cheape, had much ado at that time to keepe his skin whole. But afterwards he had his payment, as you may reade in the latter end of *Pelopidas* life. But that which did excell in *Epaminondas*, and did cut the throat of enuy it ſelfe, was his moderation and temperance, knowing how to vſe any ſtate or condition offered him, & neuer to rage againſt himſelfe nor others, alwayes bearing this mind, that howſoeuer they tooke him, and in what place ſoeuer they ſet him, he was well contented, and all for the good of his countrey: for proofe whereof I will ſhew you this example. His euill willers on a time thinking to bring him in diſgrace, as they ſay, for ſpite they made him ſuperintendant and ouerſeer of all the cuſtomes, whileſt others his inferiors, vnworthy to be compared to him, were placed in the moſt honourable offices. This notwithſtanding he deſpiſed not this office, but did diſcharge it very faithfully: for, ſayd he, office or authority ſheweth not onely what the man is, but alſo the man what the office is.

But now further: ſhortly after *Epaminondas* returne out of THESSALY, the ARCADIANS were ouercome by *Archidamus* and the LACEDÆMONIANS, and they loſt not a man: and therefore this dayes iourney was called for them, the teareleſſe battell. *Epaminondas* foreſeeing that the ARCADIANS ſhould yet haue a ſtorme, gaue them counſell to fortifie themſelues: whoſe counſell they following, they built the towne which afterwards was called MEGALIPOLIS, ſituated in a very conuenient place. Whileſt they made warre with the ELIANS their neighbors, *Epaminondas* heart neuer fainted, but his mind was alwayes giuen to high enterpriſes for the good of his countrey: where being reſpected and honoured aboue all others, he made an oration vnto his citizens, perſwading them to make themſelues ſtrong by ſea, and to attend the conqueſt of the principality, making themſelues Lords of it. This oration of his had bene long thought of before, being full of liuely reaſons, which did ſhew and proue vnto them that the enterpriſe was both honourable and profitable, aſwell by other arguments he alleadged, as alſo for that he told them it was an eaſie thing for them that were now the ſtronger by land, to make themſelues alſo the ſtrongeſt by ſea: and the rather for that the ATHENIANS in the warre againſt *Xerxes*, notwithſtanding that they had armed and ſet foorth two hundred galleys well appointed with men, they neuertheleſſe willingly ſubmitted themſelues vnto the LACEDÆMONIANS. So alledging many other reaſons to this purpoſe, he preuailed ſo much, that the THEBANS inclined to vndertake the enterpriſe by ſea. Thereupon the people gaue preſent order they ſhould build a hundred galleys, and withall an arſenall with ſo many roomes to lay them vnder couert in the docke: and that they ſhould ſend to them of RHODES, of CHIO, and of BYZANCE, to pray them to further them in this enterpriſe. And for this purpoſe *Epaminondas* was ſent with an army vnto theſe cities. So in his courſe he met with *Laches*, a Captaine of the ATHENIANS, and a good number of ſhips in his fleete, ſent of purpoſe to hinder the intention of the THEBANS. Notwithſtanding, *Epaminondas* made him ſo afraid, that he draue him backe againe: and he holding on his voyage, brought the cities before named to make league with the THEBANS, who on the other ſide were at warre with the citie of ORCHOMENE, which had done great hurt and miſchiefe in their eſtate. So they hauing won it by aſſault, they ſlue euery man that was able to beare armes, and moreouer made all the women and children ſlaues.

Some time after *Pelopidas* death, certaine priuate men of MANTINEA, fearing to be called to account for their bad behauiours and robberies they had done, if the ARCADIANS and ELIANS fell to agreement: they practiſed ſo, that they raiſed vp a new quarrell within the countrey deuided into two factions, of the which the MANTINEANS were chiefe of the one ſide, and the TEGEATES on the other part. This quarrell went ſo farre, that the parties would try it by armes. The TEGEATES, they ſent to demaund aide of the THEBANS, who choſe *Epaminondas* their Captaine generall, and ſent him with a good number of men of warre to aide the TEGEATES. The MANTINEANS aſtonied at this aide comming out of BOEOTIA to their enemies, and at the reputation of this Captaine: they immediatly ſent vnto the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, the greateſt enemies of the BOEOTIANS for aide, which both the cities graunted. Whereupon there fell out often and many great skirmiſhes in diuerſe parts of PELOPONNESVS. *Epaminondas* being not farre off MANTINEA, vnderſtood by the ſame country men, that *Ageſilaus* and the LACEDÆMONIANS were come into the field, and that they waſted all the territory of the

TEGEATES. Whereupon imagining ſtraight that there were few men left in the citie of SPARTA to defend it, he went about a great exploit, and a wonderfull ſtratageme of a man of warre: and had brought it to paſſe, if the maruellous great good fortune of SPARTA had not hindred it. So he departed from TEGEA by night, the MANTINEANS knowing nothing of it, and taking another way then *Ageſilaus*, he had taken SPARTA without one ſtroke ſtriken, but for a poſt of CANDIA that with ſpeed brought *Ageſilaus* word of it: who foorthwith ſent out a horſeman to giue them intelligence that were left at SPARTA, that they ſhould beware they were not ſurpriſed vpon the ſudden: and he himſelfe came ſpeedily after, and arriued there a litle before the THEBANS comming thither: who being very neare the city by breake of day, gaue aſſault to them that were within to defend the towne. Then *Ageſilaus* beſtirred him throughly, beyond the power of an old man. But his ſonne *Archidamus*, and *Iſadas* the ſonne of *Phœbidas*, fought valiantly of all parts. *Epaminondas* ſeeing the SPARTANS in order of battell, began then to miſtruſt that his enterpriſe was diſcouered. This notwithſtanding, he left not off to force them all he could, albeit he fought with great diſaduantage for the inconuenience of the places he occupied: and continued alwayes couragiouſly doing and receiuing hurt, vntill the army of the LACEDÆMONIANS came on, and the night alſo: whereupon he made them ſound the retraite. Now he being aduertiſed that the MANTINEANS came on alſo with their forces, he drew his troupes ſomewhat further off the towne, and there camped. After that he cauſed his men to refreſh themſelues with victuals, and hauing left certaine horſemen in the campe, he commanded them to make fires in the morning, and he himſelfe went in the meane ſpace, to ſurpriſe thoſe that remained at MANTINEA before any man wiſt he was gone. Neuertheleſſe he failed of his purpoſe, albeit he had forethought him of all misfortunes that any man poſſible could haue conſidered in ſo waighty a cauſe. But the proſperity of the THEBANS was come to his height, and the courſe of *Epaminondas* life drawing neare to an end, would very ſhortly depriue GRECE of this noble and famous perſon, from whom was taken a moſt notable victorie, and that twiſe, by a moſt ſtraunge accident. For at this ſecond time, when he was neare vnto MANTINEA, left without gard and defence; on the other ſide of the towne there arriued ſix thouſand ATHENIANS, led by their Captaine *Hegelecus*: who hauing put ſufficient force into the towne, he ordered all the reſt in battell without the towne wals, as though he meant to haue fought a field: and immediatly after them came alſo the LACEDÆMONIANS and MANTINEANS together, who prepared themſelues to put all to the hazard of a battell, and therefore ſent for their allies out of all parts. They were in all fiue and twenty thouſand footmen, and two thouſand horſe. The ARCADIANS, BOEOTIANS, and their partakers, made the number of thirty thouſand footmen and aboue, and three thouſand horſe. Firſt, the horſmen charged with ſo great furie as was poſſible, inſomuch as the horſmen of the ATHENIANS finding the THEBANS in front, were the weaker: not becauſe they were leſſe valiant and hardy then the other, but becauſe they had not ſo good leaders, and had few archers among their troupes. The THEBANS on the other ſide they were well appointed, and ſpecially of THESSALIANS amongſt others, men very skilfull in their bowes, who ſo plied the ATHENIANS, that they brake them, and put them all to rout. Yet they did not flie amongſt their footmen, which made them ſomewhat recouer their honour they had loſt by running away, and all becauſe they had not broken the rankes of their allies. On the contrary part, as they fled they met with certaine troupes of ſouldiers of NEGROPONT, whom the ARCADIANS ſent to take in certaine hils hard by the plaine where the battell was fought, and they put them all to the ſword. The men at armes of the THEBANS ſeeing them turne their backes, did not purſue them at all, but gaue charge vpon a great battalion of footmen, forcing them all they could to breake and run through them: ſo the fight was very cruell and ſharpe, but in the end the ATHENIANS left the place. This notwithſtanding, the Colonell of the horſemen of the ELIANS being appointed for the ſafety of the reregard, defended them, and comming to the encounter of the BOEOTIANS he reſiſted them, and made them ſpeedily giue backe: and this reformed the fault againe of the left point of their army. But in the right point, after the horſemen had charged one vpon the other, the fight was ſoone tried. For, by reaſon of the great number of the men at armes of the THEBANS and THESSALIANS, the partakers of the MANTINEANS were preſently put to rout, and after they had loſt a great number of their men, they ſuccoured themſelues about the battalion of their footmen. And this was the ſucceſſe of the fight of the horſemen. As touching the battalions of the

footmen,

footmen, after they came once to the ſword, it was a maruellous bloudie and moſt cruell fight: for neuer before that time was there ſo great a number of GREEKES in battell one againſt the other, nor ſo great Captaines, nor of better fighting and more valiant men. The two nations that at that time bare the name to be the braueſt ſouldiers for footmen of all the world, to wit, the THEBANS, and LACEDÆMONIANS, they were ſet in front in the battell one directly againſt the other. So the firſt began to charge, neither ſparing life nor limme. The firſt charge they gaue was with their pikes, which being broken by force of the great blowes they gaue to each other, then they fought with their ſwords, and laying about them body to body, there was no kind of ſlaſhing and wounding but they both gaue and receiued: and neither part ſhrunke nor gaue ouer, but ſtucke to it manfully. And ſo continuing this dangerous fight a long time, by reaſon of the valiantneſſe of either ſide: the victory ſtood doubtfull a great while, and could hardly be iudged which ſide were like to haue the vpper hand. For euery one that fought had this reſolution in his heart, not to feare death what ſoeuer hapned: but rather deſiring to make proofe of the valour of his perſon, worthily gaue his life in pray, to win honour in exchange. By reaſon whereof, though the fight was moſt ſharpe and violent, the euent of it remained a long ſpace betwixt two irons, not to be diſcerned of whether ſide the victorie ſhould fall. Vntill ſuch time as *Epaminondas* ſeeing that there was no remedy, but that the reſolution of this doubtfull fight depended vpon his owne vertue and valour: he reſolued with himſelfe to venter his life vpon it. So he preſently gathered about him all the beſt and choiſe men of his army, and of them hauing made a company of reſolute men, he ranne with great furie into the greateſt preſſe of all the enemies, marching himſelfe the formeſt man before his troupe, with a ſpeare in his hand, with the which at the firſt blow he gaue, he ſlue the Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, ſtraight way the other began to aſſaile their enemies. But *Epaminondas* killed ſo many in the place with his owne hands, and did ſo terrifie the others, that at the laſt he opened the battell of his enemies, and layed on them ſo luſtily, that they not able any longer to defend themſelues againſt the valorous force of himſelfe and his followers, were enforced to giue backe, and to leaue the place to the BOEOTIANS: who were ſtraight at their heeles, beating and following them ſo eagerly, that in a ſhort ſpace all the field was couered with dead bodies, lying on heapes one vpon another. But in the end, the LACEDÆMONIANS ſeeing they could by no meanes ſaue themſelues, becauſe *Epaminondas* followed them ſo neare (giuen ouer too much to his paſſionate courage) they gathered a troupe together, and running all on heapes they ſet vpon him, throwing infinite number of darts at him, of the which he put by ſome, and receiued others vpon his target, but yet there were many that ſtucke in his body, which he pulled out himſelfe, and with the ſelfe ſame weapons fought with them that had throwne them at him. At the laſt, when he had fought more then a man, and beyond all the force a man could vſe to giue his countrey the victory: a LACONIAN called *Anticrates* thruſt him into the breaſt with a dart with ſuch a force, that the wood brake, and the iron with the tronchion remained in his bodie. Hauing receiued this great wound, he ſuddenly fell downe to the ground: but then was there a more cruell fight about him then before, with great ſlaughter of both ſides: vntill that the THEBANS, which had much ſtronger bodies then the LACEDÆMONIANS, made them flie for life, and after they had followed them a litle way, they returned againe to the campe where the battell was fought, to the end they might haue the dead bodies in their power, and ſo the whole victory. Thereupon they ſounded the retraite, and thus the battell ceaſed, for the which both of them ſet vp tokens of triumph, either ſide pretending they had the better. For the ATHENIANS hauing ouerthrowne thoſe of NEGROPONT and their adherents which were ſent to take the hils of that plaine: they kept the bodies in their power. The THEBANS on the other ſide hauing ouercome the SPARTANS, had the bodies of thoſe that were dead in that battell in their power, being the farre greater number alſo: wherefore they ſayd that they were victours. So ſtanding in theſe termes, it was a good while before they ſent trompeter or herauld the one to the other, to burie their dead: vntill that the LACEDÆMONIANS ſent firſt of all, and then they all tooke their dead bodies and buried them. And furthermore, he that had killed *Epaminondas* was ſo wel thought of, & highly eſteemed for this valiant act of his, for the great feare all the SPARTANS had had of *Epaminondas* in time paſt: that they gaue him many great preſents and honours, and beſides, made thoſe that came after him free from all publicke charges and contributions in the common wealth. And *Plutarch* alſo ſayd, that in his time one *Callicrates*, a nephew of *Anticrates*

aboue named, did then enioy that freedome. Touching *Epaminondas*, he was brought yet aliue into his tent: howbeit the phiſitions and ſurgeons being called together to dreſſe him, they all agreed, that ſo ſoone as euer they pulled out the head and ſplent of the dart out of his body, he muſt needs dye. So he made a moſt worthie and noble end of his life: for firſt he called for his target-bearer, who was alwayes at his hand in battell, and asked him, Is my target ſafe? He brought it ſtraight to ſhew it him. Then he asked who had the victory? The BOEOTIANS, ſaid the target-bearer. Then he commanded they ſhould bring him *Diophantus* and *Iolidas*: but being told they were both dead, he willed his citizens to make peace with their enemies, for that now they had no more Captaines of skill to leade them to the warres. Adding further to that aboue ſpoken, It is now time I dye, and ſo commanded them to plucke this ſpell of the dart out of his body. At that word all his friends about him fetched grieuous ſighes and cried out: and one of them weeping, ſayd vnto him: Alas *Epaminondas*, thou dieſt now, and leaueſt no children behind thee. No that I do not, ſayd he: but I leaue two faire daughters behind me, whereof the one is the victory of LEVCTRES, and the other that of MANTINEA. Immediatly they pulled out the ſpell of the dart, and at that inſtant he gaue vp the ghoſt, without ſhewing any ſigne or token that he was troubled in his mind. And thus did he embrace that bleſſed death: that fortuning vnto him which he often had in his mouth: that warre is the bed of honour, and alſo that it is a ſweete death to dye for his countrey. Now may we well ſee, that he excelled all the Captaines that euer were before him, did accompany, or follow him. For whoſoeuer would compare all their vertues, with the deeds and glory of *Epaminondas*, he ſhall ſee that the vertue of him was more noble and excellent, then any of theirs. For in them will appeare at the firſt ſight ſome ſpeciall thing more eminent then all the reſt, which hath made their fame great and glorious: but in this man onely were ioyned together all the vertues and good parts that could be wiſhed for in a graue, politicke, and a great Captaine, to make him perfect and complete in all things. For in the liberall ſciences, in experience, ripe vnderſtanding, force of eloquence, ſtrength of body, diſpoſition of his perſon, in height and greatneſſe of courage, in temperance, wiſedome, watching, ſweetneſſe and courteſie: and moreouer in hardineſſe, proweſſe, good iudgement, and ſufficiencie in militarie diſcipline: I know not where there is to be found ſo complete a man. For my opinion, I compare *Epaminondas* to himſelfe. Alſo in his time he wan to his countrey by force of armes, the principalitie of GRECE: but after his death his citizens loſt it immediatly, and fell daily to decay: that at the laſt *Alexander* the great vtterly ouercame them, made them that were aliue ſlaues, and deſtroyed their citie to the very ground. To conclude, before, and after *Epaminondas*, THEBES was vnder foote, and yet commanded all others whiles he ſtood on his feete. And ſo we muſt conclude, that THEBES was vtterly ouerthrowne in the battell of MANTINEA, and that *Epaminondas* at that time wan an immortall glorie. And as in his life time he had caried himſelfe modeſtly, and alwaies deteſted couetouſneſſe: ſo after his deceaſe the THEBANS brought him to his graue at the common charge of the towne, becauſe they found no money in his houſe to defray the leaſt charges of his funerall.

The end of Epaminondas life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Philip of Macedon.

Philip : that wiſedome booteth not at all,
Which ſcorning iuſtice, hopes to climbe on high.
Let Princes that behold thy ſudden fall,
Loue right and meekneſſe, leaſt like thee they dye.

Myntas, the ſecond of that name, and ſeuenteenth King of MACEDON, of the race of *Temenides* or *Caranides*, deſcended from *Hercules*, and that reigned foure hundred and ninetie eight yeares, reckoning from *Caranus* vnto *Antipater*, in whom began another race: he had three ſonnes by his firſt wife called *Eurydice*, borne in ILLYRIA: to wit, *Alexander*, *Perdiccas*, and *Philip*. *Alexander* hauing ſucceded his father, raigned but one yeare, during which time he made warre with his baſe brother *Ptolomæus Alorites*. But to appeaſe the ſtrife betwixt them, they ſent for *Pelopidas*, who was at that time in THESSALIE. He tooke vp all their quarrels, reſtored thoſe that were baniſhed vnto their houſes, and (becauſe this peace ſhould be more ſurely kept) he tooke of them for hoſtages, *Philip*, and thirty other of the nobleſt mens ſonnes in MACEDON, and brought them all away with him to THEBES. Now during the time that *Perdiccas* raigned, which was the ſpace of fiue yeares, *Philip* kept at *Pammenes* houſe, with whom *Epaminondas* was very great: & hereof it came, that ſome thought *Philip* was a hearer of *Lyſis Epaminondas* ſchoolemaiſter, and that they conferred together in Philoſophy. Howbeit *Epaminondas* was then much older then he, & ſurely it can hardly be that they were ſcholers together: except they will ſay that *Epaminondas* continuing all his life time to profit by the ſtudy of wiſedom, made *Philip* deſirous to heare him ſometime, and to follow him alſo. And it may be well inough alſo that he had learned of *Epaminondas* to be ſo quicke and ſudden of execution in the warres, as he was: which was but one of the leaſt parts of *Epaminondas* vertues. But as for his continency, iuſtice, magnanimitie, and clemency, which were the parts that in truth made him great: *Philip*, neither by nature, nor by education, nor by ſtudy, euer attained vnto it: for all this, he wanted not great gifts of body & mind, as ſhall appeare in the diſcourſe of his life: and as *Theophraſtus* teſtifieth, he was greater then any other of the kings of MACEDON, not onely in proſperity of fortune, but alſo in wiſdome, bounty, and moderation of manners. So it came to paſſe that *Alexander*, notwithſtanding the accord *Pelopidas* had made, was

traiterouſly killed by *Ptolomy* ſurnamed *Alorites*, who vſurped the kingdome, and was ſlaine himſelfe by *Perdiccas*: who after he had bene ouercome in a great battell by the SLAVONS, in the which he was ſlaine: *Philip* which was the laſt of the three brethren, ſtealing away from the place where he was in oſtage, fled into MACEDON, and came to ſucceed in the kingdome, the which he found in great trouble. For there were ſlaine at the laſt battell aboue foure thouſand MACEDONIANS, and thoſe that eſcaped were ſo beaten and aſtonied with blowes, that they thought of nothing leſſe then to take armes againſt the SLAVONS. On the other ſide the HVNGARIANS made inrodes into MACEDON, and the SLAVONS muſtered againe to returne thither. There was one *Pauſanias* alſo that aſpired to the kingdome, by the ſupport of the king of THRACIA. And the ATHENIANS alſo, they would eſtabliſh one called *Argæus*, and to this end ſent a great fleet by ſea, and three thouſand footmen well armed by land, led by *Mantias*. *Philip* taking heart to him in theſe rude beginnings, began to embolden the MACEDONIANS by wiſe perſwaſions: he reeſtabliſhed militarie diſcipline, furniſhed his ſouldiers very well, making them arme themſelues, and gaue order they ſhould be continually trained and exerciſed. It was he that amongſt other things deuiſed how to cloſe his footmen, and that framed the ſquare battell, which euer ſince was called the MACEDONIAN Phalange. He was very gracious in his words, and by his promiſes and gifts he wan the hearts and goodwill of his ſubiects.

Now finding himſelfe ſtrong, although he was yet but young of yeares, he reſolued to make head againſt all his enemies, yet not by open force, but where there was need: being alwaies of this mind, to buy time and men as much as he could poſſible. So perceiuing that the ATHENIANS did their vttermoſt indeuor to win the citie of AMPHIPOLIS againe, and that by this means they ſought to bring the kingdome of MACEDON into the hands of *Argæus*: he made them leaue it, and thruſt out their garriſons. As for the PANNONIANS (others reade PÆONIANS) or HVNGARIANS hauing ſent ambaſſadours to them, he corrupted ſome with money, and wan others by faire promiſes: inſomuch that they were all contented to liue in peace with him. And by the ſame meanes he brake the hope of *Pauſanias*, hauing by preſents gained the king of THRACIA that aided him. And for the regard of *Mantias* captaine of the ATHENIANS, he marched with his armie vnto the citie of METHONA: but he remained there, and ſent *Argæus* with the ſouldiers ſtraungers whom they had brought with them, vnto the citie of ÆGES. *Argæus* approching neare the towne with his troupe, ſent to feele the inhabitants, if they would receiue him, and be the firſt that ſhould be cauſe of his entrie into the poſſeſſion of the kingdome of MACEDON. But perceiuing they cared not for him, he returned againe. *Philip* that followed him hard at his heeles gaue him battell, killed the moſt part of his men, and draue the reſt vnto a litle mountaine, where he did beſiege them ſo ſtraightly, that they were forced to deliuer him all the baniſhed men of MACEDON amongſt them: whereupon he let them go their liues and goods ſaued. This firſt victorie of *Philip* put the MACEDONIANS againe in heart, and made them bold to enterpriſe any thing afterwards. Hereupon he made peace with the ATHENIANS, and vnderſtanding that the king of HVNGARIE was dead, he entred into their countrie with a maine armie, ouercame them in battell, and made them ſubiect vnto him. Of all his enemies there were left none but the SLAVONIANS, whom he went to aſſaile with ten thouſand footmen, and ſixe hundred horſe. But ſince they could not agree together, *Bardyllis* their king truſting in the victories he had gotten before time of the MACEDONIANS, and in the valiantneſſe of his SLAVONS, he came into the field, and preſented battell. The which hauing bene fought a long time, *Philip* behaued himſelfe ſo valiantly with his men of armes the MACEDONIANS, that he ouerthrew the SLAVONS, leauing ſeuen thouſand of them dead on the ground: and the reſt eſcaped by flying away. Shortly after they were agreed together, and reſtored to *Philip* all the places they held pertaining vnto MACEDON. Now the AMPHIPOLITANS had of long time borne *Philip* euill will, and whilſt he was occupied in other places, they did him many inuries: wherefore he determined to make a ſharpe warre vpon them. He hauing beſieged them with a puiſſant armie, and hauing brought his engines of warre hard to their wals, he beat them with ſuch furie, that he made a ſufficient breach, and entred the towne by force: out of the which he draue thoſe afterwards that were his enemies, and very courteouſly vſed and intreated the reſt. This towne being ſeated in a very commodious place, vpon the frontiers of THRACIA, and of the countries neare adioyning thereto: ſtood him afterwards in great ſtead for the furtherance and increaſe of his greatneſſe. For by meanes of that he preſently had

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the citie of PYDNE, and made league with the OLYNTHIANS, of great power at that time: by reaſon whereof he and the ATHENIANS, enuying one the other, they both practiſed to winne them. But *Philip* hauing wonne POTIDEA, draue out the garriſon of the ATHENIANS and vſed them very honeſtly: for he ſent them home to their houſes their liues and goods ſaued, not becauſe he loued the people of ATHENS, but for that he feared the power of their citie. After he had taken in the citie of PYDNE, he gaue it to the OLYNTHIANS, with all the territorie belonging vnto it. Then he returned to CRENIDES, the which he hauing augmented with a great number of inhabitants, he changed the firſt name of it, and called it by his owne name, PHILIPPI. Within that territorie he had mynes of gold, the which he opened and digged ſo diligently, that he drew out yearely new made, about the ſumme of ſixe hundred thouſand crowns. By this means in a ſhort time he gathered together a great treaſure, and daily the kingdome of MACEDON grew great, becauſe it had one of the chiefeſt ſinewes and props of warre. So he coined a number of peeces of gold called *Philippus*, wherewith he waged a great number of men, and bribed many priuate GREEKES: who afterwards ſold him for ready mony the townes of their countrie, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. In all this buſineſſe, *Alexander* the tyrant of PHERES in THESSALIE, hauing bene ſlaine by his wife *Thebe*, and by her brethren called *Lycophron*, and *Tiſiphonus*, at the firſt they were honoured as men that had deliuered their countrey of a cruell tyrannie: but very ſhortly after, theſe two men chaunging their minds, by money wan the ſouldiers whom *Alexander* kept for the guard of his perſon, and put themſelues in his place whom they had killed, putting many citizens to death that withſtood their enterpriſe: and hauing gathered together a great number of ſouldiers, they made themſelues Lords of PHERES. The ALLEVADES, men of authoritie and greatly followed in the countrie for the auncient nobilitie of their houſe, would haue oppoſed themſelues againſt this new tyranny. But finding themſelues to be too weak, they made meanes to *Philip*: who entring into THESSALIE with his armie, ouercame the two tyrants, and ſetting the townes at liberty which theſe tyrants held in ſubiection, he ſhewed great loue and fauour to the THESSALIANS. By which occaſion, in all his conqueſts he obtained afterwards, he found the THESSALIANS alwaies readie to do him ſeruice, and to aide him in all his affaires, and not himſelfe alone, but alſo his ſonne *Alexander*. But the greatneſſe of *Philip* grieued his neighbours, inſomuch as the kings of THRACIA, HVNGARIA, and SLAVONIA, not being ſtrong enough of themſelues, they ioyned forces together to make warre vpon him, and to be reuenged. Whileſt they were preparing to ioyne their forces, *Philip* went before, and compelled them to do what he would.

About this time, to wit, in the laſt yeare of the hundred and fifth Olympiade, fifteene years after the battell of MANTINEA, the holy warre began amongſt the GREEKES, which continued ten yeares ſpace: and this was the occaſion. The THEBANS not being contented with the victorie they obtained at the battell of LEVCTRES, framed a complaint againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS in the aſſembly of the Eſtates of GREECE, which they call the councell of the *Amphictyons*: and followed the matter ſo hard, that the LACEDÆMONIANS were condemned in a great ſumme of money, becauſe they had in time of peace ſurpriſed the caſtell of CADMEA. The PHOCIANS alſo, they hauing plowed vp a great deale of a certaine land ſacred to the gods, called the land of CIRRHE, were condemned by the *Amphictyons* in a great ſum of money: and becauſe they would not pay it, the councell pronounced, without longer delay and refuſall, all their townes and lands to be confiſcated to the gods: & that all other which were cõdemned (of which number were the LACEDÆMONIANS) ſhould be compelled to pay their fines, and if they refuſed, they ſhould be taken for excommunicate, and the other GREEKES ſhould make warre with them as againſt accurſed and execrable men. *Philomelus*, a man of great authoritie among the PHOCIANS, did ſo much, that he perſwaded them not to pay it, but contrariwiſe to defend their countrey with armes, and to win DELPHES: Whereunto they giuing their conſents, he gathered together a great armie, and in deſpite of all hindrances made himſelfe maiſter of DELPHES: cut aſunder with ſheares the decrees made by the *Amphictyons* engrauen vpon marble pillars: poſſeſt all the gold and ſiluer that was in the temple: and afterwards rendred a reaſon of his fact, and prepared himſelfe to make warre againſt the THEBANS, THESSALIANS, and LOCRIANS, and wanne three great battels of them. But being ouercome at the fourth battell, he threw himſelfe downe off a high rocke. In the meane ſpace, *Cerſobleptes*, the ſonne of *Clotis* king of THRACIA, hauing rendred vp to the ATHENIANS the townes of CHERRONESVS, partly for the good will he

bare the ATHENIANS, and partly for the hatred he had to *Philip*: the people of ATHENS ſent inhabitants thither to keepe and defend the townes. *Philip* perceiuing that thoſe of METHONE lent out their towne to all them that would make war againſt him, went and laid ſiege before it. They that were beſieged, did valiantly defend it for a time: but in the end finding themſelues too weak to make reſiſtance, they yeelded vpon condition, that the inhabitants ſhould go out euery man with one only gowne. Aſſoone as euer *Philip* had the towne in his hands, he razed it euen to the hard ground, & gaue the country all about vnto the MACEDONIANS. At this ſiege he was wounded with an arrow, that put out one of his eyes. Afterwards he led his army alſo at the inſtance of the THESSALIANS, into the country againſt *Lycophron*, that began againe to tyrannize thoſe of PHERES: who hauing demanded aide of the PHOCIANS, they ſent thither *Phayllus* with 7000. fighting men, whom *Philip* ouercame, and draue them out of THESSALY. Then *Onomarchus* that ſucceeded *Philomelus* in the charge of general, hoping to haue won THESSALY, made great ſpeed thither with all his army, vnder colour to bring aide vnto *Lycophron*. *Philip* went againſt him with the THESSALIANS, but becauſe *Onomarchus* had the greater number of men, he ouerthrew him, and killed many of the MACEDONIANS, inſomuch that *Philip* himſelfe was in great danger. For his men alſo were ſo afraid, that they would haue forſaken him, & he had much trouble to keepe them together: and in the end was conſtrained to retire home into his kingdome. *Onomarchus* departing from thence, entred into the country of BOEOTIA, ouercame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and tooke the city of CORONEA. But *Philip* returned immediatly with a great force into THESSALY, to driue out *Lycophron*: who hauing called in the PHOCIANS, *Onomarchus* returned thither, followed with 20. thouſand footmen, and fiue hundred horſe. Hereupon *Philip* perſwaded the commons of THESSALY, that they muſt all together vndertake this warre. And he could ſo well ſolicite them, that he aſſembled in one campe twenty thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſe. Then was there fought a moſt cruell battell, whereof the victory fell to *Philip* through the valiantneſſe of his THESSALIAN men of armes. For *Onomarchus* and his men, they fled on foot towards the ſea, where was by chance *Chares* the ATHENIAN Captaine ſailing all alongſt the coaſt with certaine gallies. There was great ſlaughter of the PHOCIANS there followed by the victors. Others to flie with more ſpeed, threw downe their armes, and leapt into the ſea, by ſwimming to get to the gallies of the ATHENIANS. There were ſlaine in battell and flight as well of naturall PHOCIANS, as of ſtrangers that came for pay, aboue 6000. men, & there were taken priſoners to the number of 3000. *Onomarchus* that was one of them, was hanged, and all the other drowned as ſacrilegers, by the cõmandement of *Philip*: vnto whom *Lycophron* yeelded the towne of PHERES, & ſo retired out of THESSALY, which by this means was ſet at liberty.

As for *Philip*, he marched with his army towards the way of THERMOPYLES, to make war with the PHOCIANS, within PHOCIDE it ſelfe: but the ATHENIANS ſtopped his paſſage. Wherfore he was conſtrained to returne backe into MACEDON, where he ſtaid not long at reſt, but determined to bring the townes of CHALCIDE in ſubiection to him. So he took by aſſault a fort called Gyre, the which he razed. But this was ſuch a terror to the other ſmall townes, that they put themſelues vnder his obedience. Paſſing from thence into THESSALY, he draue away *Pytholaus* that had made himſelfe maiſter of PHERES. And intending to bring the townes of HELLESPONT vnder his ſubiection, he tooke in without paine or daunger (rather by treaſon) the townes of MICYBERNE, and of TORONE. Afterwards he went with a great army againſt the city of OLYNTHE, the greateſt & of moſt power that was in that marches: where firſt he ouercame the OLYNTHIANS in two great fights, ſo that he made them leaue the field, & ſhut them in within their owne town, vnto the which he gaue many aſſaults, and loſt a great number of his men there. But hauing with great ſums of mony corrupted *Euthicrates* & *Laſthenes* gouernors of the towne, at the length he had it by treaſon: and hauing ſacked it, he ſold the townſmen for ſlaues by the drum. The taking of this towne brought him a great quantity of ſiluer to helpe to defray the charges of his war, and did alſo make the other towns afraid, which had taken armes to reſiſt him. Now after he had beſtowed many rich preſents vpon his captaines and ſouldiers, that had done him good ſeruice in this warre, he gaue alſo all about great ſums of mony to the heads of the towns, and found merchants alſo among them that ſold him their owne countrey and fellow citizens. Inſomuch that he himſelfe confeſſed he had enlarged his kingdome more through gold and ſiluer, then he did by force of armes: according to an anſwer that was made him, when he began firſt to put himſelfe forward: for being deſirous to know how he ſhould carie himſelfe, the oracle anſwered:

With ſiluer ſpeares begin and end thy war,
So ſhalt thou topſie turuy turne all things what ere they are.

Now the ATHENIANS being iealous of his greatneſſe, did euer helpe them whom he would hurt, and ſent Ambaſſadours to all the cities to perſwade them to maintaine and preſerue their libertie, and to put their towneſ-men to death whom they found willing to betray the Commonwealth: promiſing them to aide them all, and declared themſelues open enemies vnto *Philip*. He that ſet them moſt againſt him, was *Demoſthenes*: the moſt eloquent man of all GREECE at that time, and that did more trouble and hurt *Philip* with the blowes of his toung, and his continuall motions then all the Captaines of GREECE did him beſides. All this notwithſtanding, with all the diligence and labour ATHENS could vſe, they could neuer bridle the wicked diſpoſition of ſome priuate perſons, but they ſtill ſought to ſell their countrey: for he that bought, ſowed ſiluer without any ſpare, and there were a great number of traitours at that time through all GREECE. And touching this purpoſe, they ſay, that he being deſirous to winne a very ſtrong hold, he ſent ſome men before to view it: who returning, reported that it was vnpoſſible almoſt to approach it, and did by deſcription ſet it downe in all points impregnable. Then he asked them if the place were ſo hard to come to, that a poore Aſſe laden with gold could not come neare it: for he had oftentimes with ſiluer very eaſily wonne that which otherwiſe was not to be had by force of armes. And this was the cauſe that he practiſed to haue traitours in euery towne by gifts and penſions, calling them that receiued him his hoſtes and friends, corrupting mens manners beſides by vnworthie and diſhoneſt meanes. As after that he had wonne OLYNTHE, he made ſumptuous and magnificent ſacrifices to his gods, to thanke them for the victorie they had giuen him: and ſo hauing ſet downe a day of triumph for tilting and tourneying, and common ſports: thither repaired a great number of ſtraungers that came to ſee the feaſt. So keeping open court, he inuited many of theſe ſtraungers to come to his ſumptuous feaſtes he made, and in them he ſhewed all the familiaritie and courteſie that might be to entertaine them. For he dranke to ſome, and then gaue them the cups wherin he dranke to them: to others he gaue great preſents, and vnto all generally he gaue good words, and large promiſes: inſomuch that many ſought how to obtaine his loue and fauour. So it is reported, that one day at a banquet he eſpied *Satyrus*, an excellent Comedian and player, that he was very ſad: and that he asked him why he did not craue ſome thing of him, that he might ſhew his liberalitie vnto him. *Satyrus* anſwered him againe, that he would be glad to obtaine a ſute at his hands, but he durſt not aske it him, being afraid he ſhould be denyed. *Philip* liked his anſwer well, and bad him aske boldly. Then he told him, that a friend of his had two daughters among others priſoners, both of them mariageable, and beſought him that he would beſtow them vpon him: not for any other pleaſure or profite he ſhould haue of them, but becauſe he would marie them both at his owne charge, before they ſhould be forced to their diſhonour. *Philip* thanked him for his honeſt petition, and preſently cauſed theſe two maides to be deliuered vnto him. Thus he beſtowed many ſuch courteſies euery where, whereof he made his profite afterwards with great vſurie. For a number being drawne by the ſent and odour of ſo many good turnes, ſtudied with themſelues, enuying one another, which of them might do him beſt ſeruice, and find out moſt meanes to deliuer townes and countries into his hands.

But now to returne againe to that we had begun to ſpeake of the holy warre. The PHOCIANS that had three very ſtrong holds in BOEOTIA, to wit, ORCHOMENE, CORONEE, and CORSIES, did ordinarily from thence make incurſions into the country of the BOEOTIANS with great number of ſouldiers ſtraungers whom they kept in pay, and did burne and lay waſt all the territorie thereabouts, and euer had the vpper hand in all their inrodes and skirmiſhes they had with the countrimen. Vpon this occaſion the BOEOTIANS being weake of men, and wanting money, ſent in the end to demaund aide of *Philip*: who was not a litle glad to ſee them brought ſo low, for he deſired their pride might be pulled downe, which had lift them vp ſo high ſince the battell of LEVCTRES. So he ſent them a good number of ſouldiers, not for any deſire he had to aide them, but to make them thinke that he made great account of the temple of DELPHES, which the PHOCIANS had ſpoiled. After diuers exploits of warre, the one ſide and the other ſeeing themſelues wearie and bare, the BOEOTIANS prayed *Philip* to come and aide them: which he graunted them, and taking a ſupply of THESSALIANS with him, he came to LOCRIDE with a good armie, and put himſelfe in order to end this warre at one battell. But *Phallecus* Generall

of the PHOCIANS, finding himselfe not strong enough to fight with him, sent vnto him to treat a peace: so he was suffered to go safely with his men whither he would. Whereupon vnder the assurance of this peace, he retired with eight thousand men into PELOPONNESVS. The PHOCIANS then left without all hope, yeelded themselues to *Philips* discretion. Thus hauing ended this holy war without stroke striken, beyond all mens opinion, he called a councell of the BOEOTIANS and THESSALIANS: in the which it was determined that there should be an assembly of parliament of the *Amphictyons*, vnto whom they would wholly referre themselues for deciding of this matter. Whereupon the Commissioners for the parliament of the *Amphictyons* were assembled, and there among other actes it was ordained, that from thencefoorth it should be lawfull for *Philip* and all of his race to sit in this councell of the *Amphictyons*, and that they should haue the two voyces which the PHOCIANS (by him lately conquered) had before. Also, that he and his thencefoorth should haue the gouernment and superintendancie of the sports PYTHIANS, with the BOEOTIANS and THESSALIANS. Because the CORINTHIANS had bene partakers with the sacriledge of the PHOCIANS. The rest of their decrees concerned those of PHOCIDE, the safetie of the temple of DELPHES, and the vnion of the GREEKES. *Philip* hauing broken vp the armories of the PHOCIANS and of the straungers that had fought in their pay, he defaced their townes, and made them sell their horses. After he had receiued of the *Amphictyons* the greatest honour and thankes they could deuise, he returned into his realme of MACEDON, hauing wonne him the name of a deuout and valiant Prince, and layed the foundations of the greatnesse vnto the which his sonne *Alexander* came afterwards. For he singularly desired to be chosen Captaine generall of all GREECE, with full power and authoritie to make warre with the king of PERSIA, as he did. Furthermore, the hereditarie quarrels he had against the SLAVONS, being as irreconciliable, he entred with his armie into SLAVONIA, where hauing spoiled a great part of that countrie, and taken many townes, he returned backe into MACEDON laden with bootie. After that he went into THESSALIE, and draue out the tyrants there, which held the townes in subiection. By this meanes he wanne the hearts of the THESSALIANS, whom indeed he had great care to vse well, hoping that if the THESSALIANS remained his faithfull friends, he should easily gaine the other GREEKES to desire his friendship, and so it happened: for the people neighbours to THESSALY, did presently enter into league with him. Soone after that, he led his army into THRACIA to represse *Cersobleptes*, who troubled all the townes of HELLESPONT next adioyning to his realme. When he had beaten the THRACIANS in diuers encounters, he compelled the vanquished to pay yearely vnto the MACEDONIANS, the tenth part of their reuenues, and fortifying a few good townes in the best parts of the countrie, he bridled the boldnesse of these barbarous people: whereupon the townes within those marches being deliuered from warres, they very willingly entred into league and alliance with *Philip*.

Thus waxing greater euery day then other, he led his armie before the city of PERINTH, because that stood against him, and tooke part with the ATHENIANS. So he laid siege vnto it, and brought his engines of battery before it, among the which there were rams of 80. foot long, and built vp towers of wood higher then the highest towers of stone that were within the towne: vpon the top whereof he maruellously annoyed the besieged: and battering the wals with these rammes, he made them fall downe in diuers places. The PERINTHIANS on the other side very lustily defended themselues, and reared vp other wals within, in place of them that were fallen down. He plyed them continually with wonderfull assaults, the assailants and assailed shewing all their possible force and endeuour. Now *Philip* had great Crossebowes and other engines of all sorts to kill farre off, great arrowes long and sharpe at the end, which did wound those that came to the cranewes of the walles, and those that were besieged lost many of their men euery day. But at the length, they were supplied with armes and men whom the BYZANTINES sent vnto them: whereupon equalling their enemies, they beganne to be couragious againe, and resolutely offered themselues vnto any daunger for defence of their countrey. For all this, the batterie begun discontinued not, and *Philip* deuiding his men into diuers troups gaue them many assaults, continued by turnes one in the necke of another night and day. Which he might easily do, considering he had thirtie thousand fighting men in his campe, with an inestimable number of missile weapons, with engines to bestow great shot a farre off, and of all sorts of engines to beate downe townes, with the which he wonderfully plagued and hurt the besieged. Neuertheless, the siege drew on in length, and many of the townes men died, besides

those

thoſe that were hurt and wounded: and becauſe that victuals alſo waxed ſcant amongſt them: ſo that they hourely looked for no other thing, but to take PERINTH. But it fell out cleane contrarie: for the fame of *Philips* greatneſſe being blowne abroad throughout all ASIA, the king of PERSIA being affrayed of ſuch a power, writ vnto his Lieutenants vpon the ſea coaſtes, that they ſhould aide the PERINTHIANS all they could poſſible. Thereupon his Satrapes hauing conſulted of this matter together, ſent vnto the beſieged a great ſupply of men of warre, ſtore of gold and ſiluer, plentie of corne, of armes, and of all other neceſſarie prouiſions for the warres. The BYZANTINES on the other ſide ſent them the beſt experienced Captaines and ſouldiers they had. By this meanes the two forces of the beſiegers and the beſieged being equall of new againe, the warre began to be hotter then before. For *Philip* beating at the walles without ceaſe with his rammes, made very great breaches, and with his engines to ſhoot farre off, kept them that none durſt ſtay at the cranewes of the walles: and at one inſtant made his men to giue an aſſault at the breaches of the walles throwne downe, and cauſed others to ſcale the walles that were yet ſtanding whole, and ſo fighting with their ſwords, many were ſlaine in the place, and others ſore wounded, both valiantly fighting for the reward and honour of victorie. The MACEDONIANS hoped to haue the ſacke of a rich and wealthie citie, and more then that, to haue goodly preſents of the king. They that were beſieged on the other ſide, ſetting before them all the calamities and miſeries of the taking of a citie, did luſtily endure any paines and daunger to preuent ſo great a miſchiefe. Beſides that, the ſituation of the towne was a great helpe vnto them, not onely to hope well, but alſo that in the end they ſhould be maiſters. For the towne of PERINTH ſtood all vpon the ſea ſide, vpon a hauen of halfe an Iſland that ſtood of a great height, and this hauen was about halfe a quarter of a league long. The houſes there were very narrow and high, and becauſe they ſtood high vpon the hanging of the coaſt, all the towne being vnderneath it on the ground, they were built much higher then thoſe that ſtood beneath: ſo to ſee them aboue, they ſhewed like the degrees of ſeates in a Theater. And although that they without did ſtill beate downe ſome part of the wall: that vantaged them nothing for all that. For thoſe within did nothing elſe but mure vp the entrance into the ſtreetes which were narrow, and they alwaies defended themſelues making rampers before the low houſes, as if they had bene the beſt wals in the world.

So *Philip* hauing gotten the outward walles of the towne, with all the troubles and daungers poſſible: he found other walles readie built ſtronger then the other, as if they had bene done of purpoſe, beſides that the BYZANTINES did alwaies furniſh them with any thing they wanted. *Philip* conſidering this, deuided his army into two, and left the halfe of them to continue the ſiege, vnder the charge of the beſt captaines he had: and taking with him the other halfe, he went to beſiege BYZANCE it ſelfe, and gaue it a moſt braue aſſault: wherat the BYZANTINES were amazed, becauſe their ſouldiers, their armes, and all other their neceſſarie prouiſions for warre were in the citie of PERINTH. But the ATHENIANS ſent them immediatly an army by ſea to aide them, as alſo thoſe did of CHIO, of RHODES, and out of other places. *Chares* went thither ſent by the ATHENIANS, but he did nothing of worth, nor worthy of the fleet he brought thither: becauſe he was ſuſpected of his friends, and deſpiſed of his enemies. So that they ſent *Phocion* thither, who before that time had fought brauely with *Philip* in the Ile of EVBOEA, (which he thought to haue won by means of traitours) had ouercome the MACEDONIANS in battel, and had done many other notable exploits. Howbeit after his departure, *Philip* being the ſtronger, departing from thence came to beſiege PERINTH, and after that BYZANCE, into the which *Phocion* entred with his troupes: who did ſo valiantly in all fights and aſſaults, that *Philip* (who before that time was thought ſo terrible in armes that none could reſiſt him, neither durſt any man preſent himſelfe in battell againſt him) roſe from beſieging of PERINTH, and retired from BYZANCE and out of HELLESPONT, and did nothing but loſt much of his reputation. For, beſides the men that were killed at theſe two ſieges, he loſt ſome of his ſhippes, and many ſtrong holds, out of the which his garriſons were throwne, and his friends forraged by the ATHENIANS. This was the cauſe why he offered articles of peace, fearing the forces of the ATHENIANS, deſirous to forward his affaires ſome other way, or rather to meddle no more with them. *Phocion* counſelled the ATHENIANS to hearken vnto it, and to accept the conditions vnto the which *Philip* ſubmitted himſelfe. But the Counſellers (eſpecially *Demoſthenes*) that bare the ſway at that time, moued the ATHENIANS to a new league, the which *Demoſthenes* prepared againſt *Philip*: who

bethinking himselfe, determined to employ all his meanes to subdue the cities all at once, to the end that he might afterwards passe further. So he leauied an armie with great speed, and hauing ouercome certaine troupes of the townes in league together neare vnto AMPHISE, he marched into the countrey of ELATIA, and afterwards wan PHOCIDE, and being lift vp with such prosperous beginnings, he resolued to go to ATHENS. Whereof the ATHENIANS hauing intelligence, they were straight in armes euery where, the people being so amazed, that none durst be so bold as to speake, and they knew not what to do. They reiected the wise counsell of *Phocion*, of which *Demosthenes* was the cause. Wherefore to repaire his fault, he stepped out and counselled the ATHENIANS to seeke the friendship of the THEBANS. So thereupon they sent him to put it in practise, and happily he obtained it, notwithstanding all *Philips* oppositions to the contrarie: who being astonied more then before with these crosses, which the eloquence of one man did against him: he sent againe to offer the GREEKES peace. But they kept themselues close, and made straunge of it, expecting the euent of all this great tempest: not being disposed at that time to hearken to pacification. But as if the time of their bondage had bene at the gate, they refused all conditions, yea contemned the very oracles of DELPHES, and *Demosthenes* had it often in his mouth, that the Propheteesse did Philippizate, to wit, fauoured *Philips* affaires. These oracles threatned both the one and the other, and especially the GREEKES. Now *Philip*, though he saw he was deceiued of the friendship of the BOEOTIANS, yet he resolued to fight with the one and the other. Therefore keeping his campe certaine daies, looking for the forces of his friends that were not yet come vnto him: he entred into BOEOTIA, with thirty thousand footmen, and about two thousand horse. So both campes being ready to giue charge vpon each other, they both had like courage and resolution to do well. But as touching the number of men, and skilfulnesse of Captains, *Philip* did passe them farre: for hauing done in many places so many worthie exploits of armes, he was become very expert in militarie discipline. To the contrarie, on the ATHENIANS side, their best captaines, as *Iphicrates Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, were dead. *Phocion* also, he neuer thought well of this warre: and the factious, they had hindred the best they could that he should haue no charge. Then was there but *Chares* and *Lysicles*, that were too weake to take such a great charge vpon them, and were much inferiour to many of the Captaines *Philip* had then with him.

The day being broken, and both armies set in battell the one against the other in the plaine of CHÆRONEA: *Philip* placed his sonne *Alexander*, comming but newly out of his infancie, in one of the points of his armie, attended vpon by the best captaines he had: and he placed himselfe in the other point, with the valiantest men in his armie, giuing order and direction in all things according to time and place. The ATHENIANS, hauing taken one of the points of their battell, left the other vnto the BOEOTIANS. So the fight began very sharply, & many were slain on both sides, and it could not be discerned yet whether side had best occasion to hope of victory: vntill that *Alexander* at the length, desirous to make his father see some proofe of his valor, and many other valiant men seeing the courage of this young Prince following him, they with him brake into the battell of the enemies, and there was a maruellous cruell slaughter. *Philip* on his side also giuing charge vpon the greatest presse and multitude of his enemies, not enduring that any should take the honor from him, no not his owne sonne: set vpon them so fiercely that withstood him, that he put them out of order, and made them flie for life. There died in this battell aboue a thousand ATHNIANS, and there were taken prisoners to the number of two thousand. And of the BOEOTIANS in like manner there were many killed in the field, and a great number taken. After this battell, *Philip* caused a token of triumph to be set vp, and suffered the enemies to take away the bodies of their dead, and to bury them. He made sumptuous sacrifices vnto his gods, to giue them thankes for his victorie: and honoured them that had done good seruice in this battell, euerie one according to his degree and desert. Howbeit he committed certaine insolencies: for after he had drunke wel with his friends, he went to the place where he dead bodies lay, and there he fell a singing in mockerie, the beginning of the decree which *Demosthenes* had propounded, whose counsell they following, the ATHENIANS concluded to warre against him, lifting vp his voice, and keeping measure with his foote, *Demosthenes*, the sonne of *Demosthenes* PÆANIAN set out this. But afterwards when he beganne a litle to come to himselfe againe out of his drunkennesse, and that he had thought a little of the daunger he had bene in: then his haire began to stand vpright on his head,

when

when he entred into the conſideration of the force and vehemencie of ſuch an Orator, that had brought him in a peece of a day, to put his whole eſtate and his life to the hazard of a battell. And when the ATHENIANS ſent vnto him to treate of peace, he preſently ſet his countenance, rubbed his eye-browes, and laying aſide all madneſſe and wantonneſſe, made them a very ſober and aduiſed aunſwer. Others ſay, that he dranke too much at the feaſt of his ſacrifice, and that after ſupper he daunced and made a mommery with his minions: paſſed by the priſoners, and gaue them ſharpe taunts in mockerie, touching the misfortune of their ouerthrow: and that *Demades* then being one of the number, was ſo bold franckly to ſpeake a word to him which was of ſuch efficacie, as it made him refraine from his inſolencie. O king, ſayd he, being now thy fortune to play *Agamemnons* part, thou art not aſhamed to ſhew the deeds of *Therſites*. *Philip* finding himſelfe touched to the quicke with this word ſo well ſet, he preſently chaunged his apparell and countenance, caſt downe to the ground his garland of flowers he wore on his head, cauſed all the other ſignes of mockerie which were caried after him to be broken, and from thencefoorth began greatly to eſteeme of *Demades*, and would haue him about him. *Demades*, being paſſing eloquent aboue others of his time, did ſo well entertaine *Philip*, that he cauſed him to deliuer all the other priſoners of the ATHENIANS, without paying of any ranſome. And further yet, humbling the conquerours fierceneſſe, he made peace with the ATHENIANS, but put a garriſon within THEBES, and moreouer graunted peace vnto the BOEOTIANS.

But that which principally brought him to incline vnto it, was the deſire he had to be choſen Captaine generall of GREECE. And to this end he cauſed them to giue out abroad, that he would vndertake to make warre for the GREEKES againſt the PERSIANS, and to be reuenged of them for the outrages and ſacriledges which they had committed againſt the temples of the gods in GREECE: and ſought to gaine the good will and friendſhip of all the GREEKES by all kind of courteſies he could poſſibly deuiſe or thinke of, as well openly as ſecretly. So he made a motiue, that he deſired to ſpeake with the townes openly, and to communicate ſome things vnto them which concerned the good of all their common wealth in generall. And for this purpoſe there was appointed a generall aſſembly of the ſtates in GREECE in the citie of CORINTH, in the which he propounded this, to vndertake the warre againſt the PERSIANS, and putting them in great hope of happie ſucceſſe, he perſwaded the commiſſioners of euery towne, which were preſent in this aſſembly of counſell, boldly to conclude this enterpriſe. He ſolicited this matter in ſuch ſort, that the GREEKES with generall conſent choſe him their Captaine generall with ſoueraigne authority. Then he began to make great preparation for this war, and hauing made a deſcription and ſeſſe of all the contributions, as alſo the number of men of warre which euerie citie ſhould furniſh for this enterpriſe: he returned into MACEDON, and ſent from thence two of his chiefe Captaines before into ASIA, *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, with a part of his armie, commanding them to deliuer the GREEKES cities of ASIA out of bondage. But his death brake the voyage, ſo that they went not very farre. Now hitherto we haue ſeene *Philips* naturall diſpoſition in the middeſt of his deeds, and what is commendable and reprochfull in ſo great a Prince. But before we go further in the reſt of his life, it may peraduenture not be much impertinent, to inſert in this place, ſome of his ſentences and memorable actions, whereby he may be the better diſcerned, to compare him afterwards with the others. For mens words and faſhions amongſt their familiars, be the very liuely tables of the affections and paſſions of the ſoule: being vnpoſſible for any man alwayes to counterfeit ſo, but that they may oftentimes ſee his heart at his tongues end.

So then, newes being brought him in one ſelfe day of three great proſperities: the firſt, that he had wonne the prize at the courſes of coaches with foure horſe in the ſolemnity of the *Olympian* games: The ſecond, that his Lieutenant *Parmenio* had ouercome the DARDANIANS in battell: The third, that his wife *Olympiade* had brought him a goodly ſonne: he lift vp his hands to heauen, and ſayd: O fortune, I beſeech thee ſend me in exchange of this, ſome reaſonable aduerſitie, againſt ſuch and ſo great happineſſe. *Laſthenes* an OLYNTHIAN, that for a great ſumme of money had ſold him the towne of OLYNTH, complained to him one day that ſome of his minions called him traytor. He aunſwered him againe, that the MACEDONIANS were rude plaine men, that called all things by their name. He ſeemed to repute the ATHENIANS happie men, for that they found yearely ten Captaines in their towne to be choſen: and

that he to the contrary in many yeares could find but one, and that was *Parmenio*. After he had ouercome the GREEKES, many aduiſed him to put good and great garriſons in the townes, that they might with more ſafety be kept vnder. But he anſwered them, I had rather be called a long time courteous, then a ſhort time Lord. And when his familiars gaue him counſell, to baniſh a malicious perſon, that did nothing but ſpeake euill: he anſwered them he would not, fearing leaſt he ſhould euery where elſe ſpeake euill of him. There was an ACHAIAN called *Arcadion*, that made profeſſion to ſpeake euill of him euerie where, and warned euery man to flie ſo farre from *Philip*, as none could tell there what man he was. *Arcadion* being by chance met in MACEDON, the courtiers would haue had *Philip* to haue puniſhed him, and not to let him eſcape out of his hands. *Philip* to the contrary ſpake him faire, and ſent him preſents to his lodging. Shortly after, he commaunded they ſhould make inquiry what talke *Arcadion* had of him among the GREEKES. Euery man brought him word, that he did wonderfully commend and praiſe him whereſoeuer he came. Then ſayd *Philip* vnto them, I am a better phiſition for euill ſpeech then you are. Another time in the aſſembly of the *Olympian* games, as the GREEKES ſpake euill of him, his friends ſayd, that ſuch ill ſpeakers would be ſeuearely puniſhed, to ſpeake ſo much euill of him that had done them ſo much good. Nay, but what would they do then, anſwered he, if we did hurt them? *Smicythus* did often accuſe *Nicanor* vnto him, telling him that he did nothing elſe but ſpeake euill of *Philip*: ſo that his beſt familiars thought it good he ſhould be ſent for, and be puniſhed according to his deſerts. Yea but (replied he) *Nicanor* is one of the honeſteſt men of MACEDON: were it not better therefore to inquire whether the fault be in vs, or not? And foorthwith hauing made diligent ſearch whence this diſcontentment of *Nicanor* came, he found that he was a man oppreſſed with extreme pouerty, and that no man would relieue him in his neceſſity: whereupon he ſent him immediatly a good preſent. Afterwards *Smicythus* brought word, that *Nicanor* euery where ſpake great praiſes of *Philip*. See then, ſayd he, how it dependeth vpon our ſelues to be well ſpoken of. He was wont alſo to ſay, that he was much beholding vnto the connſellors of ATHENS, for that they ſpeaking euill of him, were cauſe to make him an honeſt man of word and deed. For, ſayd he, I do daily enforce my ſelfe both in my deeds and words to make them lyers. He ſent home (as hath bene ſpoken before) all the ATHENIANS priſoners at the battell of CHÆRONEA, without paying any ranſome, and yet moreouer they asked for their beds, their apparell, and all their baggage, and complained of the MACEDONIANS, becauſe they did not deliuer it vnto them. When *Philip* heard of this, he fell a laughing, and ſayd to them that were neare about him: How ſay you, do not you thinke theſe ATHENIANS ſuppoſe they were ouercome by vs at the play at bones? He ſaid alſo that they which gaue him counſell to deale ſharply with the ATHENIANS, were men of an ill iudgement, to counſell a Prince that did and ſuffered all things for glory, to deſtroy the Theater of glory, which was the city of ATHENS, by reaſon of learning. There was a great number of priſoners taken at a battell, and he was preſent to ſee them ſold by the drumme, ſitting in his chaire, his gowne being turned vp alitle higher then was decent. Then there was one of the priſoners that was a ſelling, that cried out a loud vnto him, I beſeech thee, ô king, to pardon me that I be not ſold: for I am thy friend from father to the ſonne. *Philip* asked him, how and from whence this friendſhip ſhould come betweene vs? I will tell thee in thy eare, anſwered the priſoner. *Philip* commaunded they ſhould bring him to him. Then the priſoner comming neare to him, told him ſoftly: O king, let thy gowne fall downe before a litle: for as thou ſitteſt, thou ſheweſt that that is vnfit to be ſeene. Then ſpake *Philip* aloud to his men, Deliuer him, and let him go: for he is indeed one of my friends and wel-willers, but I had forgotten it. Such was his behauiour to his enemies, and thoſe that ſpake euill of him.

Let vs now ſpeake ſomewhat of his iuſtice, and of diuerſe other affections worthie to be noted in him: the which do appeare ſomething in his words, and by the effects that followed. And they do ſhew more & more that this prince had learned very much with *Epaminondas*, but aboue all, to be nobly minded, patient, and deſirous of honour without ſhame: qualities that had bene much more excellent in him, if he had not made ſuch marchandize with wicked men, as he did that ſold their country, beſides that they ſaw in him an ardent ambition: as alſo in that he coueted to be Captaine generall of all the GREEKES, and the triumphs preceding his death, and all his life do ſhew. And to this purpoſe, he counſelled his ſonne *Alexander* to ſpeake graciouſly vnto the MACEDONIANS, to winne their good wils, whileſt he had leiſure now to be

courteous

courteous vnto them, another raigning in the kingdome: as if he would haue ſayd, that when he came to be king, he ſhould carie the grauitie of a maiſter and of a Lord, and that he ſhould do iuſtice. He gaue him counſell alſo to ſeeke to get the loue of thoſe that bare credite and authoritie in good townes, as well of the wicked as of the good, that he might afterwards vſe the good, and abuſe the euill. But now to returne to his iuſtice againe: Being a Iudge betweene two bad men, he ordained that the one ſhould flie out of MACEDON, and the other ſhould runne after him. It is reported of him, that he had gotten together a number of the wickedeſt and moſt diſorderedſt men that were in his time, whom he lodged all together in a towne which he had cauſed to be built, and called it PONEROPOLIS, the towne of knaues. He had on a time beſtowed the office of a Iudge vpon one recommended vnto him by *Antipater*: but vnderſtanding afterwards that he vſed to paint his haires and beard, he tooke it from him, ſaying, that he that vſed deceipt in his haire, would hardly deale truly in a good cauſe. *Machetas* pleaded a cauſe on a time before him whileſt he ſlept, ſo that not conceiuing nor vnderſtanding well the matter, he wrongfully condemned him. Whereupon *Machetas* began to cry out, that he did appeale. *Philip* being angred at that word, asked him preſently vnto whom he did appeale from him? Before thy ſelfe, ô king aunſwered he, when thou art awake, and wilt giue good eare to conceiue of my fact. Theſe words touched *Philip* to the quicke, whereupon he roſe vp on his feete, and calling himſelfe better to mind, knew that he had wronged *Machetas* in his ſentence, and yet neuertheleſſe he would not reuoke his iudgement: howbeit he himſelfe with his owne mony diſcharged the matter, whereupon the ſute was brought before him. *Harpalus* had a kinſman and friend of his called *Crates*, attainted and conuicted of great crimes. He beſought *Philip* that paying the fine, ſentence ſhould not be pronounced againſt this *Crates*, that he might auoide the ſhame and diſgrace. But *Philip* anſwered him againe, It is better he ſhould beare his owne blame and diſcredit, then I for him. A ſouldier of his, a valiant man of his hands, hauing by falſe report obtained of him the gift and forfeiture of the goods of a MACEDONIAN: it fortuned that the MACEDONIAN ill willing to put vp ſuch an outrage, bewrayed vnto *Philip* the vnthankfulneſſe of the ſouldier whoſe life he had ſaued. *Philip* was ſo offended with the villanie of this ſouldier, that after he had reuoked his gift, he made him quaile in ſuch ſort, that his wickedneſſe was knowne of euerie one, and the MACEDONIAN reſtored againe to all his goods. A poore old woman being in ſute of law, beſought him to giue iudgement, and preſſed him continually: but he excuſed himſelfe, and told her he was not at leiſure to heare it. The old woman cried out aloud: Leaue then to be king. He being aſtonied and liuely pricked with this word, did heare her, and all others in order. As for his friends, *Philo* a Gentleman of THEBES had done him many pleaſures at the time when he remained in hoſtage in the citie of THEBES: for he was lodged in his houſe, and after that he would neuer receiue any gifts or preſents of him. Whereupon *Philip* ſayd vnto him: Take not from me the title and honour of inuincible, being ouercome by thee of courteſie and liberality. Word being brought him of the death of *Hipparchus*, borne in the Ile of EVBOEA, he was very ſory: and as one that ſtood by told him, he was ripe, and ready to dye for age: Yea, ſayd he againe, for himſelfe, but not for me, to whom he is dead too ſoone: for he is dead before he receiued any recompence of me, worthy the friendſhip he bare me. As touching houſhold matters, he fell out on a time with his wife *Olympias*, and his ſonne *Alexander*: in which time of his anger, *Demaratus* a Gentleman of CORINTH went to viſite him. *Philip* then asked him, how, and after what manner the GREEKES liued one with another. Truly, aunſwered *Demaratus*, thou careſt much for the peace and vnion of the GREEKES, ſince the perſons that touch thee ſo nearely, and thoſe whom thou oughteſt to make moſt account of, are ſo ſeparated from thee. This word made him conſider ſo well of it, that afterwards he appeaſed his anger: the cauſe thereof is ſhewed in the beginning of *Alexanders* life, and ſo reconciled himſelfe vnto them. Being told him that his ſonne *Alexander* miſliked it, and complained that he begot baſtards of other women: he told him, Since thou ſeeſt now that thou ſhalt haue manie competitours with thee for the kingdome after my death: endeuour thy ſelfe to be an honeſt man, that thou mayeſt come to the crowne not ſo much through me, being mine heire, as through thy ſelfe, for that thou art worthie. He perſwaded him much, diligently to ſtudie Philoſophie vnder *Ariſtotle*, to the end, ſayd he, thou do not many things that I haue done, whereof now I hartily repent me. Being on a

time fallen backward, lying all alongſt the place where they exerciſe wreſtling: and wallowing vp and downe, as if he had ſeene the figure and print of his body in the duſt: O *Hercules*, ſayd he, how litle quantity of ground will ſerue vs by nature, and yet we couet to inhabite all the world. He would on a time lodge his campe in a faire ground: but being told that there was no forrage for the beaſts, he was conſtrained to diſlodge from thence, ſaying, What is our life, ſince we muſt take care euen to place Aſſes? There was an hoſt of his that on a time bad him to ſupper with him. So, as he was going, he met diuerſe by the way, whom he caried thither with him. Whereupon perceiuing his hoaſt was much troubled, becauſe he had not meate inough to feede ſo many mouthes: *Philip* ſeeing it, ſent ſecretly to tell euery one in their eares whom he brought with him, that they ſhould keepe a place in their ſtomacke for the tart. The other beleeuing that he ſpake in earneſt, did forbeare to eate, whereby there was meate inough for them all. That which is alreadie ſayd, is ſufficient to make vs know the naturall diſpoſition of this great Prince: whoſe end we are now about to deſcribe vnto you. He vndertaking to paſſe into Asia, to make war with the Persians, in the ſtate of Captaine generall of the Greekes: being deſirous his voyage ſhould be fauoured of the gods he asked of the propheteſſe of Delphes, whether he ſhould ouercome the king of Persia? She anſwered him:

The oxe is crowned when his end is neare at hand,
To offer him in ſacrifice, a man doth ready ſtand.

This oracle being doubtfull and obſcure, *Philip* tooke it for his aduantage: as if *Apollo* had told him, that the king of Persia ſhould be ſlaine by him, as an oblation of ſacrifice. But cleane contrary, the oracle threatned him with death in a day of a ſolemne feaſt: and that he ſhould be ſlaine as a bull, whom they crowne with garlands and hats of flowers, when they go about to ſacrifice him. Notwithſtanding ſuppoſing that the gods did fauour his enterpriſe, he was very pleaſant, perſwading himſelfe that Asia ſhould ſhortly be tributarie to Macedon. So he prepared ſumptuous and magnificent ſacrifices in honour of the gods, and made preparation for the mariage of his daughter *Cleopatra*. Now he being deſirous to draw to this feaſt as many Greekes as he could poſſible, to that end made proclamation euery where, that there ſhould be games of prize for learning, and muſicke, and ſent to ſummon all his hoſts and friends, in what part of Grece ſoeuer they were, to come to this mariage: and commaunded the Lords of his Court that they ſhould do the like for their part. For he deſired to ſhew the Greeks all ſignes of friendſhip, and to make them the beſt cheare that could be poſſible, in recompence of the honour they had done him, to chooſe him their Captaine generall. There was a wonderfull aſſembly of people from all parts at this feaſt, and the mariage was ſolemnized betwixt *Alexander* king of Epirvs and *Cleopatra*, and the games alſo at Æges a citie of Macedon. Where not onely *Philips* priuate friends, and the moſt notable men of the Greekes, but alſo the principall and chiefeſt townes of Grece (and among others Athens) gaue him preſents of many rich crownes of gold. The decree of the people preſenting a crowne of gold, and openly proclaimed by a herald, the effect of it was: that if it hapned any man hauing conſpired or attempted ought againſt the perſon of king *Philip*, ſhold flie to Athens in hope of priuiledge there: that he ſhould be deliuered into the hands of the king. In the middeſt of this great feaſt at the mariage, there was an excellent player of tragedies, called *Neoptolemus*, that rehearſed verſes touching the enterpriſe of *Philip*: and as if he had meant to haue reproued the pride of the king of Persia, he liuely touched that of his maiſter *Philip*, and before he was ware, foretold his death in couert termes, and which might be applied (as alſo *Philip* did, blinded and aſtonied with his proſperity) vnto the eſtate, and vnto the king of Persia. Among other verſes the beginning of it was very neare to this effect:

Aboue the skies exalt thy pride,
Surmount all hautineſſe that is
Within this earthly vale ſo wide:
Promiſe thy ſelfe a worldly bliſſe,
And proſperous life for euer ſure,
Yet canſt thou now no longer dure.
For ſome already haue begun
Thy ruine, which thou canſt not ſhun.
And death neare to that breaſt of thine
Shall ſhortly breake off thy deſigne.

The

The day after this royall mariage the games began to be played, and the people ranne from all parts to the Theater to ſee them, euen vntill it was darke night. And in the morning at the breake of day there was a proceſſion, in the which among many other ſumptuous and magnificent ſhewes, they caried the images of twelue principall gods of GREECE, wonderfull cunningly wrought with great art: and then after them was borne the image of *Philip* for the thirteenth, as if he would haue placed himſelfe in ranke with his gods. When the Theater was full ſet with people, *Philip* himſelfe came in the end, apparelled all in white, hauing commanded all his gard to follow him a farre off: deſirous to ſhew the GREEKES, that becauſe of the great confidence he had of their faithfull friendſhip, he thought he needed no gard for his body. But at that time he was put to death after a ſtrange ſort: and that we may know by what occaſion, we will take the matter further off.

There was in his court a MADEDONIAN gentleman, called *Pauſanias*, borne in the countrey of ORESTIDE, one of the gentlemen penſioners of *Philips* gard, that ſometime was beloued for his beauty. He perceiuing that the king loued another, whoſe name was as himſelfe, *Pauſanias*: began to gall him with iniurious words, calling him *Androgyne* (as much to ſay, as womaniſh man) and reproued him that he abandoned his body to any that would. This ſecond *Pauſanias*, very impatiently bare theſe words in his heart, yet made no reply to them, but onely imparted vnto his friend called *Attalus* what he meant to do, and within few dayes after loſt his life after a notable manner. *Philip* fought a battell with the SLAVONS, in the which this young man behaued himſelfe very valiantly, right before the perſon of *Philip*, and receiued vpon his body all the blowes they ſtrake at him, ſo that he died in the field. This valiantneſſe of his being blowne abroad through the army, *Attalus*, that then was in great fauour with the king, intreated the firſt *Pauſanias* to come and ſuppe with him, and hauing made him drunke, he left his bodie to all the horſe-keepers and moyletters to be carnally abuſed. His drunkenneſſe hauing left him, he was ſo grieued at his heart for the outrage *Attalus* had done him, that he went and complained to the king himſelfe. *Philip* was maruellouſly offended withall, becauſe of the villany that was offered him. But becauſe of the loue he bare to *Attalus*, and alſo for that he ſtood in need of his ſeruice, and for that he was vnckle of *Cleopatra*, the laſt and well beloued wife of *Philip*, and appointed his Lieutenant for the warre of ASIA, he made as though he knew it not. But to appeaſe *Pauſanias*, he gaue him great preſents, and placed him amongſt the number of them of the gard about his perſon. *Pauſanias* hauing made his complaint to *Olympias*, vnto *Alexander*, and to ſome other, had ſundrie aunſwers, but no iuſtice at that time. Wherefore keeping this deſpite in his heart, he reſolued not onely to be reuenged of him which had done him this iniurie, but alſo of *Philip* that would do him no iuſtice. But to further him in this diuelliſh purpoſe, amongſt others a Rhetoritian called *Hermocrates* did ſet him on, whom *Pauſanias* frequented to learne of him. Diſcourſing one day together, he asked him how a man might in a ſhort time make himſelfe famous, to be ſpoken of of euerie bodie? *Hermocrates* aunſwered, in killing one that had done many great things. For, ſayd he, it is of neceſſitie that remembring his facts, the name of him that killed him muſt alſo be compriſed. *Pauſanias* applying that to the purpoſe of his anger, hauing no patience to prolong time, his heart being ſo full of choler and griefe: determined with himſelfe to execute his enterpriſe the ſame day the playes ſhould be: the which he did, as followeth. He layed horſes readie at the gate of the Theater, and went about it, hauing a ſword vnder his downe after the faſhion of the GAVLES as they weare it. When the time was come that *Philip* would himſelfe go to the Theater, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen that attended vpon him, went into the Theater before him, who had commaunded all the Gentlemen of his gard to come a good way behind him. Then *Pauſanias* ſeeing *Philip* going all alone, ranne to him, and gaue him ſuch a blow with his ſword ouerthwart his flankes, that he ranne him through and through, ſo that he fell downe ſtarke dead. The blow being giuen, he ranne away ſtraight vnto his horſe, and ſome of the gard ranne to *Philip*, others ſwiftly followed the murtherer, among which was *Leonidas*, *Perdiccas*, and *Attalus*. Howbeit *Pauſanias* that had gotten the ſtart before, had eaſily mounted on horſe-backe before the others could haue come neare him to ouertake him, had it not bene that in the way as he fled, he ſtumbled at the roote of a vine, which ouerthrew him. Then *Perdiccas* and the reſt lighted on him as he roſe, and thruſting at him, killed him in the place. Behold how *Philip*, that was the greateſt king in his time of EVROPE, and for the great-

neſſe of his power, placed himſelfe among the gods: was brought low euen to rancke with the weakeſt of the world, and died being but ſixe and fortie yeares old, hauing raigned 24 yeares. That therfore whereof he gloried moſt, was in his skill of warres, and in the actions which he managed brauely: preferring that farre aboue all his exploits of warre. For, ſayd he, in victory all that fight in the battell haue their part: but in thoſe things that I haue atchiued vnto, hauing wiſely directed them, none is partaker of the honour but my ſelfe only. He had fiue wiues, the firſt was *Olympias* the daughter of *Neoptolemus*, king of the MOLOSSIANS, of the line of *Æacus*, of whom were borne, *Alexander* ſurnamed the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Alexander* ſucceeded his father: and for *Cleopatra*, ſhe was maried to her vnckle *Alexander*, king of EPIRVS, and brother of *Olympias*. The ſecond wife of *Philip* was *Audate*, a Lady of SLAVONIA, of whom he had a daughter called *Cyne*, maried vnto *Amyntas* his coſin germaine: who being ſlain, ſhe was betrothed vnto *Lagarus*, king of the AGRIANIANS, who died before conſummation of mariage. After the death of *Alexander* the Great, ſhe being of a manly courage, and oppoſing her ſelfe againſt thoſe that would depriue the children of *Alexander* of the crowne of MADEDON: was ſlaine by *Perdiccas* commandement. The third was *Phila*: and the fourth was called *Mede*, the daughter of the king of THRACIA. Theſe two had neither of them any children. And laſtly being too old to marry, he maried *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Hippoſtratus* and *Attalus* neece: at the mariage of whom he would haue killed his ſonne *Alexander*, for throwing a cup at *Attalus* head: after the which followed great trouble, and foule ſtirre betwixt *Philip*, *Olympias*, and *Alexander*: but *Demaratus* the CORINTHIAN ſalued all that againe. Of this laſt wife, he firſt had a daughter called *Europe*, and then a ſonne called *Caranus*, whom *Olympias* put to a cruell death. For his concubines, the one called *Arſinoe*, being gotten with child by *Philip*, ſhe fell into *Lagus* hands, vnto whom ſhe gaue *Ptolomie* afterwards king of EGYPT. The ſecond was a girle of LARYSSENE, called *Philinna*, of whom he begat *Aridæus*: who firſt of all was poyſoned, and in the end cruelly murthered by *Olympias*: being the laſt king of the race of *Temenides* in MACEDON. For the iſſue of *Alexander*, they were reiected by *Caſſander*. The third was *Nicaſipolis*, a woman of THESSALY, and *Iaſons* ſiſter, tyrant of PHERES: of whom he had a daughter called *Theſſalonica*, whom *Caſſander* maried, and was afterwards ſlaine by *Antipater*. The end of *Alexander*, of his mother, and of his children and ſucceſſours, was lamentable in diuerſe ſorts. And thus we ſee in *Philip* and in his race, how many wayes the high Iudge of the world hath in his power and hand to ouerthrow the greateſt, when they are drunke with their proſperity.

The end of Philip of Macedons life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Dionyſius.

Baſe Tyranny is wrongs vnhappy mother,
Witneſſe this wretch, in ſhew both graue and wiſe:
Yet he himſelfe beguiling, and each other,
Shew'd that his heart was fierce, and full of vice.

IN the ſecond year of the ſecond Olympiad, *Archias* a CORINTHIAN, not daring to returne againe into his citie for a foule fact committed by him in the perſon of an honeſt youth called *Actæō*: he tooke the ſea, and ſailed into SICILIA with certaine CORINTHIANS and DORIANS, and there built the city of SYRACVSA, the which by proceſſe of time became ſo great, that it had within it as it were foure townes, of the which the one was called the *Ile*, the ſecond *Acradine*, the third *Tychè*, and the laſt *Neapolis*: the one neare vnto the other, with a fort called *Hexapyle*, which commanded all the other, and it was in the top of a high place which they called *Epipoles*, as much to ſay, as ouer all the other townes. It was gouerned at the firſt, by the commaund and power of *Archias* onely: but he being killed by *Telephus*, whom he had abuſed in his infancie, the SYRACVSANS gathered together of diuerſe parts, brought their eſtate to Ariſtocratia, which flouriſhed for a time. But being come to paſſe that *Tyndaris* one of the Lords of the towne caried himſelfe after ſuch a manner, that he made many iealous that his drift and pollicy was to make himſelfe chiefe Lord: the other Lords made a law called Petaliſme, to meete with this practiſe: howbeit it was that that increaſed his enterpriſe. The effect of this law was, that the name of him that aſpired to make himſelfe abſolute Lord of the city, ſhould be written in an oliue leafe, the which being put into the hand of this Lord, without further ceremony it was to tell him that he was baniſhed the city for fiue yeares, much after the faſhion that is reported of the Oſtraciſme of the ATHENIANS. By meanes of this Petaliſme, the Lords baniſhed one another, ſo that in the end, the people became Lord. But hereupon a dangerous ſedition happening amongſt them, *Gelo*, Lord of the city of GELE, did ſo wiſely looke into the troubles of the SYRACVSANS: that they choſe him king in the ſecond yeare of the three ſcore and twelfth Olympiade. After him ſucceeded *Hieron*, who at the beginning caried himſelfe very euill: but afterwards falling into acquaintance with the Poets *Simoni-*

Petaliſme baniſhment for fiue yeares.

des, *Pindarus*, and *Bacchylides*, which taught him many good things, he raigned very prudently. So, he hauing raigned about twelue yeares, left his brother *Thrasybulus* his succeſſor: who for his cruelties and inſolencies was driuen out of SYRACVSA by force, and went to LOCRES, and there ended the reſt of his daies. Then the SYRACVSANS eſtabliſhed the gouernment of Lords, which continued ſixtie yeares: in which time they make warre with the AGRIGENTINES, and compelled them to ſue for peace: they deſtroy the TRINACRIANS and their town: they ſet vpon the LEONTINES, which are aided by the ATHENIANS vnder the conduct of *Laches* and *Carceadas*, who behaued themſelues ſo euill, that at their returne home they were baniſhed. Shortly after the new troubles betwixt the SYRACVSANS and the LEONTINES, the ATHENIANS ſent *Phaax* into SICILIA to kindle the fire a litle, and to mutine the one againſt the other. Howbeit it had no good ſucceſſe, but rather raiſed a cruell warre betwixt the SYRACVSANS and ATHENIANS, in the which at the laſt *Nicias* and *Demoſthenes* were ouercome by ſea and land both, and afterwards put to death, and the ſouldiers of ATHENS that were priſoners moſt cruelly vſed. The SYRACVSANS lift vp with this victorie, did put downe their Lordly gouernment, and brought it to a popular ſtate againe. Then thinking to be reuenged of the CARTHAGINIANS that were come to the aide of the SEGESTANS againſt the SELINONTINES, which were their friends: they ſent *Diocles* with foure thouſand good men againſt *Hanniball* the ſonne of *Giſco*, who lay in campe at that time before HIMERA, the which he wan after he had ouercome *Diocles*, and ſlaine the moſt part of his troupes. The SYRACVSANS caſting their anger for this loſſe vpon *Hermocrates* one of their chiefeſt citizens, they baniſhed him with the Petaliſme, and draue him out of the towne. He helping himſelfe with the meanes he had in his hand, made vp and armed fiue gallies, and afterwards with certaine baniſhed men of HIMERA, attempted to put in againe into SYRACVSA. But ſeeing he could not preuaile, he landed and poſſeſſed the ruined towne of SELINONTE, he repaired it, called home againe all the inhabitants diſperſed through SICILIA, fortified himſelf there, and in few daies got together a troupe of ſixe thouſand men. With theſe forces he ſet vpon them of PALERME, and of MOTYE, in league with the CARTHAGINIANS, ouercame them in a pitched field, maintained his friends, and followed his victorie. The SYRACVSANS hearing good report of *Hermocrates* valour, began to repent them that they had ſo diſhonourably vſed him. He on the other ſide being aduertiſed by his friends of the good affection of the citizens vnto him: to win their good fauour againe, he was very carefull to gather together the bones of thoſe that were killed by HYMERA vnder the leading of *Diocles*, and ſent them to SYRACVSA, in carts very richly ſet out. For all this they ſent not for him home, the SYRACVSANS being affraid of him, for that he was a man of ſuch courage and wiſedome, leſt he ſhould make himſelfe Lord of the towne. He ſeeing himſelfe thus refuſed, went backe to SELINONTE, and ſhortly after being ſollicited by his friends, he found meanes by night to come into SYRACVSA, and poſſeſſed the Acradine. The SYRACVSANS tooke armes immediatly, fought with *Hermocrates*, killed him in the great market place with part of his traine, and baniſhed thoſe that fauoured him. His friends ſaued ſome of them from the violence of the citizens, and amongſt others *Dionyſius* the ſonne of *Hermocrates*, a plaine citizen of SYSACVSA, whoſe life we preſently write of.

Now it is reported, that his mother being with child of him, dreamed that ſhe was brought to bed of a Satyre, and that the Soothſayers being asked their opinion, anſwered, ſhe ſhould haue a ſonne that ſhould be famous aboue all the GREEKS. Furthermore, a young gentlewoman of SYRACVSA called *Himera*, ſome time before *Dionyſius* made himſelf Lord of the city, dreamed that ſhe was taken vp to heauen, by a guide that hauing caried her too and fro, in the end brought her before *Iupiter*, at whoſe feet ſhe ſaw a yong man with a yelow haire, bound with iron chains: and asking her guide what he was: It is, ſaid the other, the cruell ſcourge of SICILIA and ITALIE, the which ſhall ſpoile a great countrie, aſſoone as his bolts be off his feet. Within few yeares after, *Dionyſius* hauing alreadie ſeized vpon the eſtate, as he came to make his entrie into SYRACVSA, and that the citizens went out to meet him to do him honor: *Himera* being there by chaunce, knew him, and ſtraight cried out: This was the young man that ſhe ſawin heauen. This being reported to *Dionyſius*, he cauſed them to kill this young damoſell. Another time his horſe falling in the mire that he could not get out, *Dionyſius* left him faſt there: but the poore beaſt with ſtrugling got himſelfe out, and ranne after his maiſter: bringing in his maine a ſwarme of bees. This did hearten him, eſpecially through the counſell of his ſoothſayers, to follow his purpoſe to ſubdue

due his countrey: the which he obtained by this meanes. The CARTHAGINIANS desirous to make themselues great in SICILIA, sent thither their Captaine *Himilco* with a great army: against whom the SYRACVSANS made head, wanne a battell, and killed sixe thousand of his men. Notwithstanding this, he went and besieged AGRIGENTE, and hauing vpon surprise ouerthrowne the army of the SYRACVSANS by sea, he enforced them that were besieged to saue themselues as they could, entred into this great rich city abandoned, and tooke the spoile of it. The AGRIGENTINES that escaped gaue the allarme through al SICILIA, & retiring themselues to SYRACVSA their friend towne, began in full assembly of the city to accuse the Captaines of SYRACVSA, saying, that by their treason the countrey was sold vnto their enemies. *Dionysius*, the son of *Hermocrates*, a yong man of a stout hart, and that did embrace great matters in his mind, being in this assembly, tooke hold of the occasion offered: and seeing the people out of countenance, he stepped forth, charged the Captaines very much, & gaue counsell that they should do iustice: whereupon the magistrates did set a fine on their heads. And hauing found *Philistus* inclined that way, and gotten money of him (who was very rich) to pay this fine, with promise to furnish others if they were condemned: he followed his purpose in other assemblies, hauing speech at will, & a comely maner withall, so that almost for litle or nothing, he wan the harts of the people, who moued by his orations, did casseere the old Captaines, and chose new, & among others *Dionysius*, who was a good souldier, & had made proofe of his valiantnesse in diuerse encounters against the CARTHAGINIANS. But after they had chosen him Captaine, he neuer came to counsell with his other companions, nor would not be acquainted with them: but vnder hand, made a foule report run abroad that they practised with the enemies. This made men of good iudgement to presume that he himselfe went about to make some alteration: and they could not forbeare to blame him for it. Neuertheless the people not looking so inwardly into it, they esteemed him very much. Herupon many assemblies were made to thinke of their affaires in wars, in one of the which *Dionysius* perceiuing the SYRACVSANS astonied, gaue aduice that they should call home their banished men, saying: that it was a great mockery to run into GREECE and ITALY for ayd, since they had hard at their doores such as had bene citizens, who had rather die like vagabonds, then serue the enemy. And that the fauour they should shew them, would spurre them forward to do their countrey good seruice. The wisest men durst not gainsay this aduice, perceiuing that the people did incline vnto it: that if they hindred that, it was to get as many enemies as there were banished: and that they being called home, should thanke none but *Dionysius*, at whose commandement they would euer be afterwards. No man speaking a word, the decree of repeale was authorised by the people, and the banished men returned to SYRACVSA. In the middest of all this businesse, letters were brought from GELE, which demanded aide. *Dionysius* offered himselfe straight, & was sent thither with 2000 footmen, and 400 horse. Being arriued at GELE, & finding the city in trouble, he tooke the peoples part, accused the principals, made them be put to death, & their goods forfeited. With which forfeiture he payed the ordinary garrison of GELE, and promised double pay to them that folowed him from SYRACVSA: vnto the which he returned immediatly, hauing the fauour of his souldiers. So all the people ran about him in multitudes, asking him where the enemies were, and what they did? You do not consider, sayd he, thas your enemies indeed are in your towne. They that gouerne in your estate are more to be feared, then the CARTHAGINIANS: for whilest you are busie about your playes and feasts, they deuide the common treasure among themselues, and pay not the souldiers. In the meane space *Himilco* prepareth himselfe to come & besiege you, whereof your gouernors make no reckning, neither do they giue any order for it. I knew this well inough before, but now I am most assured of it: for *Himilco* sent a trumpet vnto me, vnder colour of certaine prisoners, and secretly bad him tell me, that he wold giue me more then any other of my companions, so that I would not search him too narowly: and if so be that I would not helpe him, at the least yet that I would not hinder him. And therefore thinke with your selues to find another captaine in my place, for it is no reason whilest others sell the town to the enemies, that I should go hazard my selfe with my fellow citizens, & in danger in the end that they should thinke of me I should be partaker with the wicked practises of others. Those that heard what he spake, being maruellously offended, caried these words immediatly all about the towne. But for the present time euery one went home to their house, sad, and troubled in their minds. The morow after, as those that should speake before the people did draw by lot of letters, that they might know in order how they should speake, and

*A Iester or shrewd Foole.

that the letter F. came to his lot : ſome ſtander by told him, this F. ſignifieth *Foole, *Dionyſius*, becauſe thou wilt tell vs great follies. No, replied he quickly : that I ſhall be a Monarke. Preſently the people being aſſembled, and his turne being come to ſpeake, he accuſed his other companions with great vehemency, was heard very attentiuely, and with great praiſe of all the people, whom the day before he had angred very much: ſo that in the end there was ſome of the aſſembly cried out, that neceſſity required that *Dionyſius* ſhould be choſen alone Captaine generall, with all authority and ſoueraigne power, and that it was no tarying till the enemies be vnder our wals, and that he was a fit man to take care of this buſineſſe : and as for the traytors, that they ſhould thinke of them at better leiſure. Hereupon the people choſe *Dionyſius* their Captaine generall, giuing him full authority, and power of the affaires of the commonwealth, and praying him to conſider of all that ſhould be expedient to reſiſt the enemies.

He ſeeing his enterpriſe ſo well grounded, propoundeth a decree to the people, that the ſouldiers pay ſhould be doubled ouer that it was before: for that would make them more courageous and willing to do good ſeruice. And as for money, that the SYRACVSANS ſhould take no thought for that, for he knew a way how to come by it well inough. This ſo ſudden aduancement, and his bold promiſes ioyned with the diſpoſition of this young man, made many ſuſpect him that had any vnderſtanding and iudgement : in ſo much that ſome began to go and come to houſes to conferre together to find meanes betimes to withſtand the tyranny, which had now (as they ſay) put the irons in the fire. But *Dionyſius* hauing an eye abroad, and a number of ſpies that ſlily fell into companies, being afraid they would do him ſome hurt, determined to prouide for it by a farre fetch to ſight, but very fit to ſerue his turne: which was, to obtaine licence to chuſe a gard for his perſon, vnto the which he came, as foloweth. He proclaimed in the towne that thoſe that were able to beare armes ſhould follow him, and to make their rende-vous with their armes at a day ſet downe at the towne of the LEONTINES, and bring victuals with them for one moneth. There was then in that towne a garriſon of the SYRACVSANS: the baniſhed, & all ſorts of men withdrew themſelues, whom *Dionyſius* hoped would haue taken his part, for that they were men which deſired nothing more then change and alteration, and perſwaded himſelfe that few of the SYRACVSANS would follow him. Hereupon he went himſelfe into the field, and being incamped neare the towne, one cauſed his friends to giue the alarme, and to cry helpe, as if the enemies had enuironed him to kill him in his tent : and making as though he had bene maruellouſly afraid, he fled, and ſaued himſelfe by ſwiftneſſe within the caſtell of the towne, where he paſſed all the reſt of the night, made fires all about, and ſent for his ſoldiers in whom he put moſt truſt, as a man that is afraid, ſeeing his enemies lye in waite for him. The next morning ſome of the people of SYRACVSA being gathered together in this towne of the LEONTINES, in open aſſembly he made a long diſcourſe of that that had paſſed, to make them beleeue that his euill willers would haue ſurpriſed him, and could ſpeake ſo well, that the people appointed him ſixe hundred ſouldiers to gard his perſon, ſuch as he himſelfe would chuſe out. Immediatly he choſe young men to the number of a thouſand which had nothing to looſe, hardy and deſperate to put any thing in execution that they were commaunded. Theſe he furniſhed with all things neceſſarie, and made them great promiſes : ſo that he wanne their hearts, and got vnto him the ſouldiers ſtraungers that were in the SYRACVSANS pay. Howbeit he chaunged the Captaines from their companies, and put in their places ſome other made to his hand. And afterwards he ſent *Dexipus*, a wiſe and valiant Captaine LACEDÆMONIAN, backe againe into his countrey, of whom he ſtood in feare, and perceiued he would be a barre in his way to hinder that he went about. Ouer and aboue that he ſent for the ſouldiers of the garriſon of GELE, and gathered together all them that were baniſhed, all theeues and rogues that would come and ſerue him, iudging them to be fit men to ſerue the turne he purpoſed. When he had gotten a great troupe of ſuch rakehels, he ſtraight returned to SYRACVSA, and lodged his forces in the Arſenall, and then ſhewed himſelfe openly Lord, and tyraunt, without any longer diſſimulation. This amazed and grieued the SYRACVSANS moſt extreamly : neuertheleſſe they were enforced to beare this yoake which they could not helpe, becauſe the towne was full of ſouldiers ſtraungers, and for that alſo they were afraid of the CARTHAGINIANS that were neare vnto them with a mightie armie. All this happened, *Dionyſius* being but fiue and twentie yeares old, in the third yeare of the ninetie three Olympiade, and in the three hundreth ſeauen and fortieth

yeare

yeare of the foundation of Rome. Thus you see how this young man of a base condition, meanely borne, made himselfe Lord of one of the greatest commonwealths in the world at that time, and continued this vsurpation all the dayes of his life, which was the space of 38 yeares.

This being done, he made them all rich and wealthy that aided him in this enterprise, draue out all those he could find that withstood these his attempts, put to death before all the people *Daphneus*, and *Demarchus*, two of the chiefest men, and of greatest power that were at that time in Syracvsa, and that had most crossed him of all others in the deuice of his purpose. Afterward, because he would yet strengthen himselfe the better, he maried *Hermocrates* daughter, a Syracvsan Captaine, that ouercame *Nicias* and the Athenians, and maried his sister vnto *Polyxenus*, brother in law vnto *Hermocrates*. Whilest things passed thus, the Carthaginians, being masters of Agrigente, after they had spoiled, burnt & razed it, they marched away with their Generall *Himilco*, and went and besieged the city of Gele, friend to the Syracvsans, in maner of a like distance from Syracvsa and Agrigente, very farre in land, where the other two were ports of the sea. The besieged did wonderfull valiantly defend themselues, their towne being weake and kept by the citizens onely, accompanied with their wiues and children that would not forsake them. *Dionysius* hearing of their necessity, brought a strong aide vnto them of thirtie thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, besides a great number of galleys, that lay off and on vpon the Ile, to cut off victuals from *Himilco*, and to land also. But when they came to ioyne, *Dionysius* hauing deuided his bands into three troupes to trouble his enemy the more, he could not do so well but the Carthaginians had the better, and slue many of his men. He very hardly escaping with his troupe entred into the towne, and there called his friends together to counsell what they were best to do. They seeing the place dangerous, and of great disaduantage to hazard a battell in, gaue him counsell to retire againe. He sent a trumpet ouer-night to *Himilco*, to pray him to surcease armes till the morning, that he might gather the dead bodies together to bury them. In the meane space, in the first watch of the night, he made all the people come out of the towne, and dislodged himselfe about midnight, leauing there 2000 men lightly armed, commanding them to make great fires and noise, that the enemies might thinke that he and his men were still in the towne: & that they at the breake of day should come to their troupes. *Dionysius* hauing escaped thus, came vnto Camarine, a towne halfe-way betwixt Gele and Syracvsa, and commanded all the inhabitants to dislodge and come to Syracvsa, that they might auoide the cruelties of the Carthaginians who sacked Gele. So, all the inhabitants of these two townes compelled to leaue their houses and countrey, all the fields & high-wayes were full of women, children, and of poore people of the country. This moued the souldiers against *Dionysius*, who accused him that he had done this of purpose, that he might more easily sease vpon the other cities of Sicilia, which should be destroyed by the barbarous Carthaginians: and thus they complained one to another of the litle aide he had giuen to the townesmen of Gele: how the souldiers of his gard had dealt cowardly in their seruice, and ranne away without the losse of a man of theirs, and no body pursued after them. Vpon this discontentment, the Italian souldiers that came out of Italie, tooke their iourney to returne home. And the men of armes of Sicilia at the first began to lie in waite to kill *Dionysius* on the way: but seeing that the souldiers of his gard were neuer from him, nor he from thē: they departed all together, and went with speed towards Syracvsa, and found them that were left there in garrison, lodged in the place of the Arsenal, who knew nothing what had hapned before Gele. By this meanes being entred without resistance, they sacked the pallace of *Dionysius*, where they met with great riches, and did so villanously abuse his wife, that for griefe she killed her selfe. But about the time that they departed from the camp, *Dionysius* imagining by the way what would follow after this, he chose out certaine footmen and horsemen which he thought he might best trust about his person, and went with all speed possible with them to Syracvsa, supposing he should not ouercome these mē of armes, vnles he did as they. And euen as he thought so it came to passe: for they perswading themselues that *Dionysius* could not well tell what course to take, whether to follow them, or to keepe with is army: thought they had won all, and walked vp and downe the towne telling stories of the cowardlinesse of *Dionysius*: who hauing marched well neare nineteene leagues at one iourney, came about midnight to the gates of Acradine, with about a hundred horse, & six hundred footmen: and finding it shut, caused store of fagots, reeds, and sedge of the fens to be laid against the gate, wherewith the Syracvsans vse to burne

their lime, which they found there ready at hand. Whileſt this gate was a burning, his men that could not follow him ſo faſt arriued one after another. And ſo the gate being burnt he entred, & found in the market place ſome of theſe men of armes, who in haſt had ſet themſelues in order of battel: but on the ſudden they were engaged, and killed with pikes and darts. *Dionyſius* on the other ſide, he ran through the towne putting them all to the ſword he met here and there in the ſtreets, that were running to aid their men. And not ſtaying ſo, he entred into their houſes whom he knew to be his enemies, killed ſome of them, and draue others out of the city. The reſt of the men of armes fled, ſome here, ſome there, and the next morning all his forces arriued at SYRACVSA. But they of GELE, and of CAVARINE, being angry with him, went into the city of the LEONTINES.

In the middeſt of all theſe ſtirs and doings, the plague being hot in the campe of the CARTHAGINIANS, enforced *Himilco* to ſend a herauld vnto SYRACVSA to demaund peace. *Dionyſius* accepted it very willingly. So peace was concluded, that the CARTHAGINIANS ſhould haue the SICANIANS, beſides al the towns which they had before the war in their power: That they of SELINONTE, of AGRIGENTE, of HIMERE, of GELE, and of CAMARINE, might returne home to their houſes, dwell in their country, & in their townes without wals, paying a certaine yearely tribute vnto the CARTHAGINIANS: That the LEONTINES, thoſe of MESSINA & all other the SICILIANS ſhould be free, and enioy their liberties and priuiledges: That the SYRACVSANS ſhould remaine vnder the gouernement of *Dionyſius*: That the priſoners and galleys taken in this war ſhould be reſtored againe on either ſide. By meanes of this peace *Dionyſius* got the CARTHAGINIANS out of SICILIA, eſtabliſhed his principality ſurer then euer, and maried againe two other wiues together: the one a ſtranger of the city of LOCRES, called *Doris*: the other of SYRACVSA called *Ariſtomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefe man of all the citizens. He had asked a wife of them of RHEGE, but they refuſed him, and ſcorned his tyranny: of whom he was cruelly reuenged, as we will tell you hereafter. It is reported that he maried them both in one day, and it was neuer knowne which of them he knew firſt: for the reſt, that euer afterwards he ſhewed them both a like fauour. They did ordinarily eate together with him, and both of them by turnes lay with him. They of SYRACVSA were deſirous that his wife of SYRACVSA ſhould be preferred before the ſtranger. But *Doris* had this good hap, to bring foorth *Dionyſius* eldeſt ſonne: which ſerued his turne well to defend himſelfe that ſhe was a forreiner. *Ariſtomache* to the contrary was maried a long time to *Dionyſius* and had no children: though he was very deſirous to haue one by her. Inſomuch that he put *Doris* mother to death, charging her that ſhe had by charmes and ſorceries kept backe *Ariſtomache* from conceiuing. But afterwards ſhe had children, to wit, two ſonnes, *Niſæus*, and *Hipparinus*: and two daughters, *Arete*, and *Sophroſyne*. *Dionyſius* the yonger, maried his ſiſter *Sophroſyne*: and *Arete* was maried vnto *Thearides*, brother to *Dionyſius* the elder: and her ſecond husband was *Dion*, the brother of *Ariſtomache*. Furthermore, conſidering that the SYRACVSANS being deliuered from the warre of the CARTHAGINIANS ſhould haue leiſure to thinke to recouer their libertie againe: and perceiuing that the quarter they called the Ile was ſtronger of ſituation, and eaſier to keepe then any other of the three: he encloſed it in with a ſtrong wall from the reſt, & built there many great and high towers, pallaces to keepe his courts, hals for his Counſell and publicke aſſemblies, goodly galleries, and ſpacious gate-houſes to containe a great number of people. And to retire himſelfe vnto vpon any ſudden emotion of the common people, he built a maruellous ſtrong caſtell, within the compaſſe whereof he incloſed the Arſenall, where might ly in docke threeſcore galleys: and there was a gate alſo to ſhut too, into the which could enter but one galley at a time. Then chuſing out the goodlieſt and beſt place of all the territorie of SYRACVSA, he deuided it among his friends, and gaue it vnto them that had charge of men of warre vnder him. That which remained, he diſtributed by equall portions vnto other inhabitants of the towne, aſwell naturall borne citizens, as ſtrangers, come from other parts to dwell at SYRACVSA, concluding vnder the name of citizens the bondmen enfranchiſed, who he called the new burgeſſes: and diſtributed to the people alſo the houſes of SYRACVSA, thoſe reſerued of the quarter of the Ile, which he gaue vnto his friends and ſouldiers.

So, hauing as he thought well aſſured his eſtate, he began to make warre vpon the free cities of SICILIA, vnder colour that they had fauoured the CARTHAGINIANS. HERBESSE, a city in firme land neare vnto the mountaines, in the hart of the countrey, was the firſt he attempted, and

went

went and beſieged it. But the SYRACVSANS that were a great number in this army, and well appointed, began to haue ſecret meetings, and to blame themſelues, for that they ioyned not with the men of armes to driue out this tyraunt. He whom *Dionyſius* had giuen them for their captaine called *Doricus*, was ware of their conferences, and threatned one that ſpake louder then the others: who replyed ſo fiercely againe, that the captaine came to him in choler to ſtrike him. But his companions tooke the quarrell, and did ſo conteſt againſt him, that they killed the captaine in the place. Then ſtirring vp their fellow citizens to recouer their libertie, they ſent for the men of armes of the SYRACVSANS, who were retired into the fort of ÆTNE. *Dionyſius* amazed with this chaunge, preſently raiſed his ſiege, and with all expedition tooke his way towards SYRACVSA, that he might be there firſt. After he was gone, thoſe that had mutined choſe them for their leaders that had killed captaine *Doricus*, went and encamped themſelues with the men of armes before SYRACVSA, in a place called Epipoles to make warre with the tyrant, hauing ſtopped all the paſſages that he could not come out into the field. And forthwith they ſent to them of RHEGE and MESSINA, to pray them to ſend them aide: which they obtained, to wit, ninetie gallies well appointed. Furthermore, they promiſed by open proclamation, a great ſum of money to him that would kill the tyrant: and to the ſtraungers that were in pay, to make them Burgeſſes as themſelues, if they would take their part againſt him. They prouided engines of batterie to beate downe the walles of the Iſle, and euery day gaue new aſſaults vnto them, and made very much of all the ſouldiers ſtraungers that tooke their part. Whereupon *Dionyſius* ſeeing himſelfe ſhut out of the field, and that his men forſooke him euery houre, aſſembled his friends to conſult with them what was to be done. Some counſelled him to tarie, alleaging that tyranny and abſolute power vſurped by him, was a faire tombe. *Polixemus* his brother was of the mind, that he ſhould ſaue himſelfe on the ſwifteſt horſe he had in his ſtable, in the lands which the CARTHAGINIANS held in SICILIA. But *Philiſtus*, who afterwards wrote the ſtorie of his geſts, ſaid then, that *Dionyſius* ſhould neither flie away, nor yeeld vp his tyrannie, the which he ſhould neuer forgo but by force, and his feet forward. *Dionyſius* tooke hold of this opinion, and reſolued with himſelfe to abide all extremitie, rather then to yeeld vp his place. Being in this caſe he fortuned to come to ſee a butcher ſlaughter an oxe, and hauing obſerued that at one ſtroke he fell downe ſtarke dead: Alas, ſaid he, were it not great ſhame that for feare of death which laſteth ſo litle while, and is ſo ſoone gone, I ſhould leaue ſo goodly and great a Seigniorie? But knowing what people he had to deale withall, he ſent ambaſſadours vnto them that kept him in ſo ſtraightly, to beſeech them to permit him with ſafetie to come out of the towne with his followers. Euen at that inſtant he ſent men to the ſouldiers CAMPANIANS, to promiſe them all that they would haue, ſo they would come and beſiege SYRACVSA. The townesmen hauing ſuffered him to go his way with fiue ſhips, ſlept quietly in hope that he would be gone: and caſſiered a part of their ſouldiers, ſuppoſing they ſhould need no longer to beſiege it. So that their ſouldiers diſperſed themſelues here and there in the fields, euen as if the tyrannie had bene put downe. But the CAMPANIANS allured by *Dionyſius* promiſes, came into the field, and being come to AGYRIDE, they left their cariage to be ſo much the ſooner before SYRACVSA. They were twelue hundred horſemen, and made ſuch ſpeed, that they ſurprized the SYRACVSANS, and in deſpite of them rode through the towne vnto the caſtell of *Dionyſius*, in whoſe aide alſo at the very ſame time there arriued by ſea, three hundred other ſouldiers: ſo that now he became more couragious then euer he was. The SYRACVSANS on the other ſide began to diſarme themſelues, ſome being of one mind ſome of another: which *Dionyſius* vnderſtanding, he made a ſallie out vpon them that kept the quarter called NEAPOLIS, or new towne, and put them all to flight: howbeit many were not killed, for *Dionyſius* riding euery where about, willed his men to kill none that fled. Thus were the SYRACVSANS driuen and diſperſed in the field, where there gathered about the horſmen aboue ſeuen thouſand. Now for *Dionyſius*, he hauing cauſed them to be buried that were ſlain in this conflict, he ſent ambaſſadors vnto ÆTNE to them that were retired thither, to intreate them to be at peace, and to returne home to their houſes, promiſing them by oath, that he would neuer be reuenged for any thing they had practiſed or done againſt him. Thoſe that had wiues and children at SYSACVSA, were compelled to truſt to his words and promiſes. But when the ambaſſadours alleaged to the others, the humanitie of their maiſter in burying the dead: they anſwered, that the tyrant deſerued to haue as much done to him, and that they prayed the gods they might quickly requite him. For all this they would not ſtirre out of ÆTNE,

expecting oportunitie to ſet vpon their enemy: who being eſcaped from ſo great a daunger, he courteouſly vſed them that returned, to entice the others to follow. And for the reſt, after he had well payed the CAMPANIANS, he put them out of the citie, ſuſpecting their inconſtancie and treaſon. They departing from SYRACVSA, went vnto the citie of ATELLE, where they preuailed ſo much, that they were receiued into the towne to dwell there. But their wickedneſſe burſt out into ſuch extremitie, that one night they ſet vpon the naturall inhabitants, killed euery man that was able to beare armes, and afterwards by force thruſt out their wiues: and by this meanes made themſelues maiſters of the towne, and of all the territorie thereabout. At the ſame time *Ariſtus*, one of the chiefeſt men of LACEDÆMON was ſent vnto SYRACVSA, vpon a rumour giuen out amongſt the people, that it was to driue out the tyrant. But the effect ſhewed that it was but to negociate with him, and to bind him vnto them, to ſerue their turnes in their affaires. *Ariſtus* then hauing immediatly after his arriuall had ſecret conference with *Dionyſius*, he began to mutine the SYRACVSANS, promiſing them all the aide he could, for the recouerie of their liberty. But afterwards he himſelfe killed *Nicoteles* the CORINTHIAN, who had promiſed the SYRACVSANS to be the head of this enterpriſe: and accuſing them that gaue credit to his words, he made the tyrant more bold and ſtronger then euer. So did he alſo begin to ſhew himſelfe more then before: for he found the meanes to ſend the SYRACVSANS into the fields to get in their corne and harueſt, and in the meane ſpace whileſt they were out of the citie, he went into the houſes himſelfe, and fetched out all their armes that had any. Then he enuironed his caſtle round about with another ſecond wall, built diuers ſhippes, and aſſembled a great number of ſouldiers ſtraungers, whom he afterwards entertained. Now he thinking himſelfe too litle a Lord, vndertooke to conquer ſome fronter townes neare vnto the territorie of the SYRACVSANS, and before he would aſſaile them, he brought his armie before ÆTNE, which he wan preſently. From thence he came to beſiege the citie of the LEONTINES, the which hauing reſiſted him, after he had foraged and preyed the countrie about, he turned vnto the townes of the naturall SICILIANS, making as though he meant to ſet vpon thē, to the end that thoſe of CATANE, & of NAXE, ſeeing the warre in another place, ſhould care the leſſe for themſelues. So being neare vnto the towne of ENNE, he put into *Limneſtus* head, a citizen of the ſame, that he ſhould take vpon him to make himſelf Lord of the town, promiſing to helpe him in it: which the other executed. Howbeit he kept the town for himſelfe, & ſhut the gates againſt *Dionyſius*: who being angry with this repulſe, counſelled the ENNIANS to driue out this new tyrant. The people being ſet on by him, ran one day in armes into the market place, and cried, Libertie. *Dionyſius* vnderſtanding that, followed with ſome of his faithfull friends, tooke hold of *Limneſtus*, & deliuered him to the ENNIANS, and went out of the towne again immediatly, to make others to truſt him. From thence he went vnto CATANE, and wan that town through the treaſon of *Arceſilaus* captain of the ſame: tooke all the armes from the inhabitants, and left a good garriſon there. *Procles* captain of NOXE, ſhortly after played euen the like part that *Arceſilaus* had done: and was well recompenced for it, and all his kinſmen and friends were giuen him: but the other inhabitants were ſold by the drum, their towne deſtoyed, and their lands giuen vnto the SICILIANS, neighbors to SYRACVSA. For thoſe of CATANE, they were alſo ſold vnto them that would giue moſt within SYRACVSA, and their town giuen to the ſoldiers CAMPANIANS. This made the LEONTINES hold vp their hands, leaue the towne, and go dwell at SYRACVSA. Now *Dionyſius* fortified SYRACVSA a new, and hauing determined to cloſe in the quarter called Epipoles with walles, he aſſembled threeſcore thouſand labourers diſtributed by troupes, and ſeruing skilfull maiſters, accompanied with Maſons that had their day worke. Theſe men encouraged by his preſence, by his promiſes and gifts, finiſhed the wall in three weekes of a reaſonable height and thickneſſe, being litle leſſe then two leagues about. The baniſhed men of SYRACVSA being fled to RHEGE, did what they could poſſible to moue the inhabitants to make warre againſt *Dionyſius*. They laboured it ſo well, that in the end the RHEGIANS went into the field, and induced the Gouernours of MESSINA to keep them companie. But a MESSENIAN called *Leomedon*, hauing diſcouraged the troups, euery one went home againe, and did nothing: and as for *Dionyſius*, he looked no further into them, but the RHEGIANS and MESSENIANS hauing ſent vnto him to treate of peace, he iudging that the friendſhip of theſe two cities would be very expedient for him, made peace with them.

So hauing aſſured himſelfe on that ſide, and conſidering that many GREEKES of SICILIA fled into the townes which were ſubiect to the CARTHAGINIANS, and that there were townes,

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vntouched, vnto the which they caried their goods: he thought that ſo long as he was at peace with them, diuers of his ſubiects would be willing to do the like. Howbeit that in making warre with them, thoſe whom the CARTHAGINIANS ſhould ouercome by armes, would come to his ſide. Furthermore, word was brought him that CARTHAGE was wonderfully afflicted with the plague, which did the more ſtrengthen him in his reſolution. But knowing that he had to deale with mighty enemies of all the people of EVROPE, and that this war would not ſo ſoone be ended: he gathered together into SYRACVSA out of all the coaſts of ITALIE, of GRECE, and of SICILIA, the beſt workmen and artificers, vnto whom he gaue great wages, and great gifts vnto thoſe that were moſt skilfull and diligent. Who labouring in enuie the one of the other, they built vp in a ſhort time two hundred gallies, repaired a hundred and ten that had ſerued a long time, forged an hundred and fortie thouſand bucklers or targets, ſo many ſwords and daggers, as many helmets and ſallets: fourteene thouſand corcelets, curates, and brigandines of all ſorts: engines of batterie of all faſhions, and of darts, an incredible and vneſtimable number. Touching the galleys, to arme them with pylots, mariners, and galley-ſlaues, the citie of SYRACVSA furniſhed for the one halfe: and *Dionyſius* for the other halfe payed the ſouldiers ſtraungers. The furniture of theſe ſhippes, armes, and harneſſe being readie, he began to gather his armie together, and would not for ſauing of charges put himſelfe in readineſſe before. He gathered together within SYRACVSA all thoſe that were able to beare armes: he drew out of the townes ſubiect vnto him, all that were meet for war: he leauied men out of LACONIA with conſent of the Lords of SPARTA, and got a great number out of all parts becauſe he payed well, and gaue them very gracious entertainment that came to ſerue him. But aboue all the reſt he ſhewed himſelf a maruellous friend to the RHEGIANS, and MESSENIANS, that had a reaſonable ſtrong armie in readines to be employed: being afraid that ſo ſoone as they ſhold ſee the CARTHAGINIANS paſſed into SICILIA, they would ioyne with them: for to which ſide ſoeuer theſe two cities would incline, they would helpe to make a great weight in the ballance, and to bring the victory to fall on their ſide. It was at that time that he gaue a great countrie of extent vnto the MESSENIANS, and prayed the RHEGIANS to giue him a wife of their towne. But they would not heare of that in any wiſe. Wherupon he went to the LOCRIANS, who gaue him her of whom we haue ſpoken before: and for many daies together did nothing elſe but make banquets and feaſts, aſwell to his ſouldiers, as vnto the more part of the citizens of SYRACVSA. For he had now changed his firſt ſoureneſſe and cruelty of a tyrant into gentlenes: he did vſe his ſubiects in a more ciuill ſort, put no more of them to death, nor baniſhed any mo of them, as he did at the firſt beginning. Shortly after this mariage was paſt, he aſſembled the people of SYRACVSA, & did perſwade them to make war with the CARTHAGINIANS, telling them that they were enemies of all the vniuerſall GREEKS, and of thoſe eſpecially that dwelt in SICILIA, whom they practiſed by all means they could to make ſubiect vnto them. And that albeit they did not now make any alteration, it was becauſe of the plague that tormented them much: but ſo ſoone as they were free from that, they ſhould ſee the effects of their malice againſt all the inhabitants of SICILIA, which they caſt long before in their minds. And that it were better for him, ſince it muſt needs be, ſoone or late, to begin to make war vpon them they being now weak, then to tarie till they were recouered again: and that it was a great ſhame to thē to ſuffer the towns of GRECE ſo neare vnto them, to be made ſubiect to barbarous people: that being deſirous to recouer their liberty, ſo much more willing they wold be to yeeld themſelues vnto the SYRACVSANS, ſo ſoone as they ſhould ſee that it were open war. Theſe and other reaſons were receiued and allowed by the SYRACVSANS, who were no leſſe deſirous then himſelfe to make war with them. For they hated the CARTHAGINIANS, becauſe that for feare of them they were conſtrained to put themſelues vnder the yoke. And next, for that they hoped *Dionyſius* would vſe them more gently, ſo long as on the one ſide he ſhold be afraid of the force of the enemies, and on the other, of the rebellion of thoſe whō by force he kept vnder. And eſpecially aboue the reſt, for that they hoped being armed, if occaſion were offred, they might one day ſtand for the recouery of their liberty.

Warre being concluded vpon in this aſſembly, *Dionyſius* ſuffered the SYRACVSANS to ſpoile the PHENICIANS that trafiqued in their hauen: which they executed out of hand. The other SICILIANS did aſmuch: ſo that the CARTHAGINIANS were driuen to run away, and thoſe that they could catch were cruelly handled in euery place, for the hatred they bare them, becauſe of the proud parts they committed in the wars paſt. *Dionyſius* hauing all his army in readineſſe, ſent a

Herald vnto CARTHAGE with letters, containing that the SYRACVSANS had decreed in their Councell to make warre vpon the CARTHAGINIANS, vnleſſe they departed from the townes of GRECE which they held in SICILIA, and did leaue them at libertie. The Senate and people of CARTHAGE amazed at it, knew that they had to fight with *Dionyſius*, neuertheleſſe they reſolued to take armes, and ſent to leauie men out of all parts. *Dionyſius* on the other ſide, he tooke the field with an armie of foureſcore thouſand fighting men of foote, and three thouſand horſe: and had at the ſea nere two hundred gallies and ſhips of ower, accompanied with fiue hundred great ſhips of burden, full of all ſorts of engines of batterie, and of neceſſarie munitions for ſuch an armie. All the townes almoſt of SICILIA yeelded themſelues vnto him, ſauing MOTYE, ANCYRE, SOLES, EGESTE, PALERME, and ENTELLE. *Leptines* his brother and Admirall, lay before MOTYE, and beſieged it: and himſelfe ſpoiled all the countrie of the SOLENTINES, PALERMITANS, and ANCIREIANS: and beſieged EGESTE, and ENTELLE, and gaue them diuers aſſaults. Newes being brought vnto him that *Himilco* was at hand, he went and encamped before MOTYE, a town ſituated within a litle Iſle of SICILIA, halfe a league from firme land, ſtately built, and very rich at that time. The which he aſſaulted by ſea and by land, draue *Himilco* and his forces back, and wan the towne by aſſault: but they ſold their liues and towne very deare, hauing killed a great number of the enemies, before they were forced. The SICILIANS yet angry in their harts for the miſchiefes they had endured through the inſolencie of the CARTHAGINIANS in the former wars: were ſo brued in bloud, that all thoſe of MOTYE were put to the ſword. They that ſaued themſelues in the temples, had their liues graunted them: but *Dionyſius* made them all be ſold by the drumme. Whileſt he was occupied there, the EGESTANS made a ſallie vpon the campe which he had left before the towne, and ſet it on fire, which burnt the moſt part of his ſoldiers, and the reſt well warmed, ſaued themſelues as they could. But *Dionyſius* not much regarding this loſſe, ſet vpon all the townes of the CARTHAGINIANS with his armie. They for their part, gaue all the authoritie and power vnto *Himilco*, to prepare for this war of SICILIA. He made an armie of three hundred thouſand footmen, and of a great number of horſemen, and gaue the rende vous to the ſhippes of burthen at PALERME: where he arriued with his fleet of gallies that followed him. The Admirall *Leptines* hauing deſcried his comming, ſet forward with his ſhips, and fought with them in the maine ſea: he killed fiue thouſand of his men, ſunke fiftie ſhips, and two hundred carts of warre: and the reſt of them ſaued themſelues by flying. But *Himilco* hauing landed his armie, went and aſſailed MOTYE, and wanne it againe of the SARACVSANS.

At that time *Dionyſius* was before EGESTE, where word being brought him of the arriuall of the CARTHAGINIANS, and of the taking againe of MOTYE: he began to be affraid, and to take aduice to return to SYRACVSA: he commaunded the SICILIANS to retire, and made their lands waſt, to diſaduantage their enemies by ſo much the more. This ſudden change of *Dionyſius*, was cauſe that many of his friends tooke part with *Himilco*, who ſeeing his affaires proſper ſo well, made his armie march to MESSINE: tooke in (paſſing by) the Ile and towne of LYPARE: and then beſieged the MESSENIANS ſo ſtraightly, that in the end he wan the towne by aſſault. And there hauing refreſhed his troupes, he razed the towne to the very ground, the which did ſo much amaze the SICILIANS, that all, except the ASSARINS, turned vnto the CARTHAGINIANS. *Dionyſius* being at his wits end for ſo many loſſes, did fortifie the ſtrong holds that were in the territorie of the LEONTINES, ſent the CAMPANIANS to ÆTNE, that dwelt in the towne of CATANE: and taking order for his affaires the beſt he could poſſible, he went into the field with foure and thirtie thouſand footemen, and a thouſand horſe, and lodged vnder the mount Taur, where the baniſhed men of SYRACVSA were placed, fauoured by the CARTHAGINIANS, and had fortified it, and made it in forme of a towne: whileſt he made his abode there, newes came vnto him that the armie of the CARTHAGINIANS was deuided into two, and that the one part of them went by land to CATANE with *Himilco*: and the other came towards him by ſea, led by *Mago*. He hoping to make this fleet as nothing, commaunded his brother *Leptines* to make out with his ſhipping againſt *Mago*. But *Leptines* was put to flight, with the loſſe of twenty thouſand men, and well neare a hundred of his ſhips. This loſſe draue *Dionyſius* into ſuch a feare, doubting beſides leſt *Mago* following his victorie ſhould draw towards SYRACVSA, which was eaſie to be wonne hauing no garriſon in it: he retired into his citie, and from thence ſent men into ITALIE and into GRECE, to pray aide againſt the CARTHGAINIANS.

Himilco

Himilco knowing his retraite, brought all his forces immediatly vnto SYRACVSA, beſieged it by land and by ſea, wan the ſuburbes of ACRADINE, and ſet vp his pauilion in the temple of *Iupiter Olympian*, all the other temples of the ſuburbes hauing bene rifled by the ſouldiers. In the meane time *Polyxemus* brought to the aide of the towne, thirtie ſhippes of their friends vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas*, a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS. With this aide, and all the ſhippes of burthen, *Dionyſius* put to the ſea to go get victuals. But now whileſt he was at the ſea in his voyage, the SYRACVSANS being carefull to looke to their citie, and ſpying out all occaſions to miſchiefe the beſiegers: they deſcryed a boate that brought corne to the campe of *Himilco*. Whereupon on the ſodaine they armed all their galleys, and fought ſo valiantly with the CARTHAGINIANS, that they tooke their Admirall with twentie others, and ſunke foure of them, and followed the reſt that fled, vnto the very place where their ſhips lay at anker within the great hauen, prouoking thē to battel. But the CARTHAGINIANS aſtonied with this ouerthrow, ſtirred not.

Then the SYRACVSANS faſtened the galleys priſoners vnto the poopes of theirs, and brought them into the citie. Whereupon they being couragions againe for this litle aduantage they had of their enemies: they began to talke among themſelues, how the tyrant had bene many times ouercome, and that they to the contrary without him had ouercome the CARTHAGINIANS. And therupon gathering together by troupes, they went ſpeaking one to another, that they were weary with ſeruing a tyrant, and now ſpecially hauing means to put him downe for euer: for before they were diſarmed, but now by reaſon of the wars they had their armes in their hands. Notwithſtanding they daily held this talke, *Dionyſius* made the people to aſſemble, and praiſed them highly for the good ſeruice they had done, perſwading them furthermore to be of good courage, for within few daies he would make an end of this war. But as the aſſembly of the people was ready to go their way, *Theodorus* SYRACVSAN, iudged to be one of the beſt men of armes within the towne, ſtepped vp, & made a long oration, in the which after he had by peece-meale laid open all the tyrannies, cowardlineſſe, and wicked deeds of *Dionyſius*, whom he called grammarian, clerke, a careleſſe man, ignorant of the affaires of war, oppreſſor of all SICILIA, and fauorer of all theeues and ill men of the world: he perſwaded them by diuers reaſons to indeuour themſelues to recouer their liberty. And ſince that their allies of ITALY and GREECE were within the city, that they ſhould bring backe againe the power and authority to create ſuch captaines as they ſhould thinke good, into the hands of the citizens, according to the tenure of their ancient lawes, or elſe into the hands of their anceſtors and firſt founders, which were the CORINTHIANS: or at the leaſt into the LACEDÆMONIANS hands, who had then the ſeigniority of all GREECE. The SYRACVSANS being maruellouſly moued with ſuch a ſpeech, beheld the countenance of their confederates aſſiſtants in this aſſembly: vntill ſuch time as *Pharacidas* being gotten vp into the pulpit for orations, made euery man hearken, ſuppoſing it ſhould be he that ſhould begin firſt to ſtir vp and encourage others to the recouery of their liberty. But to the contrarie, he being particularly friend to *Dionyſius*, began to tell them, that his Lords had ſent him to aide the SYRACVSANS and *Dionyſius* againſt the CARTHAGINIANS: not to deſtroy them, nor to aboliſh his eſtate. This ſpeech being cleane contrary to that the common people expected, the ſouldiers ſtraungers ran ſtraight about him. Wherupon the SYRACVSANS ſtirred not, ſauing that to themſelues they curſed the LACEDÆMONIANS, becauſe that heretofore they had ſent them *Ariſtus*, who pretending he came to aide them for to recouer their libertie, was a traitor and ſold them: and now that this *Pharacidas* had broken the harts of their courages, being well diſpoſed to root out this tyrannie. For *Dionyſius*, he ſpake ſmoothly for the time, being throughly afraid they would haue ſet vpon him, and ſo diſmiſſed the aſſembly, vſing the moſt gracious words vnto them he could poſſible. To others he gaue preſents, he ſent for others to come and eate with him at his table. In the meane time the plague ſtraungely poſſeſt the campe of the CARTHAGINIANS, and in a ſhort time killed wel-neare 150000. of them: wherupon the moſt part of them were forſaken aliue and dead, the contagion was ſo horrible. Some imputed it partly to the diſcommoditie of the place, and exceſſiue number of men liuing as it were on heapes together: partly vnto the vengeance of God puniſhing their pride, the inſolencies, cruelties, and ſacrileges of the CARTHAGINIANS. *Dionyſius* vnderſtanding of this miſerie, would not vainely let ſlippe ſuch a fit occaſion, but armed foureſcore galleys, vnder the conduct of *Pharacidas* and *Leptines*, and his troupes, with whom he aſſailed *Himilco* by ſea and by land, tooke his fortes, burnt and drowned the moſt part of his ſhippes, brake the reſt, and gaue his people of SYRACVSA meanes to ſet

vpon the litle barks,& to ſhut them within the citie. To be ſhort, he brought them to ſuch extremitie, that they ſent ſecretly vnto him to pray him to ſuffer that which was ſaued from the ouerthrow the day before, to paſſe the ſea, and to retire home to AFRICKE with ſafetie: promiſing to make him a preſent of an hundred and foureſcore thouſand crownes. His anſwer was, that it was not poſſible all ſhould be ſaued, yet he was contented the naturall CARTHAGINIANS ſhould paſſe. For he doubted much that the SYRACVSANS and their friends would neuer ſuffer him to reſpite thoſe other, if they once vnderſtood it. But he did it of purpoſe, being vnwilling that the armie of CARTHAGE ſhould be vtterly deſtroyed, for feare that when the SYRACVSANS ſhould ſee themſelues free from this feare: they would remember the Oration of *Theodorus*, and put too all their force to recouer their liberty againe. The mony promiſed him being deliuered, *Himilco* imbarked by night all the naturall CARTHAGINIANS that were left into fortie gallies, and made ſaile immediatly towards AFRICKE. Howbeit he was ſcant out of the hauen, but certaine CORINTHIANS perceiued his ſtealing away, and ſuddenly came to tell it to *Dionyſius*, who ſeeming to be very greatly buſied, commaunded to ſound the alarme, and that the Captaines ſhould prepare themſelues to follow him. The CORINTHIANS ſeeing he went but faintly to worke, would tarie no longer, but euen at the preſent houre imbarked themſelues, drew vp their ankers, and rowed hard after their enemies: ſo that in a ſhort ſpace they ouertooke the rere of their veſſels, and ſo rudely hurt them, that they ſunke ſome of them. Immediatly after, *Dionyſius* drew his armie into the field: but the SICILIANS, friends vnto the CARTHAGINIANS, had gotten the ſtart before croſſing the countrie, inſomuch that the more part of them got home to their houſes. For this cauſe *Dionyſius* hauing left a guard to keepe the paſſages by the high waies, he brought his army backe againe to the enemies campe. The barbarous people ſeeing themſelues betrayed by their Generall, forſaken of the naturall CARTHAGINIANS and SICILIANS, their hearts were killed, and began to flie, ſtealing away, ſome this way, ſome that way: but all of them in manner fell into the hands of the ſouldiers that guarded the high wayes. Thoſe that were left, came before *Dionyſius*, and caſting downe their armes, beſought him to take pitie of them, and to ſaue their liues: the SPANIARDS onely excepted, who gathered themſelues together with their armes, and ſent vnto him to offer their ſeruice, if it would pleaſe him to accept them: the which he did, and receiued them into pay among the ſouldiers ſtrangers. For the reſt, he tooke the other priſoners, and gaue their baggage in prey to his ſouldiers. For *Himilco*, after he had liued ignominiouſly and poorely at CARTHAGE, he died diſtract of his wits. Some hold opinion that immediatly after he was arriued, not able to endure the ſhame he got in this warre, he killed himſelfe.

Dionyſius hauing driuen the CARTHAGINIANS out of SICILIA, he built vp MESSINA againe which they had ruined. Then he went to beſiege TAVROMENION, fortified by the SICILIANS: who luſtily gaue him the repulſe, and made a ſallie vpon him, and killed the moſt part of his men, hauing much ado to eſcape himſelfe. On the other ſide, *Mago* chiefe of the AFRICANS in SICILIA, did courteouſly intreate his allies, and receiued into his protection all thoſe whom *Dionyſius* oppreſſed. By which occaſion hauing won the hearts of the moſt part of them, he became ſo ſtrong in a ſhort time, that he got a great armie againe on foot, marched with them to MESSINA, and ouerranne all the plaine countrie, where hauing gotten a great bootie, he tooke vpon him to beſiege the ABACENIANS confederates of *Dionyſius*: who being bound to aide them, he went againſt the CARTHAGINIANS, beat *Mago* in a conflict, and killed eight hundred of his men. So hauing brought his troupes to SYRACVSA and refreſhed them, he armed a fleet of an hundred veſſels, to go and make warre with thoſe of RHEGE, and comming to their hauen by night, at that inſtant time he did fiercely aſſaile them, ſet fire on their gates, and ſet vp ſcaling ladders in diuerſe parts: neuertheleſſe the RHEGIANS defended themſelues ſo courageouſly, that he was forced to retire. And therupon receiuing certaine intelligence what great preparation they made at CARTHAGE to begin the warre againe: he left RHEGE, and returned againe to SYRACVSA. So the CARTHAGINIANS had gotten together againe foureſcore thouſand men, whom they ſent into SICILIA vnder the conduct of *Mago*. But before they came to ioyne with the enemies, they concluded peace with theſe conditions, that euery one ſhould enioy that they had gotten: That one of them ſhould not quarrel with the other for any thing: That *Dionyſius* might without breach of peace make warre with the TAVROMENITANS. Theſe being thus agreed vpon betweene them, *Dionyſius* went and beſieged TAVROMENION the ſecond time, and did more

furiouſly

furiouſly aſſault it then before: ſo that in the end, after long reſiſtance of them that were beſieged, he wanne the towne, draue out the SICILIANS that dwelt there, and did repleniſh it with ſtraungers whom he kept in pay. Afterwards becauſe his armie ſhould not be idle and mutinous, he choſe twentie thouſand footmen, and three thouſand horſe, and went into ITALY with them next adioyning vnto SICILIA, to ſubdue thoſe GREEKES which had dwelt there of long time. Newes being brought vnto them of *Dionyſius* intention, they aſſembled all the eſtates of the countrey of CROTONE, where they all reſolued to ioyne together to repulſe this common enemy: and making all the forces they could, eſtabliſhing *Eloris*, a baniſhed man of SYRACVSA their Chieftaine, they made their armie march againſt *Dionyſius*, who camped before the city of CAVLONE. He vnderſtanding of their comming, raiſed his ſiege ſuddenly to go and meete with them: and the next morning after his departure, by breake of day he gaue charge vpon the GREEKES with his troupes well appointed, who marching diſorderly, he killed their Chieftaine, and the valianteſt men of their army: and afterwards beſieged the others that had ſaued themſelues in a towne, and compelled them to yeeld for that they had no water. Yet contrary to all mens expectation, he vſed them very courteouſly, and ſent them home ſafe without ranſome. After he had won this goodly victory, he led his armie into the territorie of the RHEGIANS, whom he hated to the death. They hauing no friends, and too weake of themſelues to reſiſt ſuch a mightie enemy: were conſtrained to make peace with him with very hard conditions. For he made them giue him threeſcore galleys, a hundred and foureſcore thouſand crownes, and for hoſtage and obſeruation of other articles, a hundred of the chiefeſt of the towne. From thence he returned to beſiege CAVLONE, and held them ſo ſtraight, that he wan it by aſſault, deſtroyed it, and gaue the lands vnto them of LOCRES.

But for as much as he could not forget the vnreconciliable hatred he bare vnto the RHEGIANS, he hauing demaunded on a time one of their daughters in mariage: they report that the anſwer they made in an open aſſembly of the towne vnto his Ambaſſadors, was that they would giue him none of them, vnleſſe he would marry the hangmans daughter of the towne: this made him reſolue that he would ſee the end of it. And where before he had made peace with them, it was not for any good will he bare them, nor that he deſired their friendſhip, but becauſe he would take their galleys from them, hoping that after he had left them bare at the ſea, he ſhould come cloſer to them, and haue them at his diſcretion. Therefore whileſt he was in ITALIE, he ſought nothing elſe but to take an occaſion to make warre with them, ſo that he might not be charged that contrary to his faith he had broken the edict of pacification. Hauing therefore led his army vnto the ſtraite, making as though he would paſſe into SICILIA: he ſent vnto the RHEGIANS to demaund victuals for his army, promiſing to ſend them ſo much againe vpon his returne to SYRACVSA. Which he did, to the end that if they refuſed, he might excuſe himſelfe well if he did ſet vpon them: and if they did giue him any, it ſhould then turne to the hurt of the towne, which if it came to be beſieged, ſhould be conſtrained for famine to hold vp their hands to him. The RHEGIANS that leaſt doubted his malice, furniſhed him with victuals for certaine dayes: but perceiuing he taried there too long, now counterfeiting he was ſicke, then that he vſed other delayes to prolong time, they began to ſee his fetches, and refuſed to victuall him any more. Thereupon he faining to be much offended, ſent them home their hoſtages, and came to beſiege the towne: comming hard to their wals, he made daily and continuall aſſaults, beating vpon the wals with great engines which he had made expreſly of an incredible greatneſſe. They hauing choſen a valiant man for their Captaine, called *Phyton*, and furniſhed all thoſe that were able to beare armes in the towne, they defended themſelues couragiouſly, and did many wayes hurt their enemies: and ſpecially in a ſally they made, *Dionyſius* was ſore hurt with a launce in the flancke, that he was like to haue died. But being recouered and well againe, he purſued his purpoſe more obſtinately then euer: whereby he tooke all hope of aide from them, and hauing continued ſiege there eleuen moneths all together, in the end the RHEGIANS found themſelues in great want of victuals of all ſorts: for a buſhell of wheate was at fiftie crownes. After that all kind of corne failed them, firſt they did eate vp their horſes, and all kind of beaſts of burthen. Then when they had no more to eate, they did ſeeth all their hides and leather they could find within the towne, and ſo liued awhile. And laſt of all, comming out of the towne, they did eate and deuour vp ſuch herbes and rootes as they could find by their walles, euen as wild beaſtes. *Dionyſius* perceiuing it, in ſtead of pitying

of them (nay rather deſiring they ſhould eate one another of them) he cauſed the graſſe to be cut downe, and put his beaſtes in the campe into it, to feed of all that was alongſt the towne walles and ditches, to the end they ſhould haue nothing more to eate. So that in the end the poore RHEGIANS ouercome by neceſſitie, were conſtrained to yeeld themſelues and their towne to the diſcretion of the tyrant. Who being entred into the towne, found heapes of bodies dead of that plague of famine: and ſuch as were yet aliue, ſeemed rather ghoſts then liuing perſons. So he gathered together about ſixe thouſand priſoners, whom he ſent all to SYRACVSA, ſuffering notwithſtanding all that could raunſome themſelues, (paying a talent) to be redeemed: and the reſt to be ſold by the drumme to him that would giue moſt. Amongſt the priſoners there was *Phyton* and his ſonne. *Dionyſius* made his ſonne to be drowned firſt: and the next morning after, he made the father to be tied to the higheſt engine of battery he had, and ſent to tel him newes of the death of his ſon. He was happier by a day then his father, ſaid *Phyton*: who was drawne all the towne ouer, and whipped moſt ſhamefully: hauing a ſergeant at his back that cried out aloud, that *Dionyſius* made him be whipped thus, becauſe he had made the RHEGIANS take armes againſt him. But *Phyton* that had like a valiant captaine and worthy man ſhewed himſelfe in this ſiege, and had liued honorably all his life time, did patiently endure the paine which the tyrant made him ſuffer. For he remained conſtant, ſpeaking out aloud that euery body heard him: That he was put to death, becauſe he would not betray his countrey, and deliuer it into the tyrants hands, howbeit that within few daies the gods wold be reuenged of him for this outrage. His conſtancie was ſuch, that it moued *Dionyſius* ſoldiers to compaſſion: who began already to murmure againſt him. Wherfore fearing leſt they ſhold be ſo bold to take him out of the tormentors hands: he made thē leaue whipping of him, & cōmanded that they ſhold drowne him in the ſea with all his kinred, which was done: for the reſt, the city of RHEGE was razed to the ground.

Thus haue we made a large diſcourſe of the practiſes and wars of *Dionyſius*. Now let vs ſpeake ſomthing of his priuate gouernment. He had wit enough, but troubled with many vices: & the more he grew in yeares, the more it was corrupted. The flatterers made an end of his deſtruction: for they called his cruelty, the hate of wicked men, and good iuſtice, & made him beleeue that he was a moſt worthy man in all things: inſomuch that he thought himſelfe the only man of the world, and would be ſo reputed. Being thus caried, and ſeeing himſelfe at good leyſure, he entred into a courſe which he had ſomwhat diſcōtinued during the wars, & wherwith he was ſtrangely taken: which was, to write verſes, & to make tragedies. He fel to this ſtudy againe with more diligence then before, & ſent for Poets out of al parts, whom he honored, and gaue preſents vnto, becauſe they ſhould correct his works of Poëtry. They ſeeking to gratifie him for their profite, ſaid nothing, but that which they thought ſhould be moſt pleaſing vnto him: ſo that being puft vp with their flatteries, he gloried more in his verſes, then he did in his warres. Now amongſt other Poets that followed him, there was one they called *Philoxenus*, a learned man, and excellent to write hymnes in praiſe of the gods. *Dionyſius* one day gaue him a tragedy of his to peruſe and correct, he croſſed it all ouer from one end to the other: and one night being asked what he thought of certaine poëſies which the tyrant made, he ſpake openly, that they were woorth nothing. He anſwered ſo plainly, that *Dionyſius* angrily ſaid, it was of enuy that he cenſured his works ſo, and ſent him forthwith to dig in the quarry pit. The next morning his friends intreated *Dionyſius* to pardon him, which he did: & would haue him againe to ſupper with many others of his ſort. In the midſt of this feaſt, *Dionyſius* that deſired nothing more then to haue his verſes heard: he rehearſed ſome of them, and of thoſe eſpecially which he thought beſt done. Then turning himſelf to *Philoxenus*, he asked his opinion. But he anſwered him neuer a word, but looking about him, called one of *Dionyſius* guard and ſaid vnto him: Cary me againe to the quarry pit. *Dionyſius* ſmiling at it, bare this nip well: and ſoone after taking *Philoxenus* apart, perſwaded him not to be ſo ſharpe. His friends alſo told him that he might eaſily forbeare to ſpeake ſo freely to no purpoſe. Then *Philoxenus* made him an anſwer all new, ſaying, that from thenceforth he would keep ſuch a weight on his words, that he would ſpeake the truth, and keepe himſelfe in *Dionyſius* fauor, as he did. For *Dionyſius* hauing rehearſed certaine verſes full of great lamentations, to moue the hearts of the hearers to pity: he prayed *Philoxenus* to ſay his mind of thē: who anſwered him, that thoſe verſes had filled him full of pity. It was a ſharpe gird of mockery which *Dionyſius* perceiued not, no more then that which *Melanthius* ſpake of a tragedy after the like ſort, that he could not ſee it, it was ſo darke of ſpeech. And ſo was *Plato* not much better vſed then *Philoxenus*. *Dion* his

diſciple,

diſciple,and brother in lawe of *Dionyſius*, had ſpoken ſo much good to this tyrant, that being at leyſure he was contented to ſee *Plato*, and to heare him. So they being together, their talke generally was all of vertue: but chiefly they diſputed, what was true force and proweſſe? Where *Plato* proued vnto him, that tyrants were nothing leſſe then valiant men. Out of that, turning his talke to ſpeake of iuſtice: he ſhewed him that the life of the iuſt was very happie: and that to the contrary, the life of vniuſt men was moſt wicked. Inſomuch that the tyrant ſeeing himſelfe conuinced, could no longer endure talke with him: and was ſorie to ſee thoſe that were preſent ſo much to eſteeme of him, and to take ſuch ſingular pleaſure to heare him ſpeake. So at the laſt his choler being vp, he asked him what buſineſſe had brought him into SICILIA? To ſeeke an honeſt man, ſaid *Plato*. And how? (replyed *Dionyſius*) by the gods (to heare thee ſpeake) it ſeemeth thou haſt yet found none. *Dion* thought his choler ſhould go no further, and ſo ſent *Plato* away in a gallie, whom *Polis* a captaine of LACEDÆMON brought backe againe into GRECE. But *Dionyſius* prayed this captaine ſecretly, that whatſoeuer he did he ſhould kill *Plato* by the way, or at leaſtwiſe ſell him: adding too this ieaſt withall, He ſhall be neuer a whit the worſe for that: for if he be a iuſt man, he ſhall be as happy being a ſeruant as otherwiſe. And ſo *Plato* was ſold in the Ile of ÆGINE for the price of 200. crownes, and afterwards bought againe by *Annicerius* a Philoſopher, and ſent to ATHENS.

Dionyſius gaue himſelf all to Poëſie, and ſent for the beſt ſingers he could recouer in the games Olympials, to rehearſe and ſing his verſes before the people. The ſingers at the beginning were heard with admiratiõ of euery bodie, for the goodnes & fineneſſe of their voyces: but when they came to examine their ſongs, they were deſpiſed, mocked, and whiſtled at, which angred him extreamely when he heard of it. So this paſſioned deſire did ſo much increaſe in his head continually, that he became almoſt as a man beſide himſelfe: & ſaid that his faithfull friends did enuie him, and began to be at defiance with them, as if they had bene traitors vnto him. To conclude, this fury of his did ſo poſſeſſe him, that he did put many to death vpon falſe occaſions, and baniſhed others, as *Philiſtus*, and *Leptines* his brother, both of them valiant men, & that had done him great ſeruice in his wars. Howbeit afterwards he ſent for them againe, and they were his friends as before. But ſince we are now to talke of his cruelties, let vs ſay ſomething as we paſſe by. One of his greateſt friends called *Marſyas*, dreamed one night that he cut his throate. The tyrant vnderſtanding of it, put this poore dreamer to death: alleaging that this dreame could not haue come to him at night, but that he had it ſetled in his mind to commit ſuch an act in the day. *Leptines* being deſirous one day to deſcribe SICILIA in his preſence, tooke a halbard from one of the ſouldiers of his guard, and with the but end of it drew on the ground that which he would: wherewith *Dionyſius* was ſo angry, that he bitterly tooke vp *Leptines*, and put the ſouldier to death that had giuen him his halbard. *Dionyſius* one day being diſpoſed to diſport himſelfe ſome way, gaue his *Bardaſſe* his ſword and his cloke to keepe: which one of his familiars perceiuing, ſaid: And what, do you truſt this young boy with your life? The youth began to ſmile at it: but *Dionyſius* made him be killed, becauſe by his ſmiling he ſeemed to allow of this word: and he alſo diſpatched the other, becauſe he had ſhewed him the mean to kill him. He was determined to haue put his brother in law *Polyxemus* to death: but he hauing an inkling of it, fled out of SICILIA. *Dionyſius* ſent for *Teſcha* his ſiſter, and chid with her becauſe ſhe had kept his flying away cloſe from him. But ſhe anſwered him with a bold countenance: And how thinkeſt thou, *Dionyſius*, that I am a woman ſo cowardly and faint hearted, if I had knowne that my husband would haue gone, that I would not haue taken ſea with him, aud haue bene companion of his fortune? I knew nothing before he was gone, for it had bene more honorable for me to haue bene called the wife of *Polyxemus* baniſhed, then ſiſter to thee a tyrant. *Dionyſius* was blanke at this ſpeech, and the SYRACVSANS wondred at the vertue of this woman: inſomuch that after the tyrannie was deſtroyed, they did not leaue to do her all the honor that they could haue done to a Queene. And when ſhe was dead, all the citizens by common conſent went with her body to the ſepulture. A queſtion being moued one day, to wit: Which was the beſt copper? *Antiphon* anſwering quickly that it was that wherwith the ATHENIANS melted the ſtatues of *Armodius* and *Ariſtogiton*, *Dionyſius* made him to be ſtrangled and die in great torments. They report of him that he ſpared not his owne mother, but cauſed her to be ſtrangled, though ſhe was very old. And as for his brother *Leptines*, he ſuffered him to be killed by his enemies, albeit he might eaſily haue ſaued and deliuered him at that time. Some talked of his tyrannie in a Barbers ſhop, and ſaid it was well eſtabliſhed,

and alſo euill to be deſtroyed, as the Diamond to be broken. I maruell, ſaid the Barber, ſmiling, how you ſay that of him, vpon whoſe throat I paſſe my razour ſo often? Theſe words being brought to *Dionyſius*, he hanged the Barber. He had put to death at diuers times ten thouſand of his citizens, and though he had written in one of his tragedies, that tyrannie was the mother of iniuſtice: notwithſtanding he had oftentimes this word in his mouth: That children muſt be deceiued with plaies, & men with faire promiſes. And he ſaid, that the greateſt pleaſure and cõtentment he found in all his gouernment, was: that what he wold haue done, was ſodainly executed.

One day he would haue had money of the SYRACVSANS: they complained and lamented, beſeeching him to hold them excuſed, telling him they had no mony. He to the contrarie, made them to be asked alſo by others: which he did twiſe or thriſe one after another. And as he continued ſtill vrging of them yet further: it was told him they did nothing but laugh as they walked in the market place. Then he commanded his receiuers to preſſe them no more: for it is a ſigne, ſaid he, that they haue no more, ſince they make no account of vs. His mother being paſt age to marie, would needs mary a yong man. He anſwered her, that indeed it was in his power to break the lawes of SYRACVSA, but of nature, not. He ſeuerely puniſhing all other malefactors, pardoned theeues that tooke away mens gownes and clokes whom they met by night in the ſtreetes. To the end that for this cauſe the SYRACVSANS ſhould leaue to make feaſts and aſſemblies, wherin they could not keepe themſelues from ſpeaking & complotting againſt him. On a time a ſtranger promiſed him aloud to teach him ſecretly, how he ſhould know thoſe that did practiſe any thing againſt him. *Dionyſius* prayed him very earneſtly. So the other going to him, Giue me ſaid he, ſixe hundred crownes, that the SYRACVSANS may thinke thou haſt learned of me the ſignes to diſcouer the conſpirators. He gaue them him, and fained that he had learned theſe meanes of him: greatly commending the ſubtill faſhion to get money which this man had inuented. Hauing heard one day a man that played vpon the citherne paſſing well, he openly promiſed him the ſum of ſixe hundred crownes. The next morning he came to demaund this ſum: and *Dionyſius* told him: Thou gaueſt me great pleaſure yeſterday to heare thee play: and ſo did I thee in making thee this promiſe: and ſo thou wert paid in the field for the pleaſure thou gaueſt me, by that that thou receiuedſt. One asked him on a time, If he were not idle. God forbid, ſaid he, that that ſhould euer happen to me. He being enformed that two young men of the city drinking together, had ſpoken many euill words of him and his tyranny at the table: ſent to inuite them both to ſupper to him: and ſeeing that the one after he had drunke a litle, ſaid and did many od fooliſh things: and that the other to the contrarie was very ſober, and dranke but ſeldome: he pardoned the one, as being a drunkard and inſolent of nature, and that through drunkenneſſe had ſpoken euill of him: but he put the other to death, as one that bare him euill will in his heart, and being enemy vnto him euen of ſet purpoſe. Some of his familiars reproued him, becauſe he had honored and aduanced a wicked man, and euill beloued of the SYRACVSANS. And he anſwered them, I will that there ſhall be ſome one in SYRACVSA, that ſhall yet be more hated then my ſelfe. Once he ſent preſents vnto certaine ambaſſadors of CORINTH, which came vnto him. They refuſed them, becauſe they had a ſtatute in their commonwealth, that did forbid ambaſſadors to take or receiue any gifts or preſents of Lord or Prince whatſoeuer. He was diſcontented withall, and told them that they did euill to take away that only good which is in tyrannies, that is, to haue power to giue: but they taught men alſo, that to receiue any good of tyrants, is a thing one ſhould feare and ſhun. Being informed that a townesman of SYRACVSA had hidden a treaſure in the ground in his houſe, he commanded him to bring it him: the which he did, but not all for all that, for he reſerued a part with the which he went and dwelt in another town, and bought ſome land there: which when he vnderſtood, he ſent for him to come to him, and reſtored him all his gold and ſiluer: Since thou knoweſt now, ſaid he, how to vſe riches, and not to make that vnprofitable which is made for the vſe of man.

Now his cruelties and tyrannous behauiour made him maruellous odious to the world, by reaſon whereof he entred into ſuch a miſtruſt of euery body, that he made a trench be digged about his lodging where he lay, and becauſe he would lye ſafely, he drew vp a draw bridge, and ſhut himſelfe in with great feare, hauing a great guard without round about him. His wiues durſt not come into his chamber before they had put off their gownes, he was ſo afraid leſt they ſhold bring a dagger vnder their gownes. Yea his brother and his owne ſon were faine to put off their clothes, & the guard of his chamber ſhould come naked whatſoeuer he was that put his foot into it:

it: then there was another garment caſt vpon him. He was afraid of his owne ſon as much as of any other, doubting that when he felt his owne courage, and frequented men of vnderſtanding, he would make ſome complot againſt him, and in the end thruſt him out of his ſeate and ſignio-rie. He locked him vp in a chamber, and would ſuffer no man to come and ſpeake with him: where for lacke of other occupations, this young man occupied himſelf to make litle coaches or charrets, candleſtickes, ſaddles, ſtooles, and tables of wood. Neuertheleſſe, after he had ſome more libertie, and that his father beganne to let him come abroad: he ſtraight grew to be proud and diſſolute as might be. And they ſay, that when he had rauiſhed a townesmans wife by force, his father being angrie with him, asked him: whether euer he had ſeene him do any ſuch thing or not? the ſonne anſwered him: No more had you a father that was a tyrant. But *Dionyſius* replyed vpon him again: So ſhalt thou neuer haue a ſon at all, if thou leaueſt not to play theſe wicked parts. Another time going to ſee his ſon in his lodging, and ſeeing there great ſtore of veſſels of gold and ſiluer, he told him: there is nothing in thee of a Lord or Prince, ſince I haue giuen thee ſuch a deale of gold and ſiluer plate, and yet thou knoweſt not how to get a friend. It was an ordinarie thing with *Dionyſius* to tell wonders, and do litle, being ſo exceeding timorous, but ſpecially after the execution of his Barber, and that his daughters were now waxen great, he would not abide that any ſhould clip his haires with ſizers: but he made an image-maker of ima-ges of earth to come to him, who with a burning cole burnt his glib round about his head. Now he made himſelfe to be knowne by a memorable fact he did: which was this. A certaine flatte-rer called *Damocles*, praiſing the maieſty and riches of *Dionyſius*, and the magnificence of his pal-lace, maintained that the Sun neuer ſaw a more happy man. *Dionyſius* to make him partaker of this felicitie, made him ſit downe vpon a litle bed very ſumptuous, and enriched with wonder-full precious things. Then he cauſed them to ſet vp tables laden with veſſels of gold and ſiluer, and couered with wonderfull daintie meates, a number of fine Pages attending on his ſeruice, perfumes paſſing rare and moſt excellent ſweet for the chamber, and daintie muſicke both with voice and inſtruments. To be ſhort, all the pleaſures and paſtimes poſſible to be thought of, did compaſſe this minion of court round about. But in the midſt of al this magnificent furniture, *Di-onyſius* cauſed a naked ſword, gliſtering, and ſharpe pointed, to be faſtened to a ſmall haire of a horſe, and to be hanged right ouer *Damocles* head: who forgetting this felicity he had ſo much commended, beſought *Dionyſius* it might quickly be taken away. And like as he was cruell vnto men, ſo did he ſhew himſelfe a deſpiſer of his proper gods, wherof we will alleage ſome exam-ples. Hauing ſacked the temple of *Proſerpine* in the citie of Locres, he tooke the ſea, and ha-uing a gale of wind at pleaſure: You ſee, ſaid he, how the immortall gods do fauour ſacrileges. He tooke off a cloke of fine gold from *Iupiter Olympian*, in the towne of Syracvsa, which cloke weighed foureſcore and fiue talents, which are more woorth then fiftie thouſand crownes, and gaue him another of woollen, ſaying: That the cloke of gold was too cold for winter, and too heauie for ſommer: and that the woollen cloke would be more conuenient in both ſeaſons. He rounded alſo the ſtatue of *Apollo*, which had a glibbe of gold. And finding that money went low with him, by reaſon of his great expences in the warres he had againſt the Carthagi-nians, he tooke the ſea with a fleete of threeſcore galleys, with pretence to ſet vpon pyrates, but indeed it was to ſpoile a temple of great fame, full of goodly and rich iewels that had bene offe-red vp there, the which was ſeated vpon the edge of a quarter of a citie of Tvscan called A-gylle. Being arriued there in the night, and hauing landed his men: in the morning by breake of day he ſodainly and without any daunger executed his enterpriſe. For the place being guar-ded with ſome few men, he eaſily forced it, and afterwards at his leyſure ſacked the temple, where he got to the ſumme of 600000. crownes. Which the townesmen vnderſtanding, came out vpon him ſtraight to ſee if they could defend the temple: but he ouercame them in battell, and hauing taken a great number of priſoners, he ſpoiled all their countrie, and then returned to Syracvsa, where he ſold his priſoners and his bootie, for the which he had alſo 300000. crownes more.

So being now well ſtored againe, he began to ſet vp an armie: and becauſe he ſaw the towns ſubiect vnto the Carthaginians willing to reuolt, he did entice them, & vſed them very graci-ouſly that came and took his part. The Carthginians hearing that, ſent vnto him to demand their townes, otherwiſe they proclaimed warre againſt him. So on both ſides they came into the field. For the Carthaginians, they diſpatched *Mago* into Sicilia with a great armie. *Di-onyſius* being afraid of nothing, marched before with his troupes, and being camped neare to a

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One day he would haue had money of the SYRACVSANS: they complained and lamented, beſeeching him to hold them excuſed, telling him they had no mony. He to the contrarie, made them to be asked alſo by others: which he did twiſe or thriſe one after another. And as he continued ſtill vrging of them yet further: it was told him they did nothing but laugh as they walked in the market place. Then he commanded his receiuers to preſſe them no more: for it is a ſigne, ſaid he, that they haue no more, ſince they make no account of vs. His mother being paſt age to marie, would needs mary a yong man. He anſwered her, that indeed it was in his power to break the lawes of SYRACVSA, but of nature, not. He ſeuerely puniſhing all other malefactors, pardoned theeues that tooke away mens gownes and clokes whom they met by night in the ſtreetes. To the end that for this cauſe the SYRACVSANS ſhould leaue to make feaſts and aſſemblies, wherin they could not keepe themſelues from ſpeaking & complotting againſt him. On a time a ſtranger promiſed him aloud to teach him ſecretly, how he ſhould know thoſe that did practiſe any thing againſt him. *Dionyſius* prayed him very earneſtly. So the other going to him, Giue me ſaid he, ſixe hundred crownes, that the SYRACVSANS may thinke thou haſt learned of me the ſignes to diſcouer the conſpirators. He gaue them him, and fained that he had learned theſe meanes of him: greatly commending the ſubtill faſhion to get money which this man had inuented. Hauing heard one day a man that played vpon the citherne paſſing well, he openly promiſed him the ſum of ſixe hundred crownes. The next morning he came to demaund this ſum: and *Dionyſius* told him: Thou gaueſt me great pleaſure yeſterday to heare thee play: and ſo did I thee in making thee this promiſe: and ſo thou wert paid in the field for the pleaſure thou gaueſt me, by that that thou receiuedſt. One asked him on a time, If he were not idle. God forbid, ſaid he, that that ſhould euer happen to me. He being enformed that two young men of the city drinking together, had ſpoken many euill words of him and his tyranny at the table: ſent to inuite them both to ſupper to him: and ſeeing that the one after he had drunke a litle, ſaid and did many od fooliſh things: and that the other to the contrarie was very ſober, and dranke but ſeldome: he pardoned the one, as being a drunkard and inſolent of nature, and that through drunkenneſſe had ſpoken euill of him: but he put the other to death, as one that bare him euill will in his heart, and being enemy vnto him euen of ſet purpoſe. Some of his familiars reproued him, becauſe he had honored and aduanced a wicked man, and euill beloued of the SYRACVSANS. And he anſwered them, I will that there ſhall be ſome one in SYRACVSA, that ſhall yet be more hated then my ſelfe. Once he ſent preſents vnto certaine ambaſſadors of CORINTH, which came vnto him. They refuſed them, becauſe they had a ſtatute in their commonwealth, that did forbid ambaſſadors to take or receiue any gifts or preſents of Lord or Prince whatſoeuer. He was diſcontented withall, and told them that they did euill to take away that only good which is in tyrannies, that is, to haue power to giue: but they taught men alſo, that to receiue any good of tyrants, is a thing one ſhould feare and ſhun. Being informed that a townesman of SYRACVSA had hidden a treaſure in the ground in his houſe, he commanded him to bring it him: the which he did, but not all for all that, for he reſerued a part with the which he went and dwelt in another town, and bought ſome land there: which when he vnderſtood, he ſent for him to come to him, and reſtored him all his gold and ſiluer: Since thou knoweſt now, ſaid he, how to vſe riches, and not to make that vnprofitable which is made for the vſe of man.

Now his cruelties and tyrannous behauiour made him maruellous odious to the world, by reaſon whereof he entred into ſuch a miſtruſt of euery body, that he made a trench be digged about his lodging where he lay, and becauſe he would lye ſafely, he drew vp a draw bridge, and ſhut himſelfe in with great feare, hauing a great guard without round about him. His wiues durſt not come into his chamber before they had put off their gownes, he was ſo afraid leſt they ſhold bring a dagger vnder their gownes. Yea his brother and his owne ſon were faine to put off their clothes, & the guard of his chamber ſhould come naked whatſoeuer he was that put his foot into it:

it: then there was another garment caſt vpon him. He was afraid of his owne ſon as much as of any other, doubting that when he felt his owne courage, and frequented men of vnderſtanding, he would make ſome complot againſt him, and in the end thruſt him out of his ſeate and ſignio-rie. He locked him vp in a chamber, and would ſuffer no man to come and ſpeake with him: where for lacke of other occupations, this young man occupied himſelf to make litle coaches or charrets, candleſtickes, ſaddles, ſtooles, and tables of wood. Neuertheleſſe, after he had ſome more libertie, and that his father beganne to let him come abroad: he ſtraight grew to be proud and diſſolute as might be. And they ſay, that when he had rauiſhed a townesmans wife by force, his father being angrie with him, asked him: whether euer he had ſeene him do any ſuch thing or not? the ſonne anſwered him: No more had you a father that was a tyrant. But *Dionyſius* replyed vpon him again: So ſhalt thou neuer haue a ſon at all, if thou leaueſt not to play theſe wicked parts. Another time going to ſee his ſon in his lodging, and ſeeing there great ſtore of veſſels of gold and ſiluer, he told him: there is nothing in thee of a Lord or Prince, ſince I haue giuen thee ſuch a deale of gold and ſiluer plate, and yet thou knoweſt not how to get a friend. It was an ordinarie thing with *Dionyſius* to tell wonders, and do litle, being ſo exceeding timorous, but ſpecially after the execution of his Barber, and that his daughters were now waxen great, he would not abide that any ſhould clip his haires with ſizers: but he made an image-maker of ima-ges of earth to come to him, who with a burning cole burnt his glib round about his head. Now he made himſelfe to be knowne by a memorable fact he did: which was this. A certaine flatte-rer called *Damocles*, praiſing the maieſty and riches of *Dionyſius*, and the magnificence of his pal-lace, maintained that the Sun neuer ſaw a more happy man. *Dionyſius* to make him partaker of this felicitie, made him ſit downe vpon a litle bed very ſumptuous, and enriched with wonder-full precious things. Then he cauſed them to ſet vp tables laden with veſſels of gold and ſiluer, and couered with wonderfull daintie meates, a number of fine Pages attending on his ſeruice, perfumes paſſing rare and moſt excellent ſweet for the chamber, and daintie muſicke both with voice and inſtruments. To be ſhort, all the pleaſures and paſtimes poſſible to be thought of, did compaſſe this minion of court round about. But in the midſt of al this magnificent furniture, *Di-onyſius* cauſed a naked ſword, gliſtering, and ſharpe pointed, to be faſtened to a ſmall haire of a horſe, and to be hanged right ouer *Damocles* head: who forgetting this felicity he had ſo much commended, beſought *Dionyſius* it might quickly be taken away. And like as he was cruell vnto men, ſo did he ſhew himſelfe a deſpiſer of his proper gods, wherof we will alleage ſome exam-ples. Hauing ſacked the temple of *Proſerpine* in the citie of Locres, he tooke the ſea, and ha-uing a gale of wind at pleaſure: You ſee, ſaid he, how the immortall gods do fauour ſacrileges. He tooke off a cloke of fine gold from *Iupiter Olympian*, in the towne of Syracvsa, which cloke weighed foureſcore and fiue talents, which are more woorth then fiftie thouſand crownes, and gaue him another of woollen, ſaying: That the cloke of gold was too cold for winter, and too heauie for ſommer: and that the woollen cloke would be more conuenient in both ſeaſons. He rounded alſo the ſtatue of *Apollo*, which had a glibbe of gold. And finding that money went low with him, by reaſon of his great expences in the warres he had againſt the Carthagi-nians, he tooke the ſea with a fleete of threeſcore galleys, with pretence to ſet vpon pyrates, but indeed it was to ſpoile a temple of great fame, full of goodly and rich iewels that had bene offe-red vp there, the which was ſeated vpon the edge of a quarter of a citie of Tvscan called A-gylle. Being arriued there in the night, and hauing landed his men: in the morning by breake of day he ſodainly and without any daunger executed his enterpriſe. For the place being guar-ded with ſome few men, he eaſily forced it, and afterwards at his leyſure ſacked the temple, where he got to the ſumme of 600000. crownes. Which the townesmen vnderſtanding, came out vpon him ſtraight to ſee if they could defend the temple: but he ouercame them in battell, and hauing taken a great number of priſoners, he ſpoiled all their countrie, and then returned to Syracvsa, where he ſold his priſoners and his bootie, for the which he had alſo 300000. crownes more.

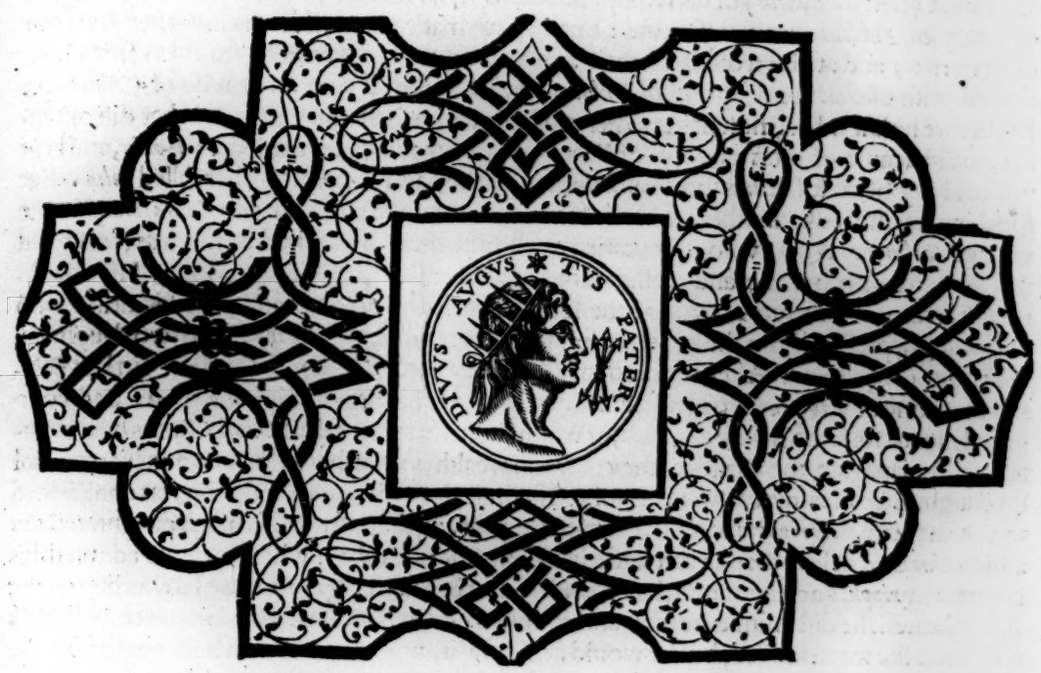
So being now well ſtored againe, he began to ſet vp an armie: and becauſe he ſaw the towns ſubiect vnto the Carthaginians willing to reuolt, he did entice them, & vſed them very graci-ouſly that came and took his part. The Carthginians hearing that, ſent vnto him to demand their townes, otherwiſe they proclaimed warre againſt him. So on both ſides they came into the field. For the Carthaginians, they diſpatched *Mago* into Sicilia with a great armie. *Di-onyſius* being afraid of nothing, marched before with his troupes, and being camped neare to a

place called Cabales: both the armies fiercely gaue charge vpon each other, & after a long fight *Mago* was slaine in the place with 10000. of his men, and 5000. taken prisoners. The Carthaginians were not discouraged for all this, but chose them againe the son of *Mago* for their chiefe Captaine, a young Gentleman, wise, couragious, and valiant. So after they had stayed *Dionysius* by a truce for a certaine time, the terme being expired, they presented him battell, and fought it out so resolutely, that after they had slaine his brother *Leptines* (whom he forsooke at his need) and fourteene thousand of his men, with much ado he saued himselfe. But the conquerers being neuer a whit prouder of such a victory, they sent ambassadors vnto him that cõcluded a peace for their aduantage. For beside the townes that remained vnto them, *Dionysius* paid them 600000. crownes to defray their charges in the wars. Also he kept not this peace long, but brake it shortly after: for vnderstanding that the plague was hot amongst the Carthgainians, and that they were fallen out amongst themselues: he tooke occasion of this aduantage, and to giue colour to his pretence, gaue it out that the souldiers Africans had foraged the lands of his friends, wherupon he leauied an army of 30000. footmen, and 3000. horse: with this army he began to make war againe, and in the first employment of his forces he wan Selinonte and Entelle: & after that he marched to Lilybee to besiege it: but seeing it well guarded, he returned backe againe. Hereupon newes was brought him that fire had taken some of the arsenals of the Carthaginians: wherfore supposing al their ships of war had bene burnt, he began to scoffe at al their forces. But they hauing armed vpon a sodain a fleet of 200. gallies, assailed vnlooked for 130. of *Dionysius* gallies, which wintered in the hauen of Erix, some of them he sunke and brought away the others. After this losse *Dionysius* retired into Syracvsa, and fell very sicke. The which *Dion* perceiuing, entred into talke of his children, and of his sister *Aristomache*. But the Phisitians to currie fauor with yong *Dionysius*, hindered him that he could haue no fit time to say any thing to him. Or as *Timæus* writeth, they gaue him a drinke (as he had commanded them) to make him sleepe, and by this means tooke from him his senses, ioyning death with sleepe. Some others say, that he was killed by his guard: others, that he was poisoned. But *Diodorus* the Sicilian setteth downe the cause after another sort: which is this. He had caused, said he, a litle before, a tragedy of his intituled, The Leneians, to be plaid at Athens: & hauing gotten the victory, one of the musitians brought him word of it by sea: which did so please him, that after he had richly rewarded the messenger, he made a great sacrifice to the gods to giue them thanks for this prosperity, & sumptuous feasts, vnto the which he inuited all his friends, and dranke so largely, that he fell into a great sickenes wherof he died. Now he had in times past an oracle, that had foretold him he shold dye then, when he had ouercome those that should be worthier then himself. He applyed this oracle to the Carthaginians, supposing it was meant by them, because they were stronger then he. This was the cause that oftentimes in the battels he had wonne against them, he being victour, fled, or willingly suffered himself to be ouercome because of this prediction. Howbeit he could not shun his destiny: for being an ill Poet, he was iudged by the sentence of corrupt iudges, to haue excelled all the other Poets better then euer he was: & then came he to end his daies, as the oracle had foretold him. Now though he had raigned the space of 38. yeares full out, and had boasted many times that he would leaue his son a Principality chained with strong chaines of a diamond: this yong *Dionysius* ruled no long time, but being shortly after driuen out of Syracvsa by the inhabitants themselues, secondly by *Dion*, & at the last by *Timoleon*, who ouerthrew him altogether: he was sent to Corinth, where he ended the rest of his daies in misery. Afterwards the Syracvsans maintaining their liberty for the space of 20. yeares: they fell into *Agathocles* hands, who also cõmitted terrible cruelties. After his death, they being full of ciuill dissention, demanded aide of *Pirrhus* king of Epirvs against the Carthaginians. He hauing made a iourny into Sicilia, was constrained to leaue it, and had great war with the Romains. By reason wherof the Syracvsans willingly yeelded themselues vnto *Hieron* the second of that name, vnder whom (a great friend of the Romains) they prospered the space of fiftie yeares. But after his death, his litle sonne *Hieronymus*, a yong Lord and vnruly: tooke part with the Carthaginians: and hauing raigned only fifteene moneths, he was killed by his guard. Now for that his death brought on great confusions, and that the Syracvsans enclined to the Carthaginians part: the Consull *Marcellus* went to besiege Syracvsa, and tooke it in the second yeare of the 142. Olympiade. So that afterwards it was gouerned by Prætors, and according to the Romaine law, euen to the declination of their Empire.

The end of Dionysius life.

THE

THE LIFE OF
Octauius Cæsar Augustus.



Thy youth Augustus, and thy tongues good gift,
Thy valour, wisedome, and thy worthy feats,
Thy countries loue, thy lawes, and statutes, lift
Thy throne aboue all other princely seates.

ACcia, the daughter of *Accius Balbus* and of *Iulia* the sister of *Iulius Cæsar*, was maried vnto the father of this man, whose life we write of now, and who was descended of the auncient race of the *Octauians*, issued out of the countrey of the VOLSCES, and knowne at ROME from the time of *Tarquinius*, and of *Seruius Tullus*. Their sonne *Octauius* was borne in the yeare of the Consulship of *Cicero* and of *Caius Antonius*, at that time when as the conspiracy of *Catiline* was discouered, and suppressed. He was called *Thurinus*: but afterwards, according to the tenor of his vnckles testament, who made him his heire, he was called *Caius Iulius Cæsar*, and lastly *Augustus*, by the aduice of *Munatius Plancus*, and by the decree of the Senate. He was but foure yeares old when his father died, and at twelue yeares he made the funerall oration for his grandmother *Iulia*: foure yeares after that, he became a gowneman, though he were but yong: yet his vnckle gaue him a present at his returne out of AFRICK, such as the souldiers are accustomed to haue of their Captaines. Shortly after he followed his vnckle into SPAINE, whither he was gone against the children of *Pompey*, and passed through many great dangers to ouertake him. This warre being ended, because *Cæsar* vndertooke other longer iourneys, *Octauius* was sent into the city of APPOLONIA: and there plied his booke very diligently. And it chanced him, without hauing any mind to it, that being gone to see *Theogenes* a learned Astronomer, he cast his natiuity, and suddenly he leapt being amazed, and honoured him. The which made *Octauius* conceiue great hope of himselfe, and in memorie of this good hap, he caused certaine peeces of money to be coined, and he himselfe told the opinion of *Theogenes*. Being returned from APPOLONIA to ROME, after his vnckle was slaine by *Cassius*, *Brutus*, and their allies, he declared himselfe to be his heire, though his mother and *Marcius Philippus* were of another mind. And hauing put himselfe forward, he gouerned

the commonwealth of Rome, first with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*: afterwards with *Antonius* the space of twelue yeares: and lastly himselfe alone, the space of foure and forty yeares. But before we speake of his gouernement of common affaires in time of peace and warre, let vs say somewhat (after *Swetonius*) of his family and his maners. He married being yet very young the daughter of *Publius Seruilius Isauricus*: but hauing made peace with *Antonius* after the warre of Mvtine, and at the request of their armies who were desirous to see them friends, he maried with *Clodia*, the daughter of *Publius Clodius* and of *Fuluia* then wife of *Antonius*. But before he knew her, he sent her to her mother, with whom he was somewhat discontented, and because of the warre also of Perovse. Immediatly he maried *Scribonia*, and kept not her long because she was too troublesome: yet he had a daughter by her called *Iulia*. But forsaking her, he tooke another which he loued vnto the end: and that was *Liuia Drusilla* the wife of *Tiberius Nero*, whom he caried with him great with child as she was, and had no children by her but one, and yet she went not out her time, and it had no life. His daughter *Iulia* was maried vnto *Marcellus*, the sonne of his sister *Octauia*: and after his death vnto *Marcus Agrippa*, by whom she had three sonnes, *Caius*, *Lucius*, and *Agrippa*: and two daughters, *Iulia*, and *Agrippine*. After the death of *Marcus Agrippa*, he chose for his sonne in law *Tiberius* the sonne of *Tiberius Nero* and of *Liuia Drusilla*, at that time a knight of Rome, and compelled him to forsake his wife *Vipsamia*, of whom he had a sonne called *Druſus*. But as he was fortunate in managing the affaires of the common wealth, so was he vnfortunate in his race: for his daughter and his neece *Iulia* committed so foule faults in Rome, that he was constrained to banish them. *Agrippine* was maried vnto *Germanicus*, the sonne of his sisters daughter. *Caius* and *Lucius* died in lesse then a yeare and a halfe one after the other: whereupon he adopted his nephew *Agrippa*, and his sonne in law *Tiberius*. But because *Agrippa* was of a churlish nature and vnhonest, he did disinherite him, and confined him to Svrrentvm. His neece *Iulia* had a child after she was banished, but he would not know it, nor suffer it should be brought vp. He was very modest and continent in all the parts of his life, sauing that he was somewhat giuen to women and play: for the rest, he liked not great pallaces, but was contented with meane lodgings: and if there were any ornament, it was in porches and parkes. His housholdstuffe and apparell was nothing sumptuous nor costly. It pleased him well to make feasts, he very carefully made choise of his guests, and oftentimes he sate downe at the table a long time after euery body, and would rise before others, which remained after he was vp. In his ordinarie diet he banished superfluity of meates: he delighted to be merry and pleasant among his friends, or to bring in pleasant players of comedies to passe the time away. And he did not tie himselfe to any certaine howres to eate his meate, but when his stomacke serued him he tooke something. So that somtimes he supped not at al, and then when euery man was gone, he made them bring him meate, neither dainty nor delicate. Also he drunke very litle wine, he slept in the day, and by times in the night, talking with some, or reading: so that oftentimes he slept not till the breake of day, and for that he tooke no rest in the night, he might chaunce to sleepe in his litter as they caried him in the streetes in the day time vp and downe Rome. He was a goodly Prince, and that kept himselfe in good state from the beginning of his life to the latter end: not curious to set himselfe out, as litle caring to be shauen, as to weare long haire: and in stead of a looking-glasse, reading in his booke, or writing, euen whilest the Barber was trimming of him. Whether he spake or held his peace, he had so comely a face, that many of his enemies bent to do him hurt, their hearts would not serue them so soone as euer they looked on him. He had very cleare and liuely eyes, but with time he was subiect to many diseases and infirmities, the which he remedied with great care. As for his exercises, he left armes and horses immediatly after the ciuill warres: for he was neuer any great souldier. He would play at tennis, at the ballone, he would go abroad in his coach to walke and stirre himselfe. Sometimes he would go a fishing, or play at the bones, or at nuts with yong children of the Moores & Syrians that had some prety maner and behauiour with them, and alwayes spake words to moue laughter. He was learned in the liberall sciences, very eloquent, and desirous to learne: insomuch that during the warre of Mvtine, in the middest of all his infinite affaires, he did reade, he wrote, and made orations amongst his familiars. He neuer spake vnto the Senate nor people, nor to his souldiers, but he had first written and premeditated that he would say vnto them, although he had speech at commaundement, to propound or aunswer to any thing in the field. And because he would

not

not deceiue his memory, or loſe time in ſuperfluous ſpeech: he determined euer to write all that he would ſay: and he was the firſt inuenter of it. If he had to conferre with any man, or with his wife in any matters of importance: he would put that downe in his writing tables, becauſe he would ſpeake neither more nor leſſe. And he tooke pleaſure to pronounce his words with a ſweete voyce and good grace, hauing continually about him for this purpoſe a fine man to frame his voice. But one day hauing a paine in his mouth, he made his oration to the people by an Herauld. He made many bookes and verſes of diuerſe ſorts: but all is dead with time. His ſpeech was as the reſt of his life, eloquent, well couched together, and ſententious. He delighted to reade good authors, but he gathered nothing other then the ſentences teaching good maners: and hauing witten them out word by word, he gaue out a copy of them to his familiars: and ſent them about to the gouernours of prouinces, and to the magiſtrates of Rome and of other cities. He was ſomewhat, and too much giuen vnto deuinations: he was maruellouſly afraid of thunder and lightning: he had a great confidence in dreames, and in ſuch like vanities. But peraduenture we are too curious ſearching out his priuate life: yet that may ſometime diſcouer great perſonages more then their publicke actions, in the which they are more carefull to frame their countenances, and do counterfeit moſt.

Now, as we haue lightly runne ouer his priuate life before ſpoken of: ſo ſhall the memorable deeds done by his authorite be briefly repreſented: being vnpoſſible to comprehend in a few lines ſo many notable things, vnleſſe a man would make a great booke of them. This is to be noted in him, that ſo young a man hauing ſo ſmall beginnings, comming out of a meane houſe in compariſon of others, hath excelled all other young and old men in wiſedome and greatneſſe of courage: ſhould riſe ſo high, that before he had bene Prætor the Senate gaue him the name of *Auguſtus*, created him maiſter of the horſe, when as yet he neuer had charge of a company of men at armes: proclaimed him Emperour and ſoueraigne captaine, afore he had bene placed in any publike office by authority of the Senate. Furthermore, for the firſt time he was choſen Conſull when he was but twentie yeares old: and he was thirteene times Conſull, and twentie times called Soueraigne captaine. Afterwards, when he was not yet foure and thirtie yeares old, the Senate and people of Rome gaue him this goodly name of father of his country, becauſe he had maintained and preſerued the commonwealth. It is a wonderfull thing that he could wind himſelfe out of ſo many great affaires and warres, that he could within foure and twentie yeares of age, reſtore againe into ſo good eſtate the commonwealth of Rome, turmoiled and troubled with ſo many proſcriptions and ciuill warres as it was. And that afterwards ſo long as he commaunded alone, he did ſo firmely eſtabliſh this Monarchie, that notwithſtanding the infinite troubles receiued vnder other Emperours, yet it ſtood vpright and in ſo great proſperitie for ſo many hundred yeares. After the death of *Iulius Cæſar*, this man being but bare eighteene yeares old, came to Rome, where he was welcomed and immediatly did conteſt with *Antonius*, hated of *Cicero* and of many others: from whence the aduancement of this young *Cæſar* came, and the declaration of the warre againſt *Antonius*, iudged an enemy of the commonwealth, and ouercome by the Conſuls *Hirtius* and *Panſa*. *Cæſar* who was their aſſociate, was called Soueraigne captaine, though he had not yet fought: both the Conſuls being dead of their hurts. But the Senate after this ouerthrow, beginning to change their mind, he perceiuing that they were ſlow to graunt him the Conſulſhip, reſolued to poſſeſſe it by force of armes, and began to acquaint himſelfe with *Antonius* and *Lepidus* which were ioyned together: he made that the ſouldiers promiſed by oath the one to the other, that they would fight againſt none of *Cæſars* troupes, & ſent 400 men to Rome to aske for him, in the name of all the army, the office of Cõſull. They hauing deliuered their charge vnto the Senate, *Cornelius* the Centiner chiefe of this legation or ambaſſade, perceiuing they wold giue him no preſent anſwer, caſting vp his caſſocke, & ſhewing the Senate the pommell of his ſword, ſayd vnto them: This ſhall do it, if you will not do it. So they being returned without obtaining their demand, *Cæſar* made *Antonius* and *Lepidus* come into Italy, & he for his part hauing paſſed the riuer of Rubicon, marched with 8 legions right to Rome. This put all Rome in ſuch a feare, as they ſent to *Cæſar* to preſent him the Conſulſhip: and twiſe ſo much in gift, as they had promiſed the legions. Now whileſt the Ambaſſadors were on their way, the Senators beginning again to take hart to them, encouraged by the arriuall of the legions of Africk, they determined to try all meanes before they wold betray the liberty of their coũtry, being minded to cal backe that which they had ſent to *Cæſar*, & ſo diſpoſed them-

ſelues to make warre. *Cæſar* being offended with this inconſtancie, ſent certaine horſemen before to aſſure the people that he would make no tumult at all: he drew his legions neare, and made himſelfe Lord of ROME without one ſtroke ſtriken: and contrariwiſe, the people and Senate receiued him with ſhew of great ioy. Then, in the aſſembly of all the people he was choſen Conſull, iuſt at the full accompliſhment of twenty yeares of his age. So he demaunded in the field that they ſhould proceed criminally againſt thoſe that had killed his father *Cæſar*. 2. *Pedius* his fellow Conſull publiſhed the decree. So were *Brutus* and *Caſsius*, and all their friends condemned, with interdiction of water and fire. But for as much as *Auguſtus* had too ſmall meanes to ſet vpon *Brutus* and *Caſsius*, he reconciled *Antonius* and *Lepidus* with the Senate, and made alliance with them, followed with great armies. They ioyned, and were in conſultation of their affaires the ſpace of three dayes together, neare vnto BOLONIA, or vnto MVTINE, and as if the ROMAINE Empire had bene their owne inheritance, they deuided it betweene them three. So that *Cæſar* had the high and baſe LYBIA, with SICILIA, and SARDINIA. SPAINE and GAVLE NARBONNESE fell vnto *Lepidus*: and the reſt of GAVLE was for *Antonius*. They did decree alſo that they ſhould be called *Trium-viri*, appointed for the reeſtabliſhment of the commonwealth, with ſoueraigne authority for fiue yeares, to diſpoſe and giue the eſtates and offices to whom they thought good, without asking aduice of the Senate nor people. So they eſtabliſhed *Lepidus* Conſull for the yeare following, in the place of *Decimus Brutus* that was killed: and they gaue him the gard of ROME and ITALIE, ſo long as they two that remained made their preparations to go againſt *Brutus* and *Caſsius*. Beſides the preſents they ſhould make vnto the ſouldiers after the victory, they promiſed to giue them leaue to eaſe themſelues, & eighteene rich townes in ITALIE for them to dwell in. Then they began to ſet vp a rolle of all the citizens of ROME appointed by them to be ſlaine. And they decreed to euery free man that ſhould bring the *Trium-viri* a head of the proſcripts, the ſum of two thouſand fiue hundred crownes, and halfe ſo much vnto the ſlaues with enfranchiſement: and the like ſumme alſo to whoſoeuer could diſcouer any man that had hidden or fauoured the proſcripts. *Antonius* and *Lepidus* were thought to be the chiefe authors of this horrible tragedie: and *Cæſar* ſeemed willing to none but to the murtherers of his father, and did a long time oppoſe himſelfe againſt the other two: but at the length he gaue ouer, and they made wonderfull changes, abandoning their owne parents and friends the one to the other, to be reuenged of their enemies. But when the ſword was once drawne, he was no leſſe cruell then the other two. *Cicero* was not forgotten, as we may ſee in his life: and it would be very hard to deſcribe the wickedneſſe of that time, the which like a furious ſtreame caried away ſo many citizens of ROME. In whoſe hiſtorie do appeare moſt rare examples of all ſorts of vices and vertues in all manner of perſons: of whom we will make mention, after thoſe that haue written more at large: as amongſt others, *Appianus Alexandrinus*: which will ſerue to ſhew, how much a man is a furious beaſt, being lift vp in authoritie in the commonwealth, and giuen to reuenge. That there is nothing certaine nor ſure in mans proſperitie, which bringeth much enuie to his ſeruants: as to the contrarie aduerſitie maketh the afflicted contemptible: and euery body aſhamed of them. But they are wiſe men, that in ſuch tragicall accidents do cary an inuincible heart, reſolutely obeying neceſſitie, and a more high prouidence then that of man. We muſt not call that intollerable which may happen to great or meane men: for all humane accidents are vnder the feete of vertue. It chaunceth often, that force and wiſedome do defend a man, as alwayes theſe two vertues do preſerue his honour. He is well aduiſed that can finely pacifie and diuert the furie of an enemy: as to the contrary ſhame and deſpaire do gripe cowards, ſlothfull, and fearfull. But in fine, neceſſity preſſeth on the one ſide, and danger on the other.

So they did ſet vp the names of the proſcripts faſtned in diuers places of ROME, to the number of an hundred & thirty Senators for the firſt time, a hundred & fiftie at the ſecond time, and two thouſand Knights. Then was the gate open to all villanies and cruelties, fought withall by patience and fidelity: but the examples will ſhew that better then all the diſcourſe a man can make. *Saluius Otho*, Tribune of the people, was one of the firſt. Hauing inuited his friends to his laſt ſupper, a Centener came in, who in the preſence of all his gueſts, halfe dead for feare, ſtrake off his head. *Minutius* the Prætor was alſo killed, ſitting in his ſeate of iudgement. *L. Villius Annalis*, a man that had bene Conſull, being eſcaped out of the hands of the murtherers, ſaued himſelfe in the ſubburbes in a litle houſe of one of his clients: but his owne ſonne hauing

no

no patience to ſtay for the inheritance of his father, bewrayed him vnto the ſouldiers who went to kill him there. Shortly after, this parricide being drunke had a quarrell with the ſelfe ſame ſouldiers, who ſtabbed him in with their daggers. *C. Toranius* was betrayed in like maner by his owne ſonne, who hauing conſumed in a few dayes the ſucceſſion which he had ſo execrably purſued, and being condemned for theft, was baniſhed into a place where he died for want and pouerty. Now againſt theſe wicked, let vs ſet ſome vertuous children. *Q. Cicero* was hid by his ſonne, whom they could neuer make confeſſe (though he was tormented) where his father was: who, not able any longer to endure they ſhould afflict ſo vertuous a ſonne with ſo many euils for his ſake, came and preſented himſelfe to the murtherers. The ſonne began to intreate them to kill him before his father: but they were both killed at one time. The *Egnates*, father and ſonne, one embracing the other, were both run through and ſlaine at one blow. *C. Hoſidius Geta* was buried for dead by his ſonne: who ſaued him, ſuſtained and kept him till it was peace. *Arruntius*, after he had comforted and ſtrengthened his ſonne, put himſelfe to the ſwords of the murtherers. The ſonne died immediatly after for griefe, and famine. Some other children carefully ſaued and kept their fathers, and hid them. Certaine women alſo ſhewed themſelues maruellous faithfull and louing to their husbands: and ſo were there to the contrarary ſome vnfaithfull, that diſcouered their wonderfull wickedneſſe. *Tanuſia* made ſuch earneſt ſute, that ſhe obtained grace of *Cæſar* for *T. Iunius* her husband, who was hidden by *Philopæmen* his bondman enfranchiſed: whom *Cæſar* knighted for his fidelity to his maiſter. *Q. Ligarius* hauing bene kept by his wife was diſcouered by a ſlaue, and killed: wherefore his wife killed her ſelfe with famine. *Lucretius Veſpillo*, hauing erred and runne in great daunger here and there, not knowing whither to flie: came ſecretly to his wife *Thuria*, and was hidden and kept cloſe betwixt the ſeeling and the top of the houſe, vntill ſhe had obtain ed his grace of the *Trium-viri*. *Apuleius* was ſaued by his wife, who fled with him. The wife of *Antius* wrapped vp her husband in couerlets, and made him be caried to the ſea as a packet of ſtuffe, where he imbarked, and ſailed into SICILIA. *Coponius* was ſaued by his wife, who put her honour aſide in reſpect of her husbands life: for ſhe lent her body one night vnto *Antonius* to preſerue him (which ſhe did by that meanes) whom ſhe loued better then her ſelfe. Now to the contrary, ſome women vnfaithfull to their husbands, deliuered them into the hands of the murtherers, becauſe they might marrie againe. Amongſt other, the wife of *Septimius* hauing ſhamefully giuen her body vnto one of *Antonius* familiars: ſhe cauſed her husband to be put in the number of the Proſcripts, that ſhe might more eaſily continue her adulterie: and ſo was *Septimius* put to death. *Q. Vettius Salaſſus*, was hidden in a ſure priuy place: wherewith he acquainted his wife, but ſhe ſtraight reuealed him to the murtherers. The which he perceiuing from a high place where he was, caſt himſelfe downe headlong, chuſing rather to die ſo, then to make his cruell wife paſtime. *Fuluius* was diſcouered by a ſlaue of his, and his concubine: ielous becauſe he had maried a wife, and had left her, although notwithſtanding he had made her free, and had giuen her goods to liue withall. Now let vs preſently ſpeake of the faithfulneſſe and vnfaithfulneſſe of ſlaues enfranchiſed. *P. Naſo* was betrayed by his ſlaue freed, with whom he had bene too familiar. But he ſold his death, for he killed the traytor with his owne hands, and afterwards held out his neck to the hangmen. *L. Lucceius* had put into the hands of two of his ſlaues manumiſſed, as much as was neceſſary to haue relieued him in his baniſhment: but they ranne away with all, and he came and put himſelfe to the ſlaughter. *Haterius*, that was in a ſecret place, was ſold and diſcouered by a ſlaue of his. *Caſſius Varus* being bewrayed by a free man that was his ſlaue, eſcaped neuertheleſſe, and hid himſelfe among reeds: where being found by thoſe of MINTVRNES, they tooke him for a theefe, and would haue racked him to haue bewrayed his companions, he diſcouered himſelfe to be a Senator of ROME: but they would not beleeue him, becauſe he was in poore eſtate. But whileſt they were reaſoning of the matter, there cometh a Centener that ſtrake off his head. *C. Plotius* was ſaued by his ſlaues: but being a man giuen to parfume and rubbe himſelfe with odoriferous ointments, the ſent and ſmell of them diſcouered him to the ſouldiers, that went ferriting vp and downe in his houſe: yet could they not find him, but cruelly tormented his ſeruants, to make them confeſſe where he was: which they would neuer do. But *Plotius* hauing compaſſion of the euils of his faithfull ſlaues, came out of the place where he was hidden, and becauſe he would prolong their life, he ſhortened his owne, and preſented himſelfe to the murtherers. *Appius Claudius*, as he was neare to be had by the backe, chaunged his

gowne with his ſlaue, who went in that ſort to preſent himſelfe to the murtherers: but they tooke off his head, and ſo he ſaued his maiſters head. Another ſlaue of *Menenius* did the like: for he went into his maiſters litter, and offered his necke to the ſword of the murtherers: who diſpatched him whileſt his maiſter got to the port of the ſea, from whence he eſcaped into Sicilia. But the ſlaue of *Vrbinus Panopio* is worthy of memory euery where: for he hearing the murtherers came to ſacke his maiſter, tooke his maiſters gowne from him and his ring, gaue him his owne, and put him out at the backe gate. Then he goeth vp into his maiſters chamber, and lay downe vpon his bed, where he boldly attended them that killed him for *Panopio*. Another ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe faithfull in the behalfe of *Antius Reſtio*: for although his maiſter had throughly thwacked him for his knauiſh trickes played a few dayes before, and that then it ſeemeth he had oportunity to be reuenged: he to the contrary imployed himſelfe after a maruellous faſhion to ſaue his maiſter: for he meeting with an old man in his iourney ſtrake off his head, and ſhewing that with his whippings together to the murtherers, he made them eaſily beleeue that he had bene well reuenged of his maiſter, with whom immediatly after he ſaued himſelfe in Sicilia. The ſlaues of *Martius Cenſorinus* kept him a long time, and ſo well that he had leiſure to go to *Sextus Pompeius*. *Q. Oppius* an honourable old man, and being almoſt at the pits brincke, like to be killed, was reſcued by his ſonne, who hauing finely gotten him out of Rome, tooke him vp on his ſhoulders, and afterwards led him into Sicilia, where all the poore diſtreſſed Romaines were gently receiued: for *Pompeius* had ſent certaine ſhips to keepe vpon the coaſt of Italie, and pinaſſes euery where, to the end to receiue all them that fled on that ſide: giuing them double recompence that ſaued a Proſcript, and honourable offices to men that had bene Conſuls and eſcaped, comforting and entertaining the others with a moſt ſingular courteſie: many went into Macedon to *Brutus* and *Caſsius*: others into Africke to *Cornificius*. Some hauing eſcaped the tempeſt that was in the time of *Sylla*, were euen glutted with this cruelty: as amongſt others, *M. Fiduſtius*, and *Lucius Philuſcius*. *T. Labienus* was one of the number of the murtherers in the proſcription of *Sylla*. Afterwards he did nothing elſe but go vp and downe with a ſoule poſſeſſed with furies: ſo that being weary of his life at this time, he went and ſate in a chaire at his gate, quietly attending that they ſhould put him in the number of them that ſhould be killed. *Statius Samnis*, an honourable Senator, being foureſcore yeares old: becauſe theeues ſhould haue no part of his goods, he left them in pray whoſoeuer would take them: and afterwards ſet his houſe on fire, and burnt himſelfe within it. *Aponius* being kept a good while by his ſlaues, was ſo weary to be ſhut vp in a troubleſome place, and where he liued very poorely: that he came out to the market place, and held out his throat to the murtherers. *Ceſtius* being poſſeſſed with the like griefe, cauſed his ſlaues to make a great fire, and then caſt himſelfe in it. *Sulpitius Rufus*, a man that had bene Conſull died, becauſe of an Ile of his the which he would not ſell vnto *Fuluia*: as alſo *Ampius Balbus*, for that he refuſed to giue this woman a pleaſant place of his. *Balbus* was betrayed by a ſeruant of his, that ſhortly after was hanged vpon a gibbet by ſentence of the people: and ſo had his reward for his villanous fact. *Antonius* did put in the number of Proſcripts a Senator called *Nonius Struma*, and onely to get out of his hands an Emerode eſteemed at fiftie thouſand crownes. But *Nonius* found the meanes to eſcape with this Emerode to the great deſpite of him that greedily deſired this pray. Some valiantly defended themſelues, as *Atteius Capito*, that killed many ſouldiers running rudely vpon him, thinking he would haue ſuffered himſelfe to be killed as others were. Howbeit after he had ſold his fleſh deare, he was ouercome by multitude of aſſailants. *Vetulinus* aided with his ſonne, hauing many times valiantly repulſed the murtherers, he would haue ſaued himſelfe in Sicilia: but in the ſtraight he met with ſuch a number of enemies, that there he was killed. *Sicilius Coronas* a Senator, was put in the number of Proſcripts, becauſe he would not with others condemne *Brutus* and *Caſsius*: deuiſing how to eſcape, he put himſelfe in ranke among thoſe that caried a dead corpes to buriall: but he was diſcouered and put to death. The *Triumviri* appointed ſuch men as they liked of to take charge of them that had bene killed. They ſold the goods of the Proſcripts by the drumme, at ſuch price as the ſouldiers would: and yet the moſt part of them were ſpoiled and giuen away. They promiſed the widowes their ioynter, and to the ſonnes the tenth part of the patrimonie of their fathers, and to the daughters the twentieth part. Howbeit there were few, and in maner none, that had any benefite by that: but to the contrarie, they ſacked many that demaunded ſuch rights. On the other ſide, they did

exact

exact great ſummes of money vpon the citie of ROME, and ouer all ITALIE: the owners were conſtrained to giue the halfe of their yearely reuenue: the tenants to furniſh one yeares rent of that they held of others: the maiſters of houſes, the halfe of the rent of their houſes, according to the rent they went for. To encourage the ſouldiers, the *Triumuiri* gaue vnmeaſurable gifts, granted them daily new pillage: the legions wintered in the richeſt townes, who were compelled to feed the ſouldiers at their owne charge. Furthermore, all the rich men were conſtrained to pay in nature of a tribute at one time, the tenth part of all that they were woorth. To be ſhort, ſo that they could find out new inuentions, it was enough to exact mony. For the feare and cuſtome to endure all, had faſhioned men to be more ſlaues, then the murtherers and exactors would haue had them. And to cloſe vp all, the *Triumuiri* cauſed mony to be coyned: the which on the one ſide had the image of *Antonius* with an inſcription in Latine, the effect whereof is this: *M. Antonius Emperor, Augur, Triumuir*, for the eſtabliſhment of the commonwealth. And on the other ſide there were three hands ioyned together, with the markes of the Conſulſhip, and had theſe words: *Salus generis humani*, that is to ſay: The health of mankind.

Now during the cruelties of this *Triumuirate*, *Brutus* and his followers made themſelues ſtrong in MACEDON, and did diuers exploits of warre: and were afterwards ouercome in the fields PHILIPPIANS, as hath bene ſaid in the life of *Brutus*, which we need not rehearſe againe, the principall being comprehended there. After this victorie, *Antonius* went into the Eaſt to diſpoſe of his affaires in ASIA, and to leauie money there to pay his ſouldiers, hauing promiſed to euery one of them fiue hundred crownes. *Cæſar* returned into ITALIE to refreſh himſelfe, to aſſigne Colonies to his ſouldiers, to pacifie the troubles *Lepidus* had procured, and to ſet a pike betwixt him and *Pompey* at a need: if he were neuer ſo litle in league with him. *Cæſar* fell grieuouſly ſicke at BRVNDVSIVM: but being recouered againe he entred into ROME, pacified all things, and kept *Lepidus* in his wonted degree. But when he came to bring his ſouldiers into Colonies, then the ſtorme began to riſe: for the owners cryed out that they were tyrannized, being driuen out of their inheritances: the old ſouldiers they complained that promiſe was not kept with them. *Fuluia* and ſome others practiſed to ſet them on, to the end to draw a warre into ITALIE, and by this meanes to make *Antonius* come againe beſotted by *Cleopatra*. Theſe things proceeded ſo farre that *Fuluia* tooke armes, for ſhe was then in the campe, her ſword by her ſide, and commanded like a Captaine. *Cæſar* on the other ſide being angry, ſent her daughter home to her, vnto whom he was betrothed, and led his armie againſt the NVRSINIANS and SENTINATES the allies of *Fuluia*. In the meane ſpace *Lucius Antonius* departed in the night with ſpeed, and entred into ROME by treaſon: vſed it as a citie taken in warre, and draue out *Lepidus*. *Cæſar* left *Suluidienus* to beſiege the SENTINATES, returned to ROME, and draue out *Lucius*, followed him and ſhortened his iourney as he was going into GAVLE, ſhut him vp, and beſieged him a great time in PEROVSE, and compelled him through famine to yeeld himſelfe, and to craue pardon, which he graunted him. PEROVSE was burnt by a ſtrange accident: for one of the chiefeſt of the citie hauing ſet his houſe on fire, after he had wounded himſelfe with his dagger, a boiſterous wind being riſen vpon it, ſo diſperſed the flames abrode, that it burnt all the houſes beſides. *Cæſar* cauſed ſome of his Captaines to be killed that were againſt him. He condemned the NVRSINIANS in a great ſumme of money, and becauſe they could not pay it, he draue them out of their citie and territorie. Afterwards he ſuppreſſed ſome troubles raiſed in NAPLES by *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, father of *Tiberius Cæſar*, and fauourer of *Fuluia*: who ſeeing her ſelfe vnder foot, ſhe fled vnto ATHENS. But *Cæſar* to preuent a new conſpiracie, ſent *Lucius Antonius* far from ROME, to commaund the legions that were in SPAINE: he gaue him alſo commiſſioners to looke into him, and to obſerue his actions. He finely draue out *Lepidus* alſo into AFRICK with ſixe legions. On the other ſide *Fuluia* being dead, *Cæſar* and *Antonius* agreed being ready to fight: after that they made peace with *Pompey* that gouerned SICILIA. Immediatly after that he went into GAVLE, to appeaſe ſome troubles that happened there, and ſent *Agrippa* before, who compelled the AQVITANS to ſubmit themſelues, and pacified al GAVLE. On the other ſide *Cneus Caluinus* ſubdued the CERETANIANS in SPAINE. And becauſe the legions had committed certaine inſolencies, whereupon they fell together by the eares, and the enemies had the better hand: after he had ſharpely reproued them, he took the tenth man of the two firſt bands, and belaboured *Iubellius* with a cudgell. In the mean time *Cæſar* ſent at times troupsof men of armes into DALMATIA, and ILLYRIA, to the end to breath them for other warres that were a hatching, as that of SI-

CILIA was the first. For *Menas* the pyrat, *Sextus Pompeius* Lieutenant, hauing for despite brought his fleet vnto *Cæsar*, and taken his part, vnto whom also he deliuered the Iles of SARDINIA and CORSICA, with three legions: *Cæsar* did him great honors, & refused to deliuer him againe vnto *Pompey*, who asked him of him. Besides that *Pompey* complained of *Antonius*, and pretending to haue iust occasions, he tooke armes againe. Wherfore *Cæsar* sent for *Antonius* and *Lepidus* out of GRECE and AFRICKE to come and aide him. *Antonius* came to the hauen of BRVNDVSIVM: but vpon the sudden, not knowne wherfore, he tooke sea againe, & returned from whence he came. *Lepidus* came too late, which made *Cæsar* (seeing all the weight fall on his armes) that he sent his Lieutenants against *Pompey*: who fought with them by sea & by land, & had the better, and put *Cæsar* to great trouble, who had like to haue bin killed by a slaue also, that wold haue reuēged the death of his maisters father, that was a proscript. After that *Antonius* being come to TARENTVM, with intention to make war against *Cæsar*: *Octauia* sister of the one, and wife of the other, agreed them, so that they did yet prolong with *Lepidus* their *Triumuirate* for fiue yeares more. *Antonius* went against the PARTHIANS, and *Cæsar* prepared to set vpon *Pompey* againe. Hereupon *Menas* being angry for that he was not so well accounted of as he thought he deserued: he returned againe to ioyne with *Pompey* with 7. gallies. *Cæsars* fleet hauing sustained great hurt by tempest, was also beaten by *Menas*. *Lepidus* wan LILYBEE, & tooke certaine neighbor villages. *Cæsar* hauing repaired his ships and army by sea, and made it stronger then before vnder the conduct of *Agrippa*, who sailed vnto LIPARE, he gaue battell by sea vnto *Pompeys* Lieutenants. But they being aided by *Menas* (that was returned the second time) he ouercame and wan thirtie shippes. But the other fleet that *Cæsar* himselfe brought, was wholly ouerthrowne by *Pompey*, neare vnto TAVROMENION, and *Cæsar* brought to that extremitie, that he was readie to kill himselfe. But *Cornificius* ran to the shore who saued him, and brought him to the campe: from whence he retired further off, and very quickly (but with great daunger) vnto MESSALA. After certaine encounters where *Pompey* euer had the better, insomuch as *Lepidus* was suspected to leane on that side, *Cæsar* resolued to commit all to the hazard of a latter battell: and to draw *Pompey* vnto it, he cut him so short of victuals, that he was constrained to come to blowes, and the fight was verie cruell: wherein *Agrippa* bestirred himselfe so valiantly, that he wan the victorie, sunke 28. ships, brake and spoiled the most part of the rest, and tooke two of the chiefest Captaines *Pompey* had: one of the which called *Demochares*, killed himselfe with his owne hands. Now for *Pompey*, who but a litle before had about three hundred and fiftie saile, he fled away with all speed only with seuenteene, and went to MESSINA so discouraged, that leauing all hope and his armie he had by land, he went to the Ile of CEPHALONIE, where being somewhat come to himselfe, he determined to repaire to *Antonius*. But *Tisienus* a Frenchman (his lieutenāt of the armie by land) led all his troupes vnto *Lepidus*: some GREEKE historians report that it was to *Cæsar*. *Plemminius* was within MESSINA with eight legions, and did capitulate with *Lepidus* to render vp the towne to him: wherupon *Agrippa* hapned to come thither: who maintained, that they ought to regard *Cæsar* that was absent then. But that stood him in no stead, for *Lepidus* entred the towne, & gaue the spoile of it as well to *Plemminius* soldiers as to his. Therupon *Cæsar* vndertooke a thing worthie of memory, which was: that being vnarmed he went into *Lepidus* campe, & turning by the blows of the darts that were thrown at him by some, which hit his cloke & pierced it: he took hold of an ensigne of a legion. Then the souldiers all of them armed followed him, and left *Lepidus*: who shortly after lost empire and army: he that with 20. legions promised himself SICILIA and a great deale more, *Cæsar* gaue him his life, and the office of soueraigne Bishop of ROME, whither he sent him. Some say he was banished. Vpō these stirs there rose a sedition in *Cæsars* campe through the insolencie of the souldiers, that ran euen to his iudgement seat, vsing great menaces. But he wisely appeased all, punished the authours of the tumult, and did cassiere all the tenth legion with great shame and ignominie, because the souldiers of the same did outbraue him in words. He dispersed and sent some others to their houses, and gaue vnto them that had vsed themselues gently, two thousand Sesterces for euery souldier: which is thought to amount neare to fiftie crownes. He made them to be mustred, and found that they were fiue and fortie legions, fiue and twentie thousand horsmen, and sixe and thirtie thousand lightly armed. Afterwards he did great honours vnto his Lieutenant *Agrippa* for his notable seruice, and commaunded *Statilius Taurus* to go into AFRICKE to take possession of the Prouinces of *Lepidus*. Whilest *Antonius* made warre with the PARTHIANS, or rather infortunately they made

warre

warre with him to his great confusion: his Lieutenant *Titius* found the meanes to lay hands vpon *Sextus Pompeius* that was fled into the Ile of SAMOS, and then fortie yeares old: whom he put death by *Antonius* commandement: for which fact he was so hated of the people of ROME, that though he had giuen them the pastime of certaine playes at his owne costs and charges, they draue him out of the Theater.

Moreouer, *Cæsar* thinking to haue sailed out of SICILIA into MAVRITANIA, the sea being rough stayed him: which was the cause that he sent his armie into ILLYRIA, and set vpon the IAPVDES, which did him much mischiefe, yet at the last he ouercame them. Then he ranne vpon the PANNONIANS, and the DALMATIANS, whom he made tributaries, being hurt in his thighes, in his armes, and in one of his knees, in this warre against the ILLYRIANS. On the other side, *Messala* his Lieutenant fought against the SALASSIANS, dwelling in a valley enuironed with high mountaines of the Alpes: and after diuerse ouerthrowes, he made them subiect to the Empire. And shortly after *Cæsar* was chosen Consull the second time: but he resigned the office the same day vnto *Autronius Pætus*, being about to make himselfe friends against *Antonius*: who being stayed about *Cleopatra*, gaue his wife occasion to returne from ATHENS to ROME. Now after the fire of enmitie betwixt these two competitours had bene a hatching a certaine time: it stood either of them both vpon to seeke all the meanes to ouerthrow his companion. The straunge proceedings of *Antonius* in fauour of *Cleopatra* hastened the warre, whereupon followed the battel of ACTIVM, the flying of these wicked louers, and the beginning of the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, confirmed by the conquest of ÆGYPT, and the tragicall death of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*. The which we touch briefly, the whole being largely set downe in the life of *Antonius*. They did great honours vnto *Cæsar* after these exploits. The memorie of *Antonius* was condemned, and his statues maimed and throwne to the ground. A litle before, *M. Lepidus*, sonne of the *Trium-vir* and of *Iunia* sister of *Brutus*, conspired against *Cæsar*. But after they had discouered it, he was put to death by the wisedome of *C. Mæcenas* a knight, and gouernor of ROME: his wife *Seruilia* killed her selfe, as *Portio* the wife of *Brutus*. After the vtter ouerthrow of *Antonius*, *Cæsar* tooke order for the affaires of the East parts, he made alliance with *Herodes* king of IVDÆA. He sent the king of the PARTHIANS sonne in hostage to ROME, vntill they should send all the ensignes and standards they had wonne of *Crassus* and *Antonius*. He gouerned the affaires of ASIA, receiued into league and friendshid with him the kings of GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, & PAPHLAGONIA: & he punished some others by fines, that were not his friends. He gaue priuiledges to the cities of EPHESVS, of NICE, PERGAME, and BITHYNIA, to build temples in the honour of *Iulius Cæsar*, of ROME, and of himselfe. He set the SAMIANS at liberty, and after he had taken order for all the rest, he went towards ITALIE: where after he was arriued, it cannot be expressed with what great ioy he was receiued of high and low, from BRVNDVSIVM vnto ROME. There he triumphed three dayes together, for the ILLYRIANS, for *Antonius* and for *Cleopatra*. He gaue great presents vnto souldiers, and besides the mony that was made of the booty, and distributed by euen portions, he gaue euery one fiftie crowns a peece, the double to a Centener, and the treble to a Knight: and to euerie person among the people ten crowns, euen to litle children. He brought such store of gold and siluer out of ÆGYPT (by him reduced into a prouince, and condemned to pay twenty millions of gold to the people of ROME for a fine) that he brought downe vsurie from twelue in the hundred, to foure: and made that land and houses were sold deare, where before the rich men had them almost for nothing. Furthermore, he brought in a maruellous change in all trafficke: he also abolished all taxes and subsidies imposed by necessity of the ciuill warres. He cried downe all straunge coine, which were at too high a price for their law, and all through the iniquity of time. He lent out money for a time without interest, vnto those that had meanes to make double profite of it. He would not receiue the gold which the cities of ITALIE sent him to make him crownes: but sent them it backe againe with his thankes for their good will. He gaue the pastime of all maner of games and magnificent sights vnto the people, such as they had neuer seene before. He made goodly feasts vnto the Senators and Magistrates, and by a world of pleasures he appeased the sorow of proscription, and of so many ciuill warres. Being occupied in these matters, letters came from *Crassus Cæsars* Lieutenant, aduertising that he had subdued the BASTARNES, diuerse people of MÆSIA, of DACIA, and of THRACIA: that he had won seuen or eight battels of them, that with his owne hands he had killed the king of the BASTARNES, and had brought the king of GETES to such extremity,

that he killed himſelfe. Theſe newes did increaſe the ioy, and the triumph was granted to *Craſſus*, and to *Cæſar* alſo: who by decree of the Senate cauſed the temple of *Ianus* to be ſhut the third time, which had remained open the ſpace of 200 yeares. At this time *Cæſar* that was in his fift Conſulſhip, numbred and muſtred all the people of Rome, reformed the Senate, the order of knights, the diſtribution of corne: and becauſe of the great dearth that was then, he made corne to be diſtributed to the people at a very meane price to ſome, & for gramercy to the poore. They that had bene bound to the common wealth of too long a time, he diſcharged them, and burnt their obligations. He confirmed the propriety of houſes in ſtrife betwixt them and the common wealth, if they had bene in quiet poſſeſſion any conuenient time. And to aſſure all thoſe that had adhered vnto *Antonins*, & to keepe them that they ſhould no more giue eare to any new rumors: he ſware vnto them in good faith that hauing taken *Antonins* coffers, he had burnt all the letters he found in them, and read not one of them. He ſet downe an order for Cuſtome, eaſed the cuſtomers that had bene too much oppreſſed: alſo he reſtored the treaſure againe, and the augure of health. And by reaſon of that aboue named, he was called father of the countrey in open Senate: and at the ſame time he ſent people to Carthage, to ſet vp the families of the *Patricians*, greatly diminiſhed by the proſcriptions and ciuill warres.

The next yeare following, which was the 725 of the foundation of Rome, and the ſixt of his Conſulſhip: ſeeing all the wars appeaſed, peace eſtabliſhed, armes laid downe euery where, the cõmonwealth in good ſtrength, the laws honored, iuſtice in authority, the Senate in their anciẽt glory, & the people reſtored by him to their rights of aſſembly to chuſe their yearly magiſtrates, and to giue out their commiſſions & charges according to their old cuſtome: he began to reaſon the matter with himſelfe, which of the twaine was moſt profitable: either to keepe (for the good of the ſtate, and vnder the title of a Prince) the Empire which he had in his hands: or whether he ſhould render it vp vnto the people. He found himſelfe grieued for that *Antonius* had oftentimes accuſed him of tyranny & vniuſt inuaſion: and on the other part alſo he apprehended the fury of the people, and the factions of ambitious men, which like the billowes of the ſea, would incontinently toſſe in horrible faſhion this vnconſtant ſea. Being thus perplexed, one day he tooke aſide *Agrippa* and *C. Mæcenas*, his two faithfull friends, very wiſe men and of great experience aboue all others: and prayed them to tell him plainly without flattery, what they thought of it, being reſolued to follow that which ſhould be moſt expedient for the good of the commonwealth. *Agrippa* by an ample diſcourſe did counſell him to render vp to the people his principality and ſigniority. *Mæcenas* was of the contrary opinion, & gaue ſuch counſell as *Cæſar* followed, tempering both opinions, & made himſelfe maſter in ſuch ſort that the people felt it not, but rather confeſſed that they needed ſuch a Phiſition to raiſe thẽ vp againe from the incurable maladies they were fallen into. He thanked both his friends, gaue his neece *Marcella* to be the wife of *Agrippa*, and did him new honours, proceedeth to a new reuiew of the citizens of Rome: and is choſen Prince of the Senate by *Agrippa*, who was then his companion in the Conſulſhip. Furthermore, aſſuring himſelfe that ſo much good and honours as had bene communicated to the ſmall and great, would make them they ſhould not much paſſe for their ancient dignitie and liberty: and that the ſweetneſſe of the eaſe and reſt they did enioy, would make them forget all the good and euill paſt: he borowed of his magnanimitie the maruellous counſell that followeth. He reſolued to diſcharge himſelfe of the principality into the hands of all the Senate, to render it vnto the people: hoping that the Senate ſeeing his affection ſo to ſubmit himſelfe to the accuſtomed order, & not to ſeeke a domination and gouernment ill-willed, they would thanke him the more: that all the great perſons would lay aſide the enuy which they might beare vnto him, and that the people would eſteeme and loue him ſo much the more. Vpon this thought, and after he had acquainted ſome of the Senators withall that ſtood affected to him, to the end to win others by their meanes, he made an oration in open Senate, well ſtudied, and fit for the time. Hauing made a long diſcourſe of the great extent of the Empire, and of his inſufficiency: he added vnto it, that this common burthen could not be caried but by the immortall gods: that he had continued ſome yeares to manage a part of it, and that experience had made him know that his ſhoulders were too weake to beare ſuch a burthen as the principalitie, ſubiect to infinite changes, and expoſed to a thouſand ambuſhes. He therefore required, the citie being furniſhed with ſo many noble perſons, that the affaires might be managed by many men, who ioyning themſelues together, might more eaſily ſatisfie the charges, then one alone: that in a good hower,

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hauing ſet all things in good eſtate againe, he did put the common wealth into the hands of the Senate and people of Rome. This oration diuerſly moued the Senators. Some of them thought there was more art then truth in it. Others iudged that it was not expedient to put the eſtate into the power of many. The moſt of them enriched and made great by *Cæſar*, and that were riſen vp by the ruines of their countrey, ſayd: that they ſhould preferre that which now they had in hand, before all the time paſt, beaten with ſo many tempeſts. Many others enclined to that ſide, not that they were in good earneſt of that mind, but for feare to be looked vpon with an euill eye, if they did ſpeake againſt their companions. So then all of them with one conſent vnaduiſedly, rather then of a common and ripe iudgement, began to beſeechand adiure *Cæſar*, that it would pleaſe him to be chiefe and preſeruer of the Empire, of the which he had ſet downe ſo many goodly and happy foundations. Immediatly they ordaine that *Cæſars* guard ſhould haue twiſe as much pay as they had before. *Agrippa* was of opinion that they ſhould caſſeere the Spanish gard, and *Cæſar* in their place ſhould chuſe a gard of Almaines, knowing well that in thoſe great bodies there was litle malice hidden, and leſſe ſubtilty: andthat they were a people that tooke more pleaſure to be commanded, then to command.

He being thus eſtabliſhed in his Empire by the conſent of the Senate and people, to the end they ſhould not thinke he would lift himſelfe vp aboue meaſure, or to giue ſure footing to a perpetuall Monarchie: he would not accept the charge to prouide for the affaires of eſtate, and the gouernement of the Prouinces, but for the ſpace of ten yeares: with condition to giue vp his charge before this terme, if things were ſooner ſetled in their full eſtate. Firſt therefore, he left a part of the Prouinces vnto the Senate and people, to take care for the gouernement of the ſame: and for himſelfe he kept thoſe that were not yet in order, and in the which he ſhould be driuen to make warre. In thoſe that were quiet, he eſtabliſhed Proconſuls: and for others, he gouerned them by his Lieutenants, which had their leſſon, according vnto the which they were bound to be directed. Among other lawes they were forbidden to leauie any money, or to gather men of warre together, or to aſſaile any Prouince, without the commandement of the Senate, or of *Cæſar*. That foorthwith when they ſent any ſucceſſour, they ſhould leaue their gouernement, and repaire to Rome within three moneths. He appointed alſo vnto the Proconſuls a certaine ſumme of money to beare their charges for their horſe and cariage of the ſtuffe. Furthermore he eſtabliſhed a law, that the Proconſull or gouernour ſhould not go to his Prouince appointed him, till the end of fiue yeares after his commiſſion graunted him: to the end that they which were conuinced for taking of money corruptly, ſhould pay to the Prouinces the fine they ſhold be condemned: in and he depriued them of all eſtates and honors, which through their euill behauiours had bene condemned in ſuch fines. And further, he would not that the officers that had to deale in his affaires ſhould haue any authoritie, but to demaund their ſtipends and money which the Prouinces were bound to furniſh. And becauſe he would beautifie and adorne Rome, as the maieſtie of the Empire required: he raiſed vp many common buildings, and repaired many that had bene left vnfiniſhed or ruined, leauing the names of the founders. His buildings among other were the temple of *Apollo* in the pallace, with the porch, and a librarie of Greeke and Latin books. Alſo the Monuments, and the park, for the walkes and pleaſure of the people of Rome. In his ſeuenth Conſulſhip, certaine Senators propounded that they ſhould call him *Romulus*, for that he hauing preſerued the citie of Rome, it was as much bound vnto him, as vnto the firſt founder. But he would not accept of that name. Wherefore *Munatius Plancus* bethought himſelfe of another, the which was giuen vnto him by common conſent of all, and he held it to his death: as alſo we will call him from henceforth in all that remaineth to be ſet downe of his deeds: to wit *Auguſtus*. He not to ſeeme vnworthy of this name, and to cary himſelf ſo that no man ſhold repent this change of gouernement, began diligently to ſet his hand to theſe affaires. He wiſely reformed the auncient lawes, and made new, that were very neceſſary. To make ſure worke in theſe affaires, he choſe from ſixe moneths to ſixe moneths fifteene Senators that had bene Conſuls, and did priuately acquaint them with all that was requiſite to be done for the preſeruation of the quietneſſe of the commonweath, giuing order that nothing ſhould paſſe but it ſhould be ſearched and examined to the bottome: ſaying that he would giue the people lawes which they ſhould all allow, and that he would not be his owne iudge alone. Afterwards he reformed the aſſemblies of the city, where all things were caried by ſutes, preſents, and violence. He then reſtored the people their

right by voices to chuſe the magiſtrates. And to cut off all ſutes, he forbad them to make any rolle of ſuters names, but of thoſe that had layd downe great ſummes of money, to the end that being conuinced of their ſutes, they ſhould be put to their fines: adding alſo this ignominy, that ſuch ſhould be depriued of all eſtates & honors for the ſpace of fiue yeares. And furthermore, he finely hindred the bad practiſes in elections, giuing order that none ſhould be put in nomination, but ſuch as were vertuous and of good reputation. He left vnto the Magiſtrates their charges whole, and did alwayes require in al his Conſulſhips that they ſhold giue him two companions: howbeit the Senate wold neuer agree vnto it. The yeare before, he had reduced the nũber of Senators to ſixe hundred, all honourable men. At that time alſo he reeſtabliſhed the auncient order and dignitie: ordaining that the Senate ſhould haue the ſuperintendencie of the treaſure, and of all the reuenues that belonged to the people of Rome. That all the expences for the commonwealth ſhold be made by their ordinance. That the Senators ſhould haue the hearing of all crimes of treaſon, conſpiracie, ambuſhes, and offences to his Maieſties perſon: and that it ſhould pertaine to them to giue entertainement and anſwer that ſhould be fit, to Ambaſſadors of nations. When in matters of importance he asked the aduice of the Senate, in ſtead of comming to the Prince of the Senate according to the accuſtomed manner, or to him that was appointed Conſull, or to other Senatours by order: he made choiſe of any one of them which he thought good, to the end that euery one ſhould giue attentiue eare, and be readie to deliuer his opinion: and not to hold his head downe in his rancke, and content himſelfe to be of other mens minds. He ordained alſo, that the whole bodie of the Senate ſhould not aſſemble but from fifteene dayes to fifteenes dayes: howbeit that in ordinarie matters the magiſtrates ſhould thinke of that that were expedient. In the moneths of September and October, the Senatours were not bound to meete, but onely foure hundred drawne by lot: who might eſtabliſh any decree. And as for himſelfe, to honour this company the more, the day of the aſſembly he neuer ſaluted any of the Senators apart, but all of them together in the counſell chamber when they were ſet, and all of them name by name, the one after the other. If he would go out, and that he ſayd he would detaine the companie no longer: he bad them farewell in the ſame manner that he had ſaluted them at his comming in. He ruled iuſtice alſo ciuill and criminall, and willed that amongſt other things the criminals accuſed by certaine enemies, ſhould be ſet at libertie: with condition notwithſtanding that they ſhould be brought to priſon againe, if the accuſer did ſubmit himſelfe to receiue the like puniſhment as the offender, if it were found he ſlaundered him. Moreouer, he made prouiſion for common workes, and reparations of bridges, cauſeyes, and high wayes. And becauſe he was determined to make a voyage into Gavle, he eſtabliſhed *Meſſala* gouernour of Italie and of Rome, for feare leaſt any trouble ſhould happen in his abſence. But this place being troubleſome vnto *Meſſala*, he beſought *Auguſtus* he would diſcharge him: and therefore *Agrippa* was ſubſtituted, who ridde all Italie of a great number of theeues and robbers on high wayes, and ſtayed the courſes of many other troublers of the ſtate.

The affaires of Rome and Italie being in ſo quiet eſtate, vnderſtanding that England was full of ſedition, Spaine next vnto the mountaines Pirenei in armes, and Gavle readie to riſe: he opened the temple of *Ianus*, and tooke his iourney to giue order for all. But the Ambaſſadours of England preuented him, and promiſed tribute. Then he went to Gavle in Narbone, to draw nearer to Spaine. And ſo holding on his iourney to Narbone, he pacified the Gavles, he made an exact numbring of all the Gavles, of their goods, poſſeſſions, and ſlaues, and cauſed the rolles to be brought vnto him. He eſtabliſhed lawes and cuſtomes in euery place, and deuided Gavle into foure parts: of the which the firſt part was called Narbonense, which extendeth it ſelfe from the riuer of Var, vnto the mountaines Pirenei. Aquitain the ſecond, vnto the riuer of Garonne. The third, Gavle Lyonnoise, vnto the riuer of Seine. Then Gavle Belgica, bordered with the riuer of Rhein: and rated all the Gavls at ten milions of gold for a taxe. Now there remained no more for him to do, but to bring Spaine to order: in the which the Romaines had made continuall warres the ſpace of 200 yeares together. Neuertheleſſe the Cantabrians and Astvrians (which are the Basqves) and other people neighbors dwelling in the mountaines, they neither cared for *Auguſtus*, nor for the Empire: for they were euer in armes, and made incurſions vpon the allies of the people of Rome, and did them great miſchiefe: who complaining vnto *Auguſtus* of the great neceſſity they

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were brought vnto, he being neare vnto them, came to aide them: and found the CANTABRIANS beſieging of a fort, hauing taken the towne by it called SAGESAME. He charged them home with ſuch furie, that he left them dead in the place, after they had valiantly defended themſelues. Afterwards he deuided his armie into three parts, and enuironed the countrie of the CANTABRIANS, who made head for the ſpace of fiue yeares, and did maruellous great hurt to the ROMAINES: and if the ſtreights wherby they might eaſily enter into their countrie, had not bene diſcouered vnto *Auguſtus*, they had ſent him home againe to ROME with ſhame. But hauing found the way to ſurpriſe them on euery ſide, he made a cruell warre vpon them, putting all to fire and bloud. They retired with ſpeed to one of their higheſt mountaines, with all that they could carie with them. The ROMAINES perceiuing that it was too hard a match for them, if they ſhould go thither to ſet vpon ſo warlike a nation, and that could not be ſubdued by force: they made forts in the midſt of the mountaine, and placed a ſtrong guard there, to the end to famiſh the CANTABRIANS, and by that means to bring them to reaſon. But they on the other ſide, in ſtead of yeelding themſelues, did abide all the miſeries that any man can poſſibly thinke of: and it came to that paſſe, that euen to ſuſtaine nature the ſtrong ſonnes killed their old fathers, the mothers their infants, and the young men did deuour the old to eate vp their fleſh. Vpon this euill, there followed another, to wit, diſcord among them. Some would yeeld, others were of another mind. The former alleaging, that they muſt needs ſubmit themſelues to the mercie of the ROMAINES: the other, that they ſhould make a deſperate ſallie vpon the enemies campe, and ſo ſell their liues. Their contention waxed ſo hote and violent, that the CANTABRIANS thruſt out ten thouſand of the ASTVRIANS with their wiues and children, and compelled them to deſcend alongſt the forts made by the ROMAINES: whom they intreated with the teares in their eyes to make them ſlaues, and to giue them ſomewhat to eate. *Tiberius* then one of *Cæſars* Lieutenants, would not ſuffer them to be receiued, to the end to famiſh the one by the other, and to end this warre without any bloudſhed. This poore people being depriued of ſuſtenance and hope, and being afraid they ſhould yet endure greater euils, began to powne a venimous hearbe like vnto Smallage, and poiſoned themſelues. The young men killed themſelues running one againſt another with their ſwords in their hands. The others, to the number of three and twenty thouſand came downe in a moſt miſerable eſtate from the top of the mountaine, and yeelded themſelues to the diſcretion of the ROMAINES: who ſet aſide ten thouſand of the ſtrongeſt of them, to ſerue them in the warre which they intended to make againſt the ASTVRIANS. The reſt were ſold by troups, with condition that they ſhould be caried farre from their countrie, and that they ſhould not be made free, before they had ſerued them as ſlaues the ſpace of thirtie yeares. They diſarmed ten thouſand of them: which they bare ſo impatiently, that many killed themſelues with their owne hands, eſteeming their life nothing without armes. They ſay, that a litle child with a dagger killed his father and brethren that were chained together, and that by the commaundement of the father: and that a woman did the like to ſome of her kinsfolkes. And that many of theſe mountainers accuſtomed to rob paſſengers, being vpon the gibbet, ſang out ſongs aloud, euen at their deaths, ſhewing a ioy and maruellous courage. *Auguſtus* being then in thoſe parts, gaue leaue to the ſouldiers of his guard of SPANIARDS to depart into the territorie of the GASCONS with great preſents, and priuiledge to enter in rancke amongſt the ROMANE legions. He built SARAGOVSSE, and other townes which he repleniſhed with ſouldiers, to bridle the courſes and tumults of the CELTIBERIANS: and afterwards made a ſtone bridge ouer the famous riuer of Eber. Then hauing ouerthrowne the CONISCES, friends of the ASTVRIANS, taken their head citie, and put all the inhabitants thereof to the ſword: he ſet vpon the ASTVRIANS, who being enuironed of all parts, and chooſing rather to die then to be made ſlaues: burnt, killed, and poiſoned themſelues, and with them many other of their neighbours. There were ſome of them yet left aliue, with whom the CANTABRIANS ioyned and other their neighbours, and that a long time. Theſe people had this cuſtome, that all goods were common amongſt friends, and when one of them came to the other, he receiued and vſed him as himſelf: and ſo alſo in aduerſitie they ran one fortune, or elſe killed themſelues immediatly after their friends were dead. Amongſt them were certaine looſe people gathered together out of diuers parts, who reſolued all together to go charge the ROMAINES, and came to fight with ſuch a furie, that nothing but the night could ſeparate them, hauing loſt many of both ſides. The next morning they began to ioyne againe with more violence then before, and the fight continued euen till night that the ROMAINES obtained the

victorie: but they confeſſed that they neuer encountred with ſuch cruell enemies. They that were left aliue fled into a towne, in the defence whereof they made themſelues all to be killed, rather then to yeeld themſelues. *Auguſtus* built certaine places there in that countrie, which afterwards by time were much enlarged. In this ſelfe ſame yeare of his ninth Conſulſhip, *Terentius Varro* his Lieutenant ſubdued the SALASSIANS, which are thoſe of the vale of OSTE: he diſarmed them, ſold the young men by the drumme, gaue part of the territorie vnto the ſouldiers Pretorians, & built there a citie called AVGVSTA PRETORIA. *Vinicius* alſo appeaſed ſome troubles in GERMANIE, and made warre very fortunately in diuers places. By means of which victories, *Auguſtus* was called the eighth time *Imperator*, as much to ſay, as ſoueraigne Captaine: and they ſuffered him to weare from that time foorth the firſt day of the yeare, a hat of Laurell, and a robe of triumph. At his returne he ſhut the temple of *Ianus* the fourth time, maried *Cleopatra*, (the daughter of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) vnto *Iuba* the Storie-writer, ouerthrowne by *Iulius Cæſar* in AFRICKE, with a part of MAVRITANIA and of GETVLIA to raigne there. He reduced into a prouince GALLOGRECIA and LYCAONIA, which made a portion of a kingdome: and by reaſon of his ſickneſſe not able to be preſent at the mariage of his daughter *Iulia*, whom *Marcellus* maried, the ſonne of *Octauia* his ſiſter: he left all to the charge of *Agrippa*, and went to ROME. There being choſen Conſull the tenth time, the Senate gaue him abſolute power ouer the eſtate and lawes, to make and vndo them at his pleaſure. They did him greater honours then before, and gaue *Marcellus* his nephew before his time great offices in the commonwealth: and to *Tiberius* his wiues ſonne. He in token of thankfulneſſe, gaue to euery one of the people ten crownes apeece. Whileſt theſe matters were in hand, the CANTABRIANS and their neighbours reuolted, by ſubtiltie caught ſome of the ROMAINS, and cut their throates. *Ælius Lamia*, gouernor in thoſe parts, to be reuenged of this outrage, put all the whole countrie to fire and bloud, deſtroyed ſome townes, and ſold their young men by the drum. To be ſhort, he followed them ſo hard, that he brought them in ſubiection. *Ælius Gallus* gouernor of ÆGYPT, almoſt about the ſame time, being ſent by *Auguſtus* commaundement with ten thouſand men, fiue hundred ſouldiers of *Herods* guard, and fifteene hundred NABATEIANS; vnder the conduct of a noble man of ARABIA called *Syllæus*: he did nothing to be accounted of, but diſcouer the countrie. But hauing loſt the moſt part of his men within the deſerts where this *Sylleus* brought them, and ouercome the SABEANS in a battell, he was enforced to retire. Afterwards this *Sylleus*, for that he killed his king *Oboda* by treaſon, he was taken priſoner, and beheaded by decree of the Senate.

Auguſtus being Conſull for the eleuenth time, the plague was in ROME, and for himſelfe he was grieuouſly ſicke: but reſtored againe to health by *Antonius Muſa* his Phiſition. The people therefore cauſed a ſtatue to be ſet vp to this *Antonius*, the Senate did him great honours, and in fauour of his profeſſion, gaue immunitie to all others that from that time foorth did practiſe Phiſicke. Furthermore, by many ceremonies they did ſhew the ioy they had for the health of *Auguſtus*: and ſpecially fathers of houſhold dying, expreſly commaunded their children to bring their ſacrifices to the Capitol with a title in great letters, ſaying: THAT AT THE DAY OF THEIR DEATH THEY LEFT AVGVSTVS IN GOOD HEALTH. It was alſo ordained that from that time foorth they ſhould neuer put any man to death, as often as *Auguſtus* entred into the citie. Shortly after he did aſſociate with himſelfe *Calpurnius Piſo* in the Conſulſhip, who had followed the partie of *Pompey* and of *Brutus*. Afterwards when he was gone from ROME into the countrie, he made *Lucius Ceſtius* his deputie for him, an inward friend of *Brutus* and of his memorie. Whereof the Senate maruelling, by decree made him perpetuall Proconſull of the ROMAINE Empire, Tribune of the people, and gaue him power to aſſemble the Senate as often, and when it pleaſed him. The people would haue compelled him to haue bene Dictator: but he bowing a knee, caſting downe his long robe, and ſhewing his breaſt, beſought them to diſcharge him of ſo odious an eſtate. In the meane time he accepted the decree of the Senate, and the charge to cauſe corne to be brought in, becauſe of the dearth that chaunced in ROME. In the which he ſerued his turne by *Tiberius* created Quæſtor at the age of nineteene yeares. As for *Marcellus* his nephew, he was choſen *Ædilis Curulus*, who aided him to ſet foorth all the magnificent pompe of plaies, which he cauſed to be played before the people: euery man iudged that he ſhould be the ſucceſſor of all his power. But this young man of great hope, died ſhortly after, to the great griefe of euery man: and no man can tell whether it was of naturall ſickneſſe, or of poiſon giuen him by the practiſes of *Liuia*. A litle before his death, *Agrippa* impatient to beare the riſing of this *Marcellus* whom he deſpiſed,

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went into Asia vnder colour of another voyage. They say that *Augustus* much troubled with sickneſſe, returned to his firſt conſultation, to put the commonwealth againe into the hands of the Senate and people: and for this cauſe he called for the Senators and all the other magiſtrates: vnto whom he gaue an account of the Empire: and that was a litle booke containing the numbring of all the riches, townes, and prouinces allies, legions, armies by ſea and by land, of all the kingdomes and countries tributarie, of all the cuſtoms of the Empire of Rome, that which was neceſſarily to be leauied or releaſed. But being ſomwhat amended againe, he changed his mind. And furthermore, hauing giuen audience to the ambaſſadors of *Phrahartes* king of the Parthians, which demanded a ſon of his brought by *Tyridates* vnto *Auguſtus*: he ſent backe the child, & ſuffered *Tyridates* to remaine at Rome, where he ſumptuouſly entertained him. By this means he kept himſelfe in friendſhip with the one and the other, and held the Parthians in ſuſpence, to the end they ſhold alter nothing. At the beginning of the next yeare following, vnder the Cõſulſhip of *M. Claudius Marcellus*, and of *L. Arruntius*, the famine increaſing at Rome, he wiſely prouided for it. And then the people would conſtraine him by force to accept the Dictatorſhip, and threatned to ſet the pallace on fire and to burne all the Senators in it, if they refuſed to allow this decree. He would none of the office of Dictatorſhip, and did refuſe alſo to be Cenſor, although that office had bene void the ſpace of 28. yeares. But foraſmuch as *Munatius Plancus* and *Æmilius Lepidus*, who were choſen Cenſors, deſerued themſelues to be cenſured, becauſe of their diſcords, *Auguſtus* without the name tooke vpon him to diſcharge it: and prouided to reforme infinit diſorders that were in Rome, in apparell, countenances, companies, and in the fight of Fencers at the ſharpe. At the ſame time *Fannius Cæpio*, & *L. Muræna* hauing conſpired againſt him, and being diſcouered by *Caſtricius*, they were taken as they thought to haue eſcaped, & put to death. In the meane time the Astvrians and Cantabrians ill intreated by *Carriſius*, they rebelled, but were ouercome in a ſet battell, and the priſoners ſold. The Cantabrians preferring death before ſeruitude, they killed, burnt, and poiſoned the one the other. The Astvrians being ouercõme the fourth time, did ſubmit themſelues: and their armes were taken from them. In the ſame time, *Petronius* gouernor of Ægypt, followed with 10000. footmen, and with 800. horſe, went to make warre with the Ethiopians, which dwell vnder Ægypt, who had inuaded and ruined certaine townes, ouerthrowne and caried away the ſtatues of *Auguſtus*. Thereupon he purſued them, and made them flie before him: took certaine places vpon them, and pierced far into their countrie: ſo that he inforced their Queene to ſend her ambaſſadours vnto *Auguſtus* (then wintering in the Ile of Samos) to pray peace, which he granted them paying tribute.

At the beginning of the Spring, he prepared himſelfe to giue order for the affaires in the Eaſt: but becauſe they that bent themſelues for the Conſulſhip, had almoſt put the city in alarme, and that in the end notwithſtanding the order he had ſet downe, the people had choſen men whom *Auguſtus* feared: through the aduice of *Mæcenas*, he made *Agrippa* come againe to gouerne Rome in his abſence, and maried his daughter *Iulia* vnto him, *Marcellus* widow. Now whileſt *Agrippa* gaue order for the affaires of the citie, *Auguſtus* tooke ſea, and hauing prouided for the affaires of Sicilia, he went into Greece, did much good for the Lacedæmonians, and to the contrarie, repreſſed the pride of the Athenians, from whom he tooke away the tribute they had leauied of the Iles of Ægina and Eretria. In the meane time, though he made litle account of ſtraungers ceremonies, yet he made himſelf to be receiued into the fraternitie of myſteries: and the ambaſſadors of Persia hauing cauſed the temple of *Iupiter Olympian* to be finiſhed begun of long time in Athens: they ordained that it ſhould be dedicated to the ſpirit of *Auguſtus*. Being paſſed from thence into Asia, he gaue order to his prouinces and thoſe of the people of Rome: puniſhed the Cyzicenians, that had killed the Romaine citizens in their town. He impoſed a tribute vpon thoſe of Tyre and Sidon, who had dealt badly, and brought them into the forme of a prouince. He did much good vnto the townes that had bene faithfull vnto the commonwealth: to ſome of them he gaue the right of Burgeſſhip of Rome, and to others the ſame rights and priuiledges which the naturall citizens of Rome had. He built vp againe the cities of Laodicea, and of Thiatira: he ſet vp them of the Iſle of Chio againe, afflicted before by an earthquake, he did exempt them from all ſubſidies for ſixe yeares. He reſtored certaine Realmes vnto their kings whom he had ſubdued: or elſe he did ſtabliſh others anew, who came to attend him at his Court as ſubiects, without any ſignes or tokens of royall dignitie. He ſent *Tiberius* into Armenia, to inſtall *Tigranes* vnto his royall throne againe, hauing bene

driuen out of it. *Tiberius* returned thither, and hauing fought with the ARMENIANS, he gaue them *Artauasdes* for their king, who ruled not long. *Phraates* king of the PARTHIANS being afraid they would set vpon him: was very carefull to get all the ROMAINES together, which were taken after the ouerthrow of *Crassus* and *Antonius*, whom he sent euery man of them vnto *Augustus*, with all the standards and ensignes, and also his sonne and nephewes for pledges of his faithfull friendship vnto the people of ROME. *Augustus* granted him peace, and then he came into the Ile of SAMOS, comforted RHODES, repleniſhed CORINTH and PATRAS with a great number of men enfranchiſed, whom he made Burgeſſes of ROME. In this place also there came vnto him embaſſadors from *Porus* and *Pandion*, two of the mightieſt kings of the INDIANS, who prayed alliance and friendſhip with him, and brought him very rare preſents. There came with them a philoſopher of INDIA called *Zarmanus*: who being brought to the citie of ATHENS, he burnt himſelfe aliue, as one *Calamus* did in the time of *Alexander* the Great.

In this meane ſpace the citie of ROME was ful of great trouble by the practiſes of *Egnatius Rufus*, who by force would needs be choſen Conſull in *Auguſtus* place being abſent: who gaue not him his voice, but named *Lucretius Veſpillo*, eſcaped from the proſcription, as hath bene ſpoken of before. But this put him in ſuch a rage, that he conſpired with *M. Genucius*, and *Plautius Rufus* to kill *Auguſtus*. But they being diſcouered betimes, they were impriſoned and executed by decree of the Senate: who made infinite numbers of honours vnto *Auguſtus* at his returne: howbeit he would not accept them all, but caried himſelfe very modeſtly in euery place where he was. The people choſe him Cenſor for fiue yeares, and perpetuall Conſull: and at his requeſt they graunted triumph vnto *Cornelius Balbus*, although he were no ROMAINE borne (for he was a SPANIARD) by reaſon of his notable victories he had obtained, as Lieutenant of *Auguſtus*, vpon the GARAMANTES. *Agrippa* on the other ſide was ſent into GAVLE troubled by the inuaſions of the GERMAINS, whom he ordered well enough. Then he led his armie into SPAINE, troubled with the rebellion of the CANTABRIANS: the which came thus to paſſe. The priſoners CANTABRIANS whom they had ſold by the drumme: by a complot they made together, cut their maiſters throates, and then fled into their countrie, where they ſollicited others to take armes, got their fortreſſes into their hands, and ſet vpon the ROMAINE garriſons. *Agrippa* could by no meanes bring his ſouldiers thither, whether that they deſerued to take reſt, or that the reſolution of the CANTABRIANS did aſtoniſh them. But after that he had brought them to his hand, he marched directly againſt the enemies: who had the better at the firſt encounter, and the ROMAINES were well beaten. But they being rebuked and puniſhed by *Agrippa*, who gaue them barley for wheat, he returned again to fight. But then the CANTABRIANS that bare armes were all cut in peeces, the reſt diſarmed, and drawne from the mountaine to dwell in the plaine. *Auguſtus* was ſaluted Emperour, or ſoueraigne Captaine, becauſe of this victorie: but *Agrippa* modeſtly refuſed triumph, and within a while after he ouercame the PANNONIANS alſo. The yeare following, the GETES and DACES being at ciuill warres, *Lentulus* that had ſubdued them before, counſelled *Auguſtus* not to loſe this occaſion: for he might eaſily ſubdue theſe barbarous people being thus deuided. But *Auguſtus* not being of the mind to make any warres at all with any nation, without great and iuſt cauſe, (although there were more hope of gaine, then apparance of loſſe,) he anſwered: There was no cauſe for him to do ſo: adding alſo, that thoſe that ſought a litle gaine with great loſſe and daunger, were like vnto thoſe that would angle with a golden hooke, the which breaking and falling into the water, no fiſh is woorth the value of it. And therefore that the barbarous were to be left to their owne miſeries: and that by their bloudſhed, by their owne companions, they were more then enough puniſhed for the illes they had done the ROMAINES, who ought not to begin firſt to do euill.

In the ſame yeare *Auguſtus* being very deſirous to put his hand to the reformation of abuſes in ROME, and that effectually: he ioyned with him his nephew *Agrippa* in the ſtate of a Cenſor, and did eſtabliſh him Tribune for fiue yeares. Firſt of all he began to correct ſome diſorders that were in the Senate, he reformed the knights, ſpectacles, and playes, and the maner of ſutes for publike offices. He ſet fines vpon their heads that would not marie, and beſtowed much vpon them that had wiues and children. He gaue vnto *Hortenſius Hortalus* fiue and twentie thouſand crownes, to procure him to take a wife, that he might raiſe vp iſſue to that noble houſe and familie of the *Hortenſes*. He ordained alſo that maidens ſhould be twelue yeares old at the leaſt before they maried, and ſuffered them to kill adulterers taken with the fact, without puniſhment:

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condemning the Sodomites without remiſſion. And for militarie diſcipline, he looked very carefully vnto that. And becauſe a knight of ROME had cut off his owne ſonnes thombes, for that he ſhould not go to the warre: he made him to be ſold by the drumme and all his goods. But becauſe the Regrators were greedie to ſeize vpon them, he made them ceaſe the ſale, and put the knight into the hands of one of his bondmen enfranchiſed, and was contented to driue him out of ROME. Furthermore he procured that the Senate ſhould not be kept but with great reuerence: that the Senators ſhould come together as into a temple of deuotion, and that no decree ſhould paſſe, but in the preſence of 400. Senators if it might be: that no man ſhould be made free of ROME, but vpon great conſideration. For the reſt: he and *Agrippa* gaue the people the pleaſure of ſecular yearely games, which had not bene ſeene a hundred yeares before. But he tooke very great care that there ſhould be no inſolencies committed. He puniſhed the players in diuers ſorts, that behaued themſelues more licentiouſly then became them. And when one of them amongſt them called him Lord, he ſhewed the people with his voice, his eyes, and his hand, that he was not well pleaſed withall: and the next morning he publiſhed a ſharpe Edict, forbidding all perſons expreſly to ſay ſo, and would neuer ſuffer that any of his ſhould giue him this name. But theſe playes being ended, he adopted *Caius* and *Lucius* the ſonnes of *Agrippa*. In all this great buſines, the SICAMBRES, VSIPETES, & TENCHTERES, people of GERMANIE, ſurprized certaine ROMAINS in their territorie, hanged them vp, paſſed ouer the Rhein, ſpoiled GAVLE, ouerthrew certaine horſemen, and following their purpoſe, ouercame *M. Lollius* Proconſull of GAVLE, and tooke away an enſigne from him. Yet though he were a man of ſmall action and very couetous: neuertheleſſe he was reuenged of them, and coming vpon the inuadors, fought with them, and draue them beyond the Rhein. On the other ſide, *C. Lentulus* made war with the DACES, & killed three of their chiefe leaders with a great number of men: and afterwards he eſtabliſhed a garriſon by the riuer of Danuby, to ſtop the incurſiõs of this wild nation. *Auguſtus* ſeeing theſe troubles, diſpoſed of the affaires of ITALIE to go into GAVLE, to rid himſelfe of theſe griefes, & by his abſence to make his preſence more honorable. At that ſame time, diuers people inhabiting vpon the riuer of Danuby rebelled: but *Auguſtus* Lieutenants beſtirred them ſo well, that they were all compelled to ſeeke peace. At that time alſo all GAVLE was in commotion, and that in diuers ſorts. But the couetouſneſſe of *Licinius Enceladus*, made free, and ſoliciter of the affaires of *Auguſtus*, was cauſe of all this miſchiefe. For he hauing commaunded the people to furniſh the tribute for euery moneth, he had put fourteene moneths in the yeare for twelue. So being accuſed to his maiſter for money ill gotten, although all the world cryed out of him, yet he found the meanes to eſcape well enough. For after he had gotten an infinite maſſe of gold and ſiluer togther, he brought it to *Auguſtus*, ſaying, he had neuer other intention but to take from the GAVLES the meanes to rebell. For all this *Auguſtus* withdrew him from thence, and ſent *Tiberius* thither to ſettle all things in good eſtate againe. Almoſt during theſe commotions, and outragious diſſentions, the RHETIANS, neare vnto the lake of Come, they brake into GAVLE, CISALPINE, and tooke out of ITALIE ſtore of boote. They were a people ſeparated from all others, and ſo cruell, that hauing taken any place from the ROMAINES, they killed all the male children, and further, did aske their ſoothſayers of women with child: and if they ſaid ſhe was great with a boy, they preſently ran her through, and killed her and the fruit of her wombe. *Auguſtus* would not endure theſe outrages, but ſent *Druſus* the ſonne of *Liuia* againſt them: who draue them out of ITALIE, hauing ouercome them in a ſet battell, neare vnto TRENT. They ſay that their women ſhewed themſelues ſo cruell in this fight, that their darts failing them, they tooke their litle children by their legges, and did moſt barbarouſly force themſelues to ſmite their enemies in the face. Thoſe that were driuen out of ITALIE would haue entred into GAVLE, but they were repulſed by *Tiberius*. In the end, theſe people and their allies were conſtrained to ſubmit themſelues.

Auguſtus ſent a Colonie vnto NISMES in LANGVEDOCKE: and made them free Burgeſſes of ROME. It is thought that he ſent another vnto ARLES, of the ſixt legion: and one of the ſecond vnto ORANGE. Some make report of theſe Colonies in the time of *Tiberius*. *M. Agrippa* on the other ſide, he gaue order for the affaires of ASIA, and of all the Orient, where he behaued himſelfe ſo well, that all that were friends to the people of ROME, were of better courage then before, and all their enemies ſo valiantly ſuppreſſed, that *Auguſtus* was ſaluted the tenth time ſoueraign Captaine. But *Agrippa* after his wonted maner, he wold haue no triumph: which was the cauſe of the

losse of this custome, and following his example, were contented from thenceforth with the ornaments of triumph. But of another side, the PANNONIANS, the GENOVESES, and those of PIEMONT rebelling, they were subdued by the Lieutenants of *Augustus*: who builded two cities in testimonie of his victorie against these two last people: whereof TVRIN (called *Augusta Pretoria*) was one, and GENVA the other.

Augustus hauing pacified GAVLE, stayed the inuasions of the GERMANES, and quenched the rebellion of SPAINE: he left *Drusus* with authoritie and his armie vpon the Rheine, and came to ROME as *Agrippa* did out of ASIA, and became extreamely sicke of the gowt. *Lepidus* he died at the same time, to whom *Augustus* succeeded in the estate of chiefe Bishop, and made sumptuous spectacles and sights vnto the people. He burnt all the bookes of deuination and prophecie, except those of the *Sibylles*: and yet he kept them not all. He reformed the Kalender, and ordained that there should be no leape yeares for twelues yeares following. He suffered that the sixt moneth then called *Sextilis*, should be called *Augustus* after his name. All that yeare was sperit in plaies and pastimes, sauing that *Augustus* (hauing bene sicke) caused all that he had done in his gouernment to be rehearsed before the Senate. He tooke a reuiew of the Senatours, and confirmed his nephew *Agrippa* in the estate of a Tribune for fiue yeares more. But shortly after, this great person being returned from a iourney out of PANNONIA, whither he was gone to preuent disorders that were likely to be renewed: he fell sicke and died, before *Augustus* could come in time. That was a maruellous griefe vnto him: and not knowing now on whom he should bestow his daughter *Iulia*, in the end he chose *Tiberius* his wiues sonne, and maried them together: but they continued not long in good tearmes together. From thencefoorth *Tiberius* and *Drusus* dealt almost in all the affaires of warre, and *Tiberius* especially after the death of the other: of whom we shall speake to best purpose in the life of *Tiberius*, yet we will briefly note it here. So then *Tiberius* went and made warre in PANNONIA, risen by meanes of the death of *Agrippa*: yet he made an end of it, killed some of them, sold and subiected the rest: and compelled all that people to submit themselues vnto the people of ROME. *Drusus* on the other side made warre in high and low Almaine, and brought the most part of these nations vnto some reason: and afterwards he returned to ROME. Where *Augustus* held so straight a hand to bring the Senate to order, that there were few men desired to be of the Senate: and many to the contrarie that gaue vp their offices. But *Augustus* compelled those that were of age, of qualitie and sufficiencie, and gaue order also that the dignitie of the Tribunes of the people should remaine entire: suffering those notwithstanding which had this office, their time expired, to be amongst the Senators, or with knights. As for the townes of ASIA afflicted with the earthquake, he payed of his owne to the commonwealth, the yearely tribute which they ought. And for the regard of those which were of his Prouinces, he freed them from all impostes for sixe yeares, and gaue them of PALESTINE a great quantitie of corne, which sustained great want and famine. In the meane time *Drusus* passed ouer the Rhein, made warre with the VSIPETES, SICAMBRIANS, TENCHTERES, CATTIANS, CHERVSIANS, and SVAVBIANS, whom he ouerthrew in diuers encounters: and especially in a great battell, where were killed a very great number. For these people were gathered together with such a confidence of victorie, that they had alreadie made agreement among themselues for diuision of the bootie. But specially at the last battell, the CHERVSIANS should haue the horse, the SVAVBIANS they should haue the baggage, and the SICAMBRIANS the prisoners. And yet to bind themselues more straightly together, they burnt twenty Cēteners of the ROMAINES. And this was the cause that the battell was so long and cruelly fought betwixt them: yet in the end the victorie remained to *Drusus*, who gaue the prisoners and all the bootie to the souldiers, making the horse, baggage, and captiues to be sold to them that would offer most. All the field for a great league and a halfe of length was strawed with dead bodies, and they found in the enemies campe great store of iron chains prepared by them for the ROMANES: howbeit they serued for thē. *Drusus* set vp a tokē of triumph, & was called *Imperator* of his troups in the field where the battell was pitched. Afterwards he built aboue fiftie castles vpon the riuers of Meuse, Visurge, and of the Rhein. *Tiberius* on the other side was in DALMATIA, where he brought them vnder that rose in armes against them. The triumph of Ouatio was decreed to them both, and *Augustus* was saluted by the Senate *Imperator* or soueraigne Captaine, and this for thè twelfth time. But in these businesses, the warre was hote in THRACIA, and more then euer before: all the Prouinces being in rebellion vnder the conduct of *Bulogeses*, who had killed

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the king *Rhacuſpolis*, an allie of the people of Rome, driuen out his Vncle and Lieutenant *Rhymetalces* out of Thracia into Chersonesvs. *L. Piſo* gouernor of Pamphilia went againſt them, and at the firſt encounter had not the aduantage, but in the ſecond he ouercame them vtterly. *Druſus* hauing made a voyage to Rome, to celebrate the birth day of *Auguſtus* in great magnificence, whilſt his troupes repoſed themſelues in their garriſons, about the Spring he returned into Germanie, ouercame the Svavbians, gaue them a king: then he inuaded the countrie of the Marcomannes, fought with them diuers times, killed a great number of them, and made all the reſt ſubiect to the Romaines. Becauſe of this victorie, and of that of *Piſo*, *Auguſtus* was called *Imperator* the thirteenth time. Almoſt in this time he put *Proculus* to death in priſon, one that he loued beſt of all his bondmen made free: being conuinced of many adulteries. He made the thighes of his Secretarie *Thallus* to be broken, for the ſumme of an hundred crownes which he tooke for ſhewing a ſecret letter. In this meane time *Tiberius* continued warre in Dalmatia and Pannonia, moued through the great impoſts whereof the people complained: but in the end he ſubdued them, and built many caſtels vpon the riuer of Danuby to ſtay the inuaſions of the enemies. *Piſo* alſo in Thracia ouercame the Mæsians, and Bastarnes, and brought away a great number of priſoners, who bit their iron chaines for anger, and moſt impatiently did beare their ſeruitude. *Druſus* made the Cattians ſubiect alſo, then he came to Lyons to meete with *Auguſtus*: from whence they both returned together into Italie. They had a cuſtome alſo that yearely on the firſt day of Ianuarie, (though *Auguſtus* were abſent) all the Senatours, officers of iuſtice, and others of meane eſtate, brought him New-yeares gifts to the Capitoll: and alſo euery one caſt a peece of gold or ſiluer into the lake Curtius, for a vow that they had made to his health. He did beſtow all theſe New-yeares gifts to buy many rich ſtatues of the gods, which he ſet vp in all the croſſe ſtreetes.

In the fiue and thirtieth yeare of his principalitie, vnder the Conſulate of *Druſus Nero*, and of *Quintius Criſpinus*, *Druſus* hauing ſubdued a great part of Germanie, and preparing to go further: a viſion hauing the ſhape of a great woman, that ſpake bigger and louder then a mans voice could do, ſaid to him in Latine: Go no further: which was a ſigne of his death. The which followed incontinently after, this young Nobleman of an excellent hope, being but thirty yeares old. *Auguſtus* had put him in the rolle of his heires, and made an oration in his praiſe. Afterwards all the charge of the warres of Germanie was committed vnto *Tiberius*. And for *Auguſtus*, he being the ſame yeare called for a witneſſe in certaine cauſes, did patiently ſuffer any man to aske him, or refuſe him, as he had oftentimes done before. One day as he ſpake in full Senate, one of the Senatours told him: I vnderſtood nothing: another, I would ſpeake againſt it, if I might be heard. Another time being wearie with the conteſtations of certaine pleaders, he went in choler out of his ſeate. But ſome began to ſay vnto him, that it was lawfull for Senatours to ſpeake freely to any matter that came before them: and that no man was euer offended for the replies or conteſtations of any man.

Nonius Aſprenas, one of his greateſt friends, was accuſed by *Caſſius Seuerus* to haue poiſoned a hundred and thirtie bidden gueſts at a banquet. *Auguſtus* did not recommend him, but let the Senatours alone, who baniſhed *Caſſius*. An old ſouldier vpon complaint being brought before the Senatours, and in daunger of his life, beſought *Auguſtus* to helpe him. And when he had giuen him an Aduocate to defend him: the ſouldier opened his breaſt, and ſhewing him the markes of the wounds which he had receiued in the battell of Activm, ſaid vnto him: But I beſeech thee *Auguſtus*, conſider that I haue receiued theſe wounds here vpon my bodie for to defend thee, and would put no other in my place. *Auguſtus* moued with theſe words, appeared in iuſtice, and pleaded this mans cauſe the which he wanne. Soone after he was ſaluted ſoueraigne Captaine for the fourteenth time: becauſe of the victories which *Tiberius* and *Sextus Apuleius* had obtained in Germanie, and in Italie. And the authoritie which had bene giuen him for ten yeares ouer the ſtate of the Commonwealth being expired, was continued vnto him for ten yeares following. Then he did greatly enlarge the bounds of the territorie of Rome, and hauing aduanced *Saluſtius Criſpus* (the ſon of the Hiſtorian) vnto the place which *Mæcenas* held, the Romaine knight his faithfull friend and principall Counſeller, deceaſed in thoſe daies: and by *Tiberius* continued to bring the Germaines vnder: for the victorie of whom, and alſo for that he had ſubdued all the people inhabiting alongſt the Alpes: the Senate had ſet vp a token of triumph, and granted triumph to *Tiberius*.

Vnder the ſecond Conſulate of *Claudius Nero*, and of *Calphurnius Piſo*, *Caius* and *Lucius* yong ſonnes of *Auguſtus*, were called young Princes, and appointed Conſuls, although they were but of tender yeares, and vnder fourteene yeares old. This pleaſed *Auguſtus* greatly, though he fained to take no pleaſure in it. Furthermore, he then made an edict touching ſlaunderous libels, declaring who ſhould haue the hearing of thoſe crimes, and how they ſhould be puniſhed: although he himſelfe cared not much, and patiently ſuffered they ſhould gibe at him, contented to anſwer by open defence, vnto the reproches and mockeries they made of him. They ſcattered abrode one day in the pallace many bils of paper of cruell iniuries againſt him. This moued him not at all, neither did he trouble himſelf much to anſwer it: but in ſtead of ſearching it out, he did aduiſe that hereafter they ſhould haue an eye vpon thoſe, that by litle bookes or Epigrams publiſhed (vnder falſe names) ſcandale againſt any man. *Tiberius* wrote a round letter to him one day, to the end he ſhould carie a ſtraighter hand vpon that: but he ſent him theſe words: I pray thee, my friend, let not thy youth ouerrule thee in this matter, nor be not ſo hote, though I be euill ſpoken of by ſome. It is enough if we gaine this point, that no man can hurt vs. Afterwards he deuided the citie of Rome into fourteene regions, and two hundred and ten ſtreetes, and in euery of them he eſtabliſhed Officers to ſee that all things ſhould be maintained as they ought to be, and to report vnto the Prince any memorable thing that ſhould happen. He prouided for the violence of fire, he built vp the temples that were burnt or ruined by time: and gaue at one time vnto the temple of *Iupiter Capitoline*, for the renewing of the ſame, ſixteene thouſand pounds of gold, and of rich and coſtly pearles, to the ſumme of twelue hundred thouſand Crownes.

Now *Caius* and *Lucius* his young ſonnes growing apace, and *Iulia* his daughter beginning to be too well knowne for her wantonneſſe: *Tiberius* that could no longer endure her, nor theſe two young Princes (and becauſe he would haue the Romaines a litle long for him) he demanded and obtained leaue with extremitie, threatning to kill himſelfe with famine, if they did not graunt him: and ſo went to ſtudie at Rhodes. In the meane time *Auguſtus* prouided for the affaires of Istria, deuided Italie into eleuen Prouinces: and becauſe he doubted they did enuie his greatneſſe, he choſe nine Pretorian cohorts for his guard, of the which he kept three of them in Rome, lodged here and there in houſes, ſo long as they were in their quarter: and the ſixe others were quartered in the next villages vnto it. He alſo erected new offices, to impart to ſo many men more the honours and charges of the Commonwealth. At the ſame time when before the Senate they did obiect many crimes vnto *Aimilius Ælianus*, and amongſt other things, that he ſpake ill of *Auguſtus*: he turning to the accuſer, ſaid vnto him as in choler: Proue me that, and I will make *Ælianus* know that I haue a tongue: for I will ſay more of him, then he hath ſpoken of me. He made no further inquirie afterwards, and ſhewed himſelfe very gentle and courteous alſo vnto *Caſsius* of Padva, a man of a meane eſtate: who hauing ſpoken openly at a table, that he lacked no good will nor courage to kill *Auguſtus*: he contented himſelfe to impoſe this onely puniſhment vpon him, as to driue him out of Rome. From his eleuenth Conſulſhip vnto the twelfth, there paſſed ſeuenteene yeares: in all which time he diuerſe times had refuſed this charge: but now he demaunded it, and obtained it. His intention was to aduaunce *Caius* his litle ſonne to great dignitie, whom he cauſed to be proclaimed, yong Prince, and ſent him to ſee the Prouinces and armies, in the title of a Proconſull. Then he commaunded him to go into Asia, hauing giuen him for gouernours *Lollius*, and *Sulpitius Quirinus*. He himſelfe in the meane time remained at Rome, where he eſtabliſhed extraordinarie guards, vnder colour to keepe theeues and maiſterleſſe men from offering violence, whileſt the armies abrode were farre off. The yeare following, *Caius* hauing trauelled in diuerſe parts of the Orient, made peace with *Phraates* king of the Parthians, and brought away hoſtages for aſſurance thereof, the kings three brethren, and all the Princes of the bloud. The which was practiſed by the meanes of the Queene *Thermuſa*, borne in Italie, who being ſent by *Auguſtus* for a gift vnto *Phraates*, he fell ſo in loue with her, and held her in ſuch high eſtimation, that after ſhe had brought him a ſonne called *Phraataces*, he receiued her for his lawfull wife. She being deſirous her ſonne ſhould poſſeſſe the Crowne, draue the right heires farre off by meanes of this peace. And at the end of certaine yeares, *Phraataces* who entertained it killed his father, and poſſeſſed the kingdome. But he was not long in quiet poſſeſſion, for the great Lords conſpired againſt him, and tooke from him his life and Crowne together. Furthermore,

Caius

Caius conquered ARMENIA, and ſhortly after *Auguſtus* demaunded the thirteenth Conſulſhip, to the end to aduaunce his litle ſonne *Lucius* as he had done *Caius*. He ſent him Proconſull into SPAINE, but he fell ſicke by the way, and ſtayed almoſt a yeare at MARSEILLES. Though theſe two brethren were farre enough off *Tiberius*, who kept himſelfe as a ſimple ſcholer at RHODES: yet they loued not him greatly, nor he them: for which purpoſe, the proceſſe ſerued not much againſt their mother *Iulia*, baniſhed becauſe of her adulteries into the Iſle of PANDATARIE. Shortly after, her daughter alſo called *Iulia*, maried vnto *Lucius Paulus*, was alſo conuinced of the ſame crime that her mother was: and was baniſhed into another Iſle of the ſea Adriaticum, called TREMERA. This affliction ſo neare vnto him, maruellouſly grieued *Auguſtus*, who could not beare it but in mourning, and deuouring himſelfe with ſorrow. Then all the Prouinces of the ROMAINE Empire being in peace, *Auguſtus* ſhut vp the third time the temple of *Ianus*: and the King of kings, the Sauiour of the world, being borne of a virgin in IVDÆA, appearing amongſt men: he ſhut vp the Oracles of all the Painim gods, as the Oracle of DELPHES among others was conſtrained to confeſſe it, and neuer ſpake afterwards. Wherewith *Auguſtus* being aſtonied, cauſed a great altar to be ſet vp in the Capitoll with an inſcription, ſignifying that it was *The altar of the God firſt borne*. The yeare following, to ſtay the violent courſe of great vſuries, and to raiſe vp againe many families decayed: he put into the Exchange two millions and a halfe of gold: that is to ſay, fiue and twenty hundred thouſand crowns: and ſuffered priuate men to take of it for three yeares without intereſt, putting in pawne into the Exchequer lands and poſſeſſions, being twiſe as much worth as the principall: and condemned the vſurers that had taken intereſt more then *Iulius Cæſar* had ordained, to pay foure times aſmuch, and deducting out of the principall that which had bene paid ouer and aboue the taxe of the law: he gaue the debters three yeares ſpace to pay it, at three equall times from yeare to yeare. He made prouiſion alſo for diſtributing of corne, and brought it to 200000. heads of thoſe that ſhold come to haue any of it: and did wiſely remedy diuerſe diſcontentments of the people. Shortly after, *Lucius Cæſar* being 16. yeares of age, died at MARSEILLES: the which was the cauſe that *Tiberius* being reconciled for ſome other occaſion with *Caius*, he obtained leaue to returne from RHODES to ROME: with condition (for ſo was *Caius* will) that he ſhould meddle with no affaires of eſtate, and that he ſhould remaine yet the reſt of the yeare at RHODES. As touching *Auguſtus*, he laboured to recreate himſelfe with his friends: and did willingly ſee learned men: and amongſt others, *T. Liuius* that renowned Hiſtorian: the Poets *Virgil* and *Horace*, but eſpecially *Virgil*, who was one of his moſt familiar friends. Which maketh men thinke that *Ouid* committed ſome great fault, ſince he was a baniſhed man ſo long, and that they could not obtaine his grace, though the greateſt men were ſuters for him. And yet the Hiſtorians ſay *Auguſtus* was not angry, as appeareth by the fact of *Timagenes* the Hiſtorian: who hauing diſperſed abrode ſome pleaſant by-names againſt *Auguſtus*, *Liuia*, and their familiars, wherat euery one of them laughed, it was ſo pleaſant an encounter: *Auguſtus* was contented to aduiſe him to moderate his toung from thenceforth, and did only forbid him his houſe and familiaritie, ſuffering him to waxe old in the companie of *Aſinius Pollio*. He did greatly ſupport ſome alſo that were accuſed to haue ſealed a falſe Will, & mingled with the marks of condemnation and abſolution a third, pardoning all thoſe that it ſhould ſeeme had through ignorance ſinned in this fact. One being euidently conuinced to haue killed his father, was euen at the point to be ſewed vp in a leather ſack, according to the cuſtome, and throwne into the ſea. *Auguſtus* deſirous this curſed wretch ſhould not be thus handled, put the anſwer in his mouth, in asking of him alſo: Surely I beleeue thou haſt not killed thy father. The ſon of *Tarius* being charged to haue conſpired againſt the life of his father, *Auguſtus* was ſent for into *Tarius* houſe, to counſell him what were beſt to be done: he gaue the father counſell to baniſh him far off from all knowledge. And when *Tarius* would haue made *Auguſtus* his heire, he refuſed it, and obtained that the ſon ſhould be baniſhed vnto MARSEILLES: and that during his fathers life he ſhold haue a penſion to maintaine him withall.

In the 44. yeare of the monarchie of *Auguſtus*, *Tiberius* hauing bene abſent the ſpace of eight yeares, he came againe to ROME, where he liued, and medled with no matters. But that held not long: for in the ſame yeare *Caius*, vpon whom *Auguſtus* principally looked, died in LYCIA: and ſome ſay, that *Liuia* knew well enough of what death. For ſhe greatly deſired the aduancement of her ſon *Tiberius*, knowing that *Auguſtus* did not greatly loue the laſt ſon of *Agrippa* & *Iulia*, by reaſon of the rudeneſſe of his nature. *Auguſtus* tooke the death of his ſon *Caius* very vnpatiently.

He made his ſchoolemaiſter and domeſticall ſeruants to be drowned: and furthermore, he diſpoſed all the forces of the Empire and the legions amongſt the Prouinces, in commodious places as well by ſea as by land. Afterwards he obtained the Tribuneſhip for *Tiberius*, more through the procurement of *Liuia* then otherwiſe: although in the end he was content to aduance him, to make his memorie to be ſo much the more deſired, when they had made proofe of his ſucceſſor, whom he knew better then any other, and neuer ſpake any thing well, but he ſpied alwaies ſome croſſe thing in him of a dangerous nature he had. And yet ſome iudge, that *Auguſtus* did repute the vertues in *Tiberius* to be greater then his imperfections: conſidering alſo that in the Oration he made, his words tended to this end, that he adopted *Tiberius* in fauor of the commonwealth. But before he would declare this adoption: he compelled *Tiberius* to adopt his nephew *Germanicus* the ſon of *Druſus*: and he adopted with *Tiberius Agrippa Poſthumus*, the ſon of *M. Agrippa*. Then to preuent the complots of ſome of the chiefeſt of ROME, he made *Tiberius* to be choſen Tribune for ten yeares following. That was the cauſe that in ROME they began to ſpeak well of *Tiberius*, whom they ſaw by that meanes ſomwhat ſtepped into *Auguſtus* place, ſo ſoone as he ſhould happen to die. Furthermore, at the inſtance of the people of ROME & of *Tiberius* himſelf, *Auguſtus* did tollerate the baniſhment of his daughter *Iulia*: howbeit for no intreatie he would euer reuoke her again. So after the deceaſe of *Auguſtus*, ſhe was deſtitute of all helpe, and *Tiberius* made her dy for want in an vnknowne place. The yeare following, *Valerius Meſſala*, and *C. Cinna* litle ſon of the great *Pompey*, were elected Conſuls. *Cinna* that tooke part with his couſins, was taken priſoner, & brought to *Auguſtus*, who gaue him life & aduanced him. This notwithſtanding, he was afterwards attainted and conuinced to haue conſpired againſt the life of *Auguſtus*: whom through the counſell of *Liuia* he ſent for into his chamber, & gently rebuked him for all the good deeds he had done to him: pardoned him this laſt offence, & afterwards raiſed him to the dignity of a Conſull, being ſory that he durſt not demand it. After that *Cinna* became his faithfull friend and ſeruant, & bequeathed all his goods by will vnto *Auguſtus*: againſt whom neuer any man cõſpired more. His Lieutenants in AFRICK obtained ſome victories, & *Tiberius* continued the war in GERMANIE, from whence he oftentimes returned to ROME, to keepe himſelf in *Auguſtus* good fauor. Who hauing limited the pay, recompence, commoditie, and time that the ſoldiers ſhould haue, he procured for ſome time the good of the commonwealth: which had continued longer in proſperitie, if his ſucceſſors had better entertained militarie diſcipline. Afterwards to reſiſt the mutinies of the people by reaſon of famine, he eſtabliſhed corps of guard in all the places of ROME, and draue out a great number of vnprofitable mouths. And when corne came againe to beare the ordinarie price, he was about to aboliſh the diſtributiõ of corn which the cõmonwealth made: becauſe that the people truſting vnto that, made no reckening to plow their lands. At the ſame time many towns in diuerſe Prouinces were inclined to rebel, which cauſed the Senate to make a decree, that the gouernors of Prouinces ſhold command two years one after another, and ſhould not depart thence til their ſucceſſor were arriued. The ILLYRIANS alſo they began to riſe, but they were ſuppreſt immediatly by *Valerius Meſſalinus*. For GERMANY, all were ſubiect vnder the name of the ROMAINS, except the MARCOMANNES, and their king *Maroboduus*, a valiliant and wiſe man, that kept himſelfe and his people in good diſcipline, hauing alwaies an army readie of threeſcore and ten thouſand footmen, and foure thouſand horſe, all the which he trained and put in readineſſe againſt his neighbours, to defend him the better againſt the ROMAINES, if they came to aſſaile him. *Tiberius* prepared himſelfe with twelue legions to make warre with him: but being conſtrained to go againſt the ILLYRIANS, he made agreement with *Maroboduus*, that ſought peace and quietneſſe: and ſo marched where neceſſitie called him. For the ILLYRIANS, to the number of eight hundred thouſand men and vpwards, roſe in manner all at an inſtant, and muſtered vp in ſhort time, with ſuch order in their affaires and warlike exploits, that they poſſeſt and brought in ſubiection almoſt all MACEDON, and put *Auguſtus* into a maruellous perplexitie, becauſe they prepared themſelues to come into ITALIE. Hereupon *Tiberius* is choſen to go againſt them, the which he did with ſo good direction and warlike iudgement, that he diſperſed their armie. But now concerning the countrey of THRACIA: there the armie of the ROMAINES was put to flight: yet taking heart againe, they returned to meet with their enemies, and obtained an honourable victorie. For which cauſe they called *Auguſtus Imperator* or ſoueraigne Captaine the ſixteenth time. The ILLYRIANS made head againe better then before vnder the conduct of *Bato Deſidiates*: they made violent and ſtraunge inuaſions,

inuaſions, and *Tiberius* neuer came againſt them. Whereupon *Auguſtus* conceiuing an euill opinion, diſpatched *Germanicus* the ſonne of *Druſus*, to go into ILLYRIA with a complete armie. On the other ſide, *Agrippa Poſthumus* ſhewed himſelfe ſo inſolent, and committed ſo many follies, that *Auguſtus* could no longer endure them, and therfore he diſauowed & diſinherited him, confiſcated his goods, and confined him to SVRRENTVM: where being more audacious then before, he baniſhed him into the Ile of PLANASIA, neare vnto CORSICA: and cauſed the Senate to make an ordinance that he ſhould remaine there till his death. By this meanes euery man began to regard *Tiberius*, who was alſo declared the ſon and colleague of *Auguſtus* by decree of the Senate, who committed vnto him all the armies and prouinces of the Empire. *Liuia* his mother did helpe him greatly in all theſe affaires. Furthermore, he would not ſtir out of ILLYRIA vntill he had made an end of this warre, which continued three whole yeares.

Now at the arriuall of *Germanicus*, the chieftaines of the ILLYRIANS came ſuddenly to aſſaile the campe of the ROMAINS: who faining to be afraid, ſtaid till the enemy came to charge them in diſorder. Then they came out with furie againſt them, killed a great number of thē, and made the reſt to flie. *Germanicus* wan another battell againſt the DALMATIANS, and purſuing his victorie, he followed them ſo neare at the heeles, that they ſubmitted themſelues, and demaunded peace. By reaſon whereof they gaue *Auguſtus* the name of *Imperator* the eighteenth time. *Bato Deſidiates* came to ſalute *Tiberius* ſet in his tribunall chaire, without holding downe his head, or any way imbaſing himſelfe: and being asked why after ſo many battels loſt, he did yet rebell againe? he anſwered boldly againe, that the ROMAINES were the cauſe of it: who in ſtead of ſhepheards had ſent them wolues to keepe their flocke. Peace was graunted vnto the DALMATIANS vpon certaine conditions. And as for the BREVCIANS which continued their warre, they were ouerthrowne in many encounters, and at the length brought to ſubiection by *Plautius Siluanus*, who triumphed. Their king *Bato Breucus* had betrayed and deliuered vnto the ROMAINES another great Captaine of the ILLYRIANS called *Pinnetes*: and afterwards he was deliuered himſelfe by his owne men vnto *Bato Deſidiates*, who killed him with his owne hand: and then fortified himſelfe in DALMATIA, where hauing made head almoſt a yeare and a halfe againſt the armies of *Tiberius* and of *Germanicus*, he won and loſt many battels: at the laſt being able to hold out no longer, he ſent his ſonne to demaund peace of *Tiberius*, promiſing to yeeld himſelfe and his into the hands of *Auguſtus*. He obtained ſafe conduct, and came by night vnto *Tiberius* campe: who gaue him very gracious entertainment, and many rich preſents. Afterwards he made him be brought to RAVENNA, and was alſo gently vſed: becauſe that in an encounter where he was incloſed, and in daunger of his life, he had giuen him meanes to eſcape and ſaue himſelfe. And becauſe of the diuers victories obtained by *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*, *Auguſtus* was ſaluted for the nineteenth & twentith time *Imperator* or ſoueraigne Captain. And for the PANNONIANS, their young men that had ſo many times threatned ITALIE, were conſtrained to bring all their armes together on a heape, as they were commaunded, and to fall on their knees before *Tiberius* to demaund peace of him. He receiued them into grace, and ſent them home to their houſes, diſpoſing his garriſons in ſtrong places, vnder the charge of *Marcus Lepidus*. The glorie of *Tiberius* was yet more noble, and the anguiſhes of *Auguſtus* increaſed by the ouerthrow of *Quintilius Varus*: who being gone to aſſaile *Arminius* Prince of the CHERVSSIANS, was encloſed in mariſhes, and vtterly ouerthrowne with three ROMAINE legions that were ſlaine in the place: and for himſelfe, fearing to fall aliue into the hands of the CHERVSSIANS, he killed himſelfe with his owne hand. The victours did neuer ſo cruelly handle the ROMAINES as thoſe whom they might know were common Counſellers and pleaders. For at the beginning when *Varus* came to commaund their countrey, where they knew not what proceſſe meant, he perſwaded himſelfe he ſhould tame them well enough, vſing the ſame forme and order of proceſſe there amongſt them, as they did at ROME. So he had a iudgement ſeate, and all matters were pleaded before him. Some of them amongſt the reſt being very ſubtill, ſeemed to eſteeme much this pleading: and to bring him aſleepe, they of purpoſe moued occaſion of proceſſe and ſute one againſt the other: and then they went before him, and by ROMAINES themſelues whoſe tongues they borrowed, they demaunded iuſtice. Then they reioyced not a litle when they could catch any of theſe Counſellers: for they put out the eyes of ſome of them, cut off the hands of others of them: and they ſay, that they cut out the tongue of one, and afterwards ſowed vp his mouth, and he that held the tongue in his hand, ſaid vnto him:

O viper, at the laſt yet thou wilt leaue whiſtling. *Auguſtus* was ſo aſtonied at this loſſe, that at times he would beate his head againſt the wall, crying out, *Varus*, giue me my legions. Certaine yeares after, *Germanicus* buried the bones of the ROMAINES that were killed in this ouerthrow. The yeare following *Tiberius* returned into GERMANIE, and to keepe the paſſages of the Rhein, *Auguſtus* ſerued his turne with the ſlaues enfranchiſed, which cauſed afterwards great confuſions and ſeditions in the ROMAINE armie. In all theſe ſtirres, two men of no worth, called *Andaſius* and *Epicadus*, complotted to take away *Iulia* the daughter of *Auguſtus*, and *Agrippa Poſthumus* from the places where they were, and to bring them to ſome legions to alter the eſtate. But they were ſoone diſcouered, and puniſhed for their raſhneſſe. Some others alſo committed the like fond enterpriſes, but they vaniſhed away without any effect.

Furthermore, *Auguſtus* being now old and broken, began to leaue all great companies, caſſiered his guards, and ſent them to garriſons farre off, to the end they ſhould not go about to make any chaunge. He gaue commaundement that the GAVLES and GERMAINES ſhould depart the citie by a day prefixed. In the meane time *Tiberius* hauing deuided his armie into foure parts, entred into GERMANY, about fiue and twentie leagues into the country beyond the Rhein, & put al to fire and bloud: then he retired fearing ſome encounter of *Varus*. Touching *Auguſtus*, he qualified ſome ſtrict lawes againſt the vnmaried, the gifts of the husband to the wife, the banquets and ſutes: he did forbid the Deuines to anſwer the vaine queſtion of thoſe, that wold know how long they ſhould liue: and he ſuffered the knights (if they were challenged) to fight at the ſharp. *Germanicus* being returned to ROME obtained the Conſulſhip, and *Tiberius* triumphed of the ILLYRIANS, PANNONIANS, DALMATIANS, and GERMAINES: followed with his Lieutenants *Germanicus*, *Vibius Poſthumus*, *Plautius Siluanus*, and *Marcus Lepidus*, with triumphing robes. But before he went vp to the Capitoll, he went out of his charret, and fell downe on his knees before *Auguſtus*. Then he made a dinner for all the people, and had a thouſand tables ſet vp for them: and gaue to euery one of then ſeuen crownes and a halfe. Vnder the Conſulſhip of *C. Silius*, and of *Munatius Plancus*, *Auguſtus* hauing obtained ten yeares with *Tiberius* to prouide for the affaires of the commonwealth: to the end to quench many falſe rumors, about ſixteene moneths before his death, he made his will, and gaue it to the Veſtall virgins to keepe. Becauſe his ſickneſſe kept him from coming to the Senate, he prayed the Senators to thinke of ſome meanes to entertaine the men of warre. Which they hauing well conſidered, found no better meanes then that which he himſelfe had found out, to wit: of the twentieth part of the inheritances: and they all agreed vnto it. The next yeare following, he went (as they ſay) to ſee *Agrippa* in his Iſle of PLANASIA, the which troubled *Liuia* much: for ſhe knew what was paſt. At the ſame time he and *Tiberius* tooke muſter of the ROMAINE citizens, and ſhortly after he fell ſicke, wherof they recite many cauſes. But therupon he went into the countrie vnto ſome places of pleaſure, where he mended a litle, and paſſed the time away pretily merie, carying *Tiberius* with him, whom he would haue brought on his way to BENEVENT, from whence he went into ILLYRIA. At his returne his ſickneſſe increaſed, that he was faine to ſtay at NOLA, and ſent for *Tiberius*, and talked with him a long time very priuately, and after that neuer did any thing of importance: although the Hiſtorians do not agree whether *Tiberius* was come before his departure or not. For *Liuia* had ſet ſpials in the houſe he lay ſick in, and on the high waies, giuing it out abrode that *Auguſtus* was well: & on the other ſide ſending meſſages vpon meſſages vnto *Tiberius*, fame ſpreading it abrode that *Auguſtus* was dead, and that *Tiberius* held his place. *Auguſtus* being at the point to giue vp the ghoſt, made himſelfe to be combed, and ſpeaking to his friends, asked if no bodie made any noiſe without. So he exhorted them to reioyce with him, for that he had ſo happily played the Comedy of this humane life. Then hauing ſent them all out of his chamber, he asked if *Liuilla Druſus* daughter were in health: and ſo embracing his wife, ſaid theſe words vnto her: Farewell *Liuia*, behaue thy ſelfe well, and remember our mariage: and ſuddenly went away, making a ſweet end, which he alwaies deſired as often as he heard talke of thoſe that died quietly. He died in the ſame towne, and in the ſame chamber that his father *Octauius* died in, and liued neare vnto the age of threeſcore and ſixteene yeares. His corps being brought to ROME, the Veſtall virgins brought out his will and teſtament, by the which he appointed *Tiberius* his heire, and gaue him three parts of his goods, and his wife *Liuia* the fourth part. Furthermore he gaue to the people of ROME twelue hundred and fiftie thouſand crownes: to the fiue and thirtie Tribes, thirteen hundred, ſeuen and thirty thouſand, fiue hundred crownes: to euery one of the Pretorian ſouldiers

diers 25 crownes, to thoſe of the towne 12 crownes and a halfe. There were other legacies to be payd within a yeare: & he ſayd, that all his legacies performed, he left his heires foure millions of gold. Within 20 yeares before his death, he did inherite of his friends goods which had made him their heire, about 35 millions of gold: howbeit that he had ſpent all that with two patrimonies of his owne for maintenance of the common wealth. With his teſtament there were three litle libels or codicils, the one ſhewing what he would haue done at his funerals. The ſecond was a briefe of all his actions, which he commanded ſhould be grauen in copper tables before his tombe. The third contained the eſtate of his reuenew, & of the principall affaires of the Empire. He had added to them alſo the names of the infranchiſed bondmen and of the ſlaues, whom they might bring to account, and therewith he aduiſed them to keepe the limites of the Empire which they had at that time. They caried him with great pompe into the field of *Mars*, where he was reduced into aſhes, which they cloſed vp in his ſepulcher built in his ſixt Conſulſhip. After all theſe ceremonies the Senate appointed him a temple and diuine honors, and was placed in ranke with the gods. To make this honour yet greater, one *Numerius Atticus* that had bene Prætor, a man of great authority in Rome, was entiſed by *Liuia*, who gaue him fiue and twenty thouſand crownes, to ſweare before all the people, that he ſaw *Auguſtus* caried vp into heauen. After his death, many ſpeeches were diuerſly ſpoken of his life: ſome reprouing him, as much as others commended him. But his ſucceſſour made him oftentimes to be lamented. And ſo he was wont to ſay of *Tiberius*, that he ſhould leaue to the Romaines in ſucceſſion of the Empire, a ſucceſſour that neuer conſulted twiſe of one thing. And as he was a happy Prince in all his enterpriſes, and that by his Lieutenants had done an infinite number of worthie exploits againſt the enemies of the Empire: ſo in his life amongſt his friends he ſhewed himſelfe very gracious, pleaſant, and well diſpoſed in company: being learned, eloquent, and ſententious in all his talke. And to conclude, ſuch as the Empire of Rome had neuer any *Auguſtus Cæſar* but him alone.

The end of Octauius Cæſar Auguſtus life.

THE LIFE OF *Plutarch.*

Thy precepts are a crowne of pureſt gold
To Traian, deem'd the glorie of mankind.
In hands, and harts, if great men would thee hold,
Vertue ſhould rule, and vice ſhould go behind.

HAuing vndertaken to gather the liues of *Plutarch* and of *Seneca*, as they themſelues are amply ſhewed in their workes, the which in deſpite of the furie of an infinitie of ſtraunge accidents haue yet remained whole and in reputation vntill this preſent time: Firſt, this thought hath poſſeſſed me before, that ſome man may maruell, how, and wherefore I do ioyne Philoſophers, quiet men, and friends of ſolitarineſſe: vnto ſo many noble and worthy warriers. Wherein it ſeemeth I wander too farre off from the principall intention of *Plutarch*, who was ſo willing to honor the Muſes, ioyning into one body ſo many members and parts of hiſtories offered vnto the poſteritie, that in the meane time he hath accompanied, and as it were enuironed them:

With darts, and targets of Mars redoubtable.

But I hope, that if thoſe (which thinke ſtraunge of my doings) will but at leiſure with a repoſed eye looke vpon the liues before: they ſhall find that I haue not gone ſo farre from the right meaning, as at the firſt ſight may be iudged. For, beſides that the liues of ſome Orators, eſpecially of *Demoſthenes* and of *Cicero*, are ſeene amongſt the others: you ſhall find few noblemen repreſented by our Author, but that they haue as carefully handled bookes, as their ſwords. And if ſome ſeeme to be ſo much giuen to armes, that they haue left the ſtudie of learning behind them: yet we may ſee that they haue loued Philoſophers, and that they themſelues haue earneſtly and effectually reaſoned of Philoſophy, in time of warre and peace. And whereas *Plutarch* hath mingled ſome with vertuous men, ſome (I ſay) which haue done infinite hurt to themſelues, and to all the world during their liues, and whoſe names are deteſted at this day by thoſe themſelues which follow their execrable doings: his intention was not to place them in the Theater of vertue, as if they had deſerued it: but as learned painters finely apply cloudy and darke colours in their tables, to the end that the liuely and freſh colours ſhould appeare more beautifull and as it were imboſſed; ſo in entermingling the ſtrange exceſſes of ſome GREEKES and ROMAINES

amongſt

amongſt ſo worthie acts of others, he hath ſo fitly mingled the ſweete and profitable together, that it is not poſſible to be better. But if my two Philoſophers (ſince I haue begun to qualifie them thus) were contented to ſhut vp themſelues in ſome ſchoole or ſtudie, and to do nothing elſe but declaime and faſhion ſome ſcholers: it may be indeed I ſhould haue better left this enterpriſe vnto ſome follower of *Diogenes Laertius*, that would deſcribe the ſects of Philoſophie, and the principall founders of the ſame. Now there are here two perſonages, which (as the ſoule within the body) haue through their notable counſels giuen motions vnto great and meane men in their time, and by other mens eyes and hands haue done infinite things in the ſocietie of mans life, vnto the which they ſerue at this day with their precepts and goodly inſtructions, without the which the exploits of others ſhould be partly buried and aboliſhed: as thoſe haue bene of ſo many other men that came before and after. They be the two ſchoole-maiſters and counſellors of two Emperors. They be men that beſide their ſtudy haue borne great and honorable offices, in the which they haue ſo caried themſelues, that by their actions a man may gather, that knowledge is a great prop and ſtay to a vertuous man. If they haue not worne armor and commanded armies: if a man ſee them in a long gowne, and their bookes in their hands, they loſe not therefore their glory which ſo many wayes recommendeth them at this preſent, hauing lift vp learning in honour, and furniſhed ſtrong armes, by meanes whereof all Princes may wiſely and happily maintaine their eſtates againſt the fury of warres, and vnder the quiet gouernement of peace. As to the contrary, when violence alone would rule, and that men thought there was no need that our ſpirits ſhould be kept in and directed by the exhortations of Philoſophy: confuſions came on in heapes, which ruined and ouerthrew that which they thought had bene ſureſt ſet in the ground. Moreouer, I did not beare my ſelfe in hand that I could attaine to that, as to repreſent *Plutarch* and *Seneca* in their beſeeming comelineſſe. They themſelues could haue done that, and in their writings there are draughts very agreeable to their grauity. But as we do not willingly take the penſile to paint our ſelues, but to pleaſe our ſelues, the diſcourſe of our thought ſufficeth. In like maner alſo theſe goodly ſpirits here, being contented to be knowne by the glaſſe of their vertue which followeth them: they leaue euery body to thinke of their deeds and words that that is meete. Amongſt all the bookes that ſerue for the vſe of mans life, next vnto that which concerneth our ſoueraigne good we hope for in a better place then this world: I thinke there are none more profitable nor neceſſary to all ſorts of men, then hiſtories. And amongſt hiſtories, thoſe of men which haue bene brought to honor and place of gouernment in the commonwealth: and among thoſe men there, thoſe that haue brought their deeds and ſayings to ſome commendable end. Wherefore I will not enter into diſputation nor conference of ſtories, nor mingle the Scriptures with the prophane, or confound the diſcourſe repreſenting men deſtitute of the knowledge of the true god, with the holy and admirable conſiderations of the life of them, which haue bene lightned with the happy and ſupernaturall light. That requireth a whole booke, and ſeparated from this preſent worke, our purpoſe being otherwiſe bent to the ſame. But as in the former liues I was deſirous to waken the good ſpirits of our nation, and by the interiection of ſome of my conceipts to induce them to do better: I do the like alſo in theſe two, attending the commoditie to ſet foorth others, if the Author of life do permit me.

Now before we proceed any further, for as much as *Seneca* was long time before *Plutarch*, ſome might alſo require another order in my diſcourſe. Notwithſtanding, as *Plutarch* doth ordinarily place the GREEKS before the ROMAINES, and that for the matter of their liues there is no need otherwiſe for a man to trouble himſelfe much about the diſpoſing of them, and that thoſe which be dead do not quarrell together to know who ſhall go before or behind: I haue thought with my ſelfe that I might begin this worke where I thought good, without binding my ſelfe too curiouſly, either to the order of time, or to ſuch other circumſtances. For if any man be offended, I will alledge that vnto him which was ſpoken vnto one diſpleaſed, becauſe his horſe was painted ſtanding on his feete, which he would haue had lying on his backe, and his feete vpward: Turne the other ſide vpward, and you ſhall be pleaſed. Euen ſo is it in his choiſe to reade ſuch a life firſt, as he thinketh good, and to turne the table at his pleaſure, no man being conſtrained to come into the cloſet of the Muſes, but at his owne will, and by the gate which pleaſeth him beſt. I could haue bene contented to haue offered *Plutarch* onely, or left him hidden in his workes, the true and durable treaſures of his glory: but hauing bene ſolicited

to ſhew ſome patterns, I was vnwilling to let him go alone. Now, I cannot caſt mine eye vpon that perſonage, but *Seneca* doth alſo preſent himſelfe vnto me, for many reports and agreements that are betweene them. For, beſides that nature hath brought them into the world, in the reuolution of one age, both came out of a ſtraunge countrey to ROME: both of them were rich and of great power, maiſters and teachers of two Emperours, which did enrich and aduance them to honour, and great offices in the commonwealth. In regard of their learning, although the one of them was of a ſect impugned by the other in diuerſe reſpects: yet they both tended to one end, although it was by diuerſe wayes: to wit, to driue away vice and vanity out of the harts of their diſciples, and to plant in them the loue of vertue, the contempt of death, and of the world, with ſo ſound reaſons, and ſo well combined the one to the other: that it is vnpoſſible to enter into a ſchoole of the heathen better ordred then that of theſe two, to learne (as we ought) to be aſhamed of diſhoneſt things, and to exerciſe thoſe that be honeſt and vertuous. But as touching other agreements and diſſemblances which may be noted as wel in their life and behauiour, as in their doctrine: peraduenture it ſhall be better to reſerue it to fitter place, or to leaue the diſcourſe vnto the ſtudious reader: who aduiſedly conſidering this litle which we preſently preſent vnto them, and ioyning thereto the writings of the one and the other: ſhall know what authority and art theſe two wiſe men haue to draw the moſt ignorant and fooliſh to the loue of vertue. Alſo that their ſtile with their pertinent and plaine manner of diſcourſe is accompanied with great grauity and forcible reaſons, to make men confident to beleeue them. If the one flow ſweetly, and alwayes almoſt maintaineth himſelfe in the ſame: the other in his wandrings and rollings about can well reforme his errors, and come to it againe in time: and then go on better then when he firſt began. *Plutarch* vſeth a world of approches and hookes to pull downe vice. *Seneca* ſeemeth to prouoke him to the combat, and when he ſetteth vpon him, it is in taking him by the coller and ſhaking him in all parts. The one ſeemeth to be a company of light horſemen charging very ſwiftly, and at diuerſe wheelings and returnes: the other, to a battalion of footmen well ſet in order, aſſailing reſolutely, and not remouing out of the place before he haue won the victory. The opinions of *Plutarch* are handled with Platonicall inductions, enriched with examples, with ſimilitudes, with quicke ſentences, and gracious recitals, which force the reader to yeeld. *Seneca* drawing that which is praiſe-worthy from the STOICKES, and from EPICVRVS alſo goodly inſtructions: as the Bee finely draweth from the herbe of bitter iuyce that which maketh ſweet hony, differing ſomwhat from the common vſe, he maketh a very profitable and ſure harbor wherein a heart ill ſetled may repoſe it ſelfe. The one ſpeaketh as a friend, the other as a maiſter: and both with ſuch a grace, that whether they giue good counſell, or that they command: the eares and hearts do bow at their voices. Inſomuch that the wicked are conſtrained in reading of theſe Philoſophers to acknowledge and plainely to heare within this graue ſchoole, a million of truths which condemneth them: and I cannot tell with what hidden force (as the Adamant draweth iron) they feele themſelues to be caried that way, vnto the which the learned inſtructions of theſe two Philoſophers do direct them, to delight in them euen with mourning, and to confeſſe that thoſe be the perſons of whom men may learne to be leſſe vicious, and more vertuous: good men alſo they gather there a ſweete fruite as poſſible may me, for remedy againſt ſo many cruelties of this preſent life. And although they find their true and perfect contentment in a farre better ſchoole without compariſon: yet ſo it is, that in this ſchoole here they vnderſtand things which afterwards makes the other more agreeable, and more honourable. Now for as much as afterwards we haue mixed the memories of their liues with diuerſe particularities, which will make vs ſee a part of their compariſons that may be noted betweene them: let vs begin with *Plutarch*, and conſider his life principally by the inſtructions which he himſelfe hath left vs, and namely in many places of his morall and mingled workes.

Pauſanias, in the ninth booke of his deſcription of GREECE, ſaith, that there ranne a common rumour abroad among the THEBANS, that *Cadmus* the ſonne of *Agenor* comming from DELPHES into PHOCIDE, was guided by a cow marked in both her flankes with white ſpots in forme of a full Moone: and that the Oracle commaunded him to ſtay with his troupes in that place where the cow ſhould lie downe. Which came to paſſe in the territory afterwards called BOEOTIA, becauſe of this cow. At the beginning of the ſame booke he ſayth that BOEOTIA tooke the ſame name of *Bœotus* the ſonne of *Iton*, and of the nymph *Menalippe*: which

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ſhould ſeeme repugnant. But the one and the other opinion may well agree, if we ſay that *Cadmus* being come into that part of the countrey, *Bœotius* that had a charge in theſe troupes, and remaining there after the others, left his name to all the territorie which is neare neighbour to ATTICA, but in a thicker aire, becauſe it ſtandeth betwixt two mountaines, and that the country is more Northwards. So that the ATHENIANS were euer thinner of body, and of liuelier ſpirit: and the BOEOTIANS to the contrary, fuller of fleſh, and duller of wit alſo. From whence came many ſlents of laughter againſt the maſſe and waight of their vnderſtandings, and they made prouerbes diſperſed in Greeke and Latine bookes. Yea the Poets themſelues, and *Ebulus* among others, do floute the BOEOTIANS, that they are great feeders, and loue to ſpeake much: which agreeth very well with the reſt of their maners. *Plutarch* alſo himſelfe in his firſt treaty of eating of fleſh, noteth ſomewhat of that. Neuertheleſſe, of ſuch a countrey came *Pelopidas*, and other excellent men, but namely him of whom we are now preſently to ſpeake of, no ſimple nor ſottiſh man: but as

Midſt buſhes, and the thickeſt of the thorne
The floures of tendreſt violets are borne.

Euen ſo out of a countrey accuſtomed to bring forth fat men, as they ſay, and fitter for war then learning: came *Plutarch*, borne in the city of CHÆRONEA, neare vnto LEBADIA. In old time (as *Pauſanias* ſaith) it was called ARNE, becauſe of *Arné* the daughter of *Æolus*. But afterwards becauſe it ſtood euill, and looked towards the Weſt: *Chæron* the ſonne of *Apollo* and of *Thero* the daughter of *Phylas*, cauſed it to be new built, and turned to the Eaſt, to make it more wholeſome and habitable. Vpon which occaſion, in token of thankfulneſſe for the good act of the founder, it was euer after called CHÆRONEA. And although for many memorable accidents this towne is noted in hiſtories, yet do I not know any thing that hath ſo much kept vp the memorie of it vntill this preſent, as the name of *Plutarch*, whoſe anceſtours, men of a noble race, maintained themſelues from father to the ſonne in honourable office and place of charge in their litle common wealth, vntill the time of *Nicarchus* his great grandfather, who liued in the time of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, as *Plutarch* reporteth in the life of *Antonius*: where he ſaith alſo, that all the citizens of CHÆRONEA, not one excepted, were compelled themſelues to carie vpon their ſhoulders, a certaine meaſure of corne to the ſea coaſt, which is before the Ile of ANTICYRE: and yet they were driuen forward whipped with many a ſore laſh. Againe, as they were preparing for a ſecond iourney, and that euery man had his burthen ready: newes came that *Antonius* had loſt the battell before ACTIVM, which ſaued CHÆRONEA. For *Antonius* commiſſioners and ſouldiers fled immediatly, and the citizens deuided the corne amongſt them. *Nicarchus*, amongſt other children had *Lamprias*, a learned man amongſt thoſe of his time, and of whom *Plutarch* makes often mention in his bookes, where he ſpeaketh of talke at the table: how that he had bene in company with other learned men at many feaſts, where there was no talke but of learning, and matters of Philoſophie. He ſpeaketh alſo of his father, the ſonne of *Lamprias*, not expreſſing his name although he repreſenteth him diſcourſing of many points of Philoſophy, and namely in the bookes aboue mentioned. Of this Philoſopher then the ſonne of *Lamprias*, were borne many children, and amongſt others *Plutarch*, *Timon*, and *Lamprias*: all which three were very carefully brought vp and inſtructed in the liberall ſciences, and in all the parts of Philoſophie: vnto the which they ſhall euer ſee an humble reuerence towards their grandfather and father ioyned together, and amongſt themſeluesa faſt and pleaſant friendſhip, as may be gathered in many places out of their table talke. Whereupon in reſpect of the grandfather and father, I remembred that *Plutarch* in thoſe bookes ſpeaking of his grandfather, he makes alwayes honourable mention of him. And as for his father, in the inſtruction for thoſe that deale in affaires of the eſtate, he reporteth, that he being young was ſent with another in embaſſage to the Proconſull, and his companion remaining vpon ſome occaſion behind, he went thither alone, and executed the commiſſion. And at his returne, as he would haue giuen the common wealth account openly, and haue made report of his charge and embaſſage: his father riſing vp alone, forbad him to ſay, I went, but we went: and I ſpake, but we ſpake, and ſo commanded him to make his report, alwayes ioyning his companion with that he had done. We ſee in the treaty of brotherly loue, how hartily he loued his brother *Timon*, when he ſayd in theſe words: For my ſelfe, although fortune hath ſhewed me many fauours, which deſerue that I ſhould be thankfull to her for them, yet there is none that maketh me ſo much bound vnto her, as the loue and good

will my brother *Timon* hath borne, and doth beare vnto me in all things: the which no man can deny to be true, that hath but a litle frequented our company. And in his talke at the table, bringing in his father and brethren with many others, or together, reſoluing diuerſe queſtions of Philoſophy, he repreſenteth men that with a grounded knowledge had ioyned a ſweete behauiour, and a wonderfull good vnderſtanding, and namely the yong *Lamprias*, who was of a pleaſant nature, and loued to be merry. *Plutarch* then hauing a father that loued learning and vertue, was in a good houre put out to learning, whereunto he was wholly inclined. And amongſt other good maiſters, he met with *Ammonius*, an Ægyptian borne, ſaith *Eunapius*, who hauing with great praiſe taught in Alexandria, he did alſo viſite the cities of Greece wherein learning did yet flouriſh, and taried a great time in Athens, reſpected and well beloued of euery man. In the latter end of *Theomiſtocles* life, *Plutarch* ſheweth that he was a boorder and lying in *Ammonius* houſe, and in talke at the table he brought him in, either diſputing, or teaching his ſcholers. So the cuſtome to teach the youth at that time was very fine and eaſie, to giue children a taſt of learning and vertue: for as the tutors imployed part of their time to diſcourſe in the preſence of their diſciples, they occupied them in the ſame exerciſe afterwards, and made them declare, and ſay their opinion of diuerſe matters: ſo that in few weekes by way of ſport and recreation they had runne through all the ſecrets of Philoſophie. Vnto the which they ioyned alſo, beſides their compoſitions and particular exerciſes, their familiar talke and recreatiue diſputations in their walkes, at their ſuppers and feaſts, where nothing elſe could be heard but that which made the young men wiſe and vertuous in a ſhort ſpace. That may be gathered out of *Plutarchs* writings, and out of thoſe eſpecially where he ſpeaketh how children ſhould be taught, of the lecture of the Poets, how they ſhould heare, his talke at the table, and a good number of declamations diſperſed in the middeſt of his morall workes. In this place I remember that which he himſelfe ſpake in diſcourſe, how a man ſhould know a flatterer from a friend, touching the direction of this his tutor. Our maiſter *Ammonius*, ſayth he, perceiuing in his lecture he made after dinner, that ſome of his diſciples & familiars had made a larger dinner then was fit for ſtudens: he commaunded one of his ſeruants a free man to beate his owne ſonne: he could not (ſayth he) dine without vineger. When he had ſpoken that, he caſt his eye vpon vs: ſo that they which were indeed culpable, found that he meant it by them. We may ſee alſo in the firſt and ſecond queſtion of his third booke of talke at the the table, how ready this Philoſopher was to ſharpen the ſpirits of young men that frequented him. Thus therefore *Plutarch* hauing ſo good a helpe, in few yeares he profited greatly in the knowledge of all the parts of Philoſophy, and neuer went out of his countrey, nor trauelled to vnderſtand ſtrange languages, although the Latine tongue was common in Rome, and in diuerſe places of the Romaine Empire: which extended it ſelfe into Greece, and beyond, as *Plutarch* noteth it in the end of his Platonicall queſtions. Without notwithſtanding that he euer profited much in the knowledge of any other tongue, ſauing in the knowledge of the Greeke: the which alſo hath a taſt of his Philoſophie of Boeotia. He doth alſo confeſſe in the beginning of the life of *Demoſthenes*, that whileſt he was in Italie and in Rome, he had no leiſure to ſtudie, nor to exerciſe the Latine tongue, as well for the buſineſſe he had then in hand, as to ſatisfie thoſe that frequented him to learne Philoſophie of him. So that very late, being well ſtepped on in yeares, he began to take Latine bookes in his hand, wherein there happened a ſtrange thing vnto him, but yet true notwithſtanding: that is, that he did not learne nor vnderſtand things ſo much by the words, as by a certaine vſe and knowledge he had of things he attained to the vnderſtanding of the words. But furthermore (they are his owne words) to know how to iudge well, wherein conſiſteth the beautie of the Latine tongue, or to ſpeake it readily, or to vnderſtand the figures, tranſlations, and the fine knitting of ſimple ſayings one with the other, which do adorne and beautifie the tongue, I thinke well (ſayd he) that it is a very goodly thing and pleaſant: but withall it requireth a long and labourſome exerciſe, fit for thoſe that be at better leiſure then I am, and that be yet able for age to attend ſuch fineneſſe. That which is aboue aboue ſpoken of, ſheweth that in that time they learned ſciences in their mother tongue, ſo that euen from their cradle children began to enter into the ſchoole of the Muſes, and pierced into the goodlieſt ſecrets of the ſame, hauing in their owne tongue the arts and goodly diſciplines diſcouered euen to the bottome: whereas preſently the beſt of our age ſtealeth away in learning of words, and when we ſhould enter into the knowledge of things, our memorie is ouer-whelmed and iudgement altered with

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an infinitie of obiects, which (like diuerſe ſawces) haue moſt times altered our right taſt. Inſomuch that almoſt commonly we ſee that we delight for the moſt part to heape together letters vpon letters, and after a great prouiſion of ſtrange words, we find our ſelues children, and voide of the true knowledge of things. But now to come againe to *Plutarch*, as touching his ſufficiency and his aduancement in ſciences, we need not ſpeake of them in particular, conſidering that his writings do ſufficiently proue them, and that we haue alſo ſpoken ſomething in the preface of his morall workes.

Now, as his good fortune made him meete with excellent maiſters, and men very carefull to manure ſo noble a ſpirit: ſo he for his part aunſwered their hope very ſufficiently, ſhewing himſelfe euen from his infancy to the end of his life wholly giuen to ſtudy, with an earneſt deſire (but well gouerned) to keepe his body in health, to content his mind, and to make himſelfe profitable a long time to himſelfe, and to others alſo. Which was no hard matter for him, hauing bene carefully brought vp euen from his cradle, and ſo well gouerned, as was requiſite to maintaine himſelfe long in ſtrength: his fathers houſe and table being a ſchoole of temperance and of frugalitie. Conſidering furthermore that talke with learned men was very neceſſary for him to attaine to that which he pretended: and hauing a mind deſirous to excel in all things, he trauelled into Ægypt, & talked there of all the ancient doctrine with the wiſeſt men, whereof afterwards he made a collection and intituled it, of *Iſis*, and *Oſiris*: which is yet left vnto vs, where he ſheweth himſelfe to be well ſtudied in the Diuinity and Philoſophy of the Ægyptians. From thence he returned againe into Greece, and viſited the townes and vniuerſities where there were any Philoſophers, and frequented them all, to gather together the goodly inſtructions which he hath left vs. Moreouer he began to make collections, & culled out remembrances not only out of the bookes already publiſhed, but alſo of the notable talke and diſcourſe which he vnderſtood of the one & the other. Alſo of regiſters & autenticall inſtruments kept in towns where he came, whereof afterwards he did moſt artificially frame the moſt part of his workes. And pretending ſuch a laudable end, the better to eſtabliſh his conceits, and to ſpeake with a more commendable authority and good maner: he made a iourney vnto the city of Sparta, of purpoſe to ſee the papers & memories of all the gouernment of this goodly commonwealth, & of their lawmakers, Kings, and *Ephores*, and gathered together all their notable deeds & ſayings ſo carefully as could be poſſible, euen to the leaſt words of the ſimple ſouldiers and women of Sparta, together with all their cuſtomes, ordinances, ceremonies, and faſhions to liue in common, and particularly, in warre and in peace. He did the like in diuerſe other commonwealths, as his liues, & the demands of things pertaining to the Grekes and Romaines doth amply proue it: without which collections alſo it was vnpoſſible for him to haue left in writing ſuch particularities, & he could not but of neceſſity haue had communication with a great number of men louers of antiquities. Vnto that he ioyned a curious ſearch of ſtatues, mettals, inſcriptions, paintings, tables; alſo of Prouerbes, Epigrams, Epitaphes, Apophthegms, & other ornaments of hiſtory, to leaue nothing behind him. And being continually almoſt in the company of learned men in all profeſſions: it ſeemeth his memory was alwayes bent to gather, & his iudgement occupied to diſcerne that which was to be reiected or retained. By which meanes he ſaw himſelfe in a ſhort time aduanced to the knowledge of all things: moreouer he had in his hands goodly briefes and collections, with the which he finely holpe himſelfe, and afterwards made a good part vnto his friends and poſterity. He himſelfe at the beginning of his booke treating of the contentment and quietneſſe of the mind, makes mention of the memories which he had of long time made for his owne vſe. So that out of this rich cloſet he hath drawne the excellent peeces which haue remained vnto vs, and which ſhew how much we haue loſt being depriued of them that are no more to be found, and the which time hath diſperſed, or vtterly conſumed.

Now though that in generall it may be ſayd, that this man was ignorant in no learning, nor of the goodly ſecrets of nature: yet this word we muſt adde to it, that whoſoeuer ſhall duly conſider the entrance, continuance, compoſition, binding and incloſing of his diſcourſe, be it that he write an hiſtorie, or that he by any treatie apart will put backe vice, and make vertue to be beloued: be it that he ſport himſelfe in clearing the difficulties of naturall Philoſophie, or of the Mathematickes, be it that he beginneth to commence ſome diſputation againſt thoſe whoſe opinions he diſproueth: we ſhall find in his writings an exact and eaſie method both together, his proofes ſound, and his inductions pleaſant and agreeable to all ſorts of wits, and of ſuch

pithie diſcourſes, ſo that of force we muſt confeſſe that this perſon had bene moſt excellently directed in his ſtudies, conſidering that in ſpeaking after ſuch an eaſie manner, he preſenteth ſo profound inſtructions, and I cannot tell what, where there is alwayes ſomewhat to be learned. Furthermore, ſeeing diuerſe ſects in credite in his time, it ſeemeth he had a good will to ſound into the depth of the value & error of them. Then reaching higher yet, he hath ſearched out the opinions of the firſt Sages. So that the *Pythagorians*, *Platonians*, *Epicurians*, *Stoickes*, and *Peripateticians*, with their precepts haue bene very familiar with him. But not being content with turning ouer the leaues of their writings, and ſeeing to the end all that which the naturall Philoſophers haue thought of the ſecrets of the world: yet would he familiarly frequent thoſe whom he vnderſtood to be practiſed in ſciences, and conferre with them, vnderſtand their reaſons, and be throughly reſolued of them: and at the length obtained his deſire, as his bookes make mention. That was accompanied with a continuall reading of all ſorts of good Authors, as well to amplifie his collections, as ſtill more and more to enrich his memorie, and to poliſh his iudgement: as may be noted in his workes three ſeuerall excellences of his ſpirit. For ſome of them are certaine declamations made in the ſchoole, and by way of exerciſe, as we haue ſhewed them placed at the beginning of the ſame: ſo that if he would haue taken the paines to haue reuiewed and ſmoothed thoſe peeces there, they would haue ſeemed to be others then they were. But we perceiue that he left ſome vnperfect, not thinking that that (which ſerued not but for a proofe of ſome thing better laboured) deſerued to come to light. There are alſo ſome other diſcourſes better poliſhed, yet in ſuch ſort notwithſtanding, that it plainely appeareth, he might haue amplified them and made them better. And there be other peeces, vnto the which it may be ſayd, he hath put his laſt hand: as are his Liues, and the moſt part of his Morall workes, written at leiſure, very aduiſedly, conſidered in all vnderſtanding, and to diuerſe reiterations. He could haue done the like in all, and with the like ſtile haue raiſed his writings to their perfection: but hauing as it were more expreſſely ſtayed himſelfe vpon ſome, he hath ſhewed therein the diſpoſition of his ſtudies, and with what diſcretion he ſpent his time.

Now, though he had taſted of all the ſects of the Philoſophers, yet you may perceiue that inclining to the *Platonians* (for he greatly reuerenced *Socrates* and *Plato*, whoſe birth dayes he did yearely celebrate) he neuertheleſſe ſhut himſelfe within the bounds of modeſtie of certaine ACADEMICKES, being content ſimply to propound the things, but to leaue them to the iudgement of the readers, forcing no man. Furthermore, we ſee with what diligence he had turned ouer the leaues of the writings of the *Epicurians*, and of the *Stoickes*, againſt whom he ſtoutly oppoſed himſelfe. But morall Philoſophie was his chiefeſt end: for the rationall, the naturall, and the Mathematickes (the which he had greatly ſtudied) they were but ſimple paſtimes in compariſon of the other. Whereupon may be diſcerned, that hauing receiued in himſelfe a ſingular pleaſure of ſuch ſtudy, he alwayes ſought to print the ſame deſire and contentment in the thought of all men, leauing the ſpeculations and pricking queſtions: onely tending to this good, to bring wiſedome into the houſes, to eſtabliſh it in the thrones of kings, to make it go in the ſtreetes, to lodge it in the eyes, in the eares, vpon the tongues, and in the bottome of the hearts of all men. See here what his thoughts haue bene, which he could well diſgeſt afterwards: ſo that it ſeemeth he was altogether giuen to that. Now though he was occupied in meditations and ſo excellent workes, he forgot not therefore any thing that was requiſite for the exerciſes of his body, ſuch as men vſed at that time, to keepe their ſpirits in ſtrength, as alſo more ioyfully to paſſe ouer ſo manie other croſſes as our life is aſſailed withall. And we may ſee alſo in the precepts he hath written of health, that albeit Phyſicke was not his profeſſion, neuertheleſſe he learned that which was the principall for his owne priuate good. For in that booke of his, he ſpeaketh reaſonably of the vſe of meates, and ſheweth from what meates we ſhould abſtaine. Afterwards hauing declared in what ſort one ſhould vſe his appetite and the pleaſures of the bodie, he condemneth the exceſſe of drinking and eating, he teacheth how to preuent ſickneſſe, ſetteth downe remedies, treateth of diet, and of ſignes of ſickneſſe, and of the true wayes how to keepe health. And thereupon he commeth to reaſon of the exerciſes and diet of ſtudents, laying that open which we ſhould moſt carefully obſerue therein: which maketh me beleeue that he hauing knowne ſo well what was fit for the preſeruation of the body, he did wiſely helpe himſelfe: as alſo euen to very old age he

hath

hath borne office in the commonwealth, and alwayes caried a body and mind lusty and readie to take paines, hauing had this wisedome to consider well his nature and disposition: also to take such meates and drinkes as were good for his stomacke, and to vse them soberly, and keeping his body in good state by commendable exercises and nouriture, to make himselfe profitable a long time for humane society. It is true that he being a graue man, raised to honour, and a Philosopher by profession, his chiefest exercises of body were to walke with other learned men, where without contention of words, he alwayes decided some points of Philosophie. Furthermore he loued to talke at the table, and to mingle pleasant & graue matters with some new deuice: so wittily and sweetly to enterlace and deuide the course of his life: being no crabbed nor sullen person, but pleasant, and whose company was troublesome to none: and otherwise as sober and discreet in his talke, as he was in drinking and eating.

So then his maners, as well alone, as with his friends and openly, do shew, that truly he had a good soule within a body well tempered. Now I do not enter here into the examination of the ridiculous opinions of *Plutarch* in matter of religion: being sory that so rare a spirit hath bene so miserably enuironed with the darknesse which was at that time in the most part of the townes & men of Grece, & specially among so many wise men, straungely ignorant and dull in respect of the knowldge of the true God. If we had not bin warned betimes by the true and onely wise men taught in the schoole of eternall wisdome, of such a iudgement of God vpon the wise men of the world, who haue bene confounded in their discourse, when there hath bene question of the honor due to our soueraigne Lord: then we might haue bene astonied, and remained as men cast away. And whereas so many great wise men haue erred in their wayes, that will not excuse them before their iudge, as if he had kept the light from them. For, since that which may be knowne of his eternitie and omnipotent power, hath bene reuealed vnto them in nature and in philosophie: staying a man vpon himselfe, or vpon other creatures, and forsaking the onely Creator, they condemne themselues by their owne words and writings. Now to come againe to *Plutarch*. He hauing bene *Apolloes* Priest, as himselfe confesseth, and from his youth suckled with the fooliſh dotings of the Greekes: I do not find it straunge, that many absurd opinions and without good ground (yea wicked and pernicious) are scattered in his disputations, touching the default of Oracles, of the religion of the Iewes, of the inscription of the letter E'i in the temple of Delphes: why the propheteſſe *Pythia* doth no more giue her oracles in verse, and in many places of the liues and workes, in the which he openly inclineth to the superstitions and Atheisines of the Pagans. There he sheweth a conscience euill informed, and a man running very swiftly out of the right way. By the same meanes a man may plainely note, that in matter of supernaturall and diuine philosophy, another manner of light then that of our corrupt vnderstanding is wholly required, not being possible that a man left to his owne wit can comprehend the things which are of God: because they are discerned after a fashion meerly vnknowne vnto him, and of the which he cannot be partaker but by a speciall grace, and which nature doth not bestow vpon him, but he which hath made and reformed nature. It is no maruell then if *Plutarch* should be misled, that hath had so manie instructions and maisters strayed from the way of the eternall truth, and whose predeceſſours were drowned in the bottomlesse pit of ignorance. Yet notwithstanding, in the middest of that darknesse he hath had so much light, that he seemeth at times to note and condemne the laberinth of errour, as a man that hath lost his way in an horrible darke night should from one time to another be directed rightly by the light of the flashings of lightning. For some do gather by his discourse, of the cessation of the Oracles, and by other places, that he did acknowledge one God, and very liberally condemned many old and new superstitions, vnto the which both himselfe, and others his like, did cleaue vnto rather by custome for fashions sake, and to please the people, then for any opinion they had that they were worth ought. But as I haue sayd, my intention is not to iudge this person nor his deeds: considering that besides the matter I touch (euery where where he goeth out of the way) he confuteth himselfe sufficiently: witnesse his discourse of superstition, and the seuenth chapter of his first booke touching the opinions of the Philosophers, where he will dispute of the eternall prouidence: and the third question of the second booke of talke of the table, making mention of the egge: and the last question of the fourth booke, where he medleth with speaking of God, and of the ceremonies of the Iewes. In the meane time, and in the middest of this great blindnesse, they see in *Plutarch* a heart that is enemie vnto vice, and a

friend of good manners. Let a man ſee him in his familie, in the ſchoole, in bankets, with his friends, and openly: behold, there is a graue man, modeſt in behauiour, ſharpe, learned, and pleaſant in his diſcourſes, offending nor hurting no man. If he ſpeake of vice, he letteth out the filthineſſe, and ſcantly maketh the patient cry. If he ſpeake for vertue, it is with ſuch efficacie, that euerie man may know he ſpake of the aboundance of his heart. He is a good father of a houſe, a wiſe ſchoole-maiſter, a graue hiſtorian, a braue politician, an excellent Philoſopher, a good writer to imitate: and furthermore, a faithfull, profitable, true, and a ioyfull counſellour and friend. His plaineneſſe, ſimplicitie, and graue modeſtie ſhineth in all his writings: his vertue, accompanied almoſt ordinarily with all others which we need not ſpeake of particularly, neither to vnfold the life of our Philoſopher from one part to another to ſee his vprightneſſe, integritie, grauity, ſweetneſſe, conſtancie, force, prudence, temperancie, and liberality: that may be truly ſpoken of him, which had bene long time before applied in the Theaters vnto *Amphiaraus*, and to *Ariſtides*:

He litle cares to ſeeme vpright, but ſtriueth ſo to be,
In deepeſt thoughts preferring vertue ſtill:
Whence day by day, proceeding we do ſee
Wiſe counſels, that without reſpect, true honours lawes fulfill.

In teſtimonie of his ſweete grauitie, and of part of his thoughts: I will alledge ſome words couched in his owne diſcourſe againſt choler. As for me, ſayd he, If I haue done well or euill I know not, but by that meanes I haue rid my ſelfe of choler. As the LACEDÆMONIANS did in old time, who to learne their children not to be drunke at all, ſhewed them their ſlaues being drunke: ſo do I conſider the effects of choler in others. And afterwards he addeth more, that a man ſhould accuſtome himſelfe to beare many of his wiues words, and of his familiars and friends, which do reproue vs for that we are too gentle and ſoft. And this was the chiefeſt cauſe (ſayd he) why I was ſo often angrie with my ſeruants, fearing they would waxe worſe for want of reproofe and correction. But I obſerued my ſelfe at the laſt, though late, that firſt I were better by patience and pardoning them, make my ſeruants worſe: then to hurt my ſelfe by ſharpneſſe and choler, ſeeking to reforme others. I conſidered alſo with my ſelfe, and remembred (ſayd he) that as he which teacheth vs to ſhoote in a bow, doth not forbid vs to draw, but to faile in drawing: ſo he that teacheth vs to puniſh in time and place, moderately, profitably, and as we ſhould: doth not let vs but that we may puniſh. I do labour all I can to withdraw, and vtterly to baniſh all choler: principally becauſe I would not take from them that are puniſhed, the meane to iuſtifie themſelues, and to heare them. For time bringeth in the interim to the paſſionate mind, a delay and forgetfulneſſe which diſſolueth it: in which ſpace the iudgement of reaſon findeth both the meane and the meaſure to giue reaſonable correction. And beſides that they giue the partie puniſhed no place to reſiſt the puniſhment, if he be not corrected in anger and choler, but conuinced for that he had well deſerued it. And (which were yet more vnſeemely) they ſhall not find that the ſeruant puniſhed ſpeaketh more iuſtly then his maiſter that puniſheth him. Touching this purpoſe, I will remember the pleaſant report which the Philoſopher *Taurus* made of *Plutarch*, as *Gellius* reciteth it in the ſixe and twentieth chapter of the firſt booke of his nights Attiques, as ſome man hath heretofore expreſſed it in our language. A ſlaue, a vile and vicious man (but yet that had his eares ſomewhat inſtructed with bookes and diſputations of Philoſophie) hauing bene ſtripped naked for ſome fault he had done, by the commaundement of his maiſter *Plutarch*, whileſt they were whipping of him, he grombled at the firſt that it was without reaſon, and that he had done nothing: but in the end crying out amaine, and iniuring his maiſter, he told him that he was no Philoſopher as he bragged himſelfe to be: and that he often heard him ſay it was a fowle thing to be angrie, yea that he made a booke of it: and that now (ouercome with choler) in making him be beaten ſo cruelly, he vtterly belied all his writings: Thereunto *Plutarch* coldly and quietly aunſwered: Why, how now roiſter, ſayd he? whereby doeſt thou thinke that I am angrie at this preſent? my countenance, my voice, my colour, my words, do they giue thee any ſigne that I am angrie? I do not thinke I haue cruell eyes, nor a troubled face, nor any fearefull crie. Do I bluſh? do I fome? doth any thing eſcape me that I ſhould repent me? do I ſtampe? do I rage? For to tell thee truly, theſe be the ſhewes of choler. Afterwardes he turned to him that whipped him:

ſaying,

ſaying: Forward with your buſineſſe, whiles he and I do reaſon the matter. Furthermore, we may eaſily gather what *Plutarch* was amongſt his friends, from the nine bookes, containing the queſtions decided at the table. And for his diſputations againſt the EPICVRIANS and STOICKES, they ſhew that this perſon for the regard of his actions concerning the commonwealth, hauing reſpect vnto thoſe whom at that time he made his iudges, and to the poſterity into whoſe hands his writings might come hereafter: he alwayes caried himſelfe in ſuch a modeſt grauity, that they could require no more of him. And if ſometime he did feelingly touch ſome, as *Colotes*, and *Herodotus*, it was not in vaine. Alſo he alwayes vſed termes which witneſſed that he had an vpright ſoule. To be ſhort, it appeareth euery where that his paſſions were maruellous well ſtaied. And if any of them were furious or violent, he could tell in time and place how to reforme them by the precepts of Philoſophy, leading (as is ſayd) a life without blame of men. But aboue all the reſt, when any diſcourſe or diſputation drew him vnto it, to ſpeake of ſhamefull or diſhoneſt things, he did conuey it with ſuch diſcretion as it cannot be amended: whereof we need not to bring forth examples diſperſed in his writings, and eſpecially in the dialogue of loue, ſeeing that being concealed it doth no hurt, as alſo remembred or too expreſſely reuealed, it cannot but hurt the eyes, and an honeſt thought.

Furthermore, *Plutarchs* ſtudie of Philoſophie tooke not away the care he had to liue with ſome profit amongſt men, nor made him to diſdaine the meanes which his predeceſſors had left him. But as he came of a noble houſe, and with time being aduanced vnto office and charge in the commonwealth, greatly eſteemed of *Traian* the Emperor, and of the noble men of ROME, he ſaw he had goods inough to liue at eaſe: whereof notwithſtanding he neuer made ſuch account as that he wold forget his ſtudy, & intangle himſelf in the ſnares of the loue of riches, within the which ſo many miſerable ſoules haue bin engaged vnto death. His means ſerued his turne to maintaine himſelfe among his friends, and to bring vp his children: for he had many of an honorable Lady which he maried, and loued moſt dearly. Amongſt his other ſons, himſelfe maketh mention of *Autobulus*, of *Plutarchus*, & of *Charon*, who died a yong infant, & ſome others whom he nameth not at all. Alſo of daughters, two of the which were maried to *Firmus*, and vnto *Craton*, learned philoſophers: and *Timoxene*, who died very yong. As for *Autobulus*, he maried in his fathers life time, and it is not well knowne, whether *Sextus* of CHÆRONEA, a Philoſopher of the Scepts, who liued in great honour in the Empire of *Antonius*, was his ſonne, or the ſonne of *Plutarchus*. That which I am now about to ſpeake of, may be gathered out of diuerſe places in the workes of *Plutarch*, and ſpecially of the diſcourſe at the table. And in the conſolation which he wrote to his wife vpon the death of their daughter, they may note that ſhe was an honorable Lady, modeſt, and vertuous, well attended on with women and ſeruants: and otherwiſe charitable to her children, and bearing great reuerence vnto her husband. That the houſe of *Plutarch* was very well gouerned: that he had a great number of kinsfolkes and friends. And in other places of his booke intituled *Sympoſitum*, and other treaties, we may know that his ſonnes and nephews were ſtudious and learned, and ſpecially in the ſixt queſtion of his eight booke of talke at the table, ſpeaking of his youngeſt children: who becauſe they taried ſomewhat longer at the Theater then they ſhould haue done, to ſee and heare the paſtimes they made there, came by that meanes late to ſupper: it ſhewed ſufficiently that they now began to follow the fathers ſteps. And there appeared in no part any euill touch amongſt theſe perſons: but as *Plutarch* did conuerſe in a ſingular reuerence, friendſhip, and gentleneſſe, with his grandfather, his father, and his brethren: we are to iudge the like conuerſation with his wife, his children, and his nephews: as alſo they being in ſo good a ſchoole could not faile but euery day to go forward in the knowledge and practiſe of vertue.

But as a fountaine hidden ſerueth to no vſe, ſo it had litle preuailed *Plutarch* to haue ſeene, read, and gathered ſo much together, vnleſſe he had made litle ſtreames runne from ſuch a liuely and goodly fountaine, vnto ſuch places where his vertue might ſhine more then in any other parts of the world. That was ITALIE, and the city of ROME, the ſeate of the Empire, and where (notwithſtanding the diſorders brought in by former warres, and by the diſſolutions and tyrannies of ſome Emperors) notwithſtanding there were many learned men, and in the Emperors courts alſo ſome counſellors, and other perſons of authority which loued vertue. Now *Plutarch* hauing begun to aduance himſelfe in GREECE, about the time of *Veſpaſian* and *Titus*, it ſeemeth he came to ROME immediatly after the death of *Titus*, vnder *Domitian*, as well to make

profession there of Philosophy, as also that he might more nearly know the auncient gouernement of the commonwealth, and to increase his collections, from the which proceeded afterwards infinite particularities inclosed in his workes: but especially the liues of the noble Romaines compared with the Greekes. For my part, I thinke *Plutarch* was drawne to Rome by meanes of some friends he had there, especially by *Sosius Senecio*, that had bene a Consull, who was of great estimation at that time, and namely vnder the Empire of Traian. And that which maketh me thinke so, is because of *Plutarchs* owne words, who sayth in the beginning of his first booke of his discourse at the table, that he gathered together all his reasons and discourses made here and there, as well in Rome with *Senecio*, as in Grece with *Plutarch* and others. Not being likely that he wold haue taken the paines to haue made so long a voyage, & to haue come to such a citie where he vnderstood not their vulgar tongue, if he had not bene drawne thither by *Senecio*, and such other men: as also in acknowledgement of the good turnes and honour he had receiued by such men, he dedicated diuerse of his bookes vnto them, and among others, the liues vnto *Senecio*, and the nine volumes of his discourse at the table: with the treatie, How a man may know that he profiteth in vertue. Now for the time, considering what he sayth in the end of his booke against curiositie, I suppose that he taught in Rome in the time of *Titus* and of *Domitian*: for touching that point, he maketh mention of a noble man called *Rusticus*, who being one day at his lecture, he would not open a letter which was brought him from the Emperor, nor interrupt *Plutarch*, but attended the end of his declamation, and vntill all the hearers were gone away: and addeth also, that *Rusticus* was afterwards put to death by the commaundement of *Domitian*. Furthermore, about the beginning of the life of *Demosthenes*, *Plutarch* sayth, that whilest he remained in Italie and at Rome, he had no leisure to studie the Latine tongue: as well for that he was busied at that time with matters he had in hand, as also to satisfie those that were his followers to learne Philosophie of him. He doth not tell what matters he had in hand besides his profession: but following that which *Suidas* and others speake of him, that he was neare to the person of *Traian*, and had the honor and place to be his schoole-master and teacher, or at the leastwise one of so many learned men as this prince made much of, as some story writers do testifie, he was honoured and aduanced to some charge or gouernement: which I thinke is that he speaketh of in this place. Now furthermore, his chiefest labour was publickly to teach all the parts of Philosophie, mingling in his declamations and lectures a diligent and curious search of all that the auncient Philosophers, reasonable, naturall, or morall, of what sect soeuer they were had treated of: as appeareth by his writings, which are as summaries of his lessons and orations he made with his owne voyce. His speech doth not flow so as that of many other Philosophers, Oratours, and Greeke Historians: but being come later, and in a more rude and harsh world, his stile also is more hard, briefe, enforced, and Philosopher like: aymming at this marke to instruct the mind first, not tarying to tickle the eares much, though he did fill and content them learnedly. But the flowing sweetnesse we tast in *Plato*, in *Xenophon*, in *Herodotus*, and in some other, wanting indeed in *Plutarch*, is supplied and recompenced in him by infinite stories, sentences, similitudes, and notable particulars which he boroweth of others, and whereof he composed a worke so well deuided, so rich, and so pleasant, by reason of his varietie, that it is not possible to reade bookes of a more gentle and profitable reading, amongst all the historians, & Philosophers, Greeks or Romaines. If *Plutarch* then doth at this present content all sorts of men, what may we thinke he did with his liuely voyce? but after the example of this *Hercules* of Gavle, which held his auditors eares fast chained to his toung: so hath he by his goodly documents moued an infinite number of men, to leaue vice, and to cloath them with the loue of vertue.

So he hauing continued these exercises for some yeares, being heard and visited of all sorts of men, grew to be of such reputation, that the greatest persons began to seeke him and to make much of him, yea to thinke themselues honoured by his friendship: as his bookes dedicated vnto some of them do sufficiently testifie it. And touching the accesse he had about the person of *Traian* himself, it may be gathered from the beginning of this goodly collection of Apothegmes, which he dedicated vnto this great Emperour, what was his intention: that is to wit, to serue for the good of all the Romaine Empire, giuing wholesome instructions vnto the head thereof. For he wisely iudged, that in ruling the thought of that man, it was to giue phisicke at once vnto all the subiects of that great Monarchie. The same being a common thing, that

Subiects

Subiects and kingdomes commonly do chuſe
The manners that their Princes daily vſe.

It is true that ſuch inſtructions in reſpect of *Traian*, do onely concerne his perſon and politicke affaires. For as touching the only true religion, it was meerely vnknowne of *Plutarch*, and rudely perſecuted vnder the Empire of *Traian*: who notwithſtanding in the end being ſoftened by the precepts of moral Philoſophie, and through the aduertiſements his deputie gouernors gaue him, & namely *Plinius ſecundus* gouernor of BITHYNIA, of the innocencie of the Chriſtians: or rather reſtrained by the ſecret prouidence of our ſoueraigne Lord, (who excellently ſtrengthened his, put the Oracles of the lying ſpirit to ſilence, and ouerthrew Idolatrie in moſt places) he caried himſelfe more gently, and did forbid to vexe and trouble them any more, whom before they had purſued with all ſorts of cruelties. Furthermore, I thinke that it was in fauour of *Traian* chiefly, that *Plutarch* made certaine particular Treatiſes, (beſides the liues of Noblemen) and amongſt others that, where he maintaineth, that it is requiſite a Prince ſhould be wiſe. The inſtruction for thoſe that deale in the affaires of eſtate. The notable ſayings of GREEKES and ROMAINES, and others concerning the dutie of Princes and great Lords. Now conſidering that wherein he reaſoneth, and briefly defendeth, (but grauely, and with aſſured proofes) that a Philoſopher ought to conuerſe with Princes: ſome may ſay that it is an Apologie of *Plutarch*, againſt the common and light obiections of ſome Courtiers, which thinke that Princes cannot be well counſelled, but by men that blow (as they ſay) fire with their mouthes, and that carie the rapier and dagger in their hands: and would that men of learning (whom in ſcorne they call ſchoolemaiſters and Philoſophers) ſhould be turned to their ſtudie, or into a ſchoole, to crie out there as much and as lowd as they thinke good. Therefore he was willing as well to encourage himſelfe firſt in that diſcourſe, as alſo to remedie what in him lay, certaine euils infinitely abounding and ouerflowing in others. In all times and ages euery man hath granted and confeſſed, that amongſt thoſe that want good companie, are Princes, Lords, and great perſonages. For their affaires being ſo important and waightie, as euery man knoweth, their bodies being weake, and their ſpirits not able to diſpatch all things: they muſt needes ſee by others eyes, and worke with others hands. Whereupon there are three ſorts of men which are to be reproued. For the firſt, they are the Princes themſelues, who in ſtead of calling and drawing neare vnto them, men of honour that might helpe them in any matter, they giue acceſſe vnto ill-minded men, that corrupt them, and ouerthrow their eſtate. The ſecond (but a ſmall number at all times) are the Philoſophers, that is to ſay, men of authoritie, wiſe, learned, louers of vertue, and of the good of Princes and of their ſubiects: who being able to do much, yet they draw backe: or being aduanced, haue not alwaies that conſideration nor courage that is fit, being oftentimes caried away with the greateſt opinion, and mingling ſomewhat too much their humane wiſedome with the apprehenſion of their true dutie: whereof their conſcience being cleared diuerſe waies, doth ſufficiently informe them. For the laſt, they are ignorant tutours, or Atheiſts, minions, ſhifters, ieſters, flatterers, brokers of filthie pleaſures, and ſuch practiſers, which by wicked meanes creepe into Princes Courts, houſes and cloſets. And in recompence of the charges they boldly accept, and of the treaſures which they heape together with a wicked conſcience, and do afterwards ſpend of the ſame, they do deceiue, diſhonor, and finally they vndo their vnwiſe maiſters: as a million of examples in hiſtories do teſtifie. *Plutarch* therefore conſidering theſe things, doth attempt in this Treatiſe to giue courage vnto thoſe, that haue a deſire to ſee all things well ordered: and ſuch maner of men doth he exhort to be about Princes. But becauſe grauity and wiſdome maketh men modeſt and ſlow: as to the contrary, ignorance & malice maketh them haue braſen faces: he ſheweth that it is no ambition of a Philoſopher to be about great Lords, but rather that his duty doth beare it, ſithence that ſuch receiue honor, pleaſure and profit: and this he proueth by reaſons, & notable examples. But aboue all, he forgetteth not to ſet vpon thē that come to Princes courts to make thēſelues great, ſhewing that Philoſophers ſhould ſhoot at another marke. And laſt of all he treateth of the contentment thoſe receiue, which ſeruing one alone, do by the ſame means helpe an infinit number of others that are bound vnto them for ſo great a good turne. I haue written at large the argument of this treatie of *Plutarch*, becauſe it containeth the briefe of al the conceits of this Philoſopher coming to the Emperor: & it is a patterne alſo to al learned mē that enter into ſeruice of great lords, the which if they wil painfully follow,

the chiefeſt may recouer ſome part of their auncient glorie. Now I make no doubt of it, but that *Plutarch* hath aſſayed by all poſſible meanes to practiſe that which he teacheth in this booke, to gaine to himſelfe a great contentment in his ſoule, and to leaue a good ſent of him vnto all poſteritie.

The cauſe that maketh me ſpeake this, is the conſideration of the eſtate in the which the Empire of Rome ſtood in at that time, the which if any man will at leyſure confer with that which he may gather out of many parts of *Plutarchs* workes, he ſhall find the words of *Plato* very true: that happie are thoſe commonwealths which are gouerned by Philoſophers, or by Princes that haue Philoſophers about them. For like as an expert pylote by his skill and knowledge reſiſteth the winds and billowes of the ſea, and in deſpite of their force beareth ſaile to the deſired hauen: euen ſo when the ſhip of the commonwealth hath a maiſter that guideth it by the precepts of Philoſophie, the gouernment is peaceable and happy euery way. And if any ſtorme happen, and neceſſitie requireth it, he finely plucketh downe the ſailes, and yeeldeth himſelfe in ſuch ſort to the waues, that he eſcapeth and ouercometh it with honor. *Dion* writeth, that one of the firſt actes *Traian* did, after he was choſen Emperor in the place of *Nerua*, was: that he wrote letters with his owne hand to the Senate of Rome, promiſing by them he would neuer put any man to death, or make him infamous, that was an honeſt man: and this he afterwards confirmed by ſolemne oth. He put *Ælianus* and the ſouldiers Prætorians to death, becauſe they mutined againſt *Nerua*. And after he had made his entrie into Rome, he gaue good order for the affaires of the eſtate, and ſpecially fauoured vertuous men many waies, graunted them great priuiledges, and gaue meanes to the cities of Italie to bring vp their youth. He raigned Emperour ninteene yeares and a halfe, being two and fortie yeares old when he was choſen. His behauiour was ſuch that he obtained the name of a iuſt, valiant, moderate, & a good Prince: ſo that in the flower of his youth, they noted in him a ſtayed iudgement, and in his age a great courage. He enuied no man, he hurt no man, he raiſed good men to honorable place and charge in the commonwealth: whereby it came to paſſe that he was neuer afraid, nor had no enemy in the world. Accuſers had no acceſſe vnto him: he was as gentle a Prince as was poſſible, and as much an enemy of couetouſneſſe, as he was of murthers and robberies. In time of peace and warre he was at great charge in ſtately buildings, witneſſe the wonderfull bridge ouer Danuby. But with magnificence ſuch enterpriſes and reparations ordinarily were neceſſarie, without oppreſſing or wronging any man: for he was a noble Prince, that deſired rather to be beloued of his ſubiects, then feared and much made of, as ſome of his predeceſſors. To meane men he ſhewed himſelfe courteous and eaſie to haue acceſſe vnto: graue and honourable among the Senatours. The Romaines loued him as much as they could poſſible, and his enemies infinitely were afraid of him. His paſ-times were hunting, feaſting, and the Theater to ſee common playes and ſports. Oftentimes he would be priuate with his friends, and came without his guard into their houſes, yea ſometimes he would lye there, and paſſe away the night. He was not of the wiſeſt, although by his behauiour they could not iudge otherwiſe of him, but that he was a wiſe and learned Prince. There was nothing in him but it was excellent, and in manner blameleſſe. For although he loued to drinke wine, and delighted to ſee faire boyes: yet for all this he neuer committed any foule act, being very warie in his paſſions, and aboue all, keeping himſelfe from abuſing his authority. He deſired nothing but war, but it was principally to ouercome his enemies, and to enrich his friends. Furthermore, he was ſo fortunate and braue a chieftaine of an armie, ſo beloued of his Captains and ſouldiers, that there was neuer any mutinie or diſorder in his campe. That made him dreadfull to thoſe that troubled him neare or farre off, of which the chiefeſt was *Decebalus* king of the Dacians: whom he purſued ſo hard, that being vnpoſſible for him to eſcape, he killed himſelf. Furthermore he made warre with the Parthians, with the Arabians, and with the Ievves, with diuerſe euents, but almoſt alwaies to his aduantage. Furthermore, to come to his manners, he loued ſo faithfully, that it was a hard thing to make him thinke euill of thoſe whom he loued, which we will proue by ſome example. Certaine ill-willers brought him word that *Sura Licinius*, one of his priuate friends did practiſe ſomewhat againſt him. In ſtead of taking it ill to conceiue a hard opinion of him, he went (vnbidden) into *Sura* his houſe, he would ſup there, and ſending backe his guard, firſt he made *Sura* his Phiſition come to him, and ſhewed him his eyes to helpe ſome griefe that troubled him: not being ſo contented, he ſendeth for his Barber to ſhaue his beard: then being trimmed, and hauing waſhed, he ſate down at the table and ſupped.

The

The next morning ſome reporting vnto him the ill will that *Sura* did beare him: If he would haue killed me, ſaid he, yeſterday he might haue done it, for he had meanes to do it. This *Sura* was he vnto whom *Traian* had giuen the office of the great Marſhall of the Empire: and coming to him to tie his girdle baudricke wiſe about his necke, hauing the ſword drawne in his hand, he vſed this ſpeech vnto him: Receiue this ſword of me, and if I commaund as I ought, employ it in my defence: if I do otherwiſe, draw it againſt me, and take my life from me. He cauſed ſtatues to be ſet vp of *Soſsius Senecio*, of *Palma*, and of *Celſus*, who were all three Senators whom aboue all others he loued and honored. He ſet vp Libraries, and did many notable acts, in teſtimonie of his great courage. But that which moſt of all other doth commend him, is, that hauing done wonderfull much good to the Empire, by decree of the Senate, he was ſurnamed *Optimus Imperator*: that is to ſay, moſt good Emperour. And ſo was he wonderfully beloued of the Senators, and Officers of the Empire, of all the people, and ſpecially of the ſouldiers, amongſt whom he would be ſo familiar as if they had bene his companions. Furthermore, nothing pleaſed him ſo much as this title of *Optimus*: wherin he gloried amongſt his friends, and did more and more indeuour to ſhew himſelfe ſo. As alſo after him (as *Eutropius* reporteth) when any new Emperor was choſen by the Senate, after the ſhowtings of happie preſage, and well wiſhings of the Senatours, they cryed out vnto him: What, canſt thou be more fortunate then *Auguſtus*, and better then *Traian*! Now if we bring to the writings of *Plutarch* the life of this Prince, we will ſay that the Prince did alwaies thinke of the wiſe precepts of the Philoſopher: and on the other ſide that the Philoſopher hath framed the deedes of the Prince to the rule of good life, which he hath ſo fitly propounded to great and meane men. And therefore it is not to be maruelled at, if *Plutarch* declare (to the high praiſe of *Traian* and the Senate) in his treatie, where he inſtructeth thoſe that deale in publike affaires: that in his time for peace ſake, people had no need of wiſe gouernours to defend them: for (ſaid he) all the warres againſt the Greekes and barbarous people are fled from vs. Thus ſtandeth the eſtate of the Empire, the which if any man will particularly conferre with that which *Plutarch* ſetteth downe in his writings: he ſhall find it was happie to haue met with ſo well diſpoſed hearts, to receiue, and carefully to practiſe his goodly leſſons. And that as it was a ſingular honour to *Traian* by his vertue to haue obtained a ſurname that made him greater then the moſt part of the Romaine Emperors: ſo is *Plutarch* euery way to be commended, that was the excellent inſtrument to aduance and maintaine ſo great a good. Whereupon I deſire his Morals ſhould be ſpecially remembred, to apply that which he ſpeaketh of vice and vertue, vnto that which hath bene touched in the life of *Traian*. For I thinke the one can hardly be ſpoken of, but that the other by the ſame meanes muſt be remembred. And it ſeemeth that one ſelfe ſoule hath put forward theſe two hearts, both to giue and receiue one commendable inſtruction. Onely for proofe a man may with his eye run ouer two or three diſcourſes. As for example, that of the difference betwixt the flatterer and the friend: Againſt choler: How a man may know if he profite in the exerciſe of vertue: That it is requiſit a Prince ſhould be wiſe: The inſtruction for thoſe which deale in the affaires of the eſtate: The apothegmes: and there ſhall a man find the rules which the Emperour *Traian* could wiſely apply to himſelfe, and practiſe in all his actions.

So could he well acknowledge the good he had receiued of *Plutarch*, being a noble and bountifull Prince, as hath bene ſaid here-before. For, beſides the great honour he had done him at Rome, hauing made him a Conſull: he commanded (as ſaith *Suidas*) that all the magiſtrates and officers which were in the Prouince of Slavony, ſhould do nothing but vnder his authoritie. If we had the bookes of *Marius Maximus*, of *Fabius Marcellinus*, of *Aurelius Verus*, and of *Statius Valens*, which haue written the life of *Traian*: we might eaſily draw on this matter further, the which *Suidas* (according to his ſtile) is contented to touch in one word. And *Dion* who was a Greeke, a man very forgetfull for an Hiſtorian, and that in ſome places ſhewed he had no great iudgement: he ſeemeth to haue ſuppreſſed the name of *Plutarch*, as though he had bene offended with the fame obtained by this man. Or elſe, if one will take things in good part, as I encline vnto it: it may be he thought he needed make no mentiõ of one whoſe writings made him to be knowne ſufficiently. Yet furthermore, I do not find that *Plutarch* was in Slavonie at all, and if ſo be that he made any iourney thither, I thinke he taried not long there: becauſe it appeareth in diuerſe places of his works, that his abode was moſt in Italie and in Greece. And for his honorable charges committed vnto him, that ſhould not be thought very ſtraunge, if we conſider the

merits of *Plutarch*, the names of *Traian*, and the goodwill that *Soſsius Senecio*, (one of the principall men of Rome, and of the chiefeſt fauorites of *Traian*) bare vnto *Plutarch*. For he that was in ſo great credit with his maiſter, would not forget him whom he loued aboue all other men: wherein he loſt not his time, foraſmuch as the ſtatue that was ſet vp for him, and that which *Dion* and ſome others do briefly paſſe ouer, do not commend *Soſsius*, as do the prefaces of honor, and the bookes which *Plutarch* dedicated vnto him. The which we need no more rehearſe, then to write ouer againe the Epiſtle of *Plutarch* vnto *Traian*, the which is written in Latine, as *Amyot* ſheweth in his preface of the liues: where he hath inſerted the Epiſtle at length, becauſe he thought it wiſely and grauely written, a briefe worthie of ſuch a Philoſopher as *Plutarch*. That which *Cuſpinianus* ſaith in the latter end of the life of *Traian*, ſeemeth to touch that: ſpeaking alſo, as if it had bene expreſſed out of Greeke into Latine. But time hath depriued vs of that, and of many other goodly peeces of the ſelfe ſame, as we haue ſomewhat ſpoken of it before in the beginning of the Morall workes. Now he hath written nothing touching his behauiour in his publike charge, but contenteth himſelfe to ſpeake a word ſometime paſſing by, becauſe he made no account of any thing but of Philoſophie, through the helpe whereof he aſſayed to make him ſelfe and others wiſer, and more vertuous euery day then other. Being a thing very likely that ſuch a man as had ſo painefully conſidered of the eſtate of the world, and of all ſorts of publike gouernments, and had ioyned his ſtudies with ſo great experience: that he hath happily managed the charges that were committed vnto him. To conclude, to liue as we ſhould amongſt men, the ſpeculation and knowledge of things being ioyned with the practiſe of the ſame, do bring foorth excellent effects: whereas thoſe that do content themſelues with the ſimple theoricke, and others that follow exerciſe, contemning the true vnderſtanding of the cauſes and grounds of affaires, as Philoſophie doth ſhew them: they oftentimes fall into wonderfull difficulties.

For *Plutarch*, though he taried a long time in Italie and in Rome, yet that tooke not away the remembrance of the ſweet aire of Greece, and of the litle towne where he was borne: but being touched from time to time with a ſentence of an ancient Poet, who ſaid, that

In whatſoeuer countrey men are bred,
(I know not by what ſweetneſſe of it led,)
They nouriſh in their minds a glad deſire
Vnto their natiue homes for to retire:

He reſolued to go back into Greece againe, there to end the reſt of his daies in reſt and honor amongſt his citizens, of whom he was honorably welcomed home. Some iudge that he left Rome after the death of *Traian*, being then of great years, to leade a more quiet life. So being then at reſt he earneſtly took in hand that which he had long thought of before, to wit, the Liues: and tooke great paines in it vntill he had brought his worke to perfection, as we haue done at this preſent: although that ſome liues, as thoſe of *Scipio African*, of *Metellus Numidicus*, and ſome others are not to be found. Now himſelfe confeſſeth in ſome place, that when he began this worke, at the firſt it was but to profit others: but that afterwards it was to profit himſelfe, looking vpon thoſe hiſtories, as if he had looked in a glaſſe, and ſeeking to reforme his life in ſome ſort, and to forme it in the mould of the vertues of theſe great men: taking this faſhion of ſearching their maners, and writing the liues of theſe noble men, to be a familiar haunting and frequenting of them. Alſo he thought (ſaid he himſelfe) that he lodged theſe men one after the other in his houſe, entring into conſideration of their qualities, and that which was great in either of them, chooſing and principally taking that which was to be noted, and moſt worthie to be knowne in their ſayings and deeds. In ſumme, he declared that by continuance of reading auncient hiſtories, and in drawing out the liues which he hath written, and receiuing daily in his vnderſtanding the memorable things of the moſt honeſt and vertuous men of times paſt: he inſtructed himſelfe, and prepared him to lay aſide all euill, fooliſh, diſhoneſt, or ſpitefull condition: if by chaunce by often frequenting their companie he muſt of neceſſitie keepe, he learned any euill touch. The which he did reforme, turning his quiet thought not ſtirred with any paſſion at all, to the conſideration of ſo many goodly examples. Now becauſe that ſome might obiect vnto him, that for the finiſhing of ſo great a peece of worke, he could not haue made choice of a fitter place then Rome: or rather that being a man giuen to his booke as he was, he ſhould haue left that worke vnto ſome other that had ſeene more. This obiection being of ſome weight, he anſwereth it at the beginning of the life of *Demoſthenes*, and ſaith: That to attaine to true felicitie, whereof the greateſt

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part consisteth in the maners, qualities and conditions of the soule: it maketh no matter whether a man be borne in an obscure towne and of small name, no more then if he were borne of a foule or litle mother. For it were a mockerie to thinke that some small townes or litle Ilands could notwithstanding bring forth good Poets and excellent players of Comedies: & that they could not in like sort bring out an honest, iust, constant, wise, and noble or worthy man. And although we haue reason to thinke that arts and sciences inuented to make things necessary for the vse of men, or else to win a name and reputation, are made and counterfeited in poore litle towns: so we must also thinke that vertue, none otherwise then a straunge plant can take foot and root in any place, where it meeteth with a good nature, gentle and patient to indure paines. Wherfore if we come to cõmit any error, or that we liue otherwise then becometh vs, we must not accuse or blame the meannesse of our countrey, but iustly attribute the fault to our selues. It is true (saith he) that he that hath vndertaken to frame a peece of work, or to write any history, in the which many things should be put, not familiar in his countrey, and that they find not alwaies at their hand euery where, but strange for the most part, dispersed here and there, and that must be gathered from many places and diuers authors: in truth he must first and before all other things dwell in a great and noble city, full of people, and a great number of men louing goodly and honest things, to the end there may be store of books, and that in searching vp and downe, and hearing them tell with liuely voice many things, which other story-writers peraduenture haue left vnwritten, and that shall beare so much more credit, because they are fresh in memory of the liuing: he may make his worke complete and perfect in all things, and not wanting many things that should be necessarie for it. Hauing made this preface, he excuseth himselfe, that he could not profit so much in knowledge of the Latine tongue, as he desired, and sheweth how he did helpe himselfe. But forasmuch as it is in this worke of his Liues that *Plutarch* hath most shewed his sufficiencie, whether you consider the length of the worke, or trie with what iudgement he hath proceeded: peraduenture it will not be hurtfull to speake somewhat of it, beside that which hath bene spoken by his Translator in the Preface. I do not enter here into commendation of Historie in generall, nor we need not apply that vnto *Plutarch*, which *Cicero* and many others haue spoken. For if euer there were booke, next to that we call the holy Scriptures, it may be said, that that which containeth the liues of the noble Grekes and Romaines, is an assured testimonie of many hundreds of yeares, a Sunne of veritie, a life of memorie, a true mistresse of life, and an excellent messenger of antiquitie. And as the stone called the Opall, sheweth many Orient colours aboue all other precious stones: so doth the liues of *Plutarch* make an abridgement of all the best things contained in the Greeke and Latine histories. For there are seene worthie examples of vices and vertues, an infinite number of Maximes and notable precepts touching the duties of euery one, their vertues and vices. Now although *Plutarch* in the ignorance and blindnesse of the true God, could not (no more then other prophane Historians) touch the true end of historie: yet we may note some admirable thing in him in that respect. Since historie (which containeth in it an infinite number of particular deedes and honourable actions, as the collection of the liues of *Plutarch*) is a goodly or glistering glasse or table, within the which may be discerned the wonders and admirable working of the diuine Prouidence: for to comprehend that well which God and men do, there are three things to be considered in euery historie: to wit, the men whereof there is question, the things worthie of memorie, and the circumstances, keeping this ground against the Epicurians and enemies of mans life: That there is a Godhead and supernaturall power which gouerneth and maintaineth the world, wherein nothing happeneth by chaunce, but all is guided by a most wise disposition of the same, for the preseruation of families, of ciuill pollicie, and of a companie and happie congregation that shall be taken out of this world into a better. A wise and learned Historian must haue an eye vpon these three things, for to applie them vnto three other vertues that ought to shine in him: veritie, moderation, and eloquence. Forsomuch as if he set pur fables, or if he talke to no purpose, and make discourses at pleasure, or if he be troublesome in a speech not coherent and hanging well together: then he deserueth no more the name of an Historian. As for these vertues, I do assure my selfe that euery man of iudgement will agree, that they are readily to be found in *Plutarch*, accompanied with a sweet grauitie that alwaies pleaseth the reader, and giueth him at a hundred times reading as good a sauor and tast of him as at the first. Let a man look vpon stories that haue nothing in them but the name, and vpõ so many books ill composed,

of the which Europe is full: they ſhal find that the parts neceſſarie to be obſerued in the perſons is nothing at all regarded: that thoſe which thinke to repreſent others, they do ſample them after a ſtrange faſhion. Therupon the affections and paſſions, the hatred, the enuie, euill ſpeaking, falſe reports, flatteries & lies, preſent themſelues ſo vntowardly that they marre all. To the contrarie, we ſee *Plutarch* very exact in that reſpect. It ſufficeth me to touch the things paſſing by: whether he ſhew the vices or vertues of great and meane perſons, he doth it in good termes, without aggrauating or making it leſſe. He taketh no maner of pleaſure to ſpeake euill of any, but wiſely hideth that whereof we ought not to ſpeake but with ſhame and compaſſion of mans infirmitie. And he is more enclined to commend the good in vicious perſons, then too much to ſet open the ſhops of their wickedneſſe. But if neceſſitie enforce him vnto it, it is with ſuch manifeſt proofes, that others which are wicked ſeeing him waſh the head of their companions, they are compelled to hang downe their heads, and to condemne their wicked thoughts. Now touching matters that ought to be remembred in hiſtories, therein are to be conſidered, the counſels, executions, and accidents. For counſels, who noteth better then he the wickedneſſe of thoſe which aske counſell of the world, of the vnconſtant multitude, of men of as litle iudgment as themſelues, or of themſelues? With what grace doth he lay open the errors committed by *Xerxes*, *Pyrrhus*, *Marius*, and infinite others? And though euill counſell proſper for a time, yet the eternall wiſedome, hath a ſecret intention to bring things to paſſe, which the wiſedome of man cannot ſee till it be done: as *Plutarch* doth finely diſcouer them in the life of *Cato Vtican*, and of others. The executions are of diuers ſorts, according to the workmen and their means. In this point, *Plutarch* is admirable, ſhewing particularly infinite thoughts in actions which he repreſenteth: ſo that for one ſelf deed he giueth alwaies entrance and direction vnto the ſtudious reader, to make halfe a douſin of ſundrie rules for the direction of mans life: he was euer ſo fortunate to comprehend all things well, and to draw that which was to be offered vnto the view of poſteritie. If accidents come in queſtion, he can excellently referre them to the counſels, and draw out goodly inſtructions for all ſorts of men. Now there remaineth the circumſtances of times, of places, of people, and others ſo diligently ſearched out in *Plutarch*, that in this matter he ſeemeth to haue ſurmounted himſelfe. To proue all that hath bene preſently ſpoken in few words, behold here the booke lyeth open, and vnder the indifferent examination of the learned and vertuous men.

I am not ignorant that ſome men wel thought of among the learned men of our time, haue very boldly cenſured *Plutarch*, accuſing him of ignorance: alſo that he had writtē things incredible, fabulous, and that he had made vnapt compariſons. For his ignorance, that hath bene ſufficiently handled heretofore ſpeaking of *Plutarchs* toung. And if we muſt ſpeake of the ſufficiencie of an Hiſtorian, I thinke it is moſt excellent in him: howbeit I ſhall not need to defend him, ſeeing that he defendeth himſelfe ſufficiently well. If he be miſtaken in ſome circumſtances, and that they diſcouer ſome fault in his memorie, or of diſcordance condemned by many other Hiſtorians: that deſerueth not ſo ſharpe a reprehenſion. And for all the reſt, I will adde too the anſwer of a noble perſon well ſtudied in *Plutarchs* lecture, for that it ſufficeth and fully agreeth with that which we now ſpeake of. And theſe be his words: If one had ſpoken ſimply that *Plutarch* reciteth things otherwiſe then they be, it was no great reproch: for thoſe things which we haue not ſeene, we take them at other mens hands of credit: and I ſee that to his knowledge he reporteth at times one ſelfe hiſtorie diuerſly. As the iudgement of three of the beſt Captaines that euer were, giuen by *Hanniball*, is otherwiſe ſet downe in the life of *Flaminius*: and contrarie again in the life of *Pyrrhus*. But to charge him to haue taken for ready money things vncredible, and alſo vnpoſſible: it is euen to accuſe for want of iudgement, the author of the beſt iudgement in the world. And here is the example which they alledge, to wit, that *Plutarch* ſaid that a child of LACEDÆMON ſuffered his belly to be torne out by a foxe he had ſtolen, & hid vnder his gowne, euen to ſuffer death rather then to bewray his theft. Firſt of all I find this example very euill choſen to bound the indeuours of the faculties of the ſoule, whereas for corporall forces we haue more law to limite and know them. For this cauſe, if I had had to do withall, I would rather haue choſen an example of this ſecond ſort, and they are leſſe credible. As amongſt others, that which he reciteth of *Pyrrhus*: that being hurt as he was, he gaue his enemy armed at all peeces ſuch a blow with his ſword, that he claue his head downe to the loweſt parts, ſo that the body fell aſunder in two parts. In the other example I find no great wonder, neither do I like the excuſe they make for *Plutarch*, for that he added too this word, (as they ſay) to aduiſe vs, and to be warie in

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our cariage and behauiour. For vnleſſe it be in things receiued by authoritie, or in reuerence of antiquitie or of religion, he would not himſelfe haue receiued, nor haue made vs beleeue things of themſelues incredible. And that this word (as they ſay) is not vſed in that place to that purpoſe, is eaſie to be iudged: for that he himſelfe reporteth in another place vpon the ſubiect of the patience of the children of LACEDÆMON, of examples that fell out in his time vnlikelier, to perſwade vs. As that which *Cicero* alſo hath teſtified before him: for that he was (as he ſaid) euen in the very places: that euen till their time there were children, for proofe of patience, that were tried before the altar of *Diana*, who ſuffered themſelues to be whipped vntil the bloud ran down their legs, not onely without crying, but alſo without weeping, yea and ſome of them euen to death. And that which *Plutarch* telleth with an hundred witneſſes: that at a ſacrifice a burning cole being fallen into a boies ſleeue of the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he was cenſing: he ſuffered all his arme to be burnt, vntill the very ſauor of the burnt fleſh came to them that were preſent. There was nothing according to their cuſtome that did more diſgrace them, and for the which they ſhould ſuffer more reproch and ſhame, then to be taken ſtealing. I am ſo inſtructed with the greatneſſe of theſe men there, that it ſeemes to me, that this report which *Plutarch* made ſhould not be incredible, or not ſo much as rare or ſtraunge. *Marcellus* alſo reporteth, touching this matter of theft: that in his time there could be found no manner of torture or torment how cruell ſoeuer, that could force the ÆGYPTIANS taken with theft, (whereunto they were accuſtomed and hardened) once to tell their names. I know that there were certaine poore countri-men, in the miſerable ciuill warres, that did indure the frying of the ſoles of their feet againſt the fire, and the nipping of their fingers ends, to thruſt their bloudie eyes out of their heads, their foreheads being faſt bound with a great cord, before they would be ranſomed. I haue ſeene one left ſtarke naked in a ditch for dead, hauing his necke ſwollen with a halter tyed about it, with the which they had dragged him at a horſe taile all night long, his body thruſt in with a dagger in an hundred places, not to kill him, but to make him full of paine: who had endured all that, hauing loſt his ſpeech and ſenſes, reſolued (as he told me) to die a thouſand deaths, rather then to promiſe any thing, and he was one of the richeſt laborers in all the countrey. We muſt not iudge that which is poſſible and that which is not, as it is credible and vncredible to our capacitie. It is alſo a great fault, (into the which notwithſtanding the moſt part of men do fall) to make it nice to beleeue that thing of another man, which we our ſelues cannot do. This is that which this perſon anſwereth vnto the obiection made, touching the fact of the boy of LACEDÆMON ſet out to accuſe our *Plutarch* ouerthwartly with a lye. The other example which they alledge of incredible things, and altogether fabulous, ſpoken by *Plutarch*, is: that *Ageſilaus* was condemned in a fine by the Ephores, becauſe he alone had won the harts and goodwils of al his citizens. I know not what note of falſhood they find in that: but ſo it is, that *Plutarch* ſpeaketh of things which he ſhould better know then we. It was no new thing in GREECE to ſee men puniſhed and baniſhed onely for that they were too great with their Citizens: witneſſe the Oſtraciſme and Petaliſme. And where they accuſe *Plutarch*, that he did not well ſort the GREEKES with the ROMAINES: witneſſes, *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*, *Ariſtides* and *Cato*, *Lyſander* and *Sylla*, *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus*, *Ageſilaus* and *Pompey*; iudging that he fauoured the GREEKES, for that he gaue them companions ſo litle reſembling them: which is iuſtly to blame *Plutarch* for that wherin he was moſt excellent and praiſe-worthie. For in his compariſons (which is the moſt admirable part of his works, and in the which (in my opinion) he tooke more delight then in any other of his writings) the fidelitie and ſinceritie of his iudgements, equalleth their profoundneſſe and their waight. He is a Philoſopher that teacheth vs vertue. Let vs ſee if we can defend him from this reproch of malice and falſhood. I think that which hath bene the cauſe of this cenſure, is the great ſhining colour of the names of the ROMAINES which we haue in hand. It appeareth not to vs that *Demoſthenes* can equall the glorie of a Conſull, Proconſull, or Quæſtor of this great commonwealth. But he that ſhal conſider the truth of the thing, & the men in themſelues, wherat *Plutarch* euer moſt aimed: and to weigh their maners, their diſpoſitions, their ſufficiencie and their fortune: I think to the contrarie, that *Cicero* and old *Cato* are indebted to their companions. For the purpoſe of this cenſure, I would rather haue choſen the example of the younger *Cato* cõpared vnto *Phocion*: for in this compariſon there might be found a more likely diſparitie to the aduantage of the ROMAINE. For *Marcellus*, *Sylla*, and *Pompey*, I ſee well that their exploits of war are more puft vp, glorious and ſumptuous, then thoſe of the GREEKS which *Plutarch* compareth

with them. But the moſt faire and vertuous actions are not alwaies (no more then in wars) the moſt famous. I oftentimes ſee the names of Captaines drowned by the glory of other mens names of leſſe merit: witnes, *Labienus*, *Ventidius*, *Teleſinus*, and diuers others. And to take it from thence, if I were to complaine me for the GREEKES, might I ſay that much leſſe is *Camillus* comparable vnto *Themiſtocles*, the *Gracchi* vnto *Agis* and *Cleomenes*, *Numa* vnto *Lycurgus*, and *Scipio* vnto *Epaminondas*, which were alſo of his rolle. But it is a follie to iudge things on a ſudden of ſo many men. When *Plutarch* compareth them, he doth therefore equall them. Who could more eloquently or conſcionably note the diſparities and differences? Doth he come to compare the victories, the exploits of armes, the power of armies led by *Pompey*, & his triumphes, with thoſe of *Ageſilaus*? I do not beleeue, ſaid he, that *Xenophon* himſelf if he were aliue, although that they ſuffered him to write what he would to the aduantage of *Ageſilaus*: durſt put him in compariſon. Doth he ſpeake to compare *Sylla* with *Lyſander*? There is no compariſon, ſaid he, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battels: for *Lyſander* wan only but two battels by ſea, &c. That taketh away nothing from the ROMAINES. To haue ſimply preſented them to the GREEKES, he could haue done them no iniurie, what diſparitie ſoeuer there might be: neither doth he weigh them alſo all together: in the great there is no preferencie. He hath compared the peeces and circumſtances one after another, and iudgeth them ſeuerally. Wherfore if they wold conuince him of fauour, they muſt vnfold ſome particular iudgement, or to ſay in generall that he had failed to match ſuch a GREEKE with ſuch a ROMAIN: becauſe there were others fitter to be compared, and of better report. So much for this point. There are other that haue blamed the length of *Plutarchs* diſcourſes, alſo that he hath mingled many light things, & that he delighteth to thruſt in many verſes of Poets, without any neceſſity, ſay they: iudging that he did that to loſe no part of his memories, & ſo hath confuſedly put all peeces together in his worke. But that which hath bene ſpoken of before, anſwereth that obiection. And to accuſe *Plutarch* to haue wanted iudgement, (he that hath alwaies bene very diſcreet in his writings, as he proteſteth at the beginning of his booke of fatall deſtiny) is to ſhew himſelfe madde, and out of his wits. Thoſe things that men iudge to be ſmall are not ſo alwaies, if they be better conſidered of: neither is his length ſo far out of ſquare and troubleſom, neither is that out of the matter, which he intermingleth of the Poets, but is ſpoken to good purpoſe, and oftentimes vpon good ground of aduice in matters of great waight: whereof his workes ſhall make proofe whoſoeuer will examine them without paſſion.

But now let vs leaue theſe cenſors to thinke more aduiſedly hereafter what they ſpeake, and come againe to *Plutarch*: who after his returne to GREECE, gaue himſelfe more to his booke then he did before: and notwithſtanding he was very old, he made an end of his Liues. And furthermore, continuing ſtill the loue he bare vnto his countrey: he employed himſelfe in diuers Offices of the commonwealth, whereof he maketh mention alſo in ſundry places of his Morals, and eſpecialy in the booke where he inſtructeth thoſe that deale in the affaires of eſtate. For he ſaith there theſe words: I anſwer them that reproue me when they find me preſent in our towne, to ſee them meaſure, and tell bricke, and tile, ſtones, ſand, and lime which they bring: that it is not for my ſelfe that I build, but for the Commonwealth. And in his Treatiſe, Whether an old man ſhould yet deale in the affaires of eſtate. Thou knoweſt (ſaid he, writing vnto *Euphanes*) that there are many Pythiades, that is to ſay, many termes of fiue yeares that I do exerciſe the Prieſthood of *Apollo* PYTHIAN: yet I thinke thou wouldeſt not ſay to me, *Plutarch*, thou haſt ſacrificed enough, thou haſt made proceſſions enow, thou haſt led many dances: and now that thou art old and ancient, it is time thou leaue thy crowne off thy head, and abandon the oracle, becauſe of thy age. At the beginning of the eight queſtion of the ſixt booke of his diſcourſe at the table, he mentioneth his Office of being Maior of the towne of CHÆRONEA. To conclude, euen to the end of his life he ſhewed in his deedes, that which he excellently handled in his writings: which is, that there is nothing letteth old men to ſerue and profite their commonwealth in diuers ſorts of gouernment, whether it be with good words, with good counſell, with liberty and authority to ſpeake boldly, and with graue reſpect, as the Poets ſay. For they are not the feet, nor the hands, nor al the ſtrength of the body only, which are the parts and good of the cõmonwealth: but they are firſt of all and principally the ſoule, and the beauties thereof: as iuſtice, temperance, and wiſdom, the which coming late to their perfection, it were to no purpoſe they ſhould enioy a houſe, land, & all other inheritances of his citizens, and that it could receiue no more any profit by thẽ for the good of the Commonwealth, becauſe of their long time, the which doth not ſo much

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depriue them of ſtrength and abilitie to do ſeruice, as it doth increaſe them with ſufficiencie and knowledge of faculties requiſite to commaund and gouerne. Furthermore *Plutarch* hauing liued alwaies honorably euen to old age, he died quietly among his children and friends in the citie of CHÆRONEA, leauing in his writings an immortall ſauour of his name vnto poſteritie. Beſides the honour his citizens did him, there was a ſtatue ſet vp for him by ordinance of the people of ROME, in memorie of his vertue. Now furthermore, though time hath deuoured ſome part of the writings of this great man, and miniſhed ſome other: neuertheleſſe thoſe which remaine being a great number, haue excellent vſe to this day among vs. Howbeit, hauing met with ſome fragments in *Stobeus*, of ſome Treaties which are not to be found any more, I thought it would not miſlike the reader to cull out ſome peeces to preſent them vnto him, to ſhut vp all this diſcourſe. Wiſedome, ſaith he, (*in the booke Of the profite which knowledge bringeth of the time to come*) conſiſteth not in ſhew, but in affaires, before a man ſetteth too his hand: and ſheweth how he ſhould come before them, and receiue them when they be offered him: for it conſidereth the things to come. The bodie hath no eyes but before, the backe ſeeth nothing at all: but wiſdome by helpe of memorie, ſeeth euen the things that are paſt and gone. It is the Secretarie which alwaies remaineth and abideth within, as *Plato* ſaith. It is the part or inſtrument of the ſoule which taketh hold of things paſt, keepeth them, and layeth them vp ſafe, making a circle, within the which that that is paſt ioyneth with the thing preſent, and will not ſuffer it to extend it ſelfe beyond compaſſe, and to paſſe the bounds of nature and knowledge. *Of the Booke againſt pleaſure.* Pleaſure vndoeth the bodie, and daily maketh it tender by deliciouſneſſe, the common vſe whereof cutteth downe the luſtineſſe and conſumeth the ſtrength, ſo that weakneſſe and ſickneſſe do abound, and in youth they begin to waxe old. Voluptuouſnes is a beaſt that maketh men ſlaues, but yet no ſauage beaſt: for if ſhe did openly aſſaile any bodie, there would ſoone be an end: but ſhe is ſo much more daungerous, becauſe ſhe hideth her ill courage, and taketh vpon her the habite of goodwill. We muſt ſhunne her therefore for two cauſes, the one, that ſhe ſhould not hurt vs, the other, that ſhe ſhould not ſeduce vs. Let vs no more call voluptuouſneſſe honeſt pleaſures, but rather acknowledge that they be troubles, ſeruices and duties: and eſteeme the reſt as ſhamefull and violent things, which by their diuerſitie flatter vs, and in the meane time finely hurt vs. Now our ſelues and affaires ought to be ſubiect to the ſame law that the brute beaſtes are: to the end that when we haue ſatisfied our deſire, we haue no new mind to couet further, but that our moderate pleaſures be contented when they haue things neceſſarie. Is there any man that will commend traitours? Now pleaſure is euen ſuch a one: for ſhe betrayeth all that dependeth vpon vertue. Doth any bodie eſteeme hangmen much? See notwithſtanding what it is to follow ſenſualitie, which tormenteth and rendeth aſunder all moderate things. Will any man commend auarice? Voluptuouſneſſe is as vnſatiable as the loue of money. What pleaſure can we take of a beaſt that deſtroyeth vs by flatterie? I aske, why doeſt thou not play the foole and knaue in the preſence of all men? To the contrarie thou flyeſt, and beareſt reuerence to thy ſelfe, abuſing thy ſelfe in the night and darkneſſe which cannot depoſe againſt thee. No man ſeeketh to hide him that doth well, nor is affraid of the light that is round about him: but rather to the contrarie, he would all the world were become a bright Sunne, to giue light to all the parts of the good workes he doth. But if he happen to commit any fault, he doth all his poſſible indeuour to hide it, and blameth his paſſion. Now let vs take away the veile, and openly muſe vpon theſe pleaſures. They make vs drunke, euen to loſe our ſences: they continually make knaues and drowſie lubbers to follow harlots when they ſhould labour: enemies of mans life, neither caring for father nor mother, void of all reuerence vnto the lawes. *In the Booke that treateth, how women ſhould be taught and learned.* It is no eaſie thing to hide his ignorance, ſaith *Heraclitus*: and much leſſe then when he hath drunke more then ordinarie. *Plato* ſaith alſo, that the thought is diſcouered by wine: as much to ſay, after a man hath drunke too much. *Sophocles* blamed *Æſchylus*, becauſe he wrote his tragedies when he had drunke out of meaſure: for, ſaith he, though *Æſchilus* doth well, yet he knoweth not what he doth. *Pythagoras* being asked how it could be brought to paſſe, that a drunkard ſhould abſtaine from being drunke? If he remembred ſaid he, oftentimes what he did when he was drunk. It is a common ſaying in euery mans mouth, Let not the child haue a knife. And I ſay, keepe riches from a child, and ignorance from a man. *Of the Booke of accuſation. Hippias* ſaid, there was nothing ſo intollerable as accuſation: becauſe there was no puniſhment ordained by lawe for accuſers, as there was for theeues: although they

ſtole friendſhip from men, which is the goodlieſt riches a man can haue. So that an outrage of fact though it be great, is leſſe then accuſation, which doth much more hurt becauſe it is hidden. *Of the diſcourſe or Epiſtle of friendſhip.* He is a true witneſſe of the truth, that is not bound by benefite vnto him that bringeth him forth, and that ſpeaketh before the Iudges without exception of perſon. We muſt win loue by gentleneſſe and bountie, rather then by menaces: and for the commonwealth, wiſedome and gentleneſſe ſhould be ioyned together. *Agrippinus* in his gouernment, attempted to perſwade them whom he condemned to loſe goods and life: that it was expedient for them they ſhould be condemned. For, ſaid he, I do not pronounce ſentence againſt you, as a theefe paſſing by ſhould ſay, Deliuer thy purſe, or thou art dead: but I do that as your tutor, and one that hath a care of you: like vnto the Phiſition that comforteth his patient from whom he would cut ſome member, and perſwadeth him to be ruled. *Cotis* king of THRACIA was very cruell vnto his ſubiects: and when one of his familiars told him, That is called furie not kingly gouernment. But ſo it is, anſwered the king, that this furie of mine maketh my ſubiects wiſe and quiet. *Of the booke againſt the ſtrength of the bodie.* Doeſt thou thinke the ſtrength of the body to be ſo great a happineſſe, that thou wilt conclude that nature which hath giuen more ſtrength to beaſts then to men, ſhould be mother to them, and ſtepmother to the other? Doeſt thou think it is by reaſon of the maſſiuenes or waight, or by the ſwiftneſſe or ſtrength of the eyes? The true ſtrength of men conſiſteth in diſcourſe of the ſoule, by means wherof he hunteth in the forreſts, and taketh the Elephants in a ſnare: he rideth horſe and breaketh them, he bringeth oxen ſubiect to the yoke, he beateth downe birds with bolts, and catcheth with angles fiſh that lye hidden in the bottome of waters. There is his ſtrength, which is ſeene much better, when he conſidereth at his eaſe, the roundneſſe of the earth, the breadth of the Element, and the reuolutions of the ſtars. Such were the worthie exerciſes of *Hercules*. And who had not rather be *Vlyſſes*, then *Polyphemus* the CYCLOPIAN? Alſo when one ſpake much in commendation of a venturous and hardy man, as if he had bene ſome braue ſouldier: There is great difference, ſaid *Aratus* the SICYONIAN, betwixt eſteeming vertue, and regarding life nothing. *Of the booke of Deuination.* It is moſt apparant that from the beginning Neceſſitie inuented and poliſhed certain arts, which ſhe doth keepe euen till this preſent. It is ſhe that hath taught all things. For, is there any thing that neceſſitie hath not thought of? ſhe hath brought foorth the occupation of weauing, of building, the art of Phyſicke, tilling of the ground, and all that belongs vnto it. There be other crafts alſo found out, I cannot tell by what pleaſure: as Perfumers, Apothecaries, Cookes, and others that ſerue for ornaments of the bodie: alſo Painters. Againe, there are ſciences which men ſeeke, learne, and teach, becauſe of the probable and apparant reaſon which they diſcouer, and for the beautie of them: as Arithmeticke, Geometrie, and all others conſiſting in meaſures and proportions, then Aſtrologie. And yet though we contemne them, neuertheleſſe becauſe of their excellencie, we are conſtrained in ſome ſort to know them, ſaith *Plato*. *Of the Treatie, That loue and iudgement are diuerſe things.* Some ſay, that loue is the facultie of the ſoule, which we call vnderſtanding: others, that it is a concupiſcence or voluptuouſneſſe: others, that it is a madneſſe: and there are that thinke it is, I cannot tell what diuine agitation of the ſoule: and others that make it a God. This diſputation hath made that ſome haue iudged, and rightly, that from the beginning, loue is a ſimple deſire or luſt: but if it exceed, it is furie. Alſo that friendſhip doth reſemble it. If loue be deſpiſed, it begetteth melancholie: if it increaſe as wiſhed, he that is poſſeſſed withall hath a thouſand conceipts and phantaſticall imaginations, and doth imagine all the greatneſſe and fauours of heauen and earth. And this is the reaſon why the Poets ſay, that loue is a Torch: and the Painters, Potters, and Statuaries do repreſent it in that eſtate. For that part of the fire which doth giue light, is very pleaſing, profitable and commodious: but that which burneth, bringeth nothing but trouble and ſorow. Like as it is a good thing to reproue and admoniſh our friends, and ſuch as belong vnto vs, whileſt they be in their right wits, and capable of iudgement and vnderſtanding: ſo to the contrarie, if they be light headed and diſtraught of their wits, we do not vſe then to reaſon and conteſt with them, but we rather do yeeld to that they ſay. So muſt we freely and liuely reproue them, that commit a fault through choler or couetouſneſſe: but as for louers, they muſt be excuſed becauſe they be ſicke. And therefore from the beginning, it were the beſt way not to ſuffer loue to take root in them: if it do, repaire then to the altars of the gods that giue remedy, as *Plato* ſaith, that is to ſay, keepe company with wiſe men. Driue this beaſt farre from thee, before his teeth and nailes do grow: if not, thou muſt fight with

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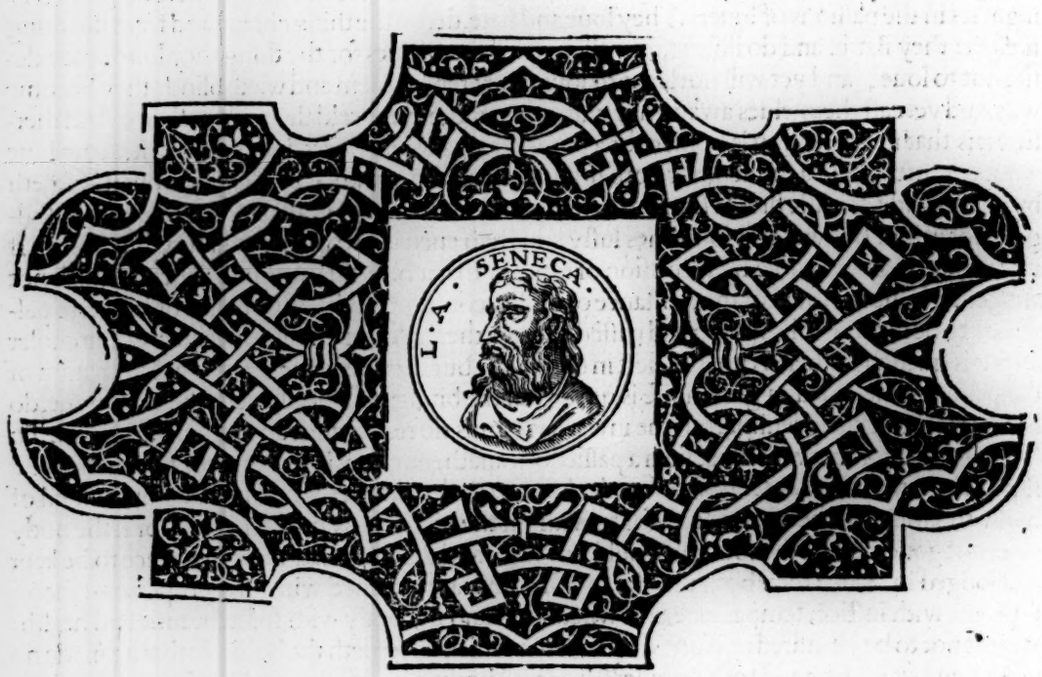
the euill when it is great and full growne, the which thou didſt embrace in thine infancie and youth. But which are theſe teeth and nailes of loue? Suſpition and Iealouſie. Now ſome will ſay to me that there is alſo I know not what, a thing that draweth, and is pleaſant. So had this famous *Sphinx* wings of diuerſe colours, very pleaſant to behold: for when he turned them to the beames of the Sunne, they ſhined like gold: and when he was againſt the cloudes, one would haue ſaid it had bene azure mingled with yellow and red, like the rainbow in the Element. Loue after the ſame ſort hath in it (I know not how) a gracious, gentle, and faire ſhew. But it deſtroyeth men, ouerthroweth houſes, diſſolueth mariages, and confoundeth great Captaines, without propounding of hard Enigmaes or queſtions to be reſolued: but himſelfe being ſo taken that he cannot be freed. For example. If one asked: What is that which at one inſtant loueth and hateth, flieth and purſueth, threatneth and prayeth, angreth and flattereth, taketh and leaueth, laugheth and weepeth with a breath? it is a knot which one cannot eaſily vndo. Furthermore, the *Sphinx* had many things deuiſed for pleaſure, mingled in the midſt of his Enigma. For though an old man go with a ſtaffe, yet he hath not three feet: and the litle child is not a beaſt with foure feet, although he creepe of all foure, helping his weake legs with his two hands. But there be no ſuch Enigmaes in the paſſions of louers. They loue and hate, deſire the thing abſent, and feare the thing preſent: they flatter and do iniurie, they die and kill themſelues for the thing they loue: they deſire not to loue, and yet will not leaue to loue: they repent them and waxe blind: they become wiſe, and yet caſt themſelues away: they will command, & yet yeeld themſelues ſlaues. And therfore it is that ſuch a paſſion is holden for a pure rage: as alſo *Eurypides* doth confeſſe it. Now loue is not begotten vpon a ſudden, nor doth not inuade all the perſon, as choler doth: but it kindleth by litle and litle, as a litle fire. It ſlippeth in ſoftly, and when it hath poſſeſſed the ſoule, it diſlodgeth not eaſily: but we ſee it ſomtimes luſty and freſh euen in old men that haue white haires. If it ceaſe, and begin to coole by ſucceſſion of time, or that it be dead by ſome accident: it doth not altogether leaue the ſoule, or the ſubſtance of his fire conſumed, where the marks of his heate paſſed are to be ſeene, as if lightning had paſſed thorow there. As for the ſorow paſt and the choler after it is quenched, there is no ſpark left in the ſoule, but they perceiue that the inflammation of the paſſion which made a great noiſe is quiet: but the bitings of loue, albeit the beaſt be gone, do not therfore loſe their venime, but the inward wounds do renew and refreſh thēſelues again. To be ſhort, no man knoweth what ſuch a paſſion meaneth, nor how it cometh, nor from whence it ſlipped into the heart. *In the booke where he diſputeth for beautie.* Are not men compounded of bodie and ſoule? Is the one enough for vs without the other? how could that be? for if the body were not gouerned by the ſoule, it would not liue, and the ſoule had need of a place to be kept and lodged in. Since then both the one and the other are adorned with gifts proper vnto them: the ſoule with iuſtice, temperance, and wiſedome: and the body with force, beautie and health: were it not to be wondred at, if one deſpiſed that which cōcerneth the bodie, & that he made no reckening but of the goods of the ſoule? Corporall beautie is a worke of the ſoule, which maketh a preſent of this gift to the bodie. For when the ſoule is gone, there remaineth nothing good in the bodie. The ſtrength, the colour, the ſight, and the voice do vaniſh. To conclude, the body being abandoned of his auncient inhabitants, there is nothing left that is amiable. Thou therefore that accuſeſt beautie, vnwares thou ſpeakeſt outrage to the ſoule, which is cauſe of this beauty. *Ariſtotle* to one that asked him, why a man did loue faire things? anſwered: It is for a blind man to aske ſuch a queſtion. *Diogenes* called faire Curtiſans, Queenes, becauſe many do execute that which they commaund. *Of the Booke againſt Nobilitie.* What do we thinke that Nobilitie is, but riches gathered together by aunceſtours, or ſome honour attained vnto long time before? whereof the one nor the other proceedeth not of our will: but the one cometh by vnconſtant fortune, the other proceedeth from the diſorders of the world. So then this proud name of Nobilitie floweth from two ſtraunge ſprings. Now riches maketh not thoſe that are born like vnto them: but vertue proceeding from the ſincere habitude of the ſpirit, is planted in the race of the vertuous, and doth make them truly noble. In this is true Nobilitie, to wit: the conformitie vnto vertuous manners. But I pray you, king *Midas* riches, were they more rich then the pouertie of *Ariſtides*? although he left not wherewithall to defray his charges of funerall. To the contrarie, king *Midas* tombe paſſed for magnificence all the riches of the world: but Nobilitie is not incloſed in gold nor ſiluer. Vice is rightly compared vnto fire: for when neither the one nor the other wanteth nouriture, it goeth out. But the baſeneſſe of the race of *Socrates* the

Philoſopher, the ſon of an Imagegrauer, and of a midwife: is it not more noble then the glorie of *Sardanapalus?* Thou ſhouldeſt not thinke *Xerxes* more noble then *Cynegyrus*, who had one of his hands cut off fighting for his countrey: ſince the other fled to ſaue his life, being a king enuironed with cowardlines. *Of the Treatie againſt riches.* Hunger neuer gaue any man cauſe to be an adulterer: nor want of money hath made any man diſſolute. Pouertie is a kind of temperance, and need may be called a ſummarie obſeruation of the lawes. *Arceſilaus* ſaid, pouertie was rude, no leſſe then the Iſle of ITHACA: but furthermore, a good nurſe for children: becauſe it did vſe them to frugalitie and abſtinence: and at one word, it is the healthfull ſchoole of vertue. Thus haue you ſome fragments of our Philoſopher, of the which as of the reſt of his workes, we deſire that all may learne to be vertuous.

The end of Plutarchs life.

THE LIFE OF *Seneca.*



A knowledge that doth many errors flie:
A life reſiſting vices poiſoned breath:
A death, in death, that conquerd death by death,
O Seneca, are fruits of thy Philoſophie.

SPAINE is deuided by the Geographers into three principall parts, of the which, one of them abutting vpō the ſtraights of GIBRALTAR and the Mediterrane ſea, called by *Strabo* TVRDITANIA, was in old time the beſt inhabited. And albeit he doth confine it into two thouſand furlongs in compaſſe, yet he ſaith that in his time they made account of two hundred towns within that circuite, which at this day is called ANDALVZIA, hauing taken the name of the VANDALES, which haue dwelt there ſince the ruine of the ROMAINE Empire. In this part of SPAINE was (and yet is) ſituated vpon the riuer called of the auncients Bætis, and at this day Guadalquibir, (that is to ſay, the great riuer, by reaſon of his long courſe) the citie of CORDVBE, or CORDOVE: which was in old time one of the moſt famous cities of SPAINE, built by *Marcellus*, and inhabited with noble ROMAINES, as *Plinie* and *Strabo* do witneſſe. This place amongſt others was a ſeed-plot or garden of good ſpirits, and men giuen to ſtudie. Among other honourable families of that time was that of the *Annæans*, which beſides

The family & race of Seneca.

beſides their nobilitie loued learning, ſpecially about the father of *Seneca*, whoſe life now we write. He was a ſimple gentleman bearing no charge in the commonwealth, for that he had no ſpirit in him to embrace ſuch burthens, and gaue himſelfe moſt to learning, although otherwiſe he left not his ſword, being a knight as many other PATRICIANS in the prouince where he was. With his armes he ioyned the profeſſion of learning, but ſpecially of eloquence, in the which he excelled the moſt in his time. He maried a Lady called *Elbia*, of whom he had three ſonnes, the eldeſt bearing the name of the father, to wit, *Lucius Annæus Seneca*. The ſecond, *Annæus Nouatus*, afterwards called *Iulius Gallio*. The third, *Annæus Mella*, father of *Lucan* the Poet. The father was very carefull to haue his children well taught and brought vp, but the eldeſt eſpecially, who with time gaue himſelfe wholly vnto Philoſophie. For *Gallio*, beſides his learning, he was raiſed vp to ſome publicke dignities at ROME. *Mella* on the other ſide, he cared not for aduancement, and therein he followed his father, as we will ſhew hereafter more at large. *Seneca*, of whom we haue preſently to ſpeake, was borne as it ſhould ſeeme a litle before the death of *Auguſtus Cæſar*. For himſelfe writeth in the hundreth and ninth Epiſtle vnto *Lucillius*, that he was a young man when by the commaundement of *Tiberius* the ceremonies of the ſtraungers religions were driuen out of ROME: the which *Cornelius Tacitus* in the ſecond booke of his Annales ſayd to haue happened in the fift yeare of *Tiberius*. But of this we will ſpeake more hereafter, treating of the writings of *Seneca*. Furthermore, the occaſion why himſelfe and his brethren came out of SPAINE to ROME, was this. About the tenth yeare of the raigne of *Tiberius* Empire, matters began to be troubleſome in diuerſe parts of the dominion of ROME, by reaſon of the cruelties and inſolencies of this Prince: who hauing about him *Seianus*, and ſome other dangerous counſellers, he ſhewed his diſpoſition more then before. The ſickneſſe of the head floweth into all the principall members: ſo that the prouinces were left without gouernours, or elſe were tyrannized by Prætors: whereupon followed great alterations. SPAINE amongſt others, in many places liued as they liſted: it was managed at that time by exactors, which cauſed people to rebell and enter into factions. It chanced amongſt others, that *L. Piſo* Prætor, was killed by a TERMESTAN, becauſe he caried himſelfe tyrannouſly amongſt the people. This TERMESTAN being caught by the backe, and cruelly tortured, he ſhewed himſelfe ſo ſtout notwithſtanding, that they could not poſſibly make him confeſſe any of his aſſociates. But being quickly diſpatched by the hands of the hangmen, who would haue put him to a new torture, he knocked his head againſt a ſtone with ſuch force, that he died preſently in the field. Shortly after the cities began to be wearie of their yoake, and CORDOVE ſpecially among others, which being of the principalleſt and of great importance, an army was ſent thither vnder the conduct of *Cneus Domitius Aenobarbus*, who hauing ſubdued CORDOVE, tooke amongſt others *Seneca*, his two brethren, and *Lucan* his nephew, their father being dead ſome yeares before. *Domitius* knowing what men they were, he ſet them at liberty, and did ſo much that he perſwaded them to leaue SPAINE, and go to ROME, as well to continue and to aduance their ſtudies well begun, as to be knowne and honoured with publicke office. Now the ſtate of SPAINE was ſuch at that time, that *Seneca* and his were eaſily perſwaded and won by him that had authority ouer them, and at the laſt they went into ITALIE. Some thinke that *Annæus Mella* remained ſtill in SPAINE, being a man that loued to liue priuately, and that made no account of the honour and vanity of the world. For his ſonne *Lucan*, he was brought very young after his two vnckles, who did heare at ROME *Pomponius Marullus*, *Iulius Hyginus*, *Ceſtius* and *Aſinius Gallus* in Rhetoricke: and in Philoſophie, *Socio Alexandrinus*, and *Photinus* a STOICKE, very famous. Vnder which they all profited, and *Seneca* ſpecially, who ioyning to the grauity of the doctrine of the STOICKES, a compendious and ſententious ſpeech, in ſhort time made himſelfe to be knowne.

Seneca's father.

His brethren.

In what time Seneca was borne.

The great conſtancy of a Spaniard.

His maiſters at Rome.

Now hauing remained a ſpace ſhut vp in ſchooles, or hidden in the companie of ſome learned men whom he harkened vnto, and familiarly frequented: he was put forward at the beginning of the Empire of *Caligula*, by *Cneus Domitius* (who had maried *Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus*, & litle daughter of *Tiberius*, of whom *Nero* was borne, nine moneths before the death of *Tiberius*) and began to ſhew himſelfe openly, pleading before the Senate with great grace: for from that time foorth he was eſteemed for one of the wiſeſt and moſt eloquent men of ROME. By meanes whereof his credite increaſed from day to day. But as prickes be hidden vnder roſes, and where men thinke to winne honour, oftentimes they get repulſe and

contempt: the reuolution of mens affaires flouriſhing, yet maruellous brittle and ſubiect to fall: So *Seneca* proued that his eloquence profited others more then himſelfe: and that as ſometimes it is a wiſer part to keepe the ſword in the ſcaberd, then in the hand: euen ſo

The hire of ſilence doth no danger threate.

The Emperour *Caligula* was a Prince that cared little for liberall ſciences, yet he was very curious to ſpeake well, hauing words at commandement, and eſteemed eloquent among others: ſpecially if ſometime he diſpoſed himſelfe to ſpeake againſt any man, the words and whole ſentences did increaſe in his mouth, with ſuch an accent and geſture, that they heard him and knew him a farre off, and ſometimes he threatned men with the force of his tongue. This quickneſſe and vaine eloquence of his, made him (beſides that he had an ill ſhaped head) wonderfull preſumptuous. For there was neuer a learned man and eloquent in all the ROMAINE Empire, but he would prefer himſelfe before him. And thoſe which directly or indirectly went about to croſſe him, they did put themſelues in manifeſt danger: witneſſe that which happened to the Orator *Domitius Afer*, and vnto *Seneca*. *Caligula* bearing ill will a long time vnto *Domitius* for ſome light ſpite he had vnto him, *Domitius* was accuſed before the Senate: where *Caligula* made a long oration written, and therein layed open all his ſufficiencie, to ſhew himſelfe better able then *Domitius*, eſteemed one of the beſt ſpoken men at that time. Now his purpoſe was to put *Domitius* to death, if he had ſtudied to anſwer eloquently. But *Domitius* eaſily diſcouering this dangerous reſolution, made no reply, nor excuſed himſelfe, but ſayd he was aſtonied at the oration of the Emperour: and fayning that the babling of *Caligula* had rauiſhed him, he made a briefe repetition, as if he had come thither to hearken. Then hauing magnified his diſcourſes, and being commaunded to defend himſelfe: he began to lament, and to craue grace, and kneeling downe beſought *Caligula*, being more afraid of his word then of his hand. *Caligula* wonderfull ioyfull of this honour, and thinking to be Eloquence it ſelfe, receiued *Domitius* into grace. *Seneca* taking no heed otherwiſe to that matter, and hauing at that time the free ſpirit of the STOICKES; within few dayes after he fell almoſt into the like perill or greater daunger then *Domitius*: he knew that *Caligula* did beare him ill will, and did alſo ſpeake euill of him amongſt his friends: and did compare him in his talke to grauell or ſand without lime, as if he would haue ſayd, that there was neither good band or conſequence in *Senecaes* diſcourſe. And to conclude, that he was but a iangler. But *Seneca* being caried away with the glorie he had wonne, which pleaſed him well, continued notwithſtanding to be in the Senate. Inſomuch that one day hauing a cauſe to pleade before *Caligula*, he behaued himſelfe with ſuch a grace and vehemencie, that all that heard him eſteemed him more then they did before, *Caligula* onely excepted: who being vexed, and as it were pierced through with the eloquent words of *Seneca*, (he hauing in the meane time let fall no word to offend *Caligula*, but went on roundly with his matter) he was euen at the point to put him to death, and then had executed his thought, had it not bene for a woman he kept, who perſwaded him not to do it, aſſuring him that *Seneca* had a diſeaſe that would ſoone diſpatch him out of the world. But after that, *Seneca* forbare, knowing with whom he had to deale. And ſoone after *Caligula* being ſlaine by *Chærea*: and *Iulius Sabinus* his vnkle (the ſonne of *Druſus* and of *Liuia*) called *Claudius*, was choſen Emperour: at the beginning *Seneca* came againe into his former credite and fame, and continued it for ſome yeares: but at the laſt he was baniſhed ROME for this cauſe. *Claudius* was a Prince of ſmall iudgement, and caried by certaine minions and paraſites of the court, and by his wife *Meſſalina*, one of the moſt ſhameleſſe women that euer was. This woman wholly poſſeſſing *Claudius*, cauſed men and women of all qualities to be put to death, and baniſhed as ſhe thought good: and thoſe aboue all others that went about to hinder the courſe of her ſtrange wayes. Among others ſhe did beare *Iulia* the daughter of *Germanicus* ill will, (as *Dion* reporteth) becauſe *Iulia* did not regard nor flatter her. Furthermore *Iulia* was a very faire Lady, which made *Meſſalina* iealous, who by litle and litle, found the meanes to accuſe this Lady of many crimes, and ſpecially of adulterie: and made her be baniſhed, then put to death immediatly after. *Seneca* was caried away with this tempeſt, as culpable of the faults pretended againſt *Iulia*. Some thinke that *Iulia* is this *Agrippina* mother of *Nero*, whom *Claudius* maried after the death of *Meſſalina*, and that ſhe was baniſhed from the court but for a time onely. The which is very likely, as alſo *Cornelius Tacitus* ſeemeth to incline to that opinion. But for *Seneca*, it is not onely in one place, but in many, that *Dion* and others do accuſe him, that he had bene ſomewhat bold with *Agrippina*, as if the credite he had in the houſe

of

of the late deceaſed *Cneus Domitius*, had giuen him the boldneſſe to defile the bed of his benefactor, dead a little before *Tiberius*. Furthermore, he was baniſhed into the Ile of Corse, where he remained about two yeares: during which time he earneſtly diſpoſed himſelfe to the ſtudie of Philoſophie, with a ſingular contentment and quietneſſe of mind, as may be gathered out of the goodly diſcourſe he wrote, and ſent vnto his mother *Helbia*, who did hardly beare this baniſhment of his. But he did comfort her, and by liuely reaſons ſhewed her, that this entertainement was not grieuous vnto him, but that Philoſophie had ſtrengthened him after an excellent faſhion, againſt all the aſſaults of fortune. Whileſt he was in this profitable ſolitarineſſe, *Meſſalina* continued in her wantonneſſe with ſuch an impudent and hote furie, that without the teſtimonie of ſo many worthie hiſtorians, it were impoſſible to beleeue that the wife of an Emperour durſt once haue thought to haue committed the thouſandth part of the villanies vnto the which ſhe had giuen her ſelfe ouer to the ſight and knowledge of all the world. In ſo much as in the end in the day time, within Rome, in preſence of many perſons of qualitie, & in the ſight of all the people, *Claudius* being no further off then at Hostia: ſhe maried with great pompe an adulterer called *Sillius*, a gentleman of Rome, with all accuſtomed ceremonies and ſolemnities. Se made a feaſt, and held *Sillius* for her husband. *Tacitus* in his Annales reporteth theſe things at large. Now though *Claudius* was ſo fooliſh before, and then too, that he perceiued not that which all others ſaw ſo openly: in the end being wakened by *Narciſſus*, one of his minions, he put *Sillius* to death, and ſome others culpable of this ſtraunge exceſſe. And for *Meſſalina*, ſhe had almoſt come againe into grace: but in the end ſhe was killed by the commaundement of *Narciſſus*. After *Meſſalina* was executed, the three minions of *Claudius*, to wit, *Narciſſus*, *Caliſtus*, and *Pallas*, they layed their heads together to giue their maiſter a wife. But in the end *Pallas*, that pleaded for *Agrippina* the widow of *Cneus Domitius*, litle daughter of *Tiberius*, daughter of *Germanicus*, and neece of *Claudius*: he caried it from them, the reaſons he propounded had ſo much more force, being accompanied with dainty fugred words: who vnder the colour of a kinſwoman, came often to viſite her vnkle, and ſhe flattered him ſo brauely, that ſhe being preferred before others, and not yet maried, ſhe did already vſe the authority and power of a wife. And out of hand, immediatly after the mariage was ſolemnized with her vnkle *Claudius*, ſhe aduanced *Domitius Nero* her ſonne, and the ſon of *Cneus Domitius*. Furthermore by her practiſes, *Octauia* the daughter of *Claudius*, & of *Meſſalina*, betrothed vnto *Sillanus*, was promiſed and afterwards giuen vnto *Nero* for his wife. Who being yet very yong when his mother maried *Claudius* (and but eleuen yeares old onely) it was in queſtion to get him a good maiſter and tutor to teach him his booke betimes, and to traine him vp in affaires of eſtate. *Agrippina*, a woman of a maruellous ſpirit, and that plotted great things, as the effect ſhewed afterwards, as *Tacitus* hath wiſely noted: ſhe reſolued to haue *Seneca* called backe againe, and immediatly obtained his grace of the Emperour. She did this to diuerſe ends, the one was to haue a man of great authority and bringing vp about her ſonne, to the end to maintaine *Nero* vnder the ſhadow of ſo great an apparance, vntill the time of his aduancement were come. The other, to make the remembrance of *Meſſalina* the more odious, who had bene the cauſe of the baniſhment of *Seneca*: to put backe *Britannicus*, the ſon of her, and brother of *Octauia*, & by that meanes to haue men at her cõmandement, litle affected vnto *Claudius*. So then *Agrippina* ouer-ruling *Claudius* at her pleaſure, ſhe did not only obtaine the repeale, but alſo the Prætorſhip for *Seneca*, whom they ſent for quickly, & he returned to Rome with great honor, to the contentment of high and low.

Immediatly after he was arriued, *Claudius* receiued him graciouſly, made him a Senator, and inſtalled him in his charge. Afterwards being called into the pallace of the Emperour, *Domitius Nero* is giuen him in charge, with great promiſes of *Agrippina*, who had two vices common to ſuch perſons. The one was, that ſhe was ſet on fire with extreame couetouſneſſe to get money, vnder colour that ſhe layd a foundation in ſtore to helpe to maintaine her eſtate. The other, that ſhe gaue largely vnto thoſe whom ſhe knew meete for the aduancement of her ſonne, whom ſhe would raiſe vp to be Emperor what ſoeuer it coſt her, yea were it her owne life: as appeared by her anſwer to a wiſe man whom ſhe had asked what ſhould become of the future greatneſſe of her ſonne *Nero*. For he hauing aunſwered her, that he might be Emperour, but it ſhould be to her vndoing: Let me dye then, ſayd ſhe, ſo he may raigne. *Tacitus* writeth that *Agrippina* thought the people would reioyce at the returne of *Seneca*, becauſe of the great fame of his knowledge: and alſo procured this good, to the end that the infancie of *Domitius* might

grow vntill his adoleſcency vnder ſuch a maiſter, and ſhe to vſe his counſell, to attaine to the greatneſſe of commaund which ſhe hoped for: *Seneca*, in ſtead of continuing in his ſolitarineſſe, and not remembring that

Who entreth tyrants houſes, doth become
A ſlaue: though he a free man thither come.

He to the contrary, thinking he had found the meanes to ſhew the effects of a Philoſopher (the wit of man, yea of the wiſeſt, is ſo ſnared in darkneſſe vpon darkneſſe, when there is queſtion of the troubles of this life) went and engaged himſelf in the ſeruice of *Agrippina*. And although for a time he bridled the youth of *Nero*, and did withſtand certaine diſorders: yet in the end he was conſtrained to leaue all, and ſuffer the fierce ſtreame to runne, hauing deſired (but too late) ſolitarineſſe: and with leſſe goods and honours of the world, more libertie, and quietneſſe of mind. Now, as he himſelfe knew very well, and did excellently teach it vnto others, that ſo as migrims and paines in the head are not healed by a crowne or royal band, neither to the contrary is good health, nor the good ſtate of a man loſt, though he be not a great Lord: ſo this greatneſſe in the which he ſaw himſelfe highly lift vp in a ſhort time, did nothing elſe but increaſe his cares, wherwith he found himſelfe bound, as with ſtrong chaines to the end of his life. And though he did ſhake them, and at times had proued to breake them, yet he could not poſſibly vnlooſe them: and in the end there was no way but he muſt periſh vnder the waight

Of maſsie chaines, that of no iron were,
But ſuch as ſhamefaſtneſſe, did make him beare.

It is true that at the firſt this charge and gouernement ſeemed light vnto him. For *Nero* was a yong Prince of great hope, & in youth he ſhewed himſelfe gentle, tractable, obeying his ſchoolemaiſters inſtructions, who delighted to manure this plant, hoping all the world ſhould haue ioy of him. But as the Emperors that were before, euen in their young age, had made ſome ſhew of that which might be expected of them in time to come: *Seneca* alſo perceiued through the goodly apparance of his ſcholer, ſome part of his wild, naughtie, and vntoward nature, which he ſhewed within few yeares after. Alſo *Cneus Domitius* his father, as ſome came to gratifie him for that *Agrippina* his wife had brought him a ſonne: he holding downe his head, anſwered, that that they ſhould not thinke that of him and of ſuch a woman ſhould be borne an infant, but to the ruine and confuſion of the Empire. This prediction was not noted. But when *Agrippina* her ſelfe felt by the loſſe of her life, what a child ſhe had brought into the world, and aduanced by ſo many ſtraunge practiſes, and by the degrees of inceſt, of bloud, and filthineſſe vnto the Imperiall dignitie. Now whileſt *Seneca* imployed himſelfe to poliſh this ſpirit of *Nero*, and ſought to print in his hart the loue of vertue: *Agrippina*, carefull of the worldly greatneſſe of her ſonne, ſhe followed her purpoſe, cunningly helping her ſelfe (as much as ſhe thought fit to ſerue her turne) with the counſell of *Seneca*, whom ſhe acquainted not but with the leaſt part of the corruption of her intentions: for ſhe being a cruell woman, and that neuer receiued thoſe into fauour whom ſhe hated: ſhe cauſed *Lolia Paulina* to be put to death, that had reaſoned againſt her for the mariage of *Claudius*. She cauſed *Calpurnia* to be baniſhed out of Italy. And hauing through *Pallas* credite, who priuatly gouerned her, and alſo kept her, made her ſonne *Nero* to be adopted, who was preferred before *Germanicus* the right ſucceſſour vnto the Empire: to the end ſhe would haue her power and authority to be knowne to the friends and allies of the Empire, ſhe cauſed a number of ſouldiers of the old bands and people to be caried to the place where ſhe was borne, a towne of the Vbians, at this day called Cvllen, vpon the Rhein. So that this citie was afterwards, and is at this preſent called Colonia Agrippina. Afterwards, for a new teſtimonie of this authoritie, *Caractacus* king of England, was led priſoner vnto Rome, and preſented with his wife and his brethren vnto *Claudius*: who in preſence of the people and of his gards pardoned them: this king and his traine went the ſame time before *Agrippina* (who was ſet vpon a ſcaffold ioyning vnto that of her husbands:) they did her reuerence, and thanked her with the ſame praiſes they gaue the Emperour. Which was found very ſtraunge and new, againſt the cuſtome and faſhion of doing of the ancients: to ſee a woman ſet amongſt the ſtandards and enſignes of the Romaines. But ſhe maintained that ſhe was a companion of the Empire obtained by her predeceſſors. Now theſe were but ſlight approches in compariſon of this that followeth. For hauing cauſed her ſonne to be declared to be of ſufficient age, in teſtimonie whereof he tooke the robe due vnto thoſe that were come to mans eſtate.

Caractacus a king of England and his Queene ſubmitted themſelues to Claudius the Emperour of Rome.

eſtate, and obtained that he might receiue the Conſulſhip at twentie yeares of age: ſhe made him haue the power of Proconſull out of the city, and the name of Prince of the youth. Beſides all this, there was great largeſſe made vnto the people in his name, and a ſumme of money giuen to euery ſouldier. Alſo *Nero* himſelfe paſſing on to go to the playes of *Circes*, went apparelled with an Imperiall robe, and *Britannicus* as he was wont: who remembring ſo many outrages as they had done vnto him, could not containe but muſt ſhew ſome diſcontentment. But this ſerued *Agrippina* her intention: for ſhe preuailed ſo much with *Claudius*, that ſhe procured him to baniſh or put to death all the gouernours of his ſonne *Britannicus*. And worſe yet: he committed him vnto men ſuborned by *Agrippina*; who paſſing further yet, diſcharged *Lucius Geta* of his Captaineſhip of the gard, and *Ruffus Criſpinus*, ſeruants of the houſe of *Meſſalina*, and placed in their roomes, *Burrus Aſranius*, a man greatly eſteemed for a warriour, but who knew well inough by whoſe fauor he was aduanced. Such was the boldneſſe of this *Agrippina*, a great Ladie in truth (for ſhe was the daughter, ſiſter, wife, and mother of an Emperour) but of a ſpirite compounded of all ſorts of miſchiefes. We haue touched theſe things paſſing by, vpon the occaſion of *Seneca*: who being occupied about his pupill, was conſtrained to be partaker of many counſels, of the which he vnderſtood not the depth alwayes. But ſo it is, that *Agrippina* ſerued her turne much by his authoritie, to aduance her buſineſſe: the which *Seneca* perceiued well, but he could not remedie it, for he thought of it too late. Now touching *Nero*: although the free admonitions of his maiſter were barres to keepe him in order, yet the corruptions of that time, and the working of his mother alſo, began by litle and litle to appeare in him: ſo that by time he made it manifeſt, that the good inſtructions had beaten his eares a litle, and troubled his braine ſomewhat: but that euill had taken too deepe roote in his heart. Furthermore, whileſt *Nero* remained ſo as vnder the rod, openly there could be noted in *Agrippina* nothing but ſeueritie and grauitie, no inſolencies in her houſe, otherwiſe then ſhe thought might ſerue for the aduancement of her affaires: for then, her ſelfe, as alſo all her traine, gaue themſelues ouer to all diſſolution. Now after ſhe had aduanced a part of her intentions, *Nero* being ſixteene yeares old maried *Octauia* the daughter of *Claudius*: and to ſhew that he had learned vnder *Seneca*, he pleaded many cauſes of importance vnto the Senate, with the praiſe of all men. Immediatly after, a matter happened, that compelled *Agrippina* to looke aduiſedly vnto her affaires. *Claudius* hauing drunke well at a feaſt, let theſe words eſcape him, that his deſtinie was firſt to endure all the miſchiefes of his wiues, and afterwards to puniſh them. She being afraid to be preuented, determined to make haſt, after ſhe had firſt deſtroyed *Lepida* her coſin germaine, who wanne the heart of *Nero* by her kindneſſe and liberalitie. Theſe troubles of *Agrippina* gaue *Narciſſus* the alarme, and made him ioyne with *Britannicus*. But in theſe ſtirres *Claudius* was poyſoned by a woman, an Eunuke of his, and his phyſition, practiſed of long time by *Agrippina*, who hauing diſdained *Britannicus* and his ſiſters a long time, ſuddenly the gates of the pallace were opened, and *Nero* accompanied with *Burrus* preſented himſelfe to the ſouldiers PRETORIANS, of whom being ſaluted Emperour, he was confirmed by decree of the Senate, and afterwards allowed by the Prouinces. Then *Nero* made diuerſe orations penned by *Seneca*, who beſides the contentment he had of the high dignitie of his pupill, wrote a pleaſant diſcourſe vpon the death of *Claudius*, and did intitule it, *Apocolokynthoſis*, that is to ſay, immortalitie gotten by muſhrommes: becauſe the meate was ſprinkled all ouer with muſhrommes, whereof *Claudius* was poyſoned. The which *Nero* afterwards called the meate of the gods, ſeeing that by that meanes his father in law was ſcraped out of the world, & made one of the gods after the faſhion of the ROMAINES. Alſo *Gallio Senecaes* brother gaue *Claudius* a mocke, ſaying that he was drawne vp to heauen with a hooke, ſlenting at the cuſtome in practiſe at that time: to draw the bodies of malefactors put to death in priſon, with an iron hooke into the riuer. Such was the end of *Claudius*, rewarded for his inceſt, and for the iniurie he did vnto his ſonne *Britannicus*, to aduance a ſon in law, for to pleaſe an ambitious woman, to wit, *Agrippina*. *Nero* being thus raiſed vp, his mother ſet vpon *Iulius Silanus* Proconſull in ASIA, who was poyſoned becauſe ſhe feared him, for that being the laſt ſon of *Auguſtus*, the people did greatly honor him, and ſayd he ſhould be preferred before *Nero*. On the other ſide *Narciſſus* was haſtily compelled to die, although *Nero* was very angry withall. To be ſhort, the kniues were drawne, and this woman had ſhed much bloud, if *Burrus* and *Seneca* had not beaten downe the blowes. They being *Neroes* gouernours, and agreeing well together in

this equall and common greatneſſe, they had both alike power and authority, but by diuerſe meanes. *Burrus*, he diſpoſed of all matters militarie, and was a graue man, but had ſower maners. *Seneca* with a pleaſant and comely faſhion taught this young Prince eloquence. They did carefully helpe one another, and often conferred together what meanes they ſhould vſe to make *Nero* loue vertue, whereof he ſeemed to haue great beginnings. To hold him in more eaſily, they let him haue his owne will in exerciſes and honeſt pleaſures, and left him to his diſpoſition to do as he thought good. This young man from his infancie vſed his wit, which was quicke to diuerſe things, peraduenture better for a man of ſome other qualitie, to wit: to graue, to paint, to ſing, to play on the citherne, to ride horſes, and to make verſes. That a Prince haue all theſe parts in him, and be furniſhed with others: is not a thing in it ſelfe to be blamed, ſo that the principall do alwayes go before, and that nothing be forgotten requiſite for diſcharge of his gouernement receiued of God. Otherwiſe, as he was iuſtly reproued, that of a wiſe Phiſition was become an euill Poet: and ſometime a great Lord was blamed for that he was too good a Muſitian. Alſo it was ſayd to a king, that would conteſt againſt a player on the flute: that it was not his craft. So they may aunſwer him that would deſcribe the praiſes of a Prince: He was a good player at tennis, a cunning workeman, a braue fencer, a fine dauncer, a great talker: My faire friend, thou doeſt as if one being about to ſpeake of a man and his contentment, came to tell vs that he handleth his feete and his hands finely, and that he hath fine ſhooes on, and weareth his hat gallantly: and thou forgeſt bodies without a ſoule, and men without vocation, and vocations ridiculous. *Ageſilaus* hearing one call the king of PERSIA, a great king: Why, ſayd he, is he greater then my ſelfe, vnleſſe it be that he is iuſter then I am? Nothing ſurely maketh Kings and Princes truly great but iuſtice. Other things how exact ſoeuer they are found, they ſhall oftentimes meete with more excellent in a poore crafts mans hand, hidden amongſt the refuſe of the people. The Prince therefore is not deſirous of true honour, nor a man that deſerueth praiſe, that is carefull to cloth his bodie ſumptuouſly, and that glorieth to be a painter, a grauer, a cunning workeman, a ſinger, a player at tennis, a hunter, a dauncer, and that his houſe be richly furniſhed with houſhold ſtuffe, and himſelfe daintily ſerued: and all this while he giueth no order for his ſpeech, his companie, and conuerſation, that therein he be grauer and wiſer then a baſe and common perſon, making no account to haue the pallace of his ſoule royally apparelled and ſet foorth, as appertaineth to a royall magnificence. But how can a Prince be great, what power or authoritie ſoeuer he haue, if he be giuen to vile things, vnworthy of his true greatneſſe: and worſe then that, if he ioyne vice vnto theſe ridiculous things in him? Away with this traſh, and take vertue from a great man in the world, you ſhall ſee him little in all other things. Litle in his gifts and preſents: becauſe he will not, or knoweth not how to diſpoſe them. Litle in paines, becauſe of his delicateneſſe: litle towards God, becauſe of his ſuperſtition: litle vnto the good, becauſe of his enuie: litle vnto men, becauſe of his cowardlineſſe: litle among women, becauſe he is ſubiect vnto voluptuouſneſſe. For like as euill workemen, which ſet vp litle ſtatues vpon great and large baſes, do by meaſure ſhew the ſmalneſſe of their ſtatues: euen ſo when fortune lifteth vp to high eſtate a man of a weake and little hart, where he is to be ſeene of all the world, and in the place of the robe and ſtaffe of iuſtice, he is ſeene apparelled like a crafts man, or an enterlude player: ſhe doth diſcouer, deſcrie, and diſhonour him, making it to appeare how he reeleth and ſtumbleth for his lightneſſe. Let this be ſpoken to the purpoſe of *Neroes* paſtimes: who ſhortly after left all ſuch comedies, to play terrible tragedies. And for his ſmall pleaſures, although at the firſt *Burrus* and *Seneca* were warie that this young Prince liued modeſtly inough: yet we muſt confeſſe that ſometime they gaue him libertie to entertaine women: which the eſtate of his court and of ROME did offer him at pleaſure. But that which moſt troubled them, was the boldneſſe of *Agrippina*: who being ſet on fire with all the paſſions that may be found in a wicked gouernement: had neare about her pallace an arrogant man, and that hauing forgotten with what condition he came to mount ſo high, braued all the world, and *Nero* himſelfe: who, notwithſtanding his youth, did very vnpatiently beare the inſolencie of this minion. And yet he bare it, becauſe he would not anger his mother, to whom he ſpared no reuerence, honour, and kindneſſe amongſt his Lords: alſo he called her his good mother, euen to giue this name otherwhile for a watch-word vnto the Captaine. In theſe beginnings *Nero* made many goodly and well penned orations, after the manner of *Seneca*, who had a gentle ſpirit, and meete for the eares of this time. Theſe exerciſes

faſhioned

faſhioned *Nero*, kept vnder his wild nature, and framed it to the affaires of eſtate: in ſuch ſort, that the firſt fiue yeares of his Empire, he was ſo finely handled by *Seneca*, ſeconded with *Burrus*, that the affaires of peace and warre proſpered, euery man hauing great hope of *Nero*, who ſhewed himſelfe lowly, and giuen to vertue. *Seneca* reporteth wonders in his bookes he did dedicate vnto him, where he treateth of clemencie, ſingularly of this gentleneſſe of his. For at the beginning of the ſecond booke he ſayth, that *Burrus* deſirous to hang two theeues, ſued to the Emperour ot ſet too his hand, againſt whom, and for what cauſes this execution ſhould be done. This being put off diuerſe times, *Burrus* ſollicited the diſpatch, and being angrie, preſented the paper vnto *Nero*: who with a diſcontented countenance, and doing it as againſt his will, he cried out: By my will, I would I could neither write nor reade. See to what end the inſtructions of *Seneca* ſerued: where I will tell you another ſtorie, although it chaunced a long time after the firſt, to ſhew the credite of the maiſter towards his ſcholer. *Nero* hauing made a pauilion with eight panes wonderfull ſumptuous, *Seneca* told him: Thou haſt ſhewed thy ſelfe in this pauilion that thou art poore: for if thou looſe it, thou ſhalt neuer haue the like againe. As it came to paſſe: for the ſhip wherein this pauilion was, was caſt away. And *Nero* remembring *Senecacs* words, did beare the loſſe of it more patiently. Furthermore, *Seneca* accompanied *Nero* in the aſſemblies of counſell, and oftentimes told him in the field, what he ſhould do, according to the occurrences: and in diuerſe orations he procured that *Nero* made proteſtation of his gentleneſſe before the Senate. The which turned to the praiſe of *Seneca*, in ſuch ſort notwithſtanding that the people perceiued it, and reioyced at it. So they report that the Emperor *Traian* was wont to ſay, that all the other Princes were farre from the firſt fiue yeares of the Empire of *Nero*: as *Tacitus* and others do teſtifie. In the meane time *Nero* ſhewed himſelfe very liberall vnto *Seneca*, and did eſteeme him as much, or more, then any man in Rome at that time: for he made him a preſent of great ſummes of money, vnto three thouſand Seſtertium, which ſome thinke do amount vnto ſeuen millions and 50000 crownes, of the which part of it yeelded him great profite at vſurie: the other part was beſtowed vpon ſumptuous gardens, houſes of pleaſure, lands & poſſeſſions farre off and neare Rome: and furthermore, a pallace in the city, full of all ſorts of precious moueables. For all this *Seneca* waxed nothing the prowder, but fearing fortune, and remembring his old ſtate and condition, ſought to keepe himſelfe vpright in the middeſt of the great combats which were like to come, hauing vpon his armes the vnconſtant youth of *Nero*, the which in ſight began to runne to his deſtruction: on the other ſide, the ambition of *Agrippina* to fight withall and beate downe: this woman being of ſuch a ſpirit, that ſhe could tarry in no place, but ſet her ſelfe and others on worke. But this credite of *Burrus* and of *Seneca*, and their great riches alſo, eſpecially of *Seneca*, made them to be enuied of many, that did blame and accuſe them openly. Wherunto *Seneca* oppoſed the grauity of his maners, and ſought by diuerſe writings to ſtrengthen himſelfe more and more: as ſome of his workes, ſpecially the diſcourſe of a happy life, ſeemeth to be done by him during theſe alarmes.

Now the beginning of theſe griefes of *Seneca*, came partly for that he perceiued *Neroes* mind ſo corrupted, that he began to be very diſſolute: and partly alſo for that he diſcouered that *Agrippina* and her minions would ſet vpon him and *Burrus* alſo, which with time would bring them into many daungers. And though for his owne part he was reſolute againſt all accidents: neuertheleſſe the charge and care he had of the affaires of the Empire, and the loue which he bare vnto *Nero* his ſcholer, troubled him exceedingly. Neuertheleſſe as hope entertaineth vs in all daungers, attending better: he determined to keepe himſelfe vpright as long as he could poſſible, and to expect ſome other iſſue in the affaires. *Nero* was enamoured with a bond woman called *Acté*, which his familiars did indure, alledging they muſt ſuffer one euill, for feare a worſe ſhould happen: and that ſo long as he ſhould ſatisfie himſelfe with her, he ſhould not runne after the Ladies of Rome. But *Agrippina* that could not beare with this inſolencie, began to take vp her ſonne roundly, thinking ſhe could by her magiſtralitie remedie this well inough. To the contrarie, this was to kindle the fire, and to embrace it altogether in this girle. *Nero* being waxen great, and counſelled by *Otho* and *Claudius Senecio*, who made the meſſages of Loue: he ſnuffed at theſe reprehenſions, and began to deſpiſe his mother: who on the ſudden came to change her ſubtilties. And ſhe had not bene ſo ſharpe before in rebuking, but ſhe was now as gentle in yeelding, and offered her cloſet to her ſonne for the accompliſhing of his deſires. This ſudden chaunge, made *Nero* and his minions

thinke much of it, in ſo much as they prayed him to beware of the deceipts of this woman, that practiſed in her heart ſome villany. *Nero* countermining her, preſented his mother with many rich iewels and apparell of great price. But ſhe being ſuſpicious as could be poſſible, gaue them iniurious words that brought them. Wherewith *Nero* being offended, and knowing that *Pallas* was the chiefe counſellour of *Agrippina*, tooke his offices from him which were committed to him by the Emperour *Claudius*. *Agrippina* began then to diminiſh in reputation, and to flye off the hookes: and comming to *Nero* himſelfe, threatned him to take his Empire from him, and to eſtabliſh *Britannicus*, the lawfull ſucceſſour of *Claudius*: and hereupon deteſted in expreſſe termes the wickedneſſe ſhe had committed to bring vp a ſonne that was ſo vnthankfull vnto her: adding moreouer that ſhe would go find out the armies with *Britannicus*: ſo long as they ſhould ſee on the other ſide, this baggage fellow *Burrus*, and this baniſhed pedanticall companion *Seneca* (ſo did ſhe qualifie him) barking after he gouernement of the world. Theſe threatnings were accompanied with ſuch ſtraſige countenances and imprecations, that they troubled *Nero*, beſides that *Britannicus* came now to be fourteene yeares old: and that one day playing, he could ſay aloud before *Nero* himſelfe, that they had taken his Empire from him. Shortly after *Britannicus* was poyſoned, and died ſuddenly, to the great aſtoniſhment of *Agrippina* and of *Octauia* alſo. Afterwards, *Nero* deſiſted to conuerſe ſo priuatly with his mother as he did at other times: and began to giue eare vnto them that would ſet them further at oddes: ſo that a certaine foole called *Paris*, hauing told *Nero* one night that *Agrippina* conſpired againſt him: he was reſolued to make his mother be put to death, and to take from *Burrus* the charge of Captaine of the gards. But *Seneca* kept him from that, and after ſome reaſons paſſed betweene them, *Burrus* being ſent for, to put *Nero* by his choler, he beſought him to let him haue the charge of this buſineſſe, aſſuring him that he would put *Agrippina* to death, if ſhe were conuinced of any villanie. Notwithſtanding that euerie bodie ſhould be heard ſpeake in their defence, and aboue all, a mother: adding alſo that the accuſers were not preſent, and that there was but one accuſer ſuſpected. And that he could not iuſtifie, that ſuch an important deliberation ſhould be made by night, and at the table: and that all that would ſhew his raſhneſſe and follie more then any other thing. *Nero* being ſomewhat pacified, they taried till day, that they might go to the mother, to know how theſe accuſations fell out. *Burrus* was there by expreſſe commiſſion with *Seneca*, and ſome others, to marke what ſhould be ſayd. But *Agrippina* could ſo well iuſtifie her ſelfe, that her accuſers were puniſhed: for one of them was put to death, and the reſt baniſhed. From that time forward *Nero* began to runne riot as is deſcribed by *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, and *Dion*. But the beginning of new and horrible miſeries, (the other that went before being but light in reſpect of them) was the falling in loue with *Sabina Popea*, the wife of *Otho*, who had taken her away from her firſt husband *Ruffus Criſpinus*, a knight of Rome. *Nero* did the like vnto this *Otho*, and tooke from him this minxe that knew the trickes of the occupation. She hauing gained *Nero* in a little ſpace, preuailed ſo much with him, that he determined to put his mother *Agrippina* to death. Who hearing of the ill will her ſonne did beare her, ſought by all meanes to get into his fauour againe: euen to preſent her ſelfe ſo ſhamefully vnto him, that I ſhame to be the reporter of that which the hiſtorians ſpeake of her. This notwithſtanding he perſeuered in his determination, and commanded *Anicetus* Generall of the galleys of Miſene, to ſee her drowned: the which was executed in ſome ſort, yet *Agrippina* for that time eſcaped being hurt, and got to a houſe of pleaſure of hers. *Nero* hearing theſe newes, more dead then aliue, thinking he was vndone: ſent preſently for *Burrus* and *Seneca*, to haue their aduice: and we cannot tell (ſayth *Tacitus*) whether they were of counſell and priuie to this fact, or not. Both of them therefore were a great while and ſpake not a word: being afraid they ſhould looſe time, if they ſhould go about to diſſwade *Nero* from that which he was purpoſed to redouble vpon her: and they knew well that the day was come, that *Nero* muſt needs dye, if *Agrippina* were not preuented. *Seneca*, who vntill this preſent time was euer ready to ſpeake, looked vpon *Burrus*, as to know of him if he thought good to commaund the men of warre to do this murther. *Burrus* anſwered, that the Pretorian ſouldiers were ſo affectioned to the houſe of the *Cæſars*, and did ſo much reuerence the memorie of *Germanicus*, that they would neuer enterpriſe any thing againſt the life of his children: and that *Anicetus* was to performe his promiſe.

Who

Who without any further thought, demaunded and accepted the commiſſion, which was foorthwith executed, and *Agrippina* put to death in her houſe, where ſhe thruſting out her body to the Centener, who tooke his ſword in his hand to kill her, ſhe cried out: *Ventrem feri*, deſiring that the wombe which had borne ſuch a fruit as *Nero*, ſhould be firſt ſtriken, and runne through. *Nero* defiled with this execrable murther, added thereto other infinite abhominations, ſpecially the putting away and doing his wife *Octauia* to death, a vertuous Princeſſe, and that deſerued better. Now this is inough that we haue touched theſe things by they way, becauſe they ſpecially concerne the life of *Nero*, who payed his maiſter with an euill reward, entangling him in ſuch wicked counſels. On the other ſide alſo it cannot be denied, that *Burrus* and *Seneca* yeelded too much to the cruell will of this Parricide. And as for the extremitie they feared, there were meanes inough to haue holpen it: and we muſt neuer do euill, that good may come of it. And what good could come of ſuch an execrable abhomination? For though *Agrippina* deſerued ſuch a cruell puniſhment, for ſo many wicked deeds as ſhe had done: yet ſhould not her ſonne haue had his hand in it, and his counſellers ſhould not haue conſented vnto it, nor *Anicetus* haue executed it. As all were much to be blamed for this deed, yet ſome more then other, ſo they had all their turne, as *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* do ſhew particularly.

Burrus diſlodged the firſt, and as leaſt to be blamed for ſo many diſorders, he was ſpared, in that he ſaw not the other incredible confuſions that fell out afterwards. His throate ſwelling within, by little and little, he died, his pipes being ſtopped that he could fetch no wind. Many affirmed, ſayth *Tacitus*, that by the commaundement of *Nero*, making as though they would helpe him, the pallate of his mouth was rubbed with poyſon, and that *Burrus* perceiued that wickedneſſe, & when *Nero* came to ſee him, he wold not vouchſafe to looke on him, but turned on the other ſide. And *Nero* asking him how he did, he aunſwered onely, I am well. This man was wonderfully lamented of the Romaines, becauſe of his vertue, and of the fooliſhneſſe of one of his ſucceſſours, and of the notable villanies of the other called *Tigellinus*, who was the vtter ruine of *Nero*. The death of *Burrus* much impaired the power and authority of *Seneca*: for that the meanes to do good were weake, as hauing loſt the halfe part of their life: and becauſe that *Nero* inclined vnto thoſe which held him vp in his wickedneſſe, againſt the which *Seneca* oppoſed himſelfe as time and occaſion would ſuffer him. But his enemies hauing the Princes eare, they failed not to ſet vpon this honourable perſon, becauſe of his age and the ſeruices he had done to *Nero*. They did falſly accuſe him, ſayth *Tacitus*, for that he hauing great riches, and more then was fit for a priuate man, he did ſtill increaſe them, and grew greater: and beſides did gaine and draw the good will of the peoole too much vnto him. That he had goodlier gardens and more ſumptuous houſes of pleaſure, then the Emperor himſelfe. Furthermore, that he imputed all the honour to himſelfe for knowing how to ſpeake excellently well: and that he made verſes oftener then he was wont, after that he perceiued *Nero* tooke pleaſure to make them himſelfe. That flatly condemning *Nero* his exerciſes, he mocked him, ſeeing him ride and manage horſes, and laughed at him hearing him ſing. And all this was but to make men beleeue, that nothing was well done in the affaires of the eſtate, that proceeded not from his inuention. Now that *Nero* was come out of his infancie, and in the flower of his youth, that he ſhould leaue his maiſter, conſidering that his auncеſtours ſhould ſerue him well inough for great and good tutors: *Seneca* vnderſtanding by the report of thoſe that yet ſomewhat regarded vertue and honour, how theſe lewd incenſers did accuſe him: perceiuing alſo that *Nero* withdrew himſelfe more and more from his familiaritie, which he had ſhewed in times paſt: he beſought him to heare him, the which hauing obtained, he ſayd thus vnto him: My Lord, it is now fourteene yeres ſince I was firſt called to accompany the great hope that was had of your infancy, & eight yeares ſince you haue bene Emperor: during which time you haue heaped ſo much goods and honor vpon me, that nothing wanteth to my felicity, but to know how to vſe them well. To this purpoſe I will lay before you notable examples practiſed by men of your quality, not of mine. *Auguſtus* great father of your grandfathers father, licenſed *M. Agrippa* to withdraw himſelfe vnto Myteleне, to leade a priuate life: and to *C. Mecenas* to liue at his eaſe within Rome it ſelfe, as in ſome pleaſant remote place farther off. The one of them had accompanied him in his warres, and the other hauing bene beaten and tormented with great tempeſts in Rome, had bene both, to ſpeake the truth, amply recompenced, as alſo the great ſeruice they had done well deſerued it. As for my ſelfe, I brought nothing that deſerued you ſhould be ſo noble and

Seneca's Oration vnto Nero.

liberall vnto me, but onely my ſtudies nouriſhed (if I may be ſo bold to ſpeake it) in the ſhadow, and couertly, from whence notwithſtanding all my reputation is proceeded, for as much as it ſeemeth I haue bene in your apprentiſhips: which truly is to me a great reward and rich recompence. But beſides all this, you haue infinitely fauoured me, and preſented me with innumerable goods. In ſo much that I often reaſon thus with my ſelfe: Is it poſſible, that I that am but of a ſimple houſe of Knights (alſo dwelling without ROME) ſhould hold the place of one of the chiefeſt Lords of ROME? and amongſt the moſt noble, and thoſe that are noted to be of ſo great antiquitie, that a new come man as my ſelfe, hath dared to ſhew himſelfe in place? Where is that ſpirit that contented it ſelfe with mediocritie? what meaneth he to haue ſo fine and goodly gardens? What? he walketh by ſuch and ſuch houſes of pleaſure, neare vnto the citie. His lands and poſſeſſions are of ſo great an extent, and his money bringeth him in ſuch a commoditie many wayes, that he is full to the throate. For the which there is nothing to be offered, but a defence for my ſelfe: that I could not refuſe your preſents. Now we haue, both the one and the other, performed our duty: you, in giuing ſo much as a Prince could giue to him that he loueth: and I, in receiuing that which a man in great fauour might haue and take of his Prince. As for my honours and eſtates, Enuie looketh awry vpon me: howbeit (as all other things of the world) ſhe is vnder the feete of your greatneſſe. Yet in the meane time ſhe lighteth vpon me, and therefore I haue need of helpe. And as in warre, or otherwiſe in trauelling abroad, if I were wearie I would require reſt: ſo finding my ſelfe in the trauell of this life now old and very vnmeet for the leaſt office, ſince I can no longer ſupport the burthen of my riches, I do deſire to be diſcharged. Commaund therefore that your receiuers henceforth do take them and put them into your treaſure. I ſhall not therefore become poore, but when I ſhall be rid of thoſe things which blindfold me with their brightneſſe, I ſhall beſtow my time in ſtudie, which I was wont to imploy in my gardens and poſſeſſions. You are young and luſtie, and time hath eſtabliſhed you in the greatneſſe of your eſtate: but we that are your ancient ſeruants haue leaue as it were to repoſe our ſelues. It ſhall be alſo a great honour for you to haue raiſed thoſe to great offices, to whom meane things had ſufficed. Vnto this *Nero* made aunſwer, in manner as followeth: For that on the ſudden I do aunſwer your premeditate Oration, it is becauſe I haue learned it of you, that haue taught me how I ſhould deale, not onely in things ſeene farre off, but alſo in thoſe which are preſented vpon the ſudden vnto me. *Auguſtus* my grandfather ſuffered *Agrippa* and *Mecenas* to repoſe themſelues after their trauels: but it was in ſuch an age, that his authoritie might maintaine that, and any thing elſe by him graunted: and yet he did not take from the one nor the other any goods that he had giuen vnto them. They got it in the warres, and with daunger of their liues: for *Auguſtus* ſpent his youth in warres. I do aſſure my ſelfe that your armes nor hands would haue failed me, if I had gone to the warres: but as the eſtate of my affaires did beare, you haue by reaſon, by counſell, and by inſtructions raiſed vp my infancie and youth. So will I remember all the dayes of my life the good ſeruice I haue receiued at your hands. That which you hold of me, your gardens, money in banke, houſes in the countrey abroad: all that is ſubiect vnto diuerſe accidents. And though all together ſeeme much, yet is it ſo, that many farre ſhort of your deſerts haue poſſeſſed more. I am aſhamed to name bondmen made free, whom men ſee richer then you: and the cauſe that maketh me aſhamed is, that you whom I ſhould cheriſh aboue all others, do not paſſe them in riches and humane greatneſſe. Furthermore, you are yet in good age, to gouerne your lands and reuenewes, and we do but now enter into managing the affaires of the Empire: but it may be that you eſteeme your ſelfe leſſe then *Vitellius*, three times Conſull: and commend *Claudius* aboue me, as if I could not by my liberalitie giue you as much goods as *Voluſius* by long ſparing hath gotten. Moreouer, if our ſlippery and vnconſtant youth ſway on one ſide more then it ought, you reforme it, guiding by your aide and vigilancie that ſmall direction we haue. If you bring your money into my coffers, If you forſake the Prince, they will not ſay it is becauſe you are content with litle, and ſeeke your eaſe: but their talke ſhall be none other, but of my couetouſneſſe, and my cruelty. And although they ſhould much praiſe your moderation in this action, yet it becommeth not an old man to ſeeke honor by doing any thing that ſhould diſhonor his friend. *Nero* added to this fine ſpeech, many embracements and kiſſes, being made by nature, and brought by cuſtome to couer his malice with falſe and counterfeit kindneſſe. *Seneca* (as it is the concluſion of a ſpeech holden with him that commaundeth) thanked him:

Neroes anſwer to Senecaes oration.

him: yet he immediatly changed his accuſtomed manner he was wont to vſe during his former greatneſſe: gaue them leaue to depart that came euery morning in troupes to ſalute him: turned away from others that offered to follow and accompany him: very ſeldome times he went into the city, and ſtirred not out of his houſe, as if he had bene ſicke, or troubled after his ſtudie of Philoſophie. This was the talke betwixt *Nero* and *Seneca*, who hauing leiſure to bethinke himſelfe better of the anſwer of *Nero*, knew very well that his fortune was changed, and that the diſciple was become the maſter: yea and that ſo much more dangerous, for that his cruell courage was wrapped vp in ſo gracious words and countenances, the which a man was conſtrained to truſt, or at the leaſt to make ſhew of it.

Nero being as it were ouercome by *Seneca*, was as cruell and more then before, counſelled by *Tigellinus* and *Popea*. Firſt of all then he began to cut off the heads of *Plautus* and *Sylla*, honourable men baniſhed before into Asia & to Marseilles. He refuſed, confined, and finally put to death his wife, the Princeſſe *Octauia*, vſing an infamous and ſtraunge manner in his proceedings againſt her. He maried the adultereſſe *Popea*, who brought him a daughter that died ſoone after. He counterfeited the player, alwayes intermixing ſome new cruelty with his paſtimes. Afterwards he being preſent at a banket made by *Tigellinus*, in the which were commited all ſorts of villanies, and he himſelfe being defiled with naturall and vnnaturall whoredomes and abhominations, within few dayes after (a matter incredible, if ſo many graue hiſtorians, amongſt others *Tacitus* did not aſſure vs of it) he maried one *Pythagoras* as his husband, which was of the company of theſe villans, and was ſolemnly maried according to the cuſtome of other mariages. The yellow veile of the maried couple couered *Neroes* head. Soothſayers were ſent for, the ioynter was aſſigned, the bed of the ſpouſe prepared, the wedding torches were lighted: and to be ſhort, they ſaw that openly which the night hideth, when the queſtion of mariage is in hand with a woman. Thirdly, he ſet fire on a great number of houſes in Rome, ſo as the moſt part were burnt. And to cleare himſelfe of this wickedneſſe, he falſly laydit vpon the Chriſtians, (being a great number at that time in Rome) that they were the authors of this diſorder: in ſo much that they were ſet vpon with a ſtrange crueltie. And yet as they put them to death, they did a thouſand mockeries vnto them, putting beaſts skins vpon them to be torne in peeces with dogges, or elſe they were hanged vpon the croſſe, or burnt with a litle fire: their wood-houſes, or ſtackes of wood ſerued to giue light in the night. Now though the people of Rome were bloudily bent againſt theſe innocents, yet there were many that had pity of them, ſeeing honeſt men tormented, to ſatisfie the cruell inſolency of *Nero*: who apparelled like a coach-man, and driuing the horſe himſelfe in the middeſt of theſe confuſions, made the people paſtime. Beſides all this, he forraged and ranſacked all Italie with impoſitions and exceſſiue lones, ruining the townes, and not ſparing alſo the temples of Rome, of Asia, nor of Greece. It was giuen out abroad, ſaith *Tacitus*, that *Seneca* (whom *Nero* went oftentimes to viſite, to keepe him in breath, and gently to lull him aſleepe) to auoide the ſuſpition that he had bene of counſell with this ſacriledge: had asked leaue to go to ſome houſe of his farre into the countrey. Which being denied him, he kept his chamber, faining to be ſicke of the goute. Some haue written that a bondman of his enfranchiſed called *Cleonicus*, did prepare to poyſon him by the commandement of *Nero*: the which he auoided vpon warning giuen him by him, or for that he feared ſuch a thing, liuing meanely, eating ſuch fruits as were brought him out of the country, and being contented to drinke cleare running water if he were athirſt. Such deteſtable wickedneſſe of *Nero* hauing of long time offended many honorable perſons, which could no longer endure ſuch a maiſter: they reſolued to ſet themſelues at liberty, and conſpired to kill him one day when they ſaw oportunitie. The day being come, one called *Millicus*, an enfranchiſed bondman of one of the principall conſpirators, went to diſcouer to *Nero* what they had complotted againſt him. This gaue a ſtraunge alarme to the Emperour, who cauſed them to lay hands of one and other, amongſt which number there was *Lucan* the nephew of *Seneca*, that was a party in this conſpiracie, for anger againſt *Nero*: who was the cauſe that his verſes were not had in that eſtimation they deſerued, and commaunded him not to publiſh them, thinking (but in vaine) that he could make as good. From that time forth they could ſee nothing in Rome but impriſoning of men of qualitie, and preparation for execution which followed.

Seneca, that ſtirred not out of the countrey, was not forgotten of *Popea*, nor of *Tigellinus*, which were the ſecret counſellors of *Nero* in his cruelties. And *Nero* alſo failed not to take hold

of this occaſion to make away his ſchoole-maiſter, whoſe ſhadow did torment him. It was not for that *Seneca* was partaker of the counſell with the conſpirators, but *Nero* was glad to find the meane to diſpatch him with a ſword, ſince he could not do it by poyſon. For one of the conſpirators called *Natalis* (whom *Nero* had pardoned) ſayd nothing elſe of him, but that he was ſent to viſite *Seneca* being ſicke, and to complaine becauſe he thought not good that *Piſo* (being the head of this enterpriſe, and ſhould be created Emperour after the murther of *Nero*) ſhould come to ſee him, and that he would confirme their friendſhip, frequenting familiarly together: but that *Seneca* had anſwered, that their talke and meeting would neither be profitable for the one, nor for the other: and moreouer, that his life depended vpon that of *Piſo*. *Grauius Siluanus* Captaine of a band of gards, was commaunded to go to *Seneca*, to know if he would take any knowledge to haue ſpoken the words confeſſed by *Natalis*, and the anſwer that he made at that time. By chance, or wittingly, *Seneca* was come home that very day, and remained in a houſe of his two ſmall miles from Rome. The Captaine came thither about night, and placed his ſouldiers round about the houſe: and afterwards came in, and found *Seneca* at ſupper with his wife *Pompeia Paulina*, and two of his friends. So hauing deliuered his meſſage vnto him, *Seneca* anſwered ſtraight being nothing moued, that *Natalis* was indeed ſent vnto him to complaine in the name of *Piſo*, for that *Seneca* would not ſuffer him to come and ſee him: and that for himſelfe, he did excuſe himſelfe as well by reaſon of his ſickneſſe, as for the deſire he had to take his eaſe. And for thoſe words: that his life depended vpon that of *Piſo*, he ſayd he had no occaſion to preferre the preſeruation of another priuate mans life, before his owne. And that furthermore, he gaue not his mind to flatteries, whereof he would haue no better teſtimonie then *Nero* himſelf, who had oftner knowne that *Seneca* was a free man, then a ſlaue or a bondman. *Siluanus* returned vnto *Nero*, and made report in the preſence of *Popea* and *Tigellinus*, who were very deſirous to heare his aunſwer: which being heard, *Nero* asked him, if *Seneca* made any ſhew to be willing to dye. The Captaine aſſured him that he perceiued no ſigne of feare nor of ſorow, in the words, nor countenance of *Seneca*. Thereupon *Nero* commaunded this Captaine to returne to *Seneca* againe, and to commaund him to dye. Some thinke that this executioner returned not againe that way he was come, but went another way, to find out *Fenius* Captaine of the gards, whom after he had acquainted with *Neroes* commaundement, he asked him if he would execute this commiſſion. *Fenius*, that was of the number of the conſpirators, neuertheleſſe aduiſed him to obey the Emperours commandement, by a fatall cowardlineſſe of as many as were of them. For *Siluanus* that had this commiſſion to go to *Seneca*, was alſo one of the conſpiracie, and yet his hand was readie to increaſe the wickedneſſe of *Nero*, of the which before he was deſirous and procured to ſee the puniſhment. To hide his offence in ſome ſort, he would not, or durſt not returne into the preſence of *Seneca*, nor ſpeake to him: but made one of his Centeners go into the houſe to declare the Emperours commandement, which was, that *Seneca* muſt dye. At that time it was halfe a fauour vnto thoſe that were condemned to looſe their liues, to ſuffer them to be put to death, either by themſelues, or by any of their acquaintance: which was done in diuerſe ſorts. Some pricked their veines and let themſelues bloud, and then went into a hot-houſe where they ended. Others ſwallowed downe poyſon: others ſtabbed themſelues in with their daggers, or their ſwords. It is iudged this was done, that they ſhould not fall into the hands of the hangmen: for when it happened ſo, the bodies of the condemned were not buried, and their goods were forfeited: whereas if they put themſelues to death (of the which the moſt part following the doctrine of the Stoickes were nothing afraid) their bodies ſhould be buried, and their wils and teſtaments good. Sometimes this choice did cut off the griefes of a more ignominious and cruell puniſhment.

Pompeia Paulina the vviſe of Seneca.

Now to returne to *Seneca*. Hauing heard the meſſage of the Centener, without changing countenance, and wholly reſolued: he called for his booke of tables, in the which was written his will: which being denied him by the Centener, turning to his friends, he proteſted, that ſince he was let to acknowledge their merites, that he would leaue one onely thing (and notwithſtanding the beſt) yet his, to wit, the image of the example of his life, the which if they remembred, they would carie a commendable reputation of honeſt & vertuous men, for a worthy reward of ſo conſtant a friendſhip. And ſeeing them weepe, he ſought to appeaſe them, or to ſtay their teares, now with ſweete words, by and by with vehemency, as if he would haue reproued them. To conlude, he did encourage them to remaine firme and conſtant, asking them where

was

was the reſolution they had learned ſo many yeares in the ſchooles and ſtudies of Philoſophie, againſt all the chances of the world. He added further, that euery one knew well what *Nero* was, what cruelties he had committed: and after that he had ſo wickedly behaued himſelfe to his father in law, to his mother, to his brother, and to his wife: there was nothing left behind for the accompliſhment of his cruelties, but to adde too the murther of his ſchoolemaiſter. After he had diſcourſed ſuch or the like words before them all, and as in generall, he embraced his wife, and hauing a litle emboldened her againſt this blow, he inſtantly prayed her to moderate her griefe, and exhorted her alſo to remember how vertuouſly he had paſſed his life, and gently to beare (and with a heart worthy her ſelfe) the ſorow of the death of her huſband. She for her part aſſured him that ſhe was reſolued to die, and bad one of them giue her the blow. Then *Seneca*, not to depriue himſelf of that honor, and being touched with the loue he did beare her, was contented not to leaue to the mercie of the diſſolution that then raigned, her whom he had moſt dearely loued. I did ſet before you (ſaid he) the ſweetnes of life: but ſince your ſelfe hath choſen rather an honorable death, for my part, I ſhall not be ſorie if you ſhew me the way. Let the conſtancie therfore of ſo coragious a death as ours, be alike to vs both: although the end of your life ſhal be more famous. Immediatly thereupon, they cauſed the veines of their armes to be opened: but becauſe that *Seneca* had an old bodie, and thin by eating litle, there would no bloud come out but drop by drop: he made the veines of his legs and hams to be cut. Then wearie of ſuch a cruell butcherie, being affraid that his paines would make his wiues heart faile her, or that he himſelfe ſhould grow impatient for ſo many torments as he endured: he perſwaded her to withdraw her ſelfe into another chamber: and for himſelfe, hauing to his laſt gaſpe his words at commandement, he cauſed his Secretaries that were wont to write vnder him, to come vnto him, and told them there many notable things in fine termes, the which were publiſhed after his death: but time hath taken them from vs for want of ſtorie-writers: although ſome thinke that that might be kept as well as other writings of *Seneca*. Others carying ſome enuie to the vertue of this man, haue kept it backe, being loth that the poſteritie ſhould enioy a table, where the viſage of *Seneca* might be better knowne, then in other places of his works. *Nero*, that had men comming and going euery minute of an houre from *Senecaes* houſe to Rome, vnderſtanding how euery thing paſſed, and bearing no particular hatred to *Paulina*, fearing alſo he ſhould increaſe the blame of his crueltie: he commaunded they ſhould keepe *Paulina* from dying. Wherefore his ſlaues and freed bondmen, warned by the ſouldiers themſelues, bound vp her armes, and ſtaunched the bloud, not knowing whether ſhe felt any thing or not. For as there are alwaies among the people that take things at the worſt, there wanted not men which thought that ſo long as *Paulina* ſtood in feare of *Neroes* anger, ſhe deſired to haue the report that ſhe was a companion of the death of her huſband. But afterwards whē there was a better hope offered her, ſhe was contented to be won with the flatteries of life, vnto the which ſhe added ſome few years with cōmendable memory, and ſorow for her husband: being otherwiſe ſo pale of countenance, that ſhe ſhewed to haue loſt a great deale of bloud and her ſtrength. On the other ſide *Seneca* ſeeing his death prolonged, he prayed *Statius Annæus* (whom he eſteemed much for his faithfull friendſhip he had borne him a long time, and for his skill in Phiſick) to bring him of the like poiſon to that which they keepe by publike ordinance in Athens to put offenders to death, whereof he had of long time made prouiſion. So when it was brought him, he ſwallowed it downe without regard, his members bieng cold, and his bodie conſtant againſt the force of the poiſon. In the end, he entred into a bathing tub of hote water, with the which ſprinkling his ſlaues that were about him, he added to it, that he offered this liquor vnto *Iupiter* the deliuerer. After that being caried into a ſtoue, and hauing through the heat thereof yeelded vp the ghoſt, his bodie was burned without any ſolemnitie of obſequies. He had ſo appointed it by his will made at that time when he was very rich, and of great credit. It was reported that *Subrius Flauius*, one of the chiefeſt conſpirators, had ſecretly determined with the Centeners (yet not without the priuity of *Seneca*) that after they had killed *Nero* by the meanes of *Piſo*, they ſhould alſo diſpatch *Piſo* himſelfe, to the end to make *Seneca* Emperour, as an honeſt man, onely elect and choſen to that greatneſſe for the fame of his vertues. Such was the end of *Seneca*, that had liued in honourable and publike charges, of Prætor, Quæſtor and Conſul vnder two Emperours, and was long in credit with the laſt: who ſeeing himſelfe couertly deſpiſed of his maiſter, that could no longer endure ſuch wickedneſſe: ſought the occaſion before mentioned, but with extreame iniuſtice, to rid him out of the way. Further-

more, *Dion* thinketh that *Senecaes* two brethren were likewiſe put to death. But becauſe he is contented to touch it but in a line, and that that which *Tacitus* ſaith is to be marked, ſet downe in particular, and with moſt likely circumſtances: we will ſpeake one word more. Shortly after the death of *Seneca*, he commanded they ſhould put *Annæus Lucanus* to death, the ſon of *Mela*: who feeling his feet and his hands cold whileſt the bloud ran downe, and that by litle and litle his ſpirit parted from the extremities of his body, his heart being yet liuely and his vnderſtanding good, calling certain verſes of Poetrie to mind, in the which here preſented a ſoldier hurt: dying of the ſame death, he recited the ſame verſes, which were the laſt words he ſpake. *Altitia*, *Lucans* mother was left aliue, neither being pardoned nor puniſhed. For *Iunius Gallio*, who was a Senator, he was ſo aſtonied at the death of his brother, that before all the Senat he fell down at *Neroes* feet, beſeeching him to giue him his life. Whereupon another Senator called *Alienus Clemens*, ſet vpon him with iniurious words, calling him traitor and parricide. But the other Senatours with one conſent made *Clement* hold his peace, telling him that he ſhould not ſeeke common aduerſities for to reuenge his priuate quarrell, or to draw on the Prince to a new crueltie, who had now by his clemencie quieted and forgotten all. Within a few moneths after *Annæus Mela* was diſpatched: he was a knight of Rome, but of the dignitie of a Senatour. And although *Seneca* and *Gallio* his brethren were aduanced to greater honor, yet he would neuer purchaſe it by extremitie of ambition: but being come out of Spaine to Rome, more for the loue of his brethren and of his ſonne then for himſelfe, he was contented to haue this honour, that a knight was euer equal in power and credit with a Conſul. The name of his ſon *Lucanus* greatly eſteemed of euery bodie, and ſpecially of learned men: had gotten him great reputation. Immediatly after his ſons death, he ſeeking ſomwhat too eagerly after his ſons goods, he raiſed againſt him an accuſer called *Fabius Romanus*, one of *Lucanus* chiefeſt friends. This man ſhewed counterfeit letters as done by *Lucanus*, which charged *Mela* that he was partaker with his ſonne of the complot againſt *Nero*. Though this accuſation was vtterly falſe and fained, yet *Nero* that thirſted after the riches of *Mela*, commaunded thoſe letters ſhould be caried to *Mela*: that was as much to ſay, he muſt die. The which *Mela* knowing well enough, made his veines to be opened, and followed the way of others. *Seneca* in his writings yeeldeth great teſtimonie of the conſtancie and vertue of his brethren: and I thinke he was a man that was not giuen to ſpeake lightly. Notwithſtanding, I haue ſimply recited that which *Tacitus* ſaith, who ſufficiently ſheweth in the example of diuers others, that it is not to be maruelled at if the cruelties of *Nero*, who leaſt ſpared the great then the ſmall: made the boldeſt hearts of them all quake ſometimes.

The death of Annæus Mela.

Now there remaineth to tell you ſomething of the Philoſophie and writings of *Seneca*: for it is in thoſe tables that we muſt looke to ſee him liuely, and ſpeaking with that ſelfe vehemencie of ſpirit that followed him euen to the laſt gaſpe of his life. It is true that the inſolencies of *Nero* had oftentimes as it were ſtopped his mouth, and hindered that good ſoule to giue free paſſage to his diſcourſes, yea and in ſome places they made him ſtumble. Yet he called himſelfe backe againe to his firſt thoughts, and remained conſtant in the midſt of the cruell raging ſtormes of his time. Now as it is eaſie for men that be on the land, where they do idly behold ſome maſter Pylot ſtriuing with the force and furie of the wind and billowes, to ſay: That man there ſhould guide his ſhip after another faſhion: who if they were in his place, ſhould without all compariſon find themſelues more troubled, or at the leaſt would make a ſorowfull wracke. Euen ſo it happeneth, that *Senecaes* Philoſophie is deſpiſed of many, that think he could ſpeake Philoſophy but by his booke, and that when he ſhould come to ſhew it indeed, men would ſay he doth like the maiſters of fence, who being in a ſchoole of fence with young youths, they do wonders, and giue mortall vennies at pleaſure: but if they come to any priuate fight at the ſharpe, where it ſtandeth them vpon for their liues: aſſoone as they ſee the gliſtering of the naked ſword, you may perceiue all their flouriſhes and trickes are gone, or changed into a flat running away. I will ſay at one word, that I thinke *Seneca* as much and more a Philoſopher in deed then in name. His life and his death can ſay it, and in the laſt Chapter hereafter we muſt ſpeake more at large. For this preſent let vs a litle conſider his tongue. Life is a ſweet thing, and all deſire to liue, yea the beaſts themſelues ſeeme to haue a ſingular contentment, for that they haue a being and life. If life be a pleaſant thing, yet is it much more pleaſing and acceptable when it is well gouerned, and tendeth to a good end. So then a quiet and contented life is much better, ſweeter, and more excellent, then a life full of troubles and paſſions. This quietneſſe is none other but felicitie and good fortune.

fortune. Furthermore all men do not aſpire to this end, but onely wiſe men, and the true friends of wiſdome. For the moſt part of men whom the earth ſuſtaineth, do run a ſtrange courſe when they ſhould ſet a foot forward to betake them to ſome courſe of life: and all in maner erre, when they ſhould iudge what happie life is. Thoſe that delight in money and to gaine, ſeeke felicitie in riches. The idle and ſlouthfull thinke, that to make great cheare, to liue (as they ſay) in the ſhadow of tables, of pots, of curtaines, and at the eaſe of their bodies, is the onely ſoueragine good. There are another ſort of men greedie of worldly honour, which eſtabliſh an vnſpeakable happineſſe to commaund many, (in what manner, or how deare ſoeuer it be) taking themſelues to be halfe gods, if they may ſee many men, or two or three go vnder their feet. But wiſe men eſtabliſh ſoueraigne good in vertue. And if they be asked, What is a happy life? they anſwer, That it conſiſteth in liuing vertuouſly, and ſeruing God. This was the Philoſophie of *Seneca* in generall. But becauſe there are certaine clouds of opinions which darken humane felicitie, it is good we looke to examine them briefly. Nature hath diſperſed in vs ſome ſeeds of vertue, and hath giuen vs ſome graines of knowledge and wiſedome, which are borne with vs and take roote (if we may ſay ſo) in our hearts. This notwithſtanding, we muſt manure it, and vertue hath his precepts which openeth the way to attaine to the ſoueraigne good, whereunto the Philoſophie of the Stoickes doth ſummon vs. Foure things are enemies to that good, yea they obſcure it, they corrupt and aboliſh it in an euill diſpoſed heart. The firſt cauſe is death, that is to ſay, the feare and imagination to loſe this earthly and corruptible life. For where there is feare, it cannot be ſaid there is contentment and felicitie, but miſerie: it is not a pleaſant life, but a ſorowfull life, and a torment of the mind. The ſecond, is the bodily griefe, lingering diſeaſes, cruell and ſharpe in a thouſand kinds, the torments and tortures: and briefly a thouſand euils which hurt the contentment of the ſoule. For no man will ſay, that to be troubled in his mind with a burning feauer, to crie out night and day becauſe of the gowte, or for paine of his teeth and the reines, or to be brought to any extraordinarie torment, and to be diſmembred by the hangman: is a thing where there is no apprehenſion that moueth the ſpirit. Beſides all this, there are the griefes of the ſoule: mourning, loſſe of children, of kinsfolks and deare friends: for that afflicteth and eateth our thoughts without ceaſſing, and giueth tragicall Poets ample arguments to write vpon. If the griefe of the bodie affecteth the reſt and contentment of the mind: much more doth the inward griefe and anguiſh. And finally there are paſſions, as ioy and pleaſure, which hinder and aboliſh the feeling of a happie life. Thoſe that are poſſeſſed with an extraordinarie ioy, oftentimes both do and ſay many fond things and ieſtures, in wordes and workes. As if a man be told that land is fallen to him, or that he is raiſed to wiſhed dignitie not looked for: ye ſhall ſee him play the foole and wanton like a child. There are ſome whoſe maners honor chaungeth in ſuch ſort, that from the day till the next morning you ſhall not know them by their face, by their countenances, by their words, nor by their apparell: they will ſtraight diſdaine them that they called before ſeruants or louing friends. Now this vaine pride and fooliſhneſſe are in manner one ſelfe thing: and it may be ſaid that all ambitious men are altogether beſotted, or doubtleſſe they will be ſo. If thou wilt make me ſee a proud man, one that preſumeth to know much, and that looketh vpon his feathers, as they ſay, I will preſently ſhew thee a foole furniſhed at all peeces. There is no ſurer ſigne of fooliſhneſſe then pride: and who will ſay then that the life of ſuch a one is happie? And as for pleaſures, we ſee how a man is caried away, who then is no more himſelfe: but to the contrarie, thinketh that the deſtruction of bodie and ſoule is his ſoueraigne good. Now amongſt all the Philoſophers which haue tried to remedie theſe troubles of the mind, and to maintaine a man in this contentment which they call ſoueraigne: it may be ſaid the Stoickes were the chiefe, and among the Stoicks *Seneca*. I will not here enter into examination of the doctrine of this ſect, nor declare that which *Zeno* and *Chryſippus* haue written, as may be gathered of *Laertius* and of *Plutarch*: but ſimply to ſtay my ſelfe vpon my principall purpoſe, which is is of *Seneca*. And in this place to follow that which many learned men haue gathered of his workes, to ſhew what was his Philoſophie: vnto the which we will adde ſome Summarie of reaſons with the which he helpeth himſelfe, to fight with thoſe paſſions, and to make the ſoule at peace, aſmuch as he himſelfe could apprehend it. This is out of all queſtion, that *Seneca* was one of the firſt and principall Philoſophers of the Stoickes among the Latines, as he himſelfe doth boaſt in his owne writings. Furthermore, he exalteth this ſect aboue all others, and ſaith, That the Stoickes do make profeſſion of a Philoſophy wor-

Pride ſheweth fooliſhneſſe.

thie of men: foraſmuch as there is difference betwixt them and others, as betwixt males and females. That the other kinds of Philoſophies are made, to heare and to obey: but that the Stoicke is borne to teach and commaund. He being deſirous to preſent ſome perfect Idea of a wiſe man, bringeth foorth *Cato*: and in the Treatie where he will ſhew that the wiſe man cannot be offended nor outraged, he lifteth vp this man out of the rancke of all other men, and ſpecially commẽdeth him in his death. If he ſpeake of the Stoickes, he calleth them his, and doth make open profeſſion of their inſtructions. Now in many places he diſtinguiſheth Philoſophie into three parts, which he calleth Rationall, Morrall, and Naturall. But after the faſhion of the Stoicks, he reſted more vpon the morall, albeit that all his diſcourſes ſhew that he had a maruellous veine in the rationall. And the bookes of naturall queſtions ſhew that he had a deepe inſight in the ſecrets of nature. So then his principal end was to frame good maners, and to bring men to the knowledge of the contentment of the mind, to deſire and apprehend it. They ſaw him oftentimes exhort *Lucilius* to the ſtudie of morall Philoſophy, as in the end of his 89. Epiſtle: So ſet down theſe things, ſaith he, to others, that thou thy ſelfe maiſt take pleaſure to comprehend them. Write, to reade afterwards thy writing, referring all things to the reformation of life, and to the meanes of appeaſing the furie of paſſions. Study, not to be wiſer then others, but to be better. On the other ſide, he turned the ſame *Lucilius* from the ſtudy of Logicke, and from his ſubtill diſputations, in the which they pleaſe themſelues that do but linger after ſillables and words. Leaue (ſaid he to him in the 71. Epiſtle) this occupation and ſifting of letters, to thoſe maiſters that ſhut vp a thing ſo magnificent as Philoſophy is in ſyllables: and do imbaſe, yea bring to nothing, and vtterly deſtroy the mind, in teaching things that are not worth the labour and ſtudy. I am content that thou reſemble wiſe men that haue inuented letters, but not thoſe that teach them. In ſome other places he laugheth at the ſubtilties of theſe ſchoole diſputers, namely, where he ſetteth down one of their faſhions of ſpeech, to wit, in the 48. which is the 49. in the editions not well corrected, vpon theſe words: Mus (that is to ſay a mouſe) is a ſyllable: a mouſe eateth cheeſe, therefore it followeth that a ſyllable eateth cheeſe. But it is not only that he ſetteth vpon Logicke, or rationall Philoſophie, but alſo on the ſciences commonly called the liberal ſciences, and eſpecially when there is queſtion of the Philoſophie of manners. Witneſſe that which he writeth in the foureſcore and eighth Epiſtle worthy to be diligently read of all, but ſpecially of them whom ſuch ſciences do puffe vp, & who for the reſt do litle care to rule their life within the compaſſe of vertue. In ſum, he declareth in a great number of places, that Philoſophie conſiſteth not in the knowledge of theſe things, but that the end thereof is, to giue counſell againſt all the accidents of this life: and that men were wont to repaire vnto Philoſophers, who do ſhew them in the midſt of darkneſſe (wherwith humane ſociety is ſnared) the way they muſt follow not to erre, ſhewing what things are neceſſarie and vnprofitable: how eaſie the lawes of nature are: how ioyfully we liue & at our eaſe, following of the ſame. And to the contrary, that there can be nothing but miſery in the condition of thoſe, which ſuffer themſelues to wander rather by opinion, then by nature and reaſon. I thinke therefore that all the Philoſophie of *Seneca* looketh vnto that, to eſtabliſh the mind all that may be: to attaine to the which it ſpeaketh of the ſoueraigne good, to the end to draw vs to aſpire vnto it. And becauſe the accidents of this life, namely the cauſes before mentioned, do obſcure this happines: he ſtriueth with infinit diſcourſes and reaſons againſt them. Now it were to make a great volume, if all were put together that he ſpeaketh, & it were better to leaue it to their liberty that ſhall reade the works of this Philoſopher, of the which I will note here ſome heads or rules, on the which he reaſoneth very amply to remedie the grieſes before named. The intention therfore of *Seneca* aboue all in matters moſt important, is to beat downe firſt all corporall and ſpirituall paſſions: to wit, opinion and apprehenſion. He diſcouereth the vanitie, ſheweth the wrong which men of vnderſtanding do, and the errour of their iudgement: who ſee things as in the water, and with a corrupt eye. Which done, he goeth further, and ſeeketh to ſhew, that when that which is called euill is arriued, the wiſe man feeleth it not: as alſo it is as litle trouble to him when one thinketh to touch him, as it is then when one threatened him a far off. For proofe of this, he ſheweth that they cannot hurt a wiſe man any maner of way: and that no man is iniuried or hurt but by himſelf. That the wiſe man bending al his thoughts vnto vertue, cannot be offended, but rather ouercometh all humane accidents, as well for reſpect of himſelfe, as for all others. Hereupon he cometh to this point, to maintaine, that that which they call euill, is good to the wiſe man: who like a good husband maketh his profite of all in ſuch ſort, that there is nothing

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in the world but ſerueth his turne, and whereof he is not maiſter with a ſingular contentment. Of theſe rules and Maximes, there riſe many Paradoxes diſperſed in his bookes, the which if a man conſider apart, are very ſtrange and ridiculous withall: but being brought to their originals, they may receiue ſome expoſition. Furthermore, to frame a perfect wiſe man, he will haue nothing pleaſant vnto him but vertue, which conſiſteth in contemning all that the world admireth: and a loue of beautifull things which giue contentment to the ſoule. That all that which is earthly and corruptible, ſhould be eſteemed as much as nothing: that the wiſe man infolding himſelfe in his vertue, ſeeth all the greatneſſe of this world very low vnder him, and as it were troden vnder the feet of his heart. And that in the midſt of all dangers, yea euen in the moſt fierceſt death of all, and when heauen ſhould fall vpon him: he remaineth merie and pleaſed with the felicitie which his vertue bringeth vnto him. Afterwards he reaſoneth particularly againſt the apprehenſions of death: and ſheweth that it is as ineuitable, as it is alſo good and neceſſarie. That the greateſt contentment of a wiſe man is, that he can breake in ſunder the iron chaine that holdeth him, as often and when he thinketh good: and vpon this occaſion treateth in ſome places of the immortalitie of the ſoule, as in the end of the ſeuen and fiftith Epiſtle, in the threeſcore and fift, threeſcore and ſixteenth, and the hundred and ſeuenteenth, in his comfortable diſcourſe vnto *Martia*, and elſewhere. Touching theſe corporall paines, he ſheweth that they cannot turn a man out of the pathway of vertue, nor from the profeſſion of conſtancie and truth, nor from the reſolution to maintaine a iuſt cauſe. That there is no paine nor griefe ſo ſharpe, that can let a wiſe man to thinke of his duty, and to acquit himſelfe ſo far as his hands may reach. That theſe corporall griefes cannot eclipſe the leaſt of the beames of vertue, and the hope of the immortality of our ſoules, for the which we exchange in the day that our paines come as it were to haue greateſt ſtrength, all the diſcommodities we apprehend in this tranſitory life. Furthermore, that the troubles which the eſtate of this world doth ſpreade as a vaile before our minds, cannot blindfold them to ſee the perfect beautie of vertue, and to heare the excellent comforts which ſhe propoſeth. Alſo that the wiſe man is ſufficiently defended not to be ouercome by paſſions, which haue no power on him that is in the ordinarie ſafegard and protection of vertue, in poſſeſſion wherof he is already ſo entred, that he ſtill goeth forward euery day more then other, ſhortly to enioy her with perfection. To conclude, that there is no hinderance at all for him whom vertue pleaſeth, and whom ſhe bringeth to immortalitie. And this is a litle touch (me thinketh) which may be particularly noted in *Seneca*: in the beautie whereof, as in faces better formed, there are ſome ſpots diſcouered as in other Philoſophers, namely the Stoicks. Aboue all, in his portraiture of this wiſe man, he imagineth in this life a thing that is not to be found in a corrupt man giuen ouer to ſenſualitie, which is, vertue and perfection. But let vs refer that to the ignorance of true religion, and conſider this Philoſopher in the limits of his ſect. For other Paradoxes, as of the world, of the ſpirit, of paſſions and affections of vertue, and ſome others borrowed of the ſchoole of his maiſters, that *Plutarch* hath examined in his booke Of common conceptions, and in that which he entituleth, The contradiction of the Stoickes: that which is euill doth condemne it ſelfe, or excuſeth it ſelfe vnder the queſtions and diſputations, which permit a man to ſay ſomewhat. And for the other, foraſmuch as *Seneca* made profeſſion to forme maners, he ſeemeth therin to haue giuen way and free paſſage to ſome of his conceptions, and after the example of Painters, to giue ſome ſhadowes vnto his tables, the better to retaine the iudgement of the reader. That which I leaſt allow in him, or rather which I cannot approue, is the exceſſiue praiſe he giueth to his wiſe man, lifting him vp, yea aboue the gods. And afterwards in diuerſe places he would haue this wiſe man put himſelfe to death, and of his authoritie and power diſſolue the bands of this life, without leaue of the ſoueraigne Captaine, and with a teſtimonie of a ſtraunge cowardlineſſe and diſtruſt of the doctrine of the eternall Prouidence: the which would haue vs keepe a ſtedfaſt hope and confidence, yea euen when things ſeeme to be moſt deſperate. And that which he often applyeth vnto the death of *Cato*, whom he infinitly commendeth, hath bene by vs examined in the compariſon of *Cato* and of *Phocion*. Furthermore, *Seneca* ſtayed not vpon one or two in his diſcourſes he hath left vnto vs, but hath culled out of all the Philoſophers Greekes and Latines which were before him, all that he thought good to ſet downe for the rule and gouernment of our life, according to the end he looked vnto. And as for his writings, all that we haue left concerning morall and naturall Philoſophie, with the pleaſant diſcourſe vpon the death of *Claudius*, is out of all diſputation vntill this preſent: as the ſtile that is hard, ſhort, ſententious, and in apt

tearmes for that time, and after the manner of teaching of the Stoickes, doth ſhew it. But for the bookes entituled, *Controuerſiæ & Suaſoriæ*, that is to ſay, pleadings and orations, or declamations, I am of the ſame opinion rhat diuerſe learned men of our time are, to wit: that theſe bookes are not of *Seneca*, but of the father of *Seneca*. And becauſe many other learned men ancient and moderne haue thought the contrarie, we muſt needs ſay ſomewhat for proofe of the opinion which we follow. The authour of theſe collections ſaith, that he heard *Ouid* and *Cicero* declame, and that he was familiar with *Portius Latro*, *Valerius Meſſala*, and with others that were in the time of *Auguſtus*. When he heard *Cicero*, he could be no leſſe then fifteene yeares old: how can that be attributed vnto *Seneca*, dead in the end of the Empire of *Nero*, wel-neare ſixe ſcore years after that time? Now, that which *Tacitus* ſpeaketh in diuers places of the age of *Seneca*, reacheth not ſo farre: and *Nero* ſpeaking to *Seneca* a litle before his death, ſaid that he had yet ſtrength enough to vſe his goods, and gouerne his poſſeſſions. That could not be ſpoken of an old man of a hundred and twelue yeares old. Alſo *Seneca* ſpeaketh otherwiſe of his age in one of his Epiſtles noted here before, where he telleth that about the fifth yeare of the Empire of *Tiberius*, he came out of his infancie, of the age of eighteene yeares. Furthermore, *Seneca* was Prætor, Quæſtor, and Conſull, as in his diſcourſe to his mother *Elbia*, the Chronicles, and the Lawyers bookes do make mention. And to the contrarie, his father dedicating his bookes aboue named vnto *Seneca*, *Iunius*, and *Mela*, his three ſons: and ſpeaking to *Mela* in the Preface of his ſecond booke of pleadings, he exhorteth him to follow the inclination of his mind, and contenting himſelfe with the ſtate of a priuate gentleman, and a ROMAINE knight as his father, the better to warrant his life in the hazards and accidents of this world. That which made *Seneca* to be eſteemed the authour of thoſe bookes there, is, for that his father did beare that name: and that theſe three, *Seneca*, *Nouatus*, (ſurnamed *Iunius Gallo*) and *Mela* be brethren, and the ſonnes of one ſelfe father and mother, it appeareth by the hiſtorie of *Tacitus*, in the fifteenth booke of his *Annales*, and by the writings of *Seneca* himſelfe, ſpecially by the diſcourſe to *Elbia*, where he ſaith amongſt other things: Conſider my brethren, that being ſafe, you haue no cauſe to accuſe fortune: you haue in thē cauſe to reioyce in a diuerſe kind. For the one, through his good wit hath attained to honor, and the other hath wiſely deſpiſed it. *Tacitus* plainely ſheweth that, as we haue ſeene here before. And whereas commonly they alleadge the age of *Seneca* to be ſixe ſcore years and aboue, to giue the more authoritie to the pleadings and Orations of his father, that is to ſay, to the fragments which he ſeemeth to haue ſet foorth in the fauour of his children, to frame them betimes one day to practiſe that whereof he made profeſſion, to wit, eloquence: there cannot be ſhewed any ſufficient or authenticke teſtimonie of that which is alleadged, that *Seneca* had three ſonnes called, *Nouatus*, *Seneca*, and *Mela*. Touching the true bookes of *Seneca*, the dilgent reading and conſideration of them will incontinently ſhew the profite that may be gathered by them. For a man to ſtand reſolued againſt the diuers and troubleſome euents of this life, to repoſe himſelfe ſweetly vpon the diuine Prouidence, to contemne death, and to deſire the bleſſed immortalitie, for to repreſſe the inſolencie of ſtrange paſſions which do often carie vs too high and too far, and for to enioy a great reſt amongſt ſo many tempeſts and wrackes as happen daily, I know not an Hiſtorian among the Painims, Philoſopher, Orator, or author whatſoeuer, that I would preferre before *Seneca*: yea, there are few to be compared to him, and the moſt part do follow him farre off.

This bringeth vs to the conſideratiō of ſome cenſures made of *Seneca* by diuerſe learned men, as well auncient, as thoſe of this latter age, to the end to induce them that behold *Seneca*, to looke nearely into him: for if there be any thing wherein humane wit doth giue ſcope and licence, let another iudge that. But that ſpecially is as an ordinarie thing vnto them that make profeſſion ſtudiouſly to thruſt their noſes into bookes, to marke preſently, and ſometime too ſuddenly, that which is before them: to beare others in hand afterwards that things are ſuch as they did imagine them to be. And although I do not acknowledge my ſelfe to be one of the number of them that reade and know paſſably ſomething: yet for all that ere I beware, I am too often attainted with this diſeaſe, which poſſeſſeth thoſe that make many bookes, reprouing and iudging others. But as I do not commend them in any wiſe vnto whom the bookes of ſound erudition are not pleaſing, (like to weake ſtomackes vnto whom meats euill dreſſed and alſo hurtfull, ſeeme to be the moſt ſauorie) but feedes themſelues with their follies, vaine fancies and abhominations, wherewith this latter age is miſerably defiled: ſo would I wiſh that the excellent wits which are yet

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in EVROPE were on the one ſide better aduiſed in many reſpects, and in the others more carefull to diſcerne that which is commendable and blameable, certaine or vncertaine in good authors: to note them particularly vnto poſteritie, with two conditions: the one, that it ſhould be done by the ſufficienteſt men, and as it were of purpoſe appointed to that end, by conſent of fame and truth: the other, that all ſcoffes, ſpitefull and ſiniſter paſſions, ſhould be farre from ſuch cenſurers. To come againe to *Seneca*: I ſee that ſome haue too much axalted him, as I thinke: and others haue imbaſed him more then needed. Which being particularly conſidered, peraduenture it will not miſlike: and if it profite not, I hope it will moue the Reader to ſome thought higher then mine, both to ſearch matters more exactly, as alſo to ſettle his opinion vpon mine with the compaſſe of truth, of mildneſſe, and of vertue. Becauſe *Seneca* ſpeaketh amply in ſome places of the prouidence and maieſtie of God, before whom he exhorteth vs to walke, and ſometimes prayeth *Lucilius* to liue with men as if God ſaw him: and to ſpeake with God, as if men heard him. Alſo that he died in the end of the Empire of *Nero*, at which time S. *Paule* the Apoſtle was priſoner at ROME. Some haue thought that *Seneca* of long time had leaned vnto Chriſtian religion, by reaſon whereof his writings were read as proceeding from a man aduanced in the knowledge of the true God. And otherwiſe he was contented to ſpeake in general, and as vnder a veile of the ignorance of his time, and becauſe he would haue them no more enuied whom the world did altready hate. Briefly, that he was a ſecret diſciple of Chriſt, in the ſchoole of his Apoſtle. In confirmation wherof, they ſhew certaine letters of *Seneca* vnto *Paule*, with mutuall anſwers: and they do adde alſo the teſtimonie of a great chriſtian Doctor, who hath placed *Seneca* in the Catalogue of Saints, whoſe ſoules we beleeue are in glorie with their Sauior. Howbeit certaine learned men of our time haue ſpoken their opinion touching all that, to whom I do agree, to wit: that whether *Seneca* ſaw the Apoſtle and ſpake with him, whether he diſdained to ſee him, or that he cared not, nor did inquire after him, as I thinke that he thought then of any thing elſe rather then of the doctrine taught by S. *Paul*: there is nothing in his liſe, in his writings, nor in his death, that cometh neare to the Chriſtian beleefe and profeſſion. But if we ſhould call all thoſe Chriſtians, in whoſe writings we do reade goodly and true ſentences of wiſedome, iuſtice, and the prouidence of God: it would make a ſtraunge mingling of Scripture with prophane bookes: and further, they wold diſpute if the one ſhould be put in the place of the other. As wee ſee that in the bodies of the bookes which for excellencie we call the Bible, there are two, in the which the name of God is neuer expreſſed: which notwithſtanding are holy, and do containe infinit inſtructions and ſingular conſolations. *Seneca* hauing written in ſome place, The Godhead is I know not what great thing, yea ſo great, that it paſſeth al mans vnderſtanding. Our life is dedicated to his ſeruice. Let vs take order to be approued of the ſame: for a hidden conſcience is good for nothing: God ſeeth vs. An auncient Doctour ſaid thereupon, Any man that ſhould know God, could he ſet foorth any more certaine veritie, then that which is ſpoken here by the mouth of a man, that knew not what true religion meant? For he repreſenteth the maieſtie of God, ſaying that it is ſo great, that mans vnderſtanding cannot meaſure it: and plainely, the fountaine of veritie: ſhewing that the life of men is not vnprofitable, (as ſome Epicurians think) ſince it is referred to the glorie of the Creator, when they follow iuſtice and pietie. Other diſcourſes of *Seneca* might be alleaged touching the prouidence of God, againſt idolatrie, ſuperſtition, and impietie: but the conſequence is not ſtable. That he hath therfore knowne any thing of the doctrine of the Goſpell, you ſhall not find one diſcourſe in all his writings, and the doctrine of the Stoickes doth in nothing agree with that, which neither fleſh nor bloud can reueale: and wherof it is not our purpoſe to ſpeake in this place, which requireth not that we ſhold diſcouer the holy things, and much leſſe that we ſhould mingle them with the prophane. As for the letters publiſhed vnder the name of *Seneca* and of *Paule*: both the ſtile and the matter ſhew at the firſt ſight, that it is the worke of ſome idle man that thought himſelfe very wiſe, if he diſſembled with thoſe which did not ſift it ſo narrowly. And we ſhall not need here to make a recapitulation of the iuſt and learned cenſures that haue bene made: where you ſhall ſee the madneſſe, repugnancies, and falſhoods hidden in thoſe letters, if they be conferred with the life and doctrine of them vnto whom they were attributed. We do not meet with any thing ſo much in the writings of *Seneca*, as the conſtancie and contempt of death: how commeth it then that you ſhall not find one word that ſheweth him to be a Chriſtian? That *Nero* hath not diſcouered or perceiued any thing to charge *Seneca* with, when he commanded him to die? For that had bene

an ample diſcharge before the people that extreamely hated the Chriſtians. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, litle fauouring our religion, would not haue forgotten it. But how chaunceth it that in his death he remembred *Iupiter*, and not Chriſt? Now, in regard of the Catalogue which is alleaged for a buckler: I deſire that learned men do conſider, if they haue not wronged the perſon to whom it is attributed, mingling amongſt his workes this ſcoffe, and others which are no better, forged vpon the like anuile and with the ſelfe ſame hammer, which the letters were before mentioned. Now I thinke, (theſe are the words of a learned man that had well read *Seneca*) that it is beſt for the reader to take *Senecaes* bookes, as proceeding from a man ignorant of true religion. For if you reade them as a Pagane, he hath written like a Chriſtian: but if you take him for a Chriſtian, know that it is a Pagane that ſpeaketh. There are many things that may inflame vs with the loue of vertue: they will pricke vs more nearely, if we remēber from whom they come. If we meet with any ſentences that ſeeme to be drawn out of our fountains, they will be ſo much the ſweeter vnto vs: and as for vncertaine and falſe opinions, they will offend vs leſſe, when we ſhall ſay that it is a Pagan that hath ſet them out. Let vs come to the other point, and conſider thoſe that haue too much imbaſed him, either in reſpect of his life, or becauſe of his writings. For his life, ſome (and *Dion* amongſt others) haue accuſed him of auarice, of ambition, of diſſolution, of adulterie, and of other ſuch like vices: vnto the which I will not vouchſafe to make anſwer, ſince ſo many learned men auncient, and moderne, and the life and death of *Seneca* do ſay the contrarie. And it were an eaſie thing for one that would cut *Dion* a gowne of his owne cloth, to diſcouer in him many things impertinent and euill beſeeming the name wherof he maketh profeſſion. But it is better to confute euident ſlaunders by ſilence, then with long diſcourſe. Some other ſpeake not ſo plainely, but ſay that *Seneca* liued not after his owne precepts. On the contrarie, the honour which he maketh often to *Epicurus*, ſeemeth to ſhew that he hath mingled the wickedneſſe of the Epicurians with the auſteritie of the Stoickes. I graunt that *Seneca* hath not in all the parts of his life ſhewed this conſtancie which he requireth of a wiſe man, and I perceiue well that he hath diſſembled too many things in the gouernment of *Nero*: the which the wiſe *Thraſca* would neuer haue allowed of the preſence, nor of the word, nor of the deed. But mans infirmitie is ſuch, that that which the mind ſeeth plainely enough, it cannot or dare not effect it, becauſe of the reſiſtance of reaſon and paſſions: or if it dare, it is ſtaid with the leaſt obiect through this naturall faintneſſe that keepeth vs backe, when we ſhould reſolutely follow vertue. Now of this cenſure there followeth no more, but that the Eternall wiſdome doth giue vs knowledge of many notable things vttered by the mouth and teſtimonie of this ſtranger: and in the mean time doth admoniſh vs in no wiſe to ſtay our ſelues vpon him that ſpeaketh: which ſhe doth well in her proper houſe, where ſhe vnderſtandeth that we lend our eares vnto thoſe which go with other feet then they ſhould, ſo that they keepe within the bounds of their commiſſion. And as a Sergeant or Herauld that had but one eye, or were lame, could notwithſtanding deliuer a meſſage of importance in the name of the Prince, and muſt be heard: euen ſo whatſoeuer he be that cometh to vs with the notes of chaſt and faire Veritie, he ought to haue audience, to be beleeued and followed, ſo long as he containeth himſelfe neare to her, and reiecteth all that is contrarie, be it in words or in fact. For *Epicurus*, *Seneca* alleageth ſome notable matters of him, wherefore it followeth not that he doth allow of his faults, nor of his ſect, as is alſo to be acknowledged in many places. And there can be nothing obſerued in the life of *Seneca*, that ſheweth him to be an Epicurian or a Libertine. For euen in the midſt of the abundance and of the great riches he poſſeſſed by the liberalitie of *Nero*, they ſaw a great moderation witneſſed, alſo in his death: not being forbidden to Noblemen to poſſeſſe gold, ſiluer, earthly goods, and moueables of great value, ſo that ſuch proſperitie do not make them drunke, to cauſe them deſpiſe God and men. As for the laſt, be they auncient or moderne whoſe names I am not content to expreſſe, which very boldly do cenſure the writings of *Seneca*: and in agreeing to him in ſome excellent thing, they afterwards take licence to thinke him rude in his ſtile, too rigorous a Iudge of other mens labours, a fooliſh ieaſter, affected in his diſcourſes, troubleſome by reaſon of his repetitions, without art, of ſmall iudgment, forgetfull, truſting to his owne wit, curious of light things, and ſeeking I know not how to be particular, becauſe he would not ſeeme to haue borrowed any thing of any man. Theſe be accuſers in the moſt part of ſuch articles, and no competent Iudges, ſauing the honour due to their erudition. For proofe whereof we do exhort the reader to take one whole booke of *Seneca* which he liketh of beſt, and then to examine it all, if I

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ſpeake euill, ſaying, that he had wrong to be ſo toſſed and played vpon. I thinke that there is nothing in his workes, be it in his ſtile, in the method, or in matter that could be better performed. Alſo if they conſider what words he vſeth, how he ioyneth them together, what is the end of his diſcourſes, and what the matters are that he treateth of: they will be leſſe rigorous vnto him. For concluſion, I deſire that *Senecaes* life, referred to his writings, do teach foure things to my ſelfe, and to all others. The one, that being in meane or baſe condition, we neuer care to clime vp any higher. The other, that if we chaunge a meane eſtate with another greater, we do remember the former, to conuerſe modeſtly with great and ſmall. The third, that we neuer paſſe for any worldly proſperitie, but that we be alwaies afraid of it, vntill we be looſed by the meanes of a happie death. And the laſt, that in our publike and priuate conuerſation, in our thoughts, words, writings, and actions, there ſhine in vs the loue and reuerence of true pietie and iuſtice.

The end of Senecaes life.

THE LIVES OF NINE EXCELLENT CHIEFTAINES OF VVAR, TRANSLATED OVT OF LATINE FROM ÆMYLIVS PROBVS.

THE LIFE OF *Miltiades.*

MILTIADES an ATHENIAN, the ſonne of *Cimon*, being one of the chiefeſt of his citie, as well becauſe of the ancientry of his race, as for his modeſtie ioyned to the glorie of his predeceſſors, after he had attained to that age, which his citizens had occaſion not onely to hope well of him, but alſo to aſſure themſelues that he would be ſuch a one as they iudged him after they knew him: it chaunced that the ATHENIANS reſolued to ſend a Colonie into CHERRONESVS. And becauſe many men prepared themſelues to go thither, and that there was great ſute who ſhold leade them: they choſe ſome to go to DELPHES, to inquire of the Oracle who ſhould be their Captaine: foraſmuch as the THRACIANS at that time did occupie all thoſe parts thereabouts, and they muſt be driuen out by force of armes. The Propheteſſe enioyned the Commiſſioners expreſly to chooſe *Miltiades* for chiefe of this people or Colonie, the which ſhould proſper in this enterpriſe vnder his conduct. With this anſwer *Miltiades* accompanied with a choſen companie of men, ſailed vnto CHERRONESVS, and when he came neare to LEMNOS to ſubdue the inhabitants of that Iſland, he ſummoned them without any compulſion. They mocking him, anſwered, That they would then yeeld themſelues when *Miltiades* ſhould come from ATHENS to LEMNOS with a Northrene wind, which was full in the faces of them that ſhould come from ATHENS to LEMNOS. *Miltiades* hauing no leyſure to tarie there, hoiſſed ſaile, and arriued in CHERRONESVS. And there hauing in a ſhort time broken all the troupes of the barbarous people, he made himſelf Lord of the whole countrie, built vp ſome fortreſſes, placed his people in the countrey which he had brought with him, & made them rich, by diuerſe attempts againſt the ſelfe ſame countreymen. Wherein he preuailed as much by his wiſedome, as through his good fortune. For after he had through the valiantneſſe of his ſouldiers ouercome the armies of his enemies, he eſtabliſhed his affaires with great equitie, and reſolued to remaine in CHERRONESVS. So he was there as king, although he had not the name, and attained to this degree of honour as much through his vpright adminiſtration of iuſtice, as for his ſufficiencie in warres. This kept him not from doing his dutie vnto the ATHENIANS, from whom he was parted: the which was the occaſion indeed, that as well thoſe which had ſent him thither, as thoſe with whom he was imbarked, were content he ſhould continue there alwaies Gouernor. CHERRONESVS being brought to this order, he came againe to LEMNOS, and according to the promiſe of the inhabitants, he demaunded that they would yeeld vp their citie vnto him: for they promiſed to giue him their hands when he ſhould come vnto them from his countrey by the North wind. Now (ſaid he) that his countrey was in CHERRONESVS. The CARIANS, who held LEMNOS at that time, ſeeing things go otherwiſe then they looked for, and taken not ſo much by their words as by the good fortune of their aduerſaries, durſt not make head, but went ſtraight from thence. So all things proſpering according to his deſire, he brought all the other Iſles called the CYCLADES, to be ſubiect to the ATHENIANS.

At

At the ſame time *Darius* king of PERSIA hauing paſſed all his armie out of ASIA into EVROPE, determined to make war with the SCYTHIANS, and made a bridge ouer Danuby to paſſe ouer his troupes: the guard of the which in his abſence, was committed vnto the Lords which he had brought with him out of IONIA and ÆOLIA, and vnto euery one of the which he had giuen perpetuall power and gouernment ouer their townes. Suppoſing by this policie, eaſily to bring into ſubiection all the GREEKES that dwelt in ASIA, if he gaue the guard of the townes vnto their friends and confederates, that could not eſcape by any meanes if he were oppreſſed. *Miltiades* was of the number of the guards of this bridge. Newes being brought by diuerſe meſſages that *Darius* had but ill ſucceſſe, and that the SCYTHIANS held him hard to it: he perſwaded the other guards not to loſe the occaſion that was offered to ſet GRECE at libertie, conſidering that if *Darius* and his forces he brought with him were ouerthrown, all EVROPE ſhould be in peace, and the naturall GREEKES remaining in ASIA ſhould ſee themſelues out of daunger, and freed from the domination of the PERSIANS. And this might eaſily be done, ſince that by cutting of the bridge, *Darius* ſhould in few daies be cut in peeces by the enemies, or ſhould die for penurie with all his armie. Many agreed vnto it: but *Iſtiæus* MILESIAN brake the necke of it, ſaying, that the kingdome of *Darius* vpon whom their authoritie depended, made difference betwixt the good of the affaires of them that commaunded, and the people that was vnder ſubiection and gouernment. That if *Darius* ſhould happen to die, they ſhould be driuen out and puniſhed by their citizens: and therefore that he was of a contrarie mind to all the reſt, thinking nothing more profitable, then to ſee the kingdome of the PERSIANS eſtabliſhed. The greater part of them being of his mind, *Miltiades* was affraid, for that there were ſo many witneſſes, that the king ſhould ſoone be aduertiſed of that which was propounded: wherefore he left CHERRONESVS, and returned againe to ATHENS. Now though his counſel tooke no place, yet he was highly commended, hauing ſhewed more regard to the good and libertie of all, then to his owne particular aduancement.

For *Darius*, he being returned out of EVROPE into ASIA, his friends counſelled him to ſet vpon GRECE. Whereupon he armed a fleet of fiue hundred galleys vnder the charge of *Datis* and *Artaphernes*, giuing them two hundred thouſand footmen, and ten thouſand horſe, ſaying that he would be euen with the ATHENIANS, becauſe that the IONIANS had in fauour of the ATHENIANS forced the citie of SARDIS, and killed his garriſons. Theſe two Lieutenants of *Darius* being arriued in EVBOEA with their galleys, they preſently wanne ERETRIA, tooke all the inhabitants of the countrey priſoners, and ſent them to the king in ASIA. From thence they went into ATTICA, and camped in the plaine of MARATHON, which is within fiue leagues or thereabouts from ATHENS. The ATHENIANS aſtonied at ſo great a number of enemies, and ſo neare vnto them, knew not of whom to demaund aide, but of the LACEDÆMONIANS, vnto whom they diſpatched a very ſwift footman, a foote Poſt, called *Philippides*, to aduertiſe them that they had need to ſend them aide, and that preſently. In the meane time they choſe tenne Captaines to commaund and gouerne their troupes: *Miltiades* was one of them. So there was great diſputation among them, to wit, whether they ſhould keepe the walles of their citie, or they ſhould go meete with their enemies to bid them battell. There was none but *Miltiades* that reaſoned, that there was no delaying or protracting of time, but they muſt make a campe: and that that would lift vp the hearts of the ATHENIANS, when they ſhould ſee and behold, that they had a good opinion of their vertue and valiantneſſe: and that the enemies hearts would faile them, when they ſhould vnderſtand that ſo few men came reſolutely to fight with them. At that time the ATHENIANS had no aide from any citie but from PLATÆA, which ſent them a thouſand men: who being come, the armie of the GREEKES was compounded but of tenne thouſand men in all, who deſired nothing but to fight. That was the cauſe that *Miltiades* counſell was preferred aboue all the other Captaines. For the ATHENIANS reſpecting his valor, cauſed their troupes to march into the field, and they camped in a place of aduantage. Then the next morning hauing diſpoſed their footmen at the foote of the mountaine, which they had in flancke, they gaue charge vpon their enemies couragiouſly, with a new and ſure faſhion of fight. For there were trees growing here and there, by meanes whereof they were vnder couert of the rockes, and the trees kept them from being encloſed by the multitude of the enemies horſemen. Now although *Datis* ſaw that the place did not fauour and affect him, yet becauſe he had ſo many men, all his deſire was to fight, thinking he ſhould win and obtaine much,

if he could ioyne before the aide of the LACEDÆMONIANS came to them. And therefore he made an hundred thousand footemen and ten thousand horse to march against them. Then he went to charge the ATHENIANS, who made excellent proofe of their valiantnes, considering that they hauing to fight one against ten, they made the PERSIANS flie for life, and so astonished thē, that in stead of returning backe to their campe, they saued themselues in their ships. See, here was one of the braueſt battels that a man can speake of: for neuer such a handfull of men ouercame so great forces. Peraduenture it will not be impertinent to shew what reward *Miltiades* had for obtaining of so noble a victorie: to the end that all men may know the better, that all commonweales haue one disposition. As the honours of the people of ROME were in times past rare and simple, and by consequent more glorious & to be desired: and now to the contrarie more disordered and lesse esteemed: the very same we find to haue bene practised among the ATHENIANS. For all the honour they did vnto this *Miltiades*, the sauiour of ATHENS and of all GREECE, was, that the battell of MARATHON hauing bene painted ouer the porch called Pœcile, his image was set vp the first in rancke of all the Captaines, with the countenance of a man speaking to his souldiers, and going first to fight. The same people of ATHENS being come to be of greater power, and corrupted by the gifts of those which sued for charge and office in the commonwealth, caused three hundred statues to be set vp for *Demetrius* the PHALERIAN.

After this battell, the ATHENIANS gaue a fleet of threescore and ten gallies vnto *Miltiades*, to make war vpon the Iles which had aided the PERSIANS. He cōpelled some by simple commandements, others by force of arms to yeeld thēselues. And not being able by any perswasiōs to bring the Ile men of PAROS to reason (proud because of their riches) he landed his forces, enclosed the town with trenches, and took from the besieged all meanes either to come by victuals or munition of war: then hauing set vp his Gabions and Mantelets, he came neare the wals. He was at the point to win the towne, when one night (not knowne by what mischaunce) there was a great fire seene vpon firme land in a wood which they saw from the Isle. This flame made those that were besieged, and them that lay at the siege thinke that it was a signe of the fleet of the PERSIANS, to encourage the PARIANS, and to keepe them from yeelding vp their towne. Herupon *Miltiades* fearing that *Darius* army by sea was at hand, he set fire of his Mantelets and Gabions and hoisted saile towards ATHENS, where he arriued with all the gallies he caried out: wherwith the people were maruellously offended. They accused him of treason, that when he might haue won PAROS by assault, he had taken money of the king, and was returned without fighting, or doing any memorable act. At that time he was sicke of the wounds he had receiued at the siege of PAROS: wherefore not being able to defend himselfe in person, his brother *Stesagoras* pleaded his cause, the which hauing bene debated, he was quit for death, yet condemned to pay a fine of thirtie thousand crownes, to the which they valued the charge of the armie in that iourny. And being vnable to pay so great a summe, he was committed to the common prison, and there died. Now this matter of PAROS was but a cloke: and they speake of it thus for another reason. For the tyrannie of *Pisistratus*, who had altered the estate some yeares before, was the cause that the ATHENIANS were affraid of their citizens that were in any credit. *Miltiades*, that had had many great and honorable charges, seemed that he could no more be brought to liue as a priuate person, considering also that he was giuen to this desire to commaund alwaies. For all the time of his abode in CHERRONESVS there was no other Lord but he, and also they called him tyrant: but iust, because he had not gotten this authoritie by force of armes, but with the consent of his citizens, and caried himselfe very modestly. Now they take and call them tyrants, which haue a perpetuall power in a commonwealth that was free before. Furthermore, *Miltiades* was a very gentle person, wonderfull affable, and there was not so meane a man, but might easily come and speake with him. All the townes respected him, he was very famous, and they reputed him for one of the braueſt Captaines of GREECE. The people of ATHENS considering these things, had rather condemne this innocent man in a fine, then to be longer in paine to take heed of him.

The end of Miltiades life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Pausanias.*

Pausanias Lacedædonian was a great man, but vnconstant in all the parts of his life, furnished with vertues, but ouerwhelmed with vices. It was he that wanne that so famous victorie of Platæes. For he being Generall of the Greeke armie, this great Lord *Mardonius*, a Mede by nation, and sonne in law of the king of Persia, the most wise and valiant captaine among all the Persians, folowed with two hundreth thousand chosen footemen, and twentie thousand horse: he was ouercome, the rest of all his troupes driuen out of Grece, and himselfe slaine in the field. This victorie raised vp *Pausanias* heart to such a height, that he beganne to confound the affaires, and to deuise great chaunge in his braine. The first shame he receiued was, that he hauing offered a triuet of gold vnto the temple of Delphes, of the bootie he had gotten vpon the enemies, with an Epigram containing in substance, that vnder his conduct the barbarous people had bene ouerthrowne before Platæes, and that acknowledging this victorie he made this present to *Apollo*: the Lacedæmonians razed out these verses, and wrote no other thing but the names of the townes, through whose aide the Persians had bene ouercome. After this battell they sent him againe with an armie by sea of the allies into Cyprvs and Hellespont, to expulse the garrisons of the barbarous people thence. The which he hauing fortunately executed, he then grew to be more insolent and ambitious then euer.

For, hauing taken the citie of Byzance by force, and made a great number of gentlemen of Persia prisoners, among which were manie kinsmen of *Xerxes*, he secretly sent them to him, and gaue it out that they escaped out of prison. *Gongylus* Eretrian did accompany them carying letters to the king, the effect whereof was this, as *Thucydides* sayth: *Pausanias*, Captaine of Sparta, knowing that the prisoners of Byzance are thy kinsmen, he sendeth them vnto thee for a present, and desireth to be of alliance with thee, and prayeth thee to giue him thy daughter in mariage. If thou do it, he promiseth that by his meanes Sparta and all Grece shall be brought vnder thy power. Therefore if it please thee to giue eare vnto it, send him a man expressely with whom he may conferre. The king very ioyfull and glad for the deliuery of so many friends of his, sent *Artabazus* presently to *Pausanias* with letters, in the which he commendeth him, and prayeth him to spare for nothing to bring his promise to passe. If he do, that all shall be graunted which he demaundeth. *Pausanias* vnderstanding *Xerxes* mind, resolued resolutely to put his hand to this worke: which the Lacedæmonians mistrusting, hauing sent for him home, they accused him of treason: whereof he was quit, and yet condemned to pay a fine. This was the cause that they sent him not againe to the armie: but shortly after he returned of his owne mind, and by a rash and euill grounded Oration, he easily discouered the thought of his heart. Furthermore, he did not onely chaunge his fashion of liuing after the Laconian maner, but also of his diet and apparell. For he had a royall pompe, trayning a long gowne after the fashion of the Medes, followed with a troupe of the Medes and Ægyptians for archers of his gaurd. His table did so abound in all kinds of dainties after the maner of the Persians, that no man could away withall. He gaue no accesse vnto him but very seldome: to them that would speake with him, he answered very proudly: and commanded with all cruelty, refusing to returne any more to Sparta.

He went to Colones, which is a place in the countrey of Troas, and there plotted all his dangerous practises against his countrey and himselfe. When the Lacedæmonians had vnderstanding of it, they sent Ambassadors vnto him with the Scytala, in the which was written, after their accustomed maner, that if he came not into the city, they would condemne him to death. This letter astonied him. Yet hoping to escape this imminent danger by force of presents,

and by reaſon of his credite: he went home into his countrey, where being, the *Ephores* made him to be apprehended, and caſt into priſon: for it is lawfull for one of the *Ephores* to take the king, and vſe him ſo. Neuertheleſſe *Pauſanias* looſed himſelfe, being notwithſtanding ſuſpected of euery man; for they had alwayes this opinion of him, that he had intelligence with *Xerxes*. There are certaine people there called ILOTES, and they are a great number of them, and they plow the lands of the LACEDÆMONIANS, whom they ſerue as ſlaues. It was ſuppoſed he did practiſe with them, vnder promiſe to make them free men. But becauſe they had no pregnant witneſſe to conuince him, they thought they muſt not condemne ſo noble a perſon as he by bare coniectures, but rather to tary till time did reueale it of it ſelfe. In theſe buſineſſes, a young man called *Argilius*, who in his infancie had ſerued *Pauſanius* for a Page, hauing receiued letters of him to cary to *Artabazus*, he doubting leaſt there were ſomewhat therein that might hurt him, for of all thoſe that went into PERSIA about theſe affaires, not one of them came backe againe: he brake open the ſeale, and knew by the contents thereof that if he had caried them, he had died for it: alſo the letter mentioned matters whereof *Pauſanias* and *Xerxes* were agreed. *Agilius* caried theſe letters, and put them into the hands of the *Ephores*. Here is to be noted the moderation and grauitie of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that would not yet take vantage of this detection, to lay hold vpon *Pauſanias*: and reſolued not to proceed with rigour, till he firſt diſcouered it himſelfe. And therefore they taught *Argilius* what they would haue him to do.

At TÆNARE, there is a temple of *Neptune*, the priuiledge whereof the GREEKES hold for ſacred and inuiolable. *Argilius* fled thither, and ſate him downe vpon the Altar: neare vnto the which the *Ephores* made a caue vnder the ground, from whence one might vnderſtand all that any bodie would ſay vnto *Argilius*. Some of the *Ephores* hid themſelues within it. *Pauſanias* vnderſtanding that his man was in the priuiledge of the temple, went thither maruellouſly troubled, and began to aske him how this change happened. *Argilius* confeſſed he had opened the letters, and ſeene the contents of them. Wherewith *Pauſanias* more troubled then before, began to pray him to ſay neuer a word, and not to betray him who had done him ſo much good: that if he would do him that fauour to helpe him out of this trouble, he would make him a great man. The *Ephores* hauing heard all this talke, they iudged that the ſureſt way was to take him in the citie. Whither they being gone, *Pauſanias* thinking he had appeaſed *Argilius*, and thereby aſſured his affaires, he returned home to his houſe: and as they were ready to catch him by the coller, he perceiued by the countenance of one of the *Ephores* that called him as if he would haue ſpoken with him, that they went about to intrap him. Wherefore doubling his pace ſomewhat faſter then thoſe that followed him, he ſaued himſelfe within the temple of *Minerua*, called *Chalciecos*. But becauſe he ſhould not come out, the *Ephores* cauſed the Church doores preſently to be mured vp, and the roofe of the temple to be pulled downe, that he might dye the ſooner with aire. It is reported that *Pauſanias* mother, being a very old woman, liued yet at that time: and that ſhe vnderſtanding of the wickedneſſe of her ſonne, her ſelfe brought the firſt ſtone to mure him in there. Behold, how *Pauſanias* ſtained with a ſhamefull death the great glorie he had obtained in the warres. Being brought halfe dead out of the temple, he died immediatly. Some would haue had his bodie caried to the gibbet: others liked not that opinion, and buried him farre from the place where he died: from whence he was digged vp againe, by commaundement of an Oracle of DELPHES, and put in the ſame place where he died.

The end of Pauſanias life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Thraſybulus.*

FOr *Thraſybulus*, he was an ATHENIAN, the ſonne of one called *Lycus*. If we ſhould conſider his vertue a part, and leaue his fortune behind, it may be we ſhould place him firſt of all others. And to confeſſe a troth, I know no man more faithfull, more conſtant, more nobly minded, and more louing to his countrey, then he. For whereas many haue deſired (and few executed) to free their countrey from the hands of one onely tyrant: it was his fortune to deliuer his countrey from the violence of thirtie tyrants. But it chanced, I know not how, that he which went before all others in vertue, was put downe by many others in charge and dignitie. In the warres of PELOPONNESVS, *Alcibiades* did nothing without him, but he on the contrary did many things without *Alcibiades*, and wanne honour through the goodneſſe and excellency of his nature. This notwithſtanding, all the exploits of warre ought to be deuided amongſt the Chieftaines, ſouldiers, and fortune: for when armies meet, that which hath bene demtermined in counſel, is executed by the force and valiantneſſe of the ſouldiers that fight. Wherfore the ſouldier may pretend right to that which his General hath done: Fortune challengeth the better part, and may ſay that ſhe hath in ſuch a caſe ſtood them in better ſtead then all the wiſdome of the Generall. Euen ſo then, this worthie act of *Thraſybulus* is proper to himſelfe. For as the thirty tyrants eſtabliſhed by the SPARTANS, that kept the city of ATHENS in ſubiection, had baniſhed part of the citizens eſcaped from the warre, put ſome to death, and forfeited the goods of others: *Thraſybulus* was the firſt and onely man that began to make warre with them. He was gotten into a ſtrong hold, called PHYLE, in the territorie of ATTICA, hauing but thirtie men with him in all.

This was the beginning of the health of the ATHENIANS, and the foundation of the liberty vnto the goodlieſt commonwealth of GREECE. And for as much as the tyrants ſcorned him and his company, it was the cauſe of their deſtruction, and of the preſeruation of *Thraſybulus*: and their not caring to ſet vpon him and his, made them ſtronger by the leiſure they had giuen them. The which ſhould teach all to remember this rule: that we muſt neuer deſpiſe our enemy. And ſo it is not ſpoken in vaine, that the mother of a coward doth neuer weepe. For all his fame that went of him, many did not ioyne with him: for then thoſe that were beſt affected, made warre with the tyrants more with their toungs then with their hands. From PHYLE *Thraſibulus* went to the port of PYRÆA, and did fortifie the fortreſſe called MVNYCHIA: the which the tyrants did aſſault, but they were repulſed with ſuch ſhame, that they ſuddenly retired to the town with loſſe of armes and baggage. In this action, *Thraſybulus* ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe wiſe then valiant: for he commaunded his men to touch none that made no reſiſtance, thinking it reaſonable that the citizens ſhould pardon one the other: and there was not a man of them hurt, but thoſe that aſſaulted them. He would ſtrippe none of the dead, nor ſuffer any thing to be taken from them, but their armes and victuals which he needed. *Critias*, the chiefe of all the tyrants, hauing fought very valiantly againſt *Thraſybulus*, was ſlaine at the ſecond aſſault. After he was diſpatched, *Pauſanias* king of SPARTA came to the aide of the ATHENIANS, and made peace betwixt *Thraſybulus* and thoſe which kept the city: with theſe conditions, that the thirtie tyrants, and the ten new gouernours, which had committed as many cruelties as the tyrants themſelues, ſhould be baniſhed, and their goods forfeited, without touching any other citizens: and that the ſoueraignty and gouernement of the eſtate ſhould be reſtored againe vnto the people.

It was another fine deuice of *Thraſybulus*, that after he had pacified all matters, and obtained great credite in the citie, he made a law that no man ſhould be called in queſtion nor troubled for things that were paſt, and that was called Amniſtia, or law of obliuion. But he

was more carefull to keepe it, then to publiſh it. For ſome of his followers in his exile, complotted to kill ſome that were pardoned: but he ſtopped it by open proclamation, and kept his promiſe. To recompence theſe ſo many good deeds of his, the people gaue him a Crowne of two branches of Bayes, the which got him no enuy, but great glory: becauſe he had obtained it through the good will of his citizens, and not by force. It was wiſely ſpoken of *Pittacus*, one of the ſeuen Sages: when the MITYLENIANS gaue him many thouſand of daies worke of lands, I pray you, ſayd he, giue me not that thing which is enuied of many men, and deſired of all the world: of all thoſe I will onely take but a hundred dayes worke, which ſhall make proofe of my moderation, and of your good affection: for ſmall preſents do continue long, but we are no long time owners of great riches. So then *Thraſybulus* contenting himſelfe with this Crowne, he ſought for no more, and did thinke that no man was more honored then he. Shortly after he being arriued in SICILIA with a fleete the which he commanded, his ſouldiers were not carefull to keepe good watch in his campe: vpon which occaſion, the barbarous people that were beſieged, hauing by night made a ſally out of the towne vpon him, they ſurpriſed him, and killed him in his tent.

The end of Thraſybulus life.

THE LIFE OF *Conon.*

DVring the warres of PELOPONNESVS, *Conon* ATHENIAN began to deale in the affaires of the common wealth, and did great ſeruice: for he was choſen Colonell of the infanterie, then Admirall, in which charge he did many goodly exploits. By meanes whereof he grew to be of ſingular reputation amongſt all men, and had the gouernement of all the Iles: during which time he wanne PHARES a Colony of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Towards the end of the warre of PELOPONNESVS, at what time *Lyſander* ouercame the army of the ATHENIANS vpon the ſea coaſt which they call the riuer of the Goate, he had then charge of certaine galleys: howbeit he was not at the battell, which was cauſe that all came to naught, for he was a wiſe and valiant Captaine: in ſo much that it was in euery mans mouth, that if he had bene there, the ATHENIANS had not ſuſtained ſuch a loſſe. He ſeeing things brought to ſo poore an eſtate, and vnderſtanding that his citie was beſieged: he ſought not to hide himſelfe to liue I ſafety, but thought how he might helpe his citizens. For this purpoſe he went to *Pharnabazus*, a kinſman and ſonne in law of the king of PERSIA, and gouernour of IONIA and of LYDIA, into whoſe fauour he inſinuated himſelfe, but with great trouble and much danger. Now when the LACEDÆMONIANS, after they had ſubdued the ATHENIANS, in ſtead of maintaining the alliance made with *Artaxerxes*, had ſent *Ageſilaus* to make warre in ASIA, through the perſwaſion of *Tiſſaphernes*, which had forſaken the king (of whom heretofore he was greatly beloued) and ioyned with the LACEDÆMONIANS: *Pharnabazus* was appointed Lieutenant generall of the armie of the PERSIANS to make head againſt *Ageſilaus*. But in truth *Conon* commaunded all, and nothing was done without his aduice and counſell. It was he that brake the moſt part of all the intentions and attempts of this great Captaine *Ageſilaus*, being a thing certaine inough, that if *Conon* had not oppoſed himſelfe, the LACEDÆMONIANS had taken all ASIA from the king, vnto the mountaine Taurus. Hereupon *Ageſilaus* being ſent for home by the *Ephores*, becauſe the BOEOTIANS and ATHENIANS had proclaimed warre againſt SPARTA: *Conon* left not to be euer neare to the Lieutenants of the king of PERSIA, and did them great ſeruice.

Tiſſaphernes withdrew himſelfe from the court of PERSIA, the which all men perceiued well inough

inough but the king, with whom he was in great credite and eſtimation, though he was no more his ſeruant. And it is not to be maruelled at if *Artaxerxes* could beleeue nothing, remembring himſelfe that by *Tiſſaphernes* meanes he ouercame his brother *Cyrus*. *Conon* being ſent by *Pharnabazus* vnto the king to accuſe this *Tiſſaphernes*: he being come to the court, came firſt to the Captaine of the guard, called *Tithrauſtes*, according to the cuſtome of the PERSIANS. He is chiefeſt of all the officers of the kingdome, and no man can be ſuffered to come neare the king to ſpeake with him, without his leaue and licence. He being intreated by *Conon* to let him go vnto the Prince: I am contented, ſayth he, but conſider firſt if thou be determined to ſpeake with him thy ſelfe, or to deliuer thy mind by writing that thou wouldeſt ſay vnto him. For if thou come to his preſence, thou muſt kneele to the king: and if thou thinke that grieuous vnto thee, thou maieſt execute thy commiſſion by my meanes, as well as by thine owne mouth. As for me, anſwered *Conon*, it ſhall be no troubleſome thing to me, to do the king that honour that ſhall pleaſe thee: but I am afraid to do my city diſhonor, if I do a thing proper to the barbarous people, & vnfit for that city which was wont to cõmand other nations. So then he deliuered his meſſage in writing: which when the king had ſeene, he was ſo moued with the report of ſo great a perſon, that he iudged *Tiſſaphernes* his enemy, decreed warre againſt the LACEDÆMONIANS, and ſuffered *Conon* to make choiſe of ſuch a man as he would, to diſtribute the money neceſſary to defray the charge of this warre. *Conon* made this anſwer, that this election pertained nothing to him, but to the king, that knew his ſeruants beſt: yet in his opinion, this charge ſhould be beſt beſtowed vpon *Pharnabazus*. He was ſent backe with great preſents to the maritime townes, to commaund the CYPRIOTS, PHENICIANS, and others dwelling vpon this coaſt to put galleys in readineſſe, and to arme a fleete that might keepe the ſeas the next Sommer, vnder the conduct of *Pharnabazus* and of *Conon*, who had ſo required it.

The LACEDÆMONIANS being aduertiſed thereof, were amazed, perceiuing well that they were to make another maner of warre then with the barbarous people. For they ſaw that they muſt needs come to fight againſt a valiant and wiſe Captaine, hauing the kings treaſure in his hands, and that had aſmuch & better direction and forces then they. With this thought they gathered together great ſtore of ſhipping, & imbarked themſelues vnder the conduct of *Piſander*. *Conon* met with them neare vnto CNIDOS, gaue them battell, made them flye, tooke ſtore of galleys, and ſunke a great number of them. By meanes of this victory, ATHENS and all GREECE ſubiect to the dominion of the LACEDÆMONIANS, were ſet at liberty. *Conon* returned againe to his countrey with part of theſe galleys, built vp againe the wals of ATHENS and of the hauen of PIRÆA, which had bene ouerthrowne by *Lyſander*, and preſented his citizens with 30000 crownes which *Pharnabazus* had giuen him. But that which happeneth oftentimes vnto other men, chanced alſo vnto *Conon*, that is, to haue leſſe courage in proſperity, then in aduerſitie. For now that he had ouercome the fleete of the PELOPONNESIANS, thinking he had taken ſufficient reuenge of the wrongs receiued by his country: he began to embrace in his mind imaginations too high for his cariage: although this was good and commendable in his enterpriſe, that he had rather make his owne countrey great and rich, then the king of PERSIA. Therefore he being now growne into wonderfull credite, not onely amongſt the barbarous people, but alſo amongſt all the cities of GREECE, after this battell of CNIDOS, he began vnderhand to practiſe the meanes to reſtore IONIA and ÆOLIA to be ſubiect againe to the common wealth of the ATHENIANS. His practiſes being diſcouered, *Tiribazus* gouernour of SARDIS, ſent to pray him to come to him, to be ſent in Ambaſſage to the king. *Conon* ſtraight obeying his commaundement, he was no ſooner arriued, but he was ſtraight clapt vp in priſon, where he remained ſome time. Some write that he was caried to the king, and died in PERSIA. But *Dinon* the hiſtorian, to whom we giue great credite in that he treateth of the affaires of PERSIA, reporteth that *Conon* ſaued himſelfe, leauing it in doubt whether *Tiribazus* was priuy to it, or that he knew not of it.

The end of Conons life.

THE LIFE OF *Iphicrates.*

Iphicrates the ATHENIAN was famous, not ſo much for his diuerſe exploits or for the greatneſſe of them, as for his military diſcipline: for he was ſuch a Chieftaine of warre, that they compared him vnto the braueſt men of his time, and they did not ſet him behind any of thoſe that had gone before him. He had bene in many warres, had commanded armies oftentimes, he neuer had misfortune by his owne fault, he euer ouercame by wiſedome: his vnderſtanding reaching ſo farre, that he brought in many good things neuer ſeene before in the art military: and made ſome of them better that were in vſe. He altered the armes of footmen: and where before him the Captaines did vſe great targets, ſhort partiſans, and litle ſwords: he to the contrarie brought in light bucklers, to the end his men ſhould be lighter to remoue and to runne to giue charge. He made the partiſans greater by halfe, and the ſwords longer. He changed alſo the corſlets, and in ſtead of iron and copper, he made them of canuaſſe well wrought together, which made the ſouldiers much lighter: for being eaſed of that waight, they had meanes to defend themſelues nimbly againſt blowes, and were ready beſides to giue charge vpon the enemy. He made warre with the THRACIANS, and reeſtabliſhed *Seuthes* againe in his kingdome, an allie of the ATHENIANS. Being at CORINTH, he obſerued ſo good diſcipline in his armie, that they neuer ſaw any ſouldiers in GRECE better diſpoſed, nor more obedient to their Colonell then they were. To be ſhort, he did vſe them to ranke themſelues ſo well in battell, without helpe of the Captaine, ſo ſoone as euer the Generall had giuen them the ſigne to fight: that it ſeemed expreſly as if the moſt expert Chieftaine of warre had imbattelled them.

With ſuch an army he aſſailed the LACEDÆMONIANS, which was a moſt famous act through all GRECE: and in this warre he put all their forces to flight, which wanne him great honour. And as *Artaxerxes* was ready to ſet vpon the king of ÆGYPT, he demanded of the ATHENIANS Captaine *Iphicrates*, to be the chiefe leader of all the ſtrangers troupes, to the number of twelue thouſand men. Whom he ſo well trained and diſciplined, that as the FABIAN ſouldiers had bene famous among the ROMAINES, ſo in GRECE they ſpake of none but of *Iphicratian* ſouldiers. Afterwards being gone to aide the SPARTANS, he ſtayed *Epaminondas* roundly: and had not he come, the THEBANS would neuer haue returned backe before he had taken and burnt the citie of SPARTA. He was a man of a ſtout heart, and of a high ſtature, hauing the port and countenance of a Soueraigne captaine, ſo that he made all men wonder at him that ſaw him: but he was ſlouthfull and impatient, as *Theopompus* ſayth, but otherwiſe a good and faithfull citizen, whereof he made proofe among others, eſpecially in keeping *Perdiccas* and *Philip* the ſon of *Amyntas* MACEDONIAN ſafe. For *Euridice* their mother comming with them for refuge vnto *Iphicrates*, after the death of *Amyntas*: he ſpared no meanes of his owne to defend them. He liued a long time, being in good credite with his citizens: ſauing that on a time during the warres of the allies he was criminally accuſed with *Timotheus*, howbeit he cleared himſelfe, and was quit by iudgement. His wife was *Threſſa*, daughter of king *Cotys*: and of her he had a ſonne called *Meneſtheus*: who being asked which he loued beſt, either his father, or his mother? My mother, ſayd he. Whereat euery man muſing: Maruell not, anſwered he, I haue reaſon to ſay ſo. For my father, as much as was in him, begat me a THRACIAN: and my mother to the contrarie, ſhe made me an ATHENIAN.

The end of Iphicrates life.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Chabrias.*

Chabrias was an Athenian, and was placed in ranck of excellent Captaines. So hath he done many things worthie of memorie. Amongst others, his ſtratageme he ſhewed at the battell of Thebes is famous, where he was to aide the Boeotians. For, that great Captaine *Ageſilaus* reioycing becauſe of his victorie, and that he had made all the troupes at the Thebans pay run away: *Chabrias* ſtood ſtill with them that were left of his battalion, teaching the ſouldiers to reſiſt the charge of the enemies, caſting downe their pikes, and couering themſelues with their bucklers vpon one knee. *Ageſilaus* moued with this nouelltie, durſt not runne in to them, and made them ſound the retreat, to keepe his men they ſhould paſſe no further. This act was ſo renowmed through Greece, that *Chabrias* cauſed a ſtatue to be made of him in the ſtate aboue mentioned, the which the Athenians ſet vp for him in the great market place. Afterwards the wreſtlers, and other ſuch kind of people followed this faſhion of erection of ſtatues, which they deſerued for their victories. To come againe to *Chabrias*, he made many warres in Evrope, in the qualitie of Generall of the Athenians, and went alſo of his voluntarie will to make warre in Ægypt, in the ſeruice of *Nectanebos* whom he did ſet againe into his kingdome. He did the like in Cyprvs, whither the Athenians ſent him of purpoſe to helpe *Euagoras*, and would not depart thence, before he had firſt ſubdued all the Iſle: for the which the Athenians wan great honour. In theſe buſineſſes, warre fell out betwixt the Persians and Ægyptians. They of Athens were allies of *Artaxerxes*, and the Spartans tooke part with Ægypt. King *Ageſilaus* did greatly inuade the Persians, and caried great booties away. *Chabrias* conſidering that, and giuing no place to *Ageſilaus*, went of his owne head to aide the Ægyptians: who made him their Admirall, and gaue the charge of the armie by land vnto *Ageſilaus*. Then the Lieutenants of the king of Persia ſent vnto Athens, to complaine that *Chabrias* made warre with the Ægyptians againſt their king. The Athenians ſent for *Chabrias* immediatly to appeare in perſon, threatning him to condemne him to death, if he were not there by the day appointed. This meſſage made him to come againe to Athens, where he taried no longer then needes he muſt. For the Citizens bare him no great goodwill, becauſe he caried himſelfe ſo ſtately, and would be ſo merie, that the people enuied him. This vice raigneth commonly in thoſe great and free townes, that glorie is euer accompanied with enuie: and they willingly ſpeake ill of them whom they ſee to be great. And to be ſhort, the poore cannot abide wealthie and rich men. Therfore *Chabrias* did abſent himſelf out of the citie as much as he could poſſible, and he was not alone in that, for almoſt all the chiefeſt of the citie did the like: thinking themſelues ſafe from the teeth of the enuious, ſo long as they were far off from the ſight of their citizens. Therefore *Conon* liued for the moſt part of his time in the Iſle of Cyprvs, *Iphicrates* in Thracia, *Timotheus* in Lesbos, *Cares* in Sygeea. As for *Cares*, he was not to be likened in any reſpect vnto the others, in exploits, nor in maner of life: and yet he was honoured in the citie of Athens, and had great meanes.

As for *Chabrias*, he died in the war of the allies in this maner. The Athenians made war with the Iſlanders of Chio, at what time *Chabrias* had no charge in the armie by ſea. Notwithſtanding he had more authoritie then all the Captains: and the ſouldiers did eſteeme him more then any other of the commaunders. That was cauſe of his death. For ſtriuing to enter the firſt into the hauen, and commaunding the Pylote to row right thither, it was his deſtruction: for being moored there within, the other ſhips followed him not. Whereupon the enemies compaſſed him in: but as he fought valiantly, his galley being beaten with the ſpurre of another veſſell began to leake, and to ſinke to the bottome. He ſeeing there was no way for him to eſcape, becauſe the fleet of the Athenians was too farre off to receiue him in, if he ſhould haue attempted to haue ſwomme: he had rather die then leaue his armes, and forſake the galley which caried him.

The others, they tooke another course, and saued themselues by strength of their armes. But he esteeming an honest death to be more excellent then a shamefull life: fighting very neare, was killed by the enemies with darts.

The end of Chabrias life.

THE LIFE OF *Timotheus.*

Timotheus the sonne of *Conon*, a Captaine of Athens, did by many vertues amplifie the glorie receiued of his father. For he was an eloquent man, diligent, painefull, expert in militarie discipline, and a great Politician. He hath executed great things, whereof the most notable are these, to wit: he subdued the Olynthians and Byzantines: he wanne the citie of Samos, the siege whereof in the former warres had stood the Athenians in the summe of twelue hundred talents. He deliuered it vnto the people freely without any charge to them. He made warre with king *Cotys*, and brought of the bootie he had gotten there vnto the Treasurie, the like summe of twelue hundred talents. He also raised the siege that was before Cyzica, and went with *Agesilaus* to the aide of *Ariobarzanes*, of whom hauing receiued money, he had rather his citizens should buy townes and lands, then to carie it home to his lodging. Therefore he ioyned Erichthone and Sestos to the signiorie of Athens. Afterwards hauing charge of the armie by sea, he inuaded Peloponnesvs, spoiled all the territorie of Sparta, and had all their ships in chase. He brought the Corcyrians vnder the subiection of the Athenians: and drew into their alliance the Epirots, Athamanes, and Chaonians, and all the people vpon that sea coast. The which made the Lacedæmonians leaue their so long old quarrell, and of their owne goodwils let the Athenians haue the principalitie of the sea: treating peace with these conditions, that the Athenians should be Generals vpon the sea.

This victorie did so please the Athenians, that there was then first of all an altar built to the common peace, and they did ordaine a pillow should be made for that goddesse. Furthermore, that such a glorious act should remaine for perpetuitie, they raised vp a statue vnto *Timotheus* in the market place, by ordinance of the people, which was an honour that neuer man receiued before, to wit, that the people hauing graunted a statue for the father, they should also giue one to the sonne. By this meanes the statue of the sonne so freshly set vp, renewed the memorie of the father. Now *Timotheus* being very old, dealing no more in affaires of the commonwealth, they began afresh to torment the Athenians of all sides. Samos and Hellespont shrunke backe and reuolted. *Philip* king of Macedon, who began to waxe great, plotted wonderfull things in his head. *Chares* was sent against him to make head. But they thinking him not sufficient to repulse *Philip*, they therefore sent *Menestheus* the sonne of *Iphicrates*, sonne in law to *Timotheus*, and made him Colonell, gaue him the charge of the affaires of the warres, hauing for his counsellers, his father, and father in law, braue Captaines, wise and expert men to direct him with their counsell: their authoritie being so great, that euery man hoped that all that was lost, should be recouered againe by their meanes. They pointing for Samos, *Chares* that had heard newes of it, sailed vp and downe that coast, to the end nothing should be done in his absence. Drawing neare to the Isle a storme rose, and to defend themselues against it, the two old Captaines strake saile, and hulled, going no further into the sea. *Chares* to the contrarie vpon a head, not respecting them that had seene more then he, held on his course, thinking to haue found an occasion as he wished, and sent as well to *Timotheus* as to *Iphicrates*, that they should follow him. But hauing had euill successe, and lost many of his shippes, he fell backe againe to that very place

place frō whence he came,& ſent letters to the people of ATHENS of this effect, that he had eaſily taken SAMOS, if *Timotheus* and *Iphicrates* had not forſaken him at his need. Vpon this accuſation they were ſummoned to appeare in perſon by this bold people, ſuſpitious, vnconſtant, enemy and enuious of another mans greatneſſe,and are charged to be traitors vnto the commonwealth. *Timotheus* was condemned,and a fine ſet vpon his head of ſixty thouſand crowns. *Iphicrates* conſtrained by the importunitie of his vnthankeful citizens,went for a time to CHALCIS. After *Timotheus* death,the people repenting their ſentence, abated nine parts of the ſum aboue named,and commaunded *Conon*, the ſon of the deceaſed, to furniſh ſixe thouſand crownes for the reparation of a pane of the wall. Here is to be noted a wonderfull reuolution of the affaires of this world: for the young ſonne was conſtrained at his owne charges (to the great diſhonour of his houſe) to repaire the wals, the which his grandfather *Conon* had made vp with the booty gotten of the enemies. We could alleadge many examples of the modeſtie and wiſedome of *Timotheus*: but we will adde for the end a matter whereby may be eaſily coniectured, how much he was eſteemed of the GREEKES. Being young he was accuſed, and brought before the Iudge: whereupon his friends and familiars came out of all parts into ATHENS to defend him: and amongſt others the tyrant *Iaſon*, who was at that time the mightieſt Lord of all GREECE. This tyrant was neuer aſſured in his owne countrey without his guard: and yet he came without any traine to ATHENS, eſteeming ſo much his hoſt *Timotheus*, that he had rather hazard his life, then faile his friend in time of neceſſitie. Notwithſtanding this, ſhortly after *Timotheus* made warre with *Iaſon*, by the commaundement of the people: thinking that to obey his countrey, and to maintaine the right of the ſame, is a more deuout thing, then to fauour a priuate friend. After this laſt age, which tooke away *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, Captaines of ATHENS: they could neuer find in the Commonwealth after their death, any Chiefetaine of war, that deſerueth any memorie of them.

The end of Timotheus life.

THE LIFE OF *Datames.*

I Preſently enter into the life of a moſt valiant and wiſe Captaine, among all the barbarous: *Hamilcar* and *Hannibal* of CARTHAGE excepted. We will ſpeake ſomwhat more amply of this man, for that the moſt part of his exploits are litle known,& becauſe alſo that he had obtained his victories not ſo much by force of armes,as by his wiſedome: a vertue in the which he did ſurpaſſe all the men of his time. But this cannot be iudged, vnleſſe we make him knowne in all particulars. *Datames* the ſonne of *Camiſſares* a CARIAN and of a SCHYTIAN, was at the beginning a ſouldier of the guard of the pallace of *Artaxerxes*. His father *Camiſſares*, becauſe of his valiantnes and direction in the warres, and for that he had done many good ſeruices vnto the king, was made Gouernour of CILICIA, neare vnto CAPPADOCIA, where the LEVCOSYRIANS dwell. As for *Datames*, following the warres, he made proofe of his valour in the warre which *Artaxerxes* had againſt the CADVSIANS: where many men being ſlaine on both ſides, he fought ſo valiantly, that his father being killed,he had his authorie and place of Gouernour of CILICIA. He ſhewed himſelfe no leſſe valiant in warre, then *Antophradates* did by the kings commaundement vnto thoſe that had rebelled. For, by the direction of *Datames*, the enemies that were now entred into the PERSIANS campe, were repulſed, and all the armie of the kings in ſaftie: the which was the cauſe of his calling and aduauncement vnto higher charges. There was at that time in PAPHLAGONIA a Gouernour called *Thyus*, deſcended of an auncient race of one *Pylæmenes*, whom *Homer* ſaith, was killed by *Patroclus* in the warre of TROIA. He not regarding the kings will and commaundements,

who therefore reſolued to make warre with him, and gaue the charge of it vnto *Datames*, couſin germaine to *Thyus*. By reaſon of kindred, *Datames* would prooue by all means he could to draw his kinſman to ſome conformitie before he tooke armes: he went vnto him without any traine, litle thinking that his friend would haue laid any ambuſh for him: but he had almoſt bene taken tardie, for *Thyus* ſought to ſurpriſe him, and to cut his throate. *Datames* mother, Aunt vnto *Thyus*, being told what was practiſed againſt her ſonne, ſhe did aduertiſe him in ſo good time, that he eſcaped with ſpeed, and proclaimed warre againſt his aduerſarie. And although that in the purſute of this warre, he was forſaken of *Ariobarzanes*, Gouernour of LYDIA, of IONIA, and of all PHRYGIA, yet he let not to go further: he tooke *Thyus* priſoner with his wife and children, and then very carefully tooke order that no man but himſelf ſhould carie newes of it to the king. So following that purpoſe, without any mans priuitie he arriued at the Court, and the next morning apparelled *Thyus* (a tall man and of a terrible grimme looke, being blacke haired, and wearing his haire long) with a rich robe, ſuch as great Lords vſe to weare. He apparelled himſelfe like a countrey man, in a Lion tawnie coate, with a cloke of diuerſe colours, and a hunters hat, hauing in his right hand a club, and in his left hand a leace, vnto the which *Thyus* was tyed, who went before, as if he had led ſome ſauage beaſt he had taken in the chaſe a hunting. They all ran to ſee this new monſter thus diſguiſed: and thoſe which knew *Thyus* went preſently and told the king of it: who at the firſt would beleeue nothing, but ſent *Pharnabazus* to ſee what it was. So when he had told him all what had happened, he made this pompe come in preſently: and the king tooke great pleaſure to ſee it, but ſpecially to ſee ſo mightie a Prince beyond all hope ſo ſubdued.

Therefore after he had giuen ſumptuous preſents vnto *Datames*, he ſent him vnto the armie that was leauied vnder the conduct of *Pharnabazus* and *Tithrauſtes*, to make warre in ÆGYPT, and ordained that he ſhould haue as much authoritie as they. Now after that the king had ſent for *Pharnabazus*, all the charge of the warres was committed to *Datames*. Who being greatly occupied about leauies of men to go into ÆGYPT, he receiued letters from the king, commanding him to inuade a Lord called *Aſpis*, who held CATAONIA, a prouince ioyning neare to CAPPADOCIA, beyond CILICIA, a mountaine countrey well furniſhed with fortreſſes, that deſpiſed the king, and made inuaſions vpon the Prouinces thereabouts, ſpoiling victuals and all things elſe that were caried to the king. Though *Datames* was farre from that place, and had other affaires of greater importance in hand: yet he determined to obey the king, and ſuddenly imbarked himſelfe with a ſmall number of reſolute men, thinking (that which came to paſſe) that with a few men he ſhould ſooner ſurpriſe a man not dreaming of any ſuch matter, then with a great armie to go and aſſaile him. He being arriued in CILICIA, landed, then marched day and night ouer mount Taurus, and came to the place where he would be: he inquireth for *Aſpis*, and vnderſtandeth that he was not farre off but a hunting. But as he ſtayed for his comming, *Aſpis* knew that he was come, and immediatly diſpoſed of his PISIDIANS and others of his traine to make head. *Datames* knowing this reſolution, takes his armes, made his men march, and galloped to the place where *Aſpis* was: who ſeeing him come with ſuch a furie, he loſt his courage to defend himſelfe, and preſently yeelded. *Datames* made him to be bound, and ſent him by *Mithridates* to the king. Hereupon *Artaxerxes* conſidering better what he had done, drawing his Lieutenant farre from his armie, to ſend him in commiſſion about a matter of leſſe conſequence, being angrie with himſelfe, ſent a meſſenger to the campe, thinking *Datames* was not yet gone from thence, to tell him that he ſhould not go. But before this meſſenger came to the armie, he met them by the way that brought *Aſpis*. This ſo ſudden execution wanne *Datames* the kings good fauour, but made him very much hated of the Courtiers, ſeeing one onely man more made of then all the reſt: which was the cauſe that they all ioyned together to deſtroy him.

Pandates Treaſurer of the ſpare, and *Datames* friend, did aduertiſe him by expreſſe letters, that he ſtood in great daunger, if any ſiniſter fortune happened, whileſt he ſhould commaund the armie in ÆGYPT: that it is the cuſtome of kings to impute all misfortunes to their ſeruants that chaunce in their affaires, and to attribute the good ſucceſſe vnto themſelues. And this makes them very eaſily incline to the extermination of them, of whom report is made; that they haue not done that which was committed to their charge. And as for him, that he ſhould ſo much more ſtand in feare, becauſe that thoſe which could do moſt with the king, were his greateſt enemies. *Datames* hauing receiued theſe letters in his campe, and knowing that they caried truth

with

with them: he reſolued to forſake the king: which doing notwithſtanding he committed no breach of his fidelitie. For he left *Androcles* MAGNESIAN Generall of the armie. And for himſelfe he went with his men into CAPPADOCIA, afterwards he wan PAPHLAGONIA which was hard by it, without ſhewing himſelfe either friend or enemie of the king. He ſecretly contracted friendſhip with *Ariobarzanes*, aſſembled forces, and gaue the guard of the townes of warre vnto thoſe he truſted beſt: but the winter did let him that his affaires went not forward. He vnderſtandeth that the PISIDIANS did leauie ſome troupes to ſet vpon him: which cauſed him to ſend his ſonne *Aridæus* before with an armie. The young man being killed at an encounter, the father marched right thither with his men, hiding his griefe as much as he could poſſible, becauſe he deſired to meete with his enemies, before thoſe that followed him ſhould heare of his loſſe, being affraid leſt the newes of the death of this yong Lord ſhould kill their hearts. So being come to the place where he pretended, he camped in ſuch ſort that the multitude of his enemies could not encloſe him, nor keepe him from comming to fight when he thought good. He brought with him *Mithrobarzanes* his father in law, who was Colonell of the horſemen. He perceiuing the affaires of his ſon in law in ſo poore an eſtate, forſooke him to go yeeld himſelfe to the enemies. *Datames* being told of it, iudged that his ſouldiers if they once perceiued that his father in law had forſaken him, they would alſo follow his example: wherfore to preuent all, he gaue it out that *Mithrobarzanes* was gone by his commandement, pretending to yeeld themſelues to the enemies: to the end with more eaſe and aduantage to cut them in peeces. And therefore that there was no reaſon to leaue ſuch a man ſo far from them, but they muſt needes follow him with ſpeed. So that they ſtanding to it luſtily, the enemies could not reſiſt, conſidering they ſhould be charged within and without their campe. So hauing thought that the beſt way in the world, he marcheth into the field with his troupes, and followeth *Mithrobarzanes*: who did but newly yeeld themſelues to the enemies, when *Datames* appeared, who put out the ſignall of battell. The PISIDIANS troubled with this ſtraunge ſight, did ſuſpect that *Mithrobarzanes* and his would betray them, and that they were come of purpoſe to do them ſome miſchiefe. Thereupon they vehemently gaue charge vpon theſe traitors, who not knowing what to think of ſuch a charge, were conſtrained to fight againſt them, vnto whom they had yeelded themſelues: and to returne vnto them whom they had forſaken. But the one and the other not knowing them any whit, in a ſhort time theſe wicked men were cut in peeces. So withal *Datames* ſetteth vpon the PISIDIANS who made head againſt him, paſſed through them, and brake them at the firſt charge: purſued them that fled, killed a great number of them, and was maſter of their camp. Note here how wiſely (and all done at one time) he puniſhed the traitors, and put his enemies to flight: turning that to good, which was deuiſed for the ouerthrow of him and his. This is the moſt braueſt and moſt ſpeedieſt executed ſtratageme of a Chiefe in wars, that can be found in hiſtories.

A fine ſtratagem.

Notwithſtanding that, this great perſon was forſaken of his eldeſt ſon *Sciſmas*, who went to the king to aduertiſe him that his father was reuolted. This troubled *Artaxerxes* greatly, knowing that he had to deale with a valiant and a wiſe Captaine, who boldly did ſet vpon any enterpriſe with diſcretion. Thereupon he ſent *Autophrodates* into CAPPADOCIA, whom *Datames* tooke paines to go and meete, to preuent him that he ſhould not win the ſtraight of CILICIA. But being long aſſembling his forces, and that hope being fruſtrate, he choſe with thoſe few men that followed him ſuch a place, that his enemies could not encloſe him, nor paſſe, but that he ſhould ſhut them vp in very vnwholeſome places, nor hurt him when he liked to ioyne in fight. Now though *Autophradates* vnderſtood ſomwhat of that, yet he made account that it was more expedient for him to ioyne then to flee from the liſt, hauing ſo great forces. He had 20000 horſe, and 100000 footmen, which they call GARDATES, with 3000 ſlings of the ſame name. Furthermore, he had 8000 CAPPADOCIANS, 10000 ARMENIANS, 5000 PAPHLAGONIANS, 10000 PHRYGIANS, 5000 LYDIANS, and about 3000 ASPENDIANS and PISIDIANS, 2000 CILICIANS, as many CAPTANIANS, and 3000 GREEKS in pay: beſides a great nũber of men light armed. Againſt this world of forces, *Datames* could hope no more but in his direction, and in the commodity of the place where he camped: for he had not the twentith part ſo many men. Yet truſting to himſelfe, to the place, and to the valour of his men, he came to fight, and put to the ſword many thouſands of his enemies, hauing loſt of his ſide but one thouſand of his men. For this cauſe he ſet vp the next day in the field a ſigne of triumph where the battell was fought. So being remoued from thence, as he was the weaker in number of men, he to the contrarie remained victor in

The ſon betrayeth the father.

all skirmiſhes and fights, and neuer came to hands, but he put his enemies to the worſe: in the which he had oftentimes very good ſucceſſe, becauſe he knew all the waies, and did wiſely conſider his affaires. *Antophradates* ſeeing the king loſt more in theſe warres then he got, he perſwaded *Datames* to fall to agreement, and to make his peace with the king. Though *Datames* had no great truſt in that, yet he accepted the condition, and ſaid he would ſend ambaſſadours vnto *Artaxerxes*. And thus the warre of the king ended againſt *Datames*. And for *Antophradates*, he retired into PHRYGIA.

But the king being vexed to the heart againſt *Datames*, conſidering that he could not preuaile againſt him by armes, ſought to make him away by treaſon. *Datames* looked warily to his wayes, and auoided many ambuſhes. As on a time, hauing vnderſtanding that ſome pretending to be his friends, had laid a plot for him: although his enemies had giuen him intelligence of it, yet he thoght that as it was not a thing lightly to be beleeued, ſo was it not altogether to be diſcredited: wherupon he reſolued to trie whether it was a true or falſe report brought him. Therefore he ſet forward to the place where it was told him this ambuſh was laid: but he choſe amongſt his men one that was of his height, he gaue him his furniture, and made him march in the ranck which he was wont to hold. He on the other ſide apparelled like a ſouldier, went with the archers of the guard. Thoſe which lay in ambuſh deceiued by the order and furniture, aſſoone as they ſaw their time, they began to ſet vpon the ſuppoſed *Datames*. But the right *Datames* had warned them before with whom he marched, to be readie to do all as he did. He ſeeing then theſe traitors running, he threw darts at them, and ſo did all thoſe that were in his companie, ſo that the other fell to the gronnd, before they could come neare him whom they would ſurpriſe. Now notwithſtanding all this, this ſo warie and ſubtill Captaine was in the end betrayed by the deceipt of *Mithridates* the ſonne of *Ariobarzanes*, who promiſed the king to do the deed, ſo that he would afterwards ſuffer him to do what he thought good, without being called in queſtion any maner of way. The king conſented vnto it, and gaue his hand vpon it after the cuſtome of the PERSIANS, to make him more aſſured. *Mithridates* hauing the kings word, made ſhew to be ſworne enemy vnto *Artaxerxes*, he gathereth troupes together, and by meanes treateth friendſhip with *Datames*, he entreth with a maine armie into the kings country, beſiegeth and taketh fortreſſes, carieth away great bootie, he giueth part of it to his ſouldiers, he ſendeth the reſt vnto *Datames*, and deliuereth many fortreſſes and holds into his hands. So hauing continued his courſe a reaſonable time, *Datames* began wholly to beleeue that *Mithridates* had vndertaken a warre which he would neuer leaue, and this traitour gaue him great occaſions to thinke ſo. For fearing leſt *Datames* would miſtruſt ſome ambuſh, he ſought not to ſpeake with him, nor went about to meete together: but without enterview he entertained his alliance ſo finely, that theſe two men ſeemed both one, not ſo much for mutuall benefite, as for a common hatred conceiued againſt the king. When he ſaw his ſnare well laid, he wrote to *Datames* that time required they ſhould aſſemble greater forces to make warre againſt the king: and if he thought good, he would appoint a place where they might one ſee another, and conferre together. *Datames* found this aduice good, and ſo they appointed a day to meete together, and place where they might ſpeake perſonally one with the other. Some daies before *Mithridates* came to the place, ſeconded with another in whom he put great truſt: he hid poigniards ſeparated in diuerſe places, and did carefully marke the places where they were laid. The day being come of their talking together, both of them ſent men to diſcouer the place, and to ſearch one the other, becauſe they ſhould be without weapons. That being done, they enter into talke, and after they had ſpoken ſome time together, they departed: ſo that *Datames* was gone a good way off. And as for *Mithridates*, before he went to his men (to giue no occaſion of ill thought) he cometh to the ſame place againe where they had ſpoken together, and ſate him downe in a place where there was a poigniard hidden, faining to be wearie, and to refreſh himſelfe a litle. Then he ſent for *Datames* vnder colour that he had forgotten to tell him ſome thing. In the meane time he tooke the poigniard out of the place where it was hidden, drew it, and put it naked vnder his robe. And ſeeing *Datames*, told him they muſt go a litle aſide, and that he had diſcouered a place directly ouer againſt them very fit to campe in. He began to ſhew him the place with his finger: and as *Datames* turned to ſee what it was, this traitour ſtabbed him with his poigniard, and made an end of killing of him before any of his men could come to helpe him. See here how through pretence of friendſhip he was ſurpriſed, who had entrapped ſo many others by his valiant direction, but none by treaſon.

Mithridates ſtratageme againſt Datames.

The maner of Mithridates ſtratageme.

Time & place appointed for enterview tother.

Datames traiterouſly murdered by Mithridates.

The end of the life of Datames.

THE

THE LIFE OF *Hamilcar.*

Hamilcar the ſonne of *Hanniball*, ſurnamed *Barcas*, a Carthaginian Captaine. being very young began to commaund an army that was in Sicilia, in the end of the firſt warre of Africke. Before his comming thither the Carthaginians had very ill ſucceſſe both by ſea and land: but ſo ſoone as he led the army, he neuer gaue place to the enemy, and gaue him no aduantage to hurt him. But to the contrary he found many an occaſion to draw them to fight, wherein he had the vantage. Which being done, although the Carthaginians had well-neare loſt all that they held in Sicilia, yet he kept the city of Erix ſo well, as it ſeemed that there had neuer bene warre made in that quarter. In the meane time the Carthaginians hauing loſt a battell at the ſea neare vnto the Iles Ægates, againſt *Catulus Luctatius* a Romaine Conſull: they determined to leaue armes, and gaue all the charge vnto *Hamilcar* to treate of peace. For his part he deſired nothing but warre: yet ſeeing his towne in want of money and meanes, and in danger to ſinke vnder their burthen, he concluded that they muſt make peace. Yet ſo notwithſtanding he reſolued with himſelfe, that as ſoone as all matters were pacified, he would make warre againe, and ſet vpon the Romaines, either to make them Lords of all, or elſe to compell them to be ſubiect. With this mind he entred into parley of peace, where he ſhewed himſelfe ſo ſtout: that as *Catulus* declared he would agree to nothing, before *Hamilcar* and his ſouldiers which had kept Erix had layd downe their armes, and were gone out of Sicilia, he made anſwer that he would rather dye in the ruines of his countrey, then to returne home with ſuch ſhame: and that honour would not ſuffer him to yeeld vp his armes to his enemies, which his countrey had put into his hands to be imployed againſt them. *Catulus* let him go with this obſtinate reſolution.

But when *Hamilcar* was arriued at Carthage, he ſaw matters go farre otherwiſe then he hoped for. For during the long wars againſt the enemies abroad, there was miſchiefe ſprung vp among them within: which went on ſo fiercely, that Garthage was neuer in ſo great danger but when it was altogether deſtroyed. Firſt of all, the mercenarie ſouldiers that had bene in the warres againſt the Romaimes, to the number of 20000 they rebelled, they made all Africke riſe, and they beſieged Carthage. The Carthaginians being greatly afraid of ſo many euils, they demanded aide of the Romaines, which they granted. But in the end, when all was thought to be in a deſperate caſe, they choſe *Hamilcar* their Captaine generall: who did not onely driue the enemies farre from the towne, which were in number aboue a 100000 fighting men: but he did alſo ſhut them vp in ſuch ſtraights, that the moſt part of them died of famine, and the reſt were ſlaine. Furthermore, he brought the cities which had reuolted, vnder the obedience againe of Carthage, and amongſt others Vtica, and Hippona, two of the ſtrongeſt cities of Africke. But not ſtaying there, he extended the limites of the ſigniory of Carthage, and pacified all Africke in ſuch ſort, that it ſeemed there had bene no warre of long time.

Now hauing done all things according to his mind, he bearing ill will to the Romaines, and hoping to be reuenged: to find a more eaſie way to daw them to warre, he practiſed ſo well that he was choſen Generall, and they ſent him with an army into Spaine, whither he caried with him his ſonne *Hanniball* nine yeares old, and another faire young gentleman called *Haſdruball*, whom many iudged to be loued of *Hamilcar* otherwiſe then was fit for honeſt men. For there were many alwayes that could not containe themſelues from ſpeaking euill of this great Captaine. Which was the cauſe that the gouernour of *Haſdruball* did forbid him to come no more to *Hamilcar*, who afterwards gaue him his daughter in mariage, ſo that they began againe to meete together. For by the cuſtome of the countrey they could not forbid a ſonne in

law, to frequent with his father in law. We haue made mention of *Hasdrubal*, becauſe that after *Hamilcar* was ſlaine, he was made chiefe of the army, which did great exploits vnder his conduct. But ſo he was the firſt, that by preſents and gifts corrupted the ancient maners of the CARTHAGINIANS. After his death, *Hannibal* had the charge of the army, with the conſent of all the men of warre. As for *Hamilcar*, he hauing paſſed the ſea, entred into SPAINE, and did great things there with good ſucceſſe. He ſubdued many warlike nations, enriched all AFRICKE with horſes, with armes, with men, and with money. As he had thought to haue tranſported the warre from thence into ITALIE, nine yeares after his comming into SPAINE: he was ſlaine in a battell againſt the VACCONS. The deadly hate he bare vnto the ROMAINES, ſeemeth to haue kindled the ſecond warre with AFRICKE. For his ſonne *Hannibal* was brought to this paſſe, by the continuall adiurations of his father: that he had rather deſtroy himſelfe, then to faile his helpe againſt the ROMAINES.

The end of Hamilcars life.

BRITISH MUSEUM

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